AGGRESSION AS A COMPONENT OF POLICE-CITIZEN TRANSACTIONS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

by

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PREFACE

Police officers are typically viewed as being calloused, aggressive, and punitive. Undoubtedly, this impression derives, in part, from the mass media where the "cop" is portrayed as the tough law-enforcement agent who must battle his way through obstacle after obstacle in his attempt to bring about law and order. However, a significant determinant of the public's view of the police would seem to be the day to day transactions of police officers and citizens.

Nearly every citizen comes into contact with the police at one time or another. The services which the police are asked to perform range from giving directions to rushing a coronary victim to the hospital, from changing light bulbs to settling family disputes, from giving traffic summonses to apprehending criminals. Ironically, those very people who are feared and despised are the sole providers of service 24 hours a day every day of the year. It is to the police that individuals frequently turn at critical times.

While it is true that citizens must rely on the police when no other agency, public or private, can meet their needs, it is equally true that the police must rely on citizens. Law enforcement depends on the willingness of citizens to report crimes, to alert the police to suspicious activities, and to testify in court when necessary. Individuals who have experienced the police as being insensitive, aggressive, or authoritarian will not only be reluctant to request emergency services from the police. They

will also withhold assistance or information pertaining to law enforcement. It is clear, then, that the manner in which police interact with citizens, the way they "present" themselves, has serious implications for crime control and the utilization of police services.

It has been suggested that the police officer's style of interaction is determined by such factors as early socialization, adult socialization, constraints and requirements imposed by the organization, and the behavioral expectations held by others. If, in fact, all of these factors contribute to how the police officer presents him- or herself--to the impression which he or she hopes to foster and the impression-management techniques in which he or she engages--then it would not be surprising to find female officers engaging in different patterns of interaction with citizens than male officers.

In the past, it has been impossible to study the interactional performances of female officers as compared with their male counterparts. Policing has traditionally been considered "man's work" and, consequently, police departments have almost exclusively been male domains. The small number of women have been relegated to clerical or matron positions, with little opportunity to interact with citizens in the normal day-to-day routine of police work.

However, in June of 1972, the New York City Police Department experimentally assigned a small number of women to uniformed patrol. This provided an unusual opportunity

to examine the differences between male and female police officers in their interaction with citizens. Of particular interest are aggressive displays because it is presumed that aggression on the part of officers interferes with constructive police-public relations. In addition, many of the arguments against introducing women into policing focus on the alleged vulnerability of women, suggesting that women will be the recipients of aggression to a greater extent than will men. Thus, an exploration of the aggressive components of police-citizen interaction has significance both for the quality of police service and insofar as job equality for women in policing is concerned.

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Police officers do not operate in a vacuum. They function, instead, in an interactional setting. Thus, any attempt to present or analyze their behavior apart from the social context in which it exists would be meaningless. Psychologocal theories dealing with social interaction have predominantly focused on personality variables or psychodynamics in order to predict behavior in social situations. Those who have departed from this model refer to interaction in terms of equilibration-- e.g., individuals are motivated to achieve congruity or balance in their relations (Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1958)-- or social exchange-- e.g., interacting individuals attempt to maximize their profits or rewards and minimize their costs (Homans, 1961; Longabaugh, 1963; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959; Zaleznik, 1965). Many sociologists, on the other hand, have viewed social interaction as the product of relatively fixed social norms or as the unfolding of social relationships with their attendant expectations, rights, and duties.

None of these approaches sufficiently accounts for either the dynamic quality or the complexity of human interaction. The theory of symbolic interaction, both in its original form (Blumer, 1972; Kuhn, 1964; Mead, 1934) and as it has subsequently been modified (Goffman, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1967; McCall, 1970) provides a more suitable framework for the understanding of complex social interaction.

Symbolic Interaction

Some of the major premises of symbolic interactionism, which have direct bearing on this research, can be stated as follows:

1. Humans cannot be understood apart from social situations. The self is established, maintained, and altered through social interaction (Mead, 1934; Meltzer, 1972; Stone, 1962).

2. Humans live in a symbolic as well as a physical environment (Blumer, 1972a; McCall and Simmons, 1966; Mead, 1934; Meltzer, 1972; Rose, 1962). Stimuli have meanings and values associated with them. Thus, they serve as symbols. Interaction proceeds on a symbolic level. Humans do not merely react. Rather, they interpret and define objects, events, and actions. Their responses are based on meaning.

3. Humans are active, not passive (Blumer, 1972a; McCall and Simmons, 1966; Meltzer, 1972). They improvise or construct meanings. Action, itself, is formed or constructed by interpreting situations. Furthermore, arriving at a definition of a situation is a prerequisite for orderly social interaction (M. McCall, 1970; McHugh, 1968; Stebbins, 1967; Thomas, 1972). Until events are interpreted and meanings assigned, behavior, particularly that which occurs in a social context, cannot proceed.

4. Cooperative action, or interaction, is dependent upon consensual definitions or meanings (Blumer,

1972a; McCall and Simmons, 1966; M. McCall, 1970; Meltzer, 1972). In most situations, shared meanings exist. When this is not the case, interpretations have to be developed based on negotiation among and accomodation by the participants.

5. In order to understand behavior, it is essential to know how an individual interprets or defines the situation (Meltzer, 1972). It is assumed that reality is subjective, that people can differentially interpret the same event, and that behavior is a product of subjective interpretations and perceptions rather than objective conditions (Argyle, 1969; Birdwhistell, 1970; Carson, 1969; McCall and Simmons, 1966; Stebbins, 1967). Therefore, behavior cannot be understood as a simple one-to-one relationship between an independent and a dependent variable. Instead, one must examine the intervening process (Blumer, 1972b), the definition of the situation, for it is this process which makes action or interaction possible and understandable.

Definition of the Situation

One of the most important concepts emerging from the symbolic interactionist school is that of the "definition of the situation." In social interaction, this refers to how one interprets the identities and behaviors of all participants in an interaction, including oneself, as well as the meaning which the situation as a whole has for the individual.

There have been two distinct approaches to the study of the definition of the situation. The first has attempted to examine an individual's definition of his or her subjective situation including the immediate social and physical surroundings and the current physiological and psychological states of the actor. The interpretations which emerge are those provided by the actor rather than the researcher (Stebbins, 1967, 1972). The second has involved studying situations after they have been defined by actors. In this approach, represented by Goffman (1959, 1961), there has been an attempt to analyze social situations and infer definitions which the actor projects and attempts to sustain in an interaction. Considerable attention has been paid to the methods utilized by actors in projecting and sustaining viable definitions.

Regardless of the stage at which the definition is studied, it is apparent that the individual is an <u>active</u> agent-- he or she actively constructs or assigns meanings to situations, projects definitions of situations which are consistent with his or her self-image, works to sustain definitions of situations in a cooperative fashion, and discourages meanings which are incompatible with the identity he or she wishes to claim.

There is considerable agreement that an individual must arrive at a definition of the situation before he or she can proceed to act or interact. Situations must have meaning, they must be rendered sensible, before they can

be reacted to. Definitions can emerge from a number of different sources (Carson, 1969; Stebbins, 1967, 1972). These can serve as constraints, restricting an individual's alternatives in interpreting situations. They can also facilitate a rapid definition of the situation and subsequent action.

Undoubtedly, cultural factors influence an individual's interpretation of events. These include one's cultural background and past experiences (Bruner and Tagiuri, 1954; Schutz, 1953, 1970) and, more specifically, one's socialization (Moore, 1969; Stebbins, 1972). It is frequently through socialization that one comes to have expectations and stereotypes regarding appropriate role behavior and through which situational rules and norms come to be adopted. McCall and Simmons (1966) have said:

> By providing us with plans of action and systems of classification, our role-identities go far to determine the objects of our environment, their identity and meaning. This is particularly true of persons as objects, both ourselves and others (p. 70).

In addition, the reference groups to which one has belonged and presently belongs influence the way in which situations are interpreted (Schutz, 1970; Shibutani, 1972).

Personality factors can also influence the definition of a situation which an individual adopts. A person may have vulnerabilities which predispose him or her to view situations in a particular way. Moreover, people may have different thresholds for processing certain kinds of com-

munications (Lennard and Bernstein, 1969).

Finally, situational factors contribute considerably to an individual's definition of a situation. Meaning may be derived from the performances of the other interactants or from the nature of the preceding interaction (Lennard and Bernstein, 1969). In addition, organizational or occupational constraints may affect an individual's interpretation of a situation.

In general, an individual's definitions of situations, even those which are novel and require spontaneous interpretation, are influenced by his or her biographically determined situation (Schutz, 1953). It is this biographically determined situation that ultimately constitutes an individual's organized perspective or world-view and that, in turn, determines which attributes of situations are taken for granted (Shibutani, 1972) and which aspects of experience are considered relevent and/or typical (Schutz, 1953). Thus, while meanings are constructed by persons in particular social situations, they are done so in light of an individual's social history.

However, social interaction requires more than that isolated individuals hold personal, idiosyncratic definitions of the social situations in which they find themselves. Interactants must have a shared definition of the situation, shared meanings and understandings that enable the interaction to proceed in an orderly fashion. Frequently, interacting individuals can rely on the fact that cultural defi-

nitions exist which can structure the ensuing interaction. These definitions are acquired through socialization and are consensually shared by members of the same culture or sub-culture. In other instances, habitual personal definitions are selected. In these cases, individuals assign the same meanings to certain kinds of situations time and again. Others, with whom they interact, define situations similarly although there is no overt consensus about the meanings that situations have (Stebbins, 1967, 1972).

Occasionally, situations arise which call for spontaneous or unique personal definitions. These are situations for which no common meanings exist. Instead, interpretations or meanings must be improvised. In these situations, it is necessary for the participants to actively arrive at and agree on a common definition of the situation. To some extent, the individual who projects the initial definition of the situation is at an advantage (Goffman, 1959). His or her performance is designed to control the information available in the interaction and to present publicly the identity which he or she wishes to project. Frequently, other participants in the interaction will accept the projected definition and legitimate the desired identity in order to facilitate the interaction. Where support for an individual's definition of the situation, including his or her role-identity, is not forthcoming, some type of negotiation and accomodation among the participants will be necessary in order for the interaction to proceed.

Once a definition has been implicitly agreed upon, there remains the possibility that events will occur to discredit it and that the interaction will be disrupted. Thus, continuous effort on the part of the interactants is required to sustain a common definition of the situation (Goffman, 1961). In part, this involves adhering to rules that define those behaviors, feelings, and social attributes which are a legitimate part of the interaction and those that must be excluded and that, in addition, define the world which is to be considered "real" for the purposes of the interaction. Frequently, in an attempt to sustain a definition of the situation, participants redefine or ignore events which are troublesome and threaten consensually held meanings. Whatever the strategy, each individual "actively participates in sustaining a definition of the situation that is stable and consistent with his image of himself" (Goffman, 1961, p. 104).

At times, information may emerge which contradicts the conception of self that an individual is prepared to accept, thus threatening the interaction as a whole. It is possible for a participant to actively refute a definition with which he or she is uncomfortable without terminating the interaction (Goffman, 1961). Disaffection with one's imputed identity in a given encounter or with the general tenor of the encounter can be expressed in a variety of ways. An individual can appear to be uninvolved in

the interaction or may disavow any information which is inconsistent with the image he or she wishes to project. Individuals can actively demonstrate separateness from the definition of the situation which is structuring the interaction. For example, where a subordinate and a superordinate are engaged in interaction, one might find that

> although the subordinate is careful not to threaten those who are, in a sense, in charge of the situation, he may be just as careful to inject some expression to show, for any who care to see, that he is not capitulating completely to the work arrangement in which he finds himself. Sullenness, muttering, irony, joking, and sarcasm may all allow one to show that something of oneself lies outside the constraints of the moment and outside the role within whose jurisdiction the moment occurs (Goffman, 1961, p. 114).

Thus, an individual may overtly accept the prevailing definition of the situation but, at the same time, act to subvert or distance him- or herself from it.

Finally, there will be times when it is impossible to sustain any semblance of an agreed-upon definition of the situation. When this occurs, interaction will generally break down (Goffman, 1959, 1961).

The notion of the definition of the situation has provided the basis for several diverse analytic frameworks and research questions. One might ask how a given individual interprets a given situation, what factors account for the meanings which are assigned, and what relationship exists between an individual's definition of a situation and his

or her behavior. In addition, one might look for consistencies-- do groups of actors, sharing particular social identities, define situations similarly and distinctively? (Stebbins, 1972). On the other hand, one might begin with the assumption that "a particular definition is in charge of the situation" (Goffman, 1961, p. 133) and investigate the means or strategies by which this definition is projected, sustained, or altered. Needless to say, both approaches are important in understanding social interaction. They reflect the compelling quality of the definition of the situation, both as an analytic tool and as a human process whereby action and interaction are possible.

To summarize, this research will be guided by principles and assumptions derived from the theory of symbolic interactionism. These include:

1. Human action, reaction, and interaction operate on a symbolic level. People ascribe and construct meanings for things.

2. Action and interaction can only proceed when the situation has been defined by the actor or actors.

3. Social interaction requires that common understandings or shared definitions of a situation exist.

4. Shared definitions can be arrived at by (a) bringing shared cultural or habitual definitions to the situation, (b) the initial projection of a definition by one participant which is accepted and sustained by the remaining participants, and/or (c) negotiation among and

accomodation by the participants.

5. At any point during the interaction, the definition of the situation may be threatened. If the participants are unable to sustain a shared definition, the interaction will break down.

6. Behavior and interaction can only be understood in light of the meaning that the situation has for the participants.

Aggression

Definitional Problem

For the purposes of this research, aggression will be defined as non-accidental behavior which is directed toward or results in psychologically or physically hurting another person. This definition raises a number of issues which have proved controversial in the past.

The first involves intent. Despite the fact that it is difficult to infer intention on the basis of an individual's behavior, it is included in the definition presented here. Given a framework which views behavior as mediated by meaning, it would be illogical to rely exclusively on behavioral indices in order to identify aggressive acts. Some researchers have attempted to exclude the notion of intention in their definitions of aggression, viewing intention as a private event which cannot be accomodated by a behavioral approach (Buss, 1961). Others, however, have

acknowledged the necessity of including it (Dollard et al, 1970; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Kaufmann, 1965; Feshbach, 1964; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1958).

Secondly, the proposed definition is meant to include aggression which is a goal in itself as well as aggression which occurs indirectly in an attempt to reach a goal. A number of researchers have defined aggression in such a way that it refers only to behavior which is intended to hurt or injure someone (Dollard et al, 1970; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1958). Others have not only acknowledged the existence of instrumental aggression, but also recognize that it is probably more common than aggression which is an end in itself (Buss, 1971; Feshbach, 1964).

Another important issue involves outcome. Included in the definition of aggressive behavior presented here are attempts to inflict harm which are unsuccessful. These may involve situations where the victim is unaware that he or she has been the object of aggression (e.g., a derogatory remark is made but the victim does not hear it or does not interpret it as aggressive) or those in which the aggressor intends to hurt the victim but for some reason the act is not completed (e.g., an individual "swings" at another but misses). Those researchers who have stressed the importance of motivation or intent in their definition of aggression have implicitly acknowledged that an aggressive response need not achieve its goal (Feshbach, 1964; Kagan and Moss,

1962; Kaufmann, 1965; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1958).

Finally, the proposed definition is meant to include not only physical aggression, but verbal and nonverbal aggression as well. Examples of the latter are status degradation, humiliation, ridicule, rejection, threat, derogation, and the withholding of social approval. Clearly, people are more frequently hurt by this type of aggression than by physical abuse. While a number of researchers explicitly acknowledge the importance of verbal aggression (Buss, 1961; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1958), much of the research which has been generated deals exclusively with physical aggression.

Theoretical Approaches

A number of theories exist which attempt to explain aggressive behavior. The fact that they lack common assumptions, definitions, and purposes makes them difficult to compare. Some of the more influencial approaches will be discussed briefly.

Instinct. A number of psychoanalytic theories consider aggression to be an instinctual drive. For example, Freud (1970) posited the existence of a "death instinct" to account for aggressive behavior. Similarly, ethological approaches (Ardrey, 1961; Lorenz, 1963, 1970; Morris, 1967; Storr, 1968; Tiger, 1969) stress the importance of an aggressive instinct. They frequently attribute this instinct to natural selection, resulting from man's need to survive through hunting, protection of territory, and protection

of self.

Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis. This approach represented an attempt to operationalize psychoanalytic concepts. It posited the existence of a drive rather than an instinct. As it was originally stated, frustration invariably led to aggression and aggression was the invariable consequence of frustration (Dollard et al, 1970). This view was ultimately modified by Berkowitz (1962) so as to take into account external stimuli. Thus, aggression was no longer considered the inevitable consequence of frustration.

Learning. A number of different aspects of learning have been suggested to account for aggressive behavior. Some investigators have attempted to relate aggression to specific child-rearing or socialization practices (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Feshbach, 1964; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957, 1958; Sears, Whiting, Nowlis, and Sears, 1953). In simplistic terms, the child's acquisition of rewards and/or punishments from his or her social environment for aggressive behavior establishes the degree to which this behavior will be expressed.

Those who emphasize social-learning have attempted to expand upon learning theory principles in order to account for the acquisition of novel responses (Bandura and Walters, 1963). They have stressed the importance of observational learning, imitation, and identification, and they note the variety of forms that reinforcement can take. Bandura and Walters (1963) have said:

> An adequate learning approach to the problem of aggression must consider both how responses usually labeled as aggressive are acquired and maintained and how a child learns to make the social judgments that enable him to discriminate an aggressive from a non-aggressive response (p. 114).

Appropriate sex-role identification has been suggested as an important source of aggressive behavior (Kagan and Moss, 1962). On the other hand, it has also been proposed that misunderstandings or conflicts regarding sexual identification are predictive of later aggression (Toby, 1966; Whiting, 1965). This is referred to as compulsive or protest masculinity and occurs when boys with frequently absent fathers attempt to exaggerate their masculinity, thereby resolving their misunderstandings.

Subculture of Violence. Rather than positing a psychological theory of aggression, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) have attempted to integrate psychological and sociological approaches. They assert that there is a subculture of violence where shared norms, values, and attitudes are characterized by violent themes which are then translated into aggressive behaviors. In such a subculture, deviations from accepted behavioral responses lead to penalties. Thus, a non-violent person might be treated with disdain or ostracized. An individual who is integrated into the subculture will embrace its behavioral norms (e.g., a willingness to resort to violence) and will perceive and define their environment in accordance with subcultural requirements. Wolfgang and Ferracuti have integrated learning principles

into their theory by asserting that the "development of favorable attitudes toward, and the use of, violence in a subculture usually involve learned behavior and a process of differential learning, association, or identification" (p. 160).

Social Context. Weisstein (1971) has suggested that psychology has been remiss in its failure to attend to social context in explaining aggressive behavior. Indeed, Milgram's (1963, 1965a, 1965b) experiments on obedience provide compelling evidence that situational requirements and constraints are important factors in accounting for behavior. In discussing the extraordinarily high level of obedience his subjects demonstrated in carrying out an aggressive task, Milgram (1965b) said, "One must always question the relationship of obedience to a person's sense of the context in which he is operating" (p. 271). By systematically varying the social context in which subjects found themselves (e.g., proximity of victim, presence of persons encouraging disobedience), Milgram demonstrated that different social contexts have different meanings, and that aggressive behavior is considerably determined by the meaning which a given situation has for an individual.

Critique of Theoretical Approaches

Each of the approaches to aggression just described has at least limitations and at most serious flaws. Insofar as considering aggression as an instinct is concerned, there is no evidence which definitively establishes the

existence of an aggressive instinct; in fact, there is much information which refutes this. Intercultural variations and intracultural similarities (Mead, 1950; Milner, 1949; Whiting, 1965; Whiting and Child, 1953) seriously undermine the notion that aggression is instinctual. Moreover, it is apparent that humans are born with a wide range of capacities. References to biology or instinct tell us little about which of these will be developed or selectively expressed (Alland, 1972). Most propositions deriving from an ethological approach are based on generalizations from animal studies. There is a danger in making such generalizations, since humans have the capacity to symbolize and often act in relation to symbols. In addition, there is evidence that primates show a great deal of variation in aggressive behavior and that, to some extent, this is tempered by environmental factors (Alland, 1972; Weisstein, 1971). In general, this approach represents an oversimplified view of human aggression.

While the frustration-aggression hypothesis had considerable heuristic value, many of the studies which were generated disproved the notion that frustration inevitably leads to aggression (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Buss, 1961). While it is true that the original definition was revised, the new variables which were introduced were so ambiguous that the theory, itself, lost its heuristic value (Buss, 1966; Kaufmann, 1965).

Although learning undoubtedly plays a role in the acquisition and expression of aggressive responses, learn-

ing theory is more useful in predicting which individuals will generally be more aggressive than others than in understanding aggressive behavior in complex social situations. Furthermore, the lack of standardization in definitions and in experimental manipulations makes the interpretation of results problematic (Wodtke and Brown, 1967) and contributes to serious inconsistencies in experimental findings.

While those who approach aggression as an aspect of a subculture of violence acknowledge the importance of differential perceptions and interpretations of situations, they fail to deal with aggression which occurs outside the realm of that particular subculture. In addition, they acknowledge the importance of learning and of cultural proscriptions but fail to take into account the demands of the immediate situation.

An approach to aggression which focuses on the social context supplies an important concept neglected by other theories-- the demands of the immediate situation. Implicit in this approach is the notion that situations with different meanings have different behavioral outcomes. However, the fact that in a given situation some people will behave aggressively and some will not indicates that an understanding of the social situation is not sufficient in understanding the ensuing behavior.

Alternative Approach

Symbolic interactionism provides a framework which accomodates the most compelling aspects of each of the ap-

proaches previously cited. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), while their theoretical framework has serious limitations, have provided a rather astute observation on aggression:

> . . . the significance of a jostle, a slightly derogatory remark, or the appearance of a weapon in the hands of an adversary are stimuli differentially perceived and interpreted by Negroes and Whites, males and females. Social expectations of response in particular types of social interaction result in differential "definitions of the situation." A male is usually expected to defend the name and honor of his mother, the virtue of womanhood. . . and to accept no derogation about his race (even from a member of his own race), his age, or his masculinity. Quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage, or defense of status appears to be a cultural expression, especially for lower socio-economic class males of both races (p. 153).

In addition, they have said:

> The fact that a subject belongs to a specific subculture. . . defined by the ready use of violence, should, among other consequences, cause the subject to adopt a differential perception of his environment and its stimuli. Variations in the surrounding world, the continuous challenges and daily frustrations which are faced and solved by the adaptive mechanism of the individual, have a greater chance of being perceived and reacted upon, in a subculture of violence, as menacing, aggressive stimuli which call for immediate defense and counter-aggression (p. 157).

Clearly, in understanding aggressive behavior, the aggressor's definition of the situation cannot be ignored. However, this definition is as much a product of situational constraints and demands as it is of learning. The subculture

to which Wolfgang and Ferracuti refer is but one of many factors which contribute to the meaning which a situation has for an individual. It is suggested here that an individual's biographical history, including such factors as sex-role, social class, socialization, occupational role, and group membership, as well as immediate situational demands contribute to his or her definition of a situation. Aggressive behavior must be understood in terms of the meaning which it has for an individual in a given social context.

Sex-Differences

Assuming that sex-role is a pervasive aspect of an individual's biography which presumably affects his or her definitions or interpretations of social situations, one would expect to find sex differences in aggressive behavior. In fact, research on sex differences consistently shows that males are more aggressive than females (Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby and Jacklen, 1971; Mischel, 1966; Oakley, 1972; Terman and Tyler, 1954). Of 49 studies[1] reviewed by Maccoby (1966), males were at least to some degree more aggressive in 94 percent. In the five studies where girls were more aggressive, they were only more so on certain dimensions (e.g., verbal aggression, prosocial aggression) while boys

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[1] These include 12 observational studies, 10 rating studies, 9 experimental studies, 5 projective tests, 6 studies involving self-reports, and 7 involving fantasy aggression in doll play.

remained more aggressive on other dimensions (e.g., physical aggression, anti-social aggression).

In observational studies, boys have consistently demonstrated more aggressive behaviors, such as direct physical attack and the grabbing of toys (Muste and Sharpe, 1947; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957; Walters, Pearce, and Dahms, 1957) as well as more aggressive quarreling (Dawe, 1934). Experimental studies have revealed that males are more prone to imitate physically aggressive models (Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1961), administer shocks to a victim (Buss, 1963), and remember the aggressive content in movies (Maccoby and Wilson, 1957). Boys have been rated as more aggressive than girls, particularly regarding such behaviors as grabbing toys and attacking other children (Hattwick, 1937). Furthermore, in self reports of feelings and behaviors, boys revealed more anti-social aggression (Sears, 1961), more destructive acts (Clark, 1952), and more aggressive feelings, particularly towards their fathers (Lansky et al, 1961). In contrast, women tend to feel more empathetic and less aggressive (Bennett and Cohen, 1959).

One area of aggression in which females are said to exceed males is verbal aggression. Muste and Sharpe (1947) found that while girls were less aggressive than boys in general, they did use verbal techniques in a higher proportion of their aggressive responses than did boys. Others have found no difference between girls and boys in the amount of verbal aggression which they display (Bandura,

Ross, and Ross, 1961). However, girls were found to be significantly higher than boys in self-reports of prosocial aggression (Sears, 1961). Mischel (1966) has summarized the research on aggression as follows:

> Sex differences in aggression have been noted in children of three years . . . . Fairly consistently, boys show greater physical aggression and more "negativistic" behavior (e.g., negative attention-getting, anti-social aggression, physical aggression). There are fewer differences found for verbal aggression; occasionally girls are more verbally aggressive than boys. Girls tend to show greater "pro-social" aggression, e.g., stating of rules with threats of punishment for breaking them (p. 73).

While most of the studies reported were carried out on children in settings which were far from natural and complex, nonetheless the consistency in the findings is impressive. To what can we attribute sex-differences in aggressive behavior? Kagan and Moss (1962) have said, "The pattern of social rewards and traditional sex-role standards act in concert to discourage the direct expression of aggression in girls and women" (p. 85).

Sex-role standards or stereotypes are the sum of socially approved behaviors and characteristics associated with males and females (Broverman et al, 1972; Kagan, 1964; Rosenkrantz et al, 1968). In general, the standard for males involves being aggressive and assertive, while females are viewed as more sympathetic, understanding, sensitive, and warm. Studies have shown that sex-role standards are pervasive among adults (Broverman et al, 1972; Fernberger,

1948; Sherriffs, Alex, and McKee, 1957) as well as among children (Emmerich, 1959; Kagan, 1956; Kagan, Hosken, and Watson, 1961; Kagan and Lemkin, 1960; Smith, 1939; Tuddenham, 1952). In addition, there is a high degree of agreement among men and women concerning those behaviors and attributes which are appropriate for and characteristic of each (Broverman et al, 1972; Rosenkrantz et al, 1968; Sherriffs and Jarrett, 1953). Finally, the consistency in sex-role standards has been found to transcend socio-economic class and religion (Broverman et al, 1972).

Clearly, in interpreting sex differences in aggression, sex-role standards must be viewed as a compelling factor. They contribute to the pressures upon individuals to behave in prescribed ways (Broverman et al, 1972). They provide standards against which individuals judge themselves. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that the sex-role stereotypes held by men and women are closely related to their self-concepts (Rosenkrantz et al, 1968). They provide guidelines according to which parents socialize their children. In addition, they provide a model of "normalcy" according to which members of society bring pressure to bear on so-called "deviant" individuals.

Thus, sex-role standards cannot merely be viewed as consensual beliefs regarding the characteristics of typical men and women. They also exert powerful demands for conformity. Kagan (1964) has said:

> The standard requires inhibition of verbal and physical aggression among girls and women, but gives boys and men license-- and even encouragement-- to express aggression when attacked, threatened, or dominated by another male (p. 139).

Sex-role stereotypes concerning aggression are acquired early in life and contribute to the suppression of overt aggressive responses on the part of girls (Kagan and Moss, 1962).

Moreover, there are concerted social efforts to ensure that boys conform to masculine sex-role standards and girls to feminine ones. Conformity is often thought to occur through "proper" or "appropriate" identification with a same-sexed parent. If this identification occurs, the child acquires sex-linked values and behaviors that will be rewarded (Heilbrun, 1964). Heilbrun found that inappropriately identified males were slightly less aggressive than those who had undergone a successful identification process. Appropriately identified females were significantly less aggressive.

However, sex-role identification cannot be discussed without reference to socialization. Lynn (1959) said:

> Through the reinforcement of the culture's highly developed system of rewards and punishment, the boy's early learned identification with the mother eventually weakens and becomes more or less replaced by the later learned identification with a culturally defined, somewhat stereotyped masculine role (p. 128).

Insuring conformity to sex-role standards requires differential socialization practices for boys and girls. Gener-

ally, females are more severely socialized when it comes to aggressive behavior (Mussen, Conger, and Kagan, 1963; Sears, 1961; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957, 1958). Mothers are less permissive of aggression in young girls, both when it is directed toward parents and when it is directed toward other children. With boys, parents not only allow more aggression, but they also offer more encouragement to fight back.

It seems, then, that sex-role standards are both antecedents to and consequences of socialization. Different expectations of males and females lead to differential socialization which produces adoption of different sex-role standards and preferences, resulting in different behavior.

This scheme, however, omits an important step in the process. Lansky (1961), as a result of his research, suggested that "aggressive behavior has different meanings, outlets, motives, and defenses associated with it for boys and girls" (p. 56). Sears et al (1953) have indicated that the same type of socialization may affect boys and girls differently (e.g., severity of punishment was positively related to aggression in preschool for boys while there was a slight negative correlation for girls). They suggested that, because of their identification with their mothers, girls experience punishment as being more severe. Finally, Mischel (1966) has said:

> In social-learning theory, sex-typed behaviors may be defined as behaviors that typically elicit different rewards for one sex than for the other.

> In other words, sex-typed behaviors have consequences that vary according to the sex of the performer. Because of these differential consequences sex-typed behaviors tend to have different values and to occur with different frequencies for the two sexes. The consequences that follow sex-typed behavior do not necessarily have to be administered by others; they may also be self-administered (p. 56).

Thus, not only does differential socialization lead males and females to interpret events differently, but socialization practices themselves can take on different meanings depending on previous experiences. This suggests that sex differences in aggression depend to a large degree on the different meanings which situations have for men and women, meanings which are at least partially determined by exposure to different socialization practices and conformity to sex-role standards or stereotypes. In addition, aggressive responses themselves are likely to be interpreted differently by men and women.

The nature of the literature on sex-differences in aggression precludes examining these notions in a meaningful way. Much of the research has been conducted in the laboratory. While these somewhat contrived situations must be interpreted by subjects, the meanings associated with them are likely to be quite different from the meanings attached to naturally occurring events in complex social situations. For example, aggression directed toward a Bobo doll (see Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1961) tells us little about the nature or function of aggression in other

settings, since a Bobo doll is meant to be hit. Not only is such aggression appropriate; it also lacks ramifications which are meaningful within the context of an individual's prior experience or future plans. Furthermore, observational studies on sex-differences in aggression have focused on the behavior of children in natural settings (e.g., nursery school classrooms). One cannot assume that adult behavior is predictable from the behavior of a child. In addition, there is considerable discrepancy between a child's interpretation of a situation and that of an adult.

Police-Citizen Interaction

While the majority of transactions between the police and the public are not aggressive in nature, the occurrence of police abuses is well documented. Some of this involves violence on the part of police officers (Chevigny, 1969; Toch, 1969). Frequently, physical abuse is more subtle than the actual beating of a citizen. It may, for example, involve handcuffing an individual in such a way as to be excessively painful.

However, it has been suggested that physical brutality is far less common than verbal abuse or institutional malpractices (Black and Reiss, 1967; Cray, 1972; Germann, 1969; Reiss, 1971). Germann (1969) has said:

> Much of what is called "police brutality" might more accurately be termed "police indignity," for the illegal

> use of physical force is far less common than improprieties of verbal expression or unjustified police field procedures (p. 93).

Unjustified police field procedures include such practices as illegal searches and seizures, while verbal abuse includes the use of epithets, denigrating remarks, and so on. Reiss (1968a) has noted:

> What citizens object to and call "police brutality" is really the judgment that they have not been treated with the full rights and dignity owing citizens in a democratic society. Any practice that degrades their status, that restricts their freedom, that annoys or harasses them, or that used physical force is frequently seen as unnecessary and unwarranted (p. 11).

A large percentage of policemen, themselves, have been found to justify abuses, particularly the use of force (McNamara, 1967; Westley, 1970). Westley found that 66 percent of the officers he studied gave an illegal basis as the primary rationale for the use of force.

Explanations of Police Abuse

There has been considerable debate regarding what factors account for the behavior of police officers in their encounters with citizens. Some social scientists have suggested that the police develop particular personality traits and outlooks as a way of adapting to their subculture or occupation. Many feel that it is the system which produces conformity, through its socialization of recruits and various other kinds of pressures and constraints.

Niederhoffer (1967) has claimed that the "police system transforms a man into the special type of authoritarian personality required by the police role" (p. 118). Skolnick (1966) has noted that the social context in which police find themselves produces a "working personality" which involves a distinctive way of looking at the world.

This account of police behavior is supported by evidence that police officers develop more authoritarian attitudes as they gain greater experience within the police system. They increasingly support and justify the use of force (McNamara, 1967). Savitz (1971) has demonstrated that as recruits are socialized into the police system, many internalize at least portions of the value systems of more experienced officers. Westley (1970) has concluded that police attitudes and behaviors are engendered more by the group in which they function than by law. He said:

> . . . the police become a close, social group, in which collective action is organized for self-protection and an attack on the outside world. These become expressed in two major rules. The vehicle of self-protection is the rule of silence-secrecy. The vehicle of attack is the emphasis on the maintenance of respect for the police (p. 110).

Other investigators have suggested that police attitudes and behaviors are determined by the nature of the department and the political environment in which it is located. It has been demonstrated that the more professional a police officer is, the less likely he is to condone the use of force (Walsh, 1970; Wilson, 1963, 1968). In addi-

tion, Wilson (1968) has indicated that the political culture in which a department is located determines the predominant style of policing in that area. Styles differ in terms of their emphasis on professionalism, on law enforcement versus order maintenance, on distributive versus impartial justice, etc.

It has also been posited that class conflict is the primary factor influencing the behavior and attitudes of police officers. Galliher (1971) has said:

> Much of police behavior seems most easily explained if one considers that whenever there is a conflict of interests between the dominant classes in a society and less powerful groups, the police protect the interests of the former and regulate the behavior of the latter (p. 312).

Several writers have proposed that police behavior is largely determined by the immediate situation or social context in which officers find themselves. Thus, the behavior or manner of citizens is an important factor in accounting for police responses. There is evidence that police officers are most likely to be abusive when citizens defy or challenge their authority (Black, 1970; Black and Reiss, 1967; Chevigny, 1969; Cray, 1972; Reiss, 1971). Black and Reiss have found that not only is a disproportionate amount of abusive police behavior directed toward citizens who do not show deference, but also such citizens are more likely to be arrested and less likely to have their requests for service met.

Sherman (1973) has suggested that both police and citizen behavior are understandable in light of the expectations each has of the other. Thus, if citizens expect aggression or brutality from the police, this will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In reacting to anticipated police violence, they will produce the very behavior that they expect. By the same token, police who expect disagreeable reactions from citizens will frequently get what they expect. Because men and women in this society are expected to act differently, Sherman believes that the interaction between female officers and citizens will be qualitatively different (i.e., less aggressive) than that of male officers and citizens.

Finally, it has been suggested that the definition of the police role and the frequently ensuing role conflict influence the behaviors of police officers. Bard (1971a, 1971c) has noted that where the police role is defined in a narrow way (i.e., exclusively in terms of law enforcement), officers are unlikely to have a sufficiently broad repertoire of responses to deal with human problems. Departments organized as "forces" rather than as "services" produce untrained officers who are likely to handle situations in inept, stereotypic ways. Frequently, this may involve "fantasy-based power displays" which, when "inappropriately applied in situations which call for a different kind of police response, are in themselves evocative of violence" (1971a, p. 17). Bard has referred to violence produced by

the behavior of police officers as "iatrogenic violence."

Discussions of the conflict between provision of service and enforcement of the law have arisen time and again in the police literature (See section on Ambiguity Inherent in the Police Role for a fuller account). Some investigators believe that the two functions are incompatible (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965). Ahern (1972) has said:

> . . . in failing to provide people with so many basic services, our society has forced the policemen to perform many of them by default. But to maintain seriously that they are valid police functions is to approve of the removal of more and more of society's responsibilities onto the shoulders of a group that cannot meet even the special challenges of its own profession (p. 3).

Aside from the conflict between service and law enforcement, police officers are faced with other types of role conflict which might well affect their behavior in relation to citizens. For example, different sectors of the population have different expectations regarding the appropriate role of police officers (Ward, 1971; Wilson, 1968). Moreover, there is a serious conflict between maintaining order and the rule of law (Skolnick, 1966). There is also conflict between the roles police must assume professionally and privately. Banton (1964) has claimed the following:

> . . . harmonious police-public relations depend to a significant extent upon the interrelation between the policeman's occupational role and his private roles. It is the policeman's participation in

> the society which most affects the way he exercises his powers. But his job prevents him from taking part in ordinary social relations with quite the freedom allowed to members of most occupational groups. If policemen are too detached, too much identified with criminal proceedings, relations with the public deteriorate. If they are insufficiently detached, they cannot do their work properly (p. 267).

Regardless of the particular approach one adopts in understanding the behavior of police officers in their interaction with citizens, it is apparent that police behavior is not simply random or fortuitous. It is rooted in the meanings which situations have for police officers, meanings which may derive from social pressure, organizational constraints and requirements, or the demands of the immediate situation. In circumstances where no meaning or interpretation is readily available, either due to inadequate training or because conflicting interpretations exist, the police must construct meanings so that they can respond rapidly and decisively. This is not to imply that the understandings that police officers' have of situations are necessarily appropriate or constructive. The implication, instead, is that police officers, like all persons, interpret and structure those situations in which they find themselves as a means of facilitating, or making possible, subsequent interaction.

Controlling the Situation

In discussing the definition of the situation, it was noted that:

> Regardless of the particular objective which the individual has in mind and of his motive for having this objective, it will be in his interests to control the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of him. This control is achieved largely by influencing the definition of the situation which others come to formulate, and he can influence this definition by expressing himself in such a way as to give them the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with his own plan (Goffman, 1959, pp. 3-4).

From a police officer's point of view, controlling the conduct and the situational definitions of citizens is not simply advantageous. Rather, it is essential since it assures him that he will survive in an environment which he considers to be hostile. Situations must be "managed" so as not to get out of hand. The task of managing citizens often involves projecting an image of unquestionable authority.

Clearly, power and authority are inherent in the role of police officer. Nonetheless, they are continuously displayed or dramatized in the daily interactions between the police and the public. Rubinstein (1973) has aptly described this process from the perspective of a policeman:

> He must learn to control his fears and anxiety by looking for signs of danger in the places and people he approaches; he must learn to examine people for signs of resistance, flight, and threat, to limit their chances of hurting him or creating situations he cannot control. . . . He must also learn how to establish and express his authority by cajoling, requesting, threatening, "bullshitting them," as patrolmen say, to avoid using force. He must learn to use his body to express with his whole self the authority represented

> by the appearance he presents. . . . In all of his actions he must learn to acquire a quickness, resolution, and decisiveness that urges him forward when others withdraw. He must accept and welcome the fact that, as a policeman, he must be in control of the situation lest it be in control of him (p. 274).

The importance of control to policemen is supported by evidence indicating that they engage in controlling behaviors (e.g., directions, verbal restraint, authoritative questioning) considerably more often than behaviors such as counseling, sympathy, or humor (Cruise and Rubin, 1973). However, their strategies to control situations may be subtle as well as overt. All aspects of their appearance, their manner, and their behavior are designed to show that they are "in charge," that their authority is not to be challenged under any circumstances.

What, then, are some of the strategies by which policemen maintain control in their interaction with citizens? A police officer's appearance, symbolized by his uniform, clarifies his role in relation to the people he is policing. Rubinstein (1973) has said:

> Every aspect of his appearance has been calculated to assure that there can be no mistake about his social identity. . . . [His uniform] gives an unequivocal statement to everyone that the person intervening in their lives is not a private person but a cop (p. 268).

In addition, policemen typically use their bodies as instruments of control (Rubinstein, 1973). They may, for example, violate the normal distance which people seek to

maintain between themselves. This may be a statement that they, as police officers, have the right to cause discomfort, that they need not respect the boundaries that people establish for themselves. A further example involves the "policeman's stare." Police officers can stare at anyone for as long as they like. This is a way of informing citizens that the police have claims on their behavior in public settings.

Moreover, control is established and maintained through selective language and gestures. At times, policemen violate individuals by using denigrating language, insulting tones, or demeaning forms of address. They may be patronizing or ridiculing. Their gestures and warnings may be designed to threaten or intimidate citizens. In addition, they may undermine citizens by withholding information or refusing to answer their questions.

On occasion, policemen violate people's bodies. Handcuffs can be put on prisoners in such a way as to cause unnecessary pain of a psychological or physical nature. Their use, especially with non-aggressive citizens, may be a means of humiliating the citizen rather than protecting the officer. In depriving a citizen of autonomy, the officer is asserting his status vis-a-vis the citizen. Sometimes physical pain is inflicted by twisting the handcuffs or putting them on incorrectly. Again, this is a means of communicating to the citizen that the officer has total control in the situation.

Frisking can also be designed to humble or humiliate a person:

> Sometimes a patrolman runs his hands absentmindedly over a man's pockets while engaging in conversation, not really meaning to frisk him but just letting him know that he is in control, that for the moment the man belongs to the patrolman. It is not a consciously hostile or aggressive act. It is an expression of the policeman's belief that regardless of the momentary tone of the interaction, his place in that relationship is supported ultimately by his personal will and readiness to exercise all of the authority invested in him. There is no way he can make this point without causing discontent, because the authority given to him can be exercised only by restraining the liberty of some persons and violating their autonomy. . . . He knows that when he is on the street, it is only his readiness to demonstrate his power that maintains the edge necessary for him to do his work and come home safely each day (Rubinstein, p. 317).

Arrest, too, can be viewed as a strategy for maintaining control over situations. In this context, it is a vehicle whereby police officers can protect their role identity and sustain their definition of a situation. When a citizen is arrested, the status of that citizen changes in relation to both the police and any bystanders who might be present (Hudson, 1970). Arrest, then, may serve as a means of communication, making clear that police officers control events and people in public places.

Physical force is generally used only when other strategies to control the situation have failed. If need be, policemen will use force to preserve their authority. Reiss

(1971) has said, "Excessive force is exerted in a situation when it becomes unclear as to who is in charge" (p. 150). Even physical force can be viewed as a strategy for communicating authority and control. According to Goffman (1959):

> Power of any kind must be clothed in effective means of displaying it, and will have different effects depending upon how it is dramatized. . . . Thus the most objective form of naked power, i.e., physical coercion, is often neither objective nor naked but rather functions as a display for persuading the audience; it is often a means of communication, not merely a means of action (p. 241).

It is not sufficient for police officers to project their identity and their definition in any situation which they encounter. They must maintain control of these definitions throughout their encounters with citizens. Reiss (1971) has said:

> Since police realize they cannot count on citizen support of their authority they commonly enter encounters with citizens by <u>asserting</u> their authority, by "taking charge." Having asserted authority, they must seek to maintain it, if necessary by force (p. 180).

The majority of citizens, overtly at least, accept the definition of a situation projected by a police officer. They allow him to take charge and maintain control. Where a policeman's authority is challenged, he frequently resorts to escalated assertions of control. According to Reiss (1971):

> Although most of all kinds of police behavior is directed toward citizens

> who behave civilly toward them, a disproportionate amount of "unprofessional" or "negative" police conduct is directed toward citizens who refuse to defer to their authority (p. 53).

Clearly, there are certain social contexts where citizens are more likely to challenge the authority of an officer. For example, situations in which an officer fails to justify his behavior or issues orders or instructions which are considered unwarranted have a relatively high probability of deteriorating (Hudson, 1970; Toch, 1969). In these cases, the citizen has not been offered a satisfactory definition of the situation. Citizens are more likely to challenge an officer's authority where other persons are present or in their own homes where they have support for their identity and their definition of the situation (Hudson, 1970). The home is an unusually sensitive arena. It is there that a citizen's authority is maximized and is most likely to clash with the authority claimed by a police officer.

Police officers and citizens are more likely to hold conflicting definitions of situations involving order maintenance than law enforcement. Law enforcement is less ambiguous. The definition of the situation (e.g., armed robbery) and the role identities of the actors are reasonably easy to agree on. The maintenance of order is more problematic; there may be serious disagreement about the definition of situations such as disturbing the peace (Hudson, 1970).

Regardless of the social context in which police-citizen interaction occurs, it seems evident that police offi-

cers perceive control as crucial to their well-being. In a very real sense, then, the police are agents of control. Control is an aspect of their job definition (e.g., control of crime, control of disorder) as well as a strategy for "getting the job done." In summarizing his findings, Hudson (1970) stated:

> . . . the policeman feels he must keep control of the situation. The resolution of the contact is the responsibility of the policeman-- not the citizen. Under these conditions, it is clear that the policeman's actions and demeanor must be used to keep the initiative with him. The policeman cannot permit his authority to be challenged sucessfully. Even where there is not a crowd, but only his partner, the officer is under pressure to maintain his authority. No matter what the social status of the individual and no matter what the situational context in which the encounter takes place, the policeman's authority is the crux of police-citizen encounters (p. 193).

In conclusion, there are indications that what citizens view as intentional brutality or demeaning treatment on the part of police officers may be defined quite differently by the police themselves. Frequently, the police behave so as to maintain control of situations and keep their role and authority in tact. There is, in fact, considerable agreement that much police behavior is motivated by a perceived need to control situations (Black and Reiss, 1967; Brown, 1975; Chevigny, 1969; Cray, 1972; Cruise and Rubin, 1973; Hudson, 1970; McNamara, 1967; Reiss, 1971; Rubinstein, 1973; Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1970). This

frequently is accomplished by displaying their authority and engaging in behaviors designed to ensure that citizens defer to and respect that authority. Thus, while the police may view certain "aggressive" behaviors as required in order to perform their duties adequately (i.e., control the situation), the public may view these same behaviors as degrading and provocative.

Ambiguity Inherent in the Police Role

Controlling the situation is not problematic when participants agree on a definition and cooperate to sustain it. Where this occurs, interaction is not likely to be disrupted or to become aggressive. Where the participants disagree or where the officer has difficulty arriving at a definition of the situation, more effort will be required on the part of the officer to arrive at a definition and then to sustain it.

Police work is replete with uncertainty. An examination of the role conflicts and ambiguities with which police officers are faced might well enhance our understanding of police-citizen interactions, both those that succeed and those that fail. Perhaps the most significant conflict involves whether the police role primarily involves law enforcement or the provision of services and the maintenance of order. In actuality, the police officer devotes far more time to providing public service than to enforcing the law (Ahern, 1972; Bercal, 1970; Black, 1970; Cummins,

1971; Hahn, 1971; President's Commission, 1967; Webster, 1970; Westley, 1970; Wilson, 1968). In fact, it has been estimated that 80 to 90 percent of an officer's time is devoted to service (e.g., transporting sick persons, arbitrating or mediating disputes, dispensing information, giving reassurance), while less than 20 percent is spent handling criminal matters, e.g., apprehending a felon (Banton, 1964; Bard, 1971a; Germann, 1969; Niederhoffer, 1967; Reiss, 1971).

The police, themselves, have serious misconceptions regarding their role (Black, 1970; Johnson, 1972; Mendelsohn, 1970; Neiderhoffer, 1967; President's Commission, 1967; Walsh, 1970; Westley, 1970; Wilson, 1968). They view themselves as law enforcement officers, engaged in "real police work" only when they are apprehending criminals. While they acknowledge that much of their time is spent responding to service calls, they consider this "bullshit" work and claim that they are not social workers. Wilson (1968) has said:

> Many a patrolman wishes his job could be in fact what it is in theory-- enforcing the law. After answering a series of calls that require him to fill out forms, provide non law enforcement services, or handle domestic disturbances, a patrolman will frequently tell an interviewer that "This isn't <u>real</u> police work," and he will grumble about all the "dull" or "messy" jobs he is given. To him, "real" police work is catching "real" criminals-- making a "good pinch" on a felon, preferably while the felony is in progress (p. 68).

Clearly, many police departments reinforce these misconceptions (Bercal, 1970; Cummins, 1971; Johnson, 1972; Wilson, 1968). By judging officers and rewarding them only for law enforcement functions (e.g., number of arrests) and failing to acknowledge the importance and legitimacy of service functions, they perpetuate grave misconceptions on the part of police officers as to their proper role.

The conflict between actual function and desirable or acknowledged function must, at very least, lead to inappropriate training, training which does not adequately prepare the police officer with the skills necessary for handling complex human problems (Ahern, 1972; Bard, 1971a). Aside from consequences involving the ability of the police to handle various types of problems, there are no doubt consequences in terms of the way officers feel about themselves and their job. McNamara (1967) has said:

> This mixture of enforcement and service functions creates conflicts and uncertainties that are only partly resolved by attempts to segregate the two functions. This conflict is probably experienced by all members of the force at one time or another. It is likely, however, to be most keenly felt by police assigned to lower income areas where both criminal law enforcement and service functions are maximized (p. 164).

Conflicting role definitions are not merely an internal dilemma, experienced privately by police officers. It is quite possible for a police officer and the citizen(s) with whom he or she is interacting to have different expectations of the appropriate role for a police officer and

different definitions of the situation in which they are involved (Black, 1970; Cummins, 1971; Hudson, 1970; Johnson, 1972; Reiss, 1971; Rubinstein, 1973). Reiss has said:

> Differences in citizens' and police definitions of these matters, and expectations concerning enforcement behavior, often give rise to conflict. Citizens frequently request police intervention in matters which they consider to be of a criminal nature, either because they perceive themselves as victims or they regard the moral order as breached. The police, however, may define these same matters as noncriminal. Even when citizens request assistance both they and the police regard as services (noncriminal matters), there may be disagreement as to what is actually the duty of the police. Police regard it as their duty to find criminals and prevent or solve crimes. The public considers it the duty of the police to respond to its calls and crises: the police should render assistance when citizens request it (p. 70).

An additional source of role conflict involves demands placed on the police to serve incompatible ends. Different sectors of the public tend to expect different, often contradictory, things of the police. At times, citizens want certain laws (e.g., gambling) enforced only symbolically, but want other ends, which contradict these, served in actuality (Wilson, 1963, 1967).

Societal changes often precipitate role conflict. Emphasis on professionalism, restraint, and improved services may conflict with traditional methods of operation engaged in by police officers (Mendelsohn, 1970).

The ambiguity inherent in police work is most clearly

seen in the daily situations which the police encounter. A police officer rarely knows what to expect in a situation (Wilson, 1968). Citizens can assume a variety of roles. Moreover, events are never the same from situation to situation. Reiss (1971) has stated that "Patrol work usually begins when a patrolman moves onto a social stage with an unknown cast of characters. The settings, members of the cast, and the plot are never quite the same from one time to the next" (p. 3). He and Black (1967) believe that it is incumbent upon the officer to learn more about the actors and discover the plot.

In addition, the amount of discretion an officer has, and the fact that resorting to the law is only one of many ways of handling a situation, leads to increased ambiguity (Wilson, 1968). There appears to be a great deal of uncertainty in interpreting and applying the law (Goldstein, 1963; McNamara, 1967; Toch, 1969). It has also been suggested that there is a high degree of uncertainty in dealing with youths, particularly in determining whether or not to invoke legal sanctions (Black and Reiss, 1970; McNamara, 1967).

Finally, there is a considerable amount of ambiguity regarding police prestige (Alex, 1969; McNamara, 1967). The police may enter a situation where they are highly esteemed or viciously attacked. Their status in the eyes of others remains an uncertainty through most of their transactions.

The uncertainty inherent in much of police work has serious implications for police-citizen interaction. The fact that police officers are not equipped to handle much of the work assigned to them, that their mandate is unclear, that they, themselves, acknowledge only portions of their role as legitimate, and that citizens request services that they cannot and/or do not wish to perform all increase the likelihood that their transactions with citizens will be unsatisfactory. In trying to structure ambiguous social situations, police officers might well resort to stereotypic behaviors with which they are comfortable and which validate the role-identities with which they associate themselves.

Summary and Hypotheses

Throughout the discussion of police-citizen interaction, there is a conspicuous lack of information on female police officers and their relations with the public. Because women have traditionally performed specialist functions or were assigned to clerical and matron duties, no such literature exists. The limited literature on women in policing involves biographies (see Uhnak, 1963), historical reviews, and articles on women as specialists. More recently, there have been several attempts to deal with women as patrol officers (see Bloch and Anderson,

1974; Milton, 1972; Sherman, 1973); however, information regarding interaction with citizens is merely suggestive.

The review of the literature on social interaction, aggression, and police-citizen interaction generates several expectations concerning possible differences between male and female police officers in their interactions with citizens. As was stated previously, it is assumed that behavior can only be understood in light of the meaning which a situation has for an individual. For interaction to proceed in an orderly fashion, the situation must first be defined. Moreover, participants in the interaction must agree on a definition and must work to sustain it. An individual's performance in an interaction is geared toward projecting a particular definition, which includes the role identity which he or she wishes to communicate, and thereby controlling the subsequent interaction.

The police have an advantage in projecting and controlling the definition of a situation by virtue of their greater power in the situation. At the same time, due to the conflict and ambiguity surrounding their role, there is a greater chance that the interaction in which they engage will be disrupted. For example, a male officer who denies the legitimacy of certain aspects of his role may project a role identity which is inappropriate in a given situation or a citizen may challenge the definition of the situation which an officer embraces or projects.

Male and female officers, due to differential socialization and sex-role standards, as well as the different expectations held by others (e.g., department officials, citizens), are likely to interpret situations and define their role differently. It is possible that women will consider the service aspect of the role as more legitimate than will men. If this is the case, in the large number of calls which involve service, female officers might be more successful at reaching a common definition of a situation, and there might be more mutual cooperation in sustaining the definition.

Moreover, the role identity which male and female police officers project in encounters is likely to emerge from their personal histories and be consistent with other important roles which they assume (e.g., sex roles) as well as their idealized notions of themselves. Thus, women might project an image of compassion or helpfulness while men might be more likely to project toughness and machismo. Bard (1971b) has suggested the possibility that "acknowledgement of compassion and helping is regarded as threatening to the masculine mystique of law enforcement" (p. 153).

If controlling the definition of the situation, and thereby the situation itself, is important to police officers as a means of reducing ambiguity and providing structure, women and men might well engage in different tactics to bring about this end. Because of different learning ex-

periences, they have different repertoires of responses available to them. Moreover, if situations have different meanings for them, they are likely to differ in terms of their view of an appropriate response. For example, in a heated dispute a male officer might resort to power displays, while a female might attempt to control the situation through a demonstration of sympathy or caring. A female officer from Peoria, Illinois has said:

> Eighty-five percent of police calls are service calls, reports of accicents, deaths, and assaults, and only 15 percent involve actual violent action when the police get there. There is more need for brain than brawn. Most of the violent situations are family fights, and I found that if you can talk to people and calm them down, they are a lot less likely to hit you (Sherman, 1973, p. 386).

The meaning which aggressive behavior has is likely to differ for male and female police officers. Thus, aggression on the part of a citizen might be interpreted as a personal affront or challenge by a male officer, while a female officer might view it as an act reflecting the momentary state of the citizen which does not personally undermine her. Also, a male officer might feel that an aggressive response is required of him in order to sustain his definition of a situation and his interpretation of the roles of the participants, whereas a woman might view aggression as a less appropriate, or even counterproductive, response.

Clearly, these implications for sex differences are

purely hypothetical. While many studies of police-citizen interaction emphasize the importance of structuring or ordering relatively unstructured social situations and some reveal techniques by which this is accomplished, none involve female officers. Furthermore, there have been no studies designed to examine the differences between male and female police officers in their interactions with citizens.

This research is designed to present a multi-faceted descriptive account of the aggressive components of police-citizen transactions. While the sex of the officer is considered a primary independent variable, it would be simplistic to assume that an officer's behavior or the nature of an interaction between an officer and a citizen is predictable solely on the basis of an officer's sex. Instead, behavior, and particularly interaction, is considered to be a complex phenomenon which is mediated by the interactants' definitions of the situations in which they engage, by the meanings which they assign, by their interpretations of their own roles and behavior, the roles and behavior of other persons involved in the interaction, and by their interpretation of the situation as a whole. However, the way an individual construes a situation may well be affected by his or her sex.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses will be undertaken. The former will be designed to test the following hypotheses:

1. Differences in officer interaction styles

   Hypothesis 1a: Male officers will more frequently engage in behaviors which involve aggressive or power displays.

   Hypothesis 1b: Female officers will more frequently engage in behaviors which display friendliness (i.e., humor, sympathy).

   Hypothesis 1c: Male and female officers will not differ in the extent to which they display business-like or impersonal behaviors.

2. Differences in officer aggression

   Hypothesis 2a: Male officers will exceed females in certain types of aggressive behaviors, namely physical aggression, authoritarianism, and hostility.

   Hypothesis 2b: Male and female officers will not differ in the extent to which they display certain types of aggressive behaviors, namely passive aggression and patronizing behavior.

   Hypothesis 2c: Male and female officers will engage in aggressive behavior for different reasons. Specifically, aggression on the part of males is more likely to represent a defense of their personal autonomy or an expression of contempt or disapproval. Areas in which sex differences are less likely to occur are protection against existing or potential danger, attempt to control situation, and defense or support of others.

3. Differences in citizen interaction styles

   Hypothesis 3a: Citizens will be more aggressive toward male officers than toward female officers.

Hypothesis 3b: Citizens will be more friendly toward female officers than toward male officers.

Hypothesis 3c: For the most part, citizens will be civil toward both male and female officers.

4. Differences in citizen aggression

Hypothesis 4a: Citizens will be more likely to direct certain types of aggression (i.e., physical aggression, hostility) toward males than toward females.

Hypothesis 4b: Citizens will direct aggression toward male officers for different reasons than toward female officers. Specifically, aggression is more likely to be displayed toward male officers as a reaction to exercise of informal power and as an expression of contempt or disapproval. There will be no differences in aggression for the following reasons: perseverence in-- or transfer or extension of-- aggression, reaction to exercise of formal power, reaction to arrest or potential arrest, defense or support of others.

5. Situational effect

Hypothesis 5: Sex differences will be related to the social context in which officers interact with citizens. Behavioral differences will be more apparent in certain situations than in others.

Information bearing on the ways in which officers define the situations which they encounter will be introduced. While a systematic analysis of this is beyond the scope of this research effort, such information, where available, will aid in clarifying the empirical findings.

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

While the social sciences have been characterized by a number of distinct traditions of inquiry, there has been recent polarization around methodological issues. On the one hand, there are advocates of the experimental method, emphasizing methodological precision and the quantification of data. In order to ensure control over the manipulation of variables, artificial situations in the laboratory are frequently contrived. Unfortunately, this requires that persons be removed from the settings in which they naturally function which means that behavior is viewed out of context and that only small, perhaps trivial, aspects of behavior are studied.

On the other hand, there is an emphasis on discovery and/or description of complex phenomena in natural settings. Advocates of this approach are often concerned with discovery and exploration rather than with the testing of hypotheses(Sjoberg and Nett, 1968). Consequently, their research frequently lacks experimental precision and control. They assert that methods which are designed to test limited hypotheses frequently produce results which are trivial at best (Cicourel, 1964; MacLeod, 1947).

The research proposed here represents an attempt to reconcile these two approaches. It is designed to explore behavior in a natural setting without sacrificing the richness and complexity of the data. Nevertheless, there is also an attempt to systematize the data and to introduce as much

precision as is possible in a complex natural setting where constraints on the researcher and the research process are indeed great.

Setting and Sample

In May of 1972, the New York City Police Department undertook a year's experiment involving the use of women as patrol officers. Prior to this time, women in the department had occasionally served as specialists (e.g., plainclothes, youth work); however, their predominant assignments were in clerical or matron positions. Street patrol, either on foot or in a radio car, had been exclusively the domain of men.

The experiment, funded by The Police Foundation and carried out by the Urban Institute, was designed to evaluate the abilities of women to perform uniformed patrol and to explore the implications of such assignments. Thus, the immediate needs of the New York City Police Department provided an unusual opportunity to study complex human interaction in its natural setting.

The experiment involved assigning women as uniformed patrol officers to Neighborhood Police Teams. A Neighborhood Police Team is a small organizational unit within a precinct. Leadership is provided by a sergeant, designated as team commander, who has 24-hour responsibility for his team of approximately 40 patrol officers. Theoretically, the team is fully responsible for policing a small geographical area. The team commander has considerable flexibility

and discretion regarding appropriate strategies and procedures in that area. Thus, he might increase the number of personnel in high crime areas or at high crime times. He might temporarily switch uniformed officers into plainclothes, assign an officer to work with community groups, and so on.

Neighborhood Police Teams were conceived as a means by which the police could be responsive to the needs of a unique neighborhood and could provide more effective service by improving the rapport between officers and citizens. The decision to assign female officers to these teams was based on the notion that they could be valuable resources, enhancing the flexibility of team commanders by providing potentially different skills and outlooks. In addition, it seemed possible that women might be more easily integrated into an organizational unit which was small and devoted to cooperative effort.

As a result, four or five female police officers were placed on each of three Neighborhood Police Teams in different areas of the city (i.e., Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, Jackson Heights in Queens, and Greenwich Village in Manhattan). The teams differed in terms of their neighborhood composition and in the type and volume of activity in which police officers engaged. Each team to which women were assigned was matched as closely as possible with a comparison team (See Table 1). Where possible, the comparison teams were selected from the same precinct as the experi-

Table 1

PROFILES OF EXPERIMENTAL AND COMPARISON NEIGHBORHOODS

Characteristics of Neighborhood	Precinct 77		Precinct 110		Precinct 6	Precinct 20
	E-NPT[1]	C-NPT[2]	E-NPT	C-NPT	E-NPT	C-NPT
Population	25,000	25,000	150,000	150,000	15,000	30,000
Ethnicity						
White	05%	25%	50%	50%	80%	75%
Black	95%	75%			10%	10%
Hispanic			50%	50%	05%	13%
Other					05%	02%
Neighborhood Character[3]						
Area	.51 sq. mi.	.58	1.5	2.5	1.8	2.7
Borough	Brooklyn	Brooklyn	Queens	Queens	Manhattan	Manhattan
No. of Patrol Officers	36	35	43	43	43	39

[1] E-NPT = Experimental Neighborhood Police Team

[2] C-NPT = Comparison Neighborhood Police Team

[3] All neighborhoods were residential with some small businesses

mental team in an attempt to standardize as many factors as possible (e.g., precinct commander, precinct policies). In one instance, this was impossible because the team to which women were assigned was the only Neighborhood Police Team in the precinct.[1]

The evaluation involved fourteen experienced female officers, all of whom were volunteers. The selection procedure was not rigorous, in that only 15 women originally volunteered for the experiment. Their primary motivation was dissatisfaction with their prior assignments (i.e., clerical or matron). Furthermore, none of these women had a clear idea of what their new role would be. The women who volunteered for the experiment had varying amounts of experience in the department, ranging from four to thirteen years.

Prior to being assigned to patrol, they were given an eight week training course at the Police Academy. They received physical training, were updated on new laws and procedures, and were exposed to such areas as conflict management, community relations, and the relationship of women to the criminal justice system.

In late June of 1972, the fourteen women were distributed among three Neighborhood Police Teams. On only two of the teams (i.e., Brooklyn, Queens) were women used primarily in patrol cars. The data for this research was gathered on these ten women because their work situation was more amen-

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[1] This occurred in the Sixth Precinct in Manhattan. The women assigned there were on foot patrol and, consequently, not included in this study.

able to observation and their transactions with citizens were considerably more frequent.

Because the prior experience of female officers in the New York City Police Department had differed so radically from that of males, it was impossible to select a group of male police officers to serve as a matched control group. Instead, it was decided to randomly select a comparison group from each of the matched Neighborhood Police Teams. These random selections were made from men having the same kinds of assignments as women in the study. Furthermore, the comparison group was twice the size of the experimental group of female officers in order to reduce the possibility of biasing the results by selecting atypical individuals.

Modifications in the comparison group were made during the course of the study. When a male officer could not be observed, another male was randomly substituted. The final sample of observed officers consisted of ten females and 69 males.

The Study of Behavior in a Social Context

Clearly, there are a variety of ways of studying behavior in a social context. Theoretical and conceptual differences regarding such behaviors have produced different research tools and methods for their study. These range from the intensive study of small samples (Blum, 1970) using techniques (e.g., participant observation, interviews) designed to produce qualitative information to the study of

large samples with rigorous methods (e.g., structured observations, surveys) which are intended to produce quantitative data. Regarding these differences, Scott (1965) has said:

> . . . researchers interested in exploring or describing a particular situation in depth, or in directly observing the types and patterning of activities and interactions of a limited group of subjects are better advised to engage in a sustained interaction with the subject group under study. Researchers desiring to test relations among a limited number of variables who are able to utilize reports of respondents on their attitudes and behavior had best plan to collect their data from a larger number of subjects or subject groups, and so can spend only a limited amount of time with each (p. 271).

Researchers who are primarily concerned with rich, qualitative information, among them the phenomenologists (MacLeod, 1947; Schutz, 1953,1970), the symbolic interactionists (Blumer, 1972a, 1972b; Denzin, 1970, 1972), and the ethnomethodologists (Garfinkel, 1967; Psathas, 1972), have a distinct bias in viewing human behavior. This is expressed by Psathas (1972):

> The distinction between natural science and social science. . . is based on the fact that men are not only objects existing in the natural world to be observed by the scientist, but they are creators of a world, a cultural world, of their own. In creating this world, they interpret their own activities. Their overt behavior is only a fragment of their total behavior. Any social scientist who insists that he can understand all of man's behavior by focusing only on that part which is overt and manifested in concrete, directly observable acts is naive, to say the least. The challenge to the social scientist who seeks to understand social reality, then, is to understand the meaning that the actor's act has for him. If the observer applies only his

> own categories or theories concerning the meaning of acts, he may never discover the meanings these same acts have for the actors themselves. Nor can he ever discover how social reality is "created" and how subsequent acts by human actors are performed in the context of <u>their</u> understandings (pp. 132-133).

Thus, they believe that behavior must be understood on two levels, the symbolic and the interactional or behavioral (Denzin, 1972). One must be cognizant of the fact that people interpret situations and, then, design methods which can accomodate this intervening process (Blumer, 1972b; Cicourel, 1964).

In attempting to understand complex human behavior and interaction, these theorists have employed a variety of methods including case studies, life histories, interviews, observation, and analysis. Perhaps the most important method has been participant observation (Meltzer and Petras, 1972) which involves becoming involved in the life of the individual being studied and, thereby, adopting his or her perspectives (Becker and Geer, 1960; Bruyn, 1966; Denzin, 1970). Participant observations are generally unstructured in order to facilitate discovery by not being bound by predetermined categories or rigid assumptions (Becker and Geer, 1960; Denzin, 1970; Vidich, 1970). There are, however, alternatives to totally unstructured participation. There are a number of roles that a participant observer may assume, ranging from a complete participant to a complete observer (Denzin, 1970; Junker, 1960).

Reiss (1968b) has suggested that participant observation can be systematized, that it need not be a solo practice directed at obtaining a mass of unorganized data. Rather, it can be undertaken by a group of trained observers who follow a systematic procedure involving adequate sampling techniques and some degree of rigorous measurement. He has said:

> It should be apparent that precision can be just as great, given instrumentation, in participant observation as in surveys. What happens in practice is that all too often the act of recognizing and noting in participant observation is not standardized or measured in any precise way. It doesn't have to be that way (p. 359).

Becker and Geer (1960), too, have noted that "Participant observations have occasionally been gathered in standardized form capable of being transformed into legitimate statistical data" (p. 275). It is this model-- that of standardized participant observation-- which has been adopted as the primary research tool in this investigation.

While participant observation has been the most widely used method by researchers who believe that behavior must be understood on many levels and that the process of interpretation intervening between independent and dependent variables must be taken into account, other methods have been employed as well. Stebbins (1972) utilized both observations and interviews in order to "make general statements about <u>classes</u> of definitions used by identifiable <u>groups</u> of men in particular but recurrent situations" (p. 334). While he favored interviewing a few persons rather than administering a questionnaire to many in order to arrive at consis-

tent definitions of situations, he, too, attempted to systematize his data. His interviews involved programmatically developed statements which operationalized the concept of the definition of the situation. In a limited way this, too, will be used as a model for the present research. Both interviews and questionnaires will provide qualitative information which will enrich the interpretation of the quantitative findings.

The Study of Naturally Occurring Events

Wright (1960) has said, ". . . psychology in its every branch has done comparatively little watching and recording and examining of events left to happen as they may" (p. 71). Studying events in their natural settings necessarily limits the designs or methods which one can select.

In some instances, the researcher can have some degree of control over the environment through such things as the creation of comparable subsystems or the control of experimental variables (Fairweather, 1967). In other instances, the investigator must assume that "the milieu will provide a sufficient number of different types of events and concomitant behaviors to approximate a classical independent-dependent variable study" (Gump and Kounin, 1960). Campbell and Stanley (1963) have said:

> There are many natural social settings in which the research person can introduce something like experimental design into his scheduling of data collection procedures (e.g., the <u>when</u> and <u>to whom</u> of measurement), even though he lacks the full control over the scheduling of experimental stimuli. . . which makes a true experiment impossible (p. 204).

The design of this study is quasi-experimental, as described by Campbell and Stanley.

In attempting to maintain the authenticity and integrity of behavior, many researchers (including this investigator) opt for field research, with all of its attendant problems of control and precision. Nonetheless, those problems are not to be minimized. While laboratory studies pose serious external validity problems (i.e., can the results be generalized to other populations?), research in natural settings is also accompanied by problems of validity such as observer effect, subject attrition, and sample selection (Campbell, 1957, 1969; Denzin, 1970; Webb et al, 1966). In addition, there are problems concerning reliability, especially when an observer is required to make judgments or inferences (Guest, 1960; Weick, 1968).

The problems which accompany the research of complex, naturally occurring events can best be explicated by referring to the experience of this investigator.

Sample Size

The New York City Police Department assigned women to patrol on an experimental basis. They claimed that they could not afford to release more than fourteen women from their present assignments. Thus, the investigators had no control over the size of the sample. Moreover, four of the women were assigned primarily to foot patrol. Because their encounters with citizens were limited and their behavior could not easily be observed without seriously altering it,

these women had to be omitted from the sample. Undoubtedly, the small size of the sample poses serious problems insofar as the generalizability of the findings is concerned.

Characteristics of the Sample

At the time the experiment was undertaken, there was a job freeze in the New York City Police Department. Thus, the sample had to be selected from men and women who had some degree of experience in the department. Their experience differed considerably. Women were performing clerical and matron duties, while most men were assigned to street patrol. Consequently, there was no way of adequately selecting a control group. In addition, all the women who took part in the experiment were volunteers. No adequate information exists as to how they differ from the larger population of female officers who did not volunteer for the new assignment.

Integrity of Design

Despite the small number of women in the sample and the lack of comparability between the male and female police officers, comparison groups were established, and instruments and procedures were developed. However, the research was predicated on the understanding that the experimental women would be assigned the same tasks as their male counterparts. Early in the experiment, this assumption was threatened by a set of guidelines issued by department officials, indicating that female officers might best be used in such areas as school liason work, family crisis intervention, and community

relations. Much energy was expended in having these guidelines rescinded. Had this not occurred, any further research would have been impossible.

Additional organizational constraints and requirements interfered with the research design. One woman, for example, was transferred to a different Neighborhood Police Team. In many instances, it was apparent to the evaluators that department operations took precedence over the research design. This especially affected the acquisition of data. Frequently, officers who were supposed to be observed were inaccessible or follow-up interviews could not be carried out because a particular officer was unavailable. In addition, the collection of statistical data was often neglected by department personnel because of commitments having higher priority.

In general, it was impossible to maintain a rigorous design because this research endeavor was of low priority within the context of the police department. The evaluators, in order to maintain their legitimate position within the institution, had to respect the policies and priorities of department personnel.

Observations

Observing police officers in their interactions with citizens proved problematic in several ways. The extent to which the presence of observers would affect the naturalness of the behavior being observed was unknown. There has been considerable controversy in the social science literature concerning this issue. Some investigators strongly believe that an observer affects the course of events (Madge, 1953;

Weick, 1968; Wright, 1960) while others believe that an observer has little effect on the behavior being observed (Heyns and Lippitt, 1954). Regarding the behavior of police officers, one would assume that any observer effect would be in the direction of more favorable task performance and less aggression (Cummins, 1971; Skolnick, 1966).

Another observational problem involved bias on the part of the observer. In order to minimize such bias, eight observers were utilized, rather than relying on the judgment of one individual. Moreover, they were assigned to police officers in such a way that any bias which might exist would be distributed (e.g., they observed an equal number of men and women; if possible, they only observed an officer once).

By utilizing a number of observers, problems of inter-observer reliability were introduced. These were dealt with through intensive training and ongoing supervision of observers, an attempt to assess the degree of consensus among observers, and, once again, by distributing the assignments of observers to ensure that a "deviant" observer would be equally biased for all groups.

Research Arrangements

Undoubtedly, the adequacy of the design has been affected by the research arrangements, both initially and as they evolved. The fact that the investigators entered through and were associated with the police system prohibited getting sufficient information on the citizens as interactants in police-citizen encounters.

In addition, the fact that the evaluators were associated with the Police Foundation, considered a partisan institution, made any pretense of neutrality impossible. Also contributing to this was the fact that the evaluators were not merely researchers, but facilitators as well. In order to pursue the evaluation at all, certain design requirements had to be met. This involved advocating that women be used interchangeably with men.

The ease with which data could be collected, as well as the accuracy of the data obtained were no doubt influenced by the role of the researchers. Thus, female officers who viewed the evaluators as advocates and "friends" spoke relatively openly about their experiences and opinions. Males, on the other hand, mistrusted the intentions of the evaluators and were more reluctant to give information.

An additional problem involved the label "evaluator" itself. On several occasions this caused "evaluation apprehension" or anxiety because individuals misunderstood the role of the researchers and felt that they were being personally evaluated. Throughout the evaluation an attempt was made to clarify the role of the investigators (e.g., "This is not a personal evaluation. We merely want to know how female officers as a group compare with male officers"). Insofar as was possible an attempt was made to maintain a position of neutrality (e.g., "We don't know whether or not policewomen can do patrol work. That is what we are here to find out").

However, given the profound mistrust of patrol officers regarding the motives of department officials-- which they view as political rather than in their interests-- and given the fact that male officers are extremely threatened by the notion of women in policing-- well illustrated by the fact that observers were picketed by Police Benevolent Association members-- the research task was a difficult one.

Compensating for Methodological Weaknesses

While one can expect to encounter serious problems in studying complex, naturally occurring events, there are a number of ways to compensate for potential methodological deficiencies. Most important, perhaps, is the use of multiple research methods. This helps to validate findings from other methods (Denzin, 1970; Weick, 1968), cancel out the weaknesses or errors of individual measurements (Webb et al, 1966; Weick, 1968), and contributes to acquiring data on a variety of aspects of an individual's reality (Denzin, 1972; Gump and Kounin, 1960; Gurman and Bass, 1961; MacLeod, 1947; Sjoberg and Nett, 1968; Stebbins, 1967, 1972).

Regarding observational data, Becker and Geer (1960) have suggested that one can be more sure of the data when it involves statements which are volunteered rather than directed by the observer, when a large proportion of the data involves activities rather than statements, and when activity or statements occur in public rather than with the observer alone. These requirements are met by the observations undertaken in this study.

It has also been suggested that validity and reliability are increased when observations involve molecular rather than molar behavior and when fewer demands are placed upon the observer in terms of inference (Weick, 1968). While the observation of police-citizen interaction necessarily involves inference on the part of the observer and focuses on molar behavior, control can be introduced in a variety of ways. Greater control is achieved when the unit of study is specified and defined clearly (Heyns and Lippitt, 1954; Heyns and Zander, 1953), when there is a precise definition of all categories (Heyns and Lippitt, 1954; Weick, 1968), and when observers are trained to be sensitive and attuned to the category system (Heyns and Lippitt, 1954; Sjoberg and Nett, 1968).

This inquiry is accompanied by many of the methodological problems which exist when one attempts to study complex behavior in natural settings. Because there are means of compensating for these difficulties, they were not considered as serious as the distortions which would occur if the investigation had been removed from its natural setting into a laboratory context. In effect, this research resembles a "patched-up" design (Campbell and Stanley, 1963) where multiple measures are utilized, some of which are added for the explicit purpose of compensating for inadequacies in the original design.

In general, then, this research represents an attempt to provide a multi-faceted descriptive account of complex behavior in its natural setting. Moreover, it is an attempt

to integrate a number of research strategies in such a way as to preserve the richness of the data while also introducing some degree of precision and control.

Instruments and Measurement Procedures

Because this research was intended to incorporate various levels of description (i.e., behavioral, symbolic), a variety of measures were required. Behavioral data were provided by the Incident Reports which were structured observation booklets. Supplementary descriptive information was derived from a number of measures which were not subjected to quantitative analysis. These included the Incident Interview, a structured interview concerning observed encounters between a police officer and one or more citizens, the Observation Profile Sheet, completed by observers following each tour of duty, selected questions from the Urban Institute Patrol Survey, and interviews with male and female police officers as well as police officials (e.g., team commanders, precinct commanders). For the most part, the supplementary measures provided anecdotal information which was used to enrich and interpret the more rigorously analyzed observational data.

Incident Report (See Appendix A)

Description. The major instrument was a detailed observation schedule, referred to as the Incident Report. This instrument tapped the following kinds of information:

1. Situation-- e.g., definition, demographic data concerning primary citizen participants, setting,

presence of physical danger, attitude of primary citizen toward officer.

2. Behavior of officer-- e.g., officer's manipulative techniques, officer's general manner, officer's response to request of citizen, officer's actions.

3. Outcome (i.e., conclusion)-- e.g., characterization of situation when officer left, citizen's general state when police were leaving, citizen's evaluation of service received, formal or official action.

In addition, the Incident Report included a detailed section on the incidence and provocation of aggression. There was an attempt to code aggressive behaviors in terms of their type (e.g., physical, verbal), their source (e.g., officer under observation, citizen #1), and their motivation (e.g., reaction to touching or other bodily contact, an expression of contempt or disapproval).

Procedures.

1. Observers. There were eight male observers, twenty-one years of age[1] or older. The decision to use males was based on an attempt to minimize and equalize observer effect. It was thought that male officers would behave more naturally in the presence of male observers, and that they would be less overprotective of these observers.

2. Training. Each observer received 16 hours of training. There were three 4-hour sessions in which verbal and

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[1] The age is based on a Police Department regulation.

written instructions were given and terms explained and defined (See Appendix B for Training Manual). In addition, relevant film strips were shown and Incident Reports completed and analyzed. Items and judgments which were confusing were thoroughly discussed. One of the training sessions involved observers riding in radio cars in pairs, each completing Incident Reports. Disagreements were discussed and resolved following this session. In a limited way, inter-observer reliability was assessed at the final session where all observers simultaneously completed Incident Reports based on two filmed incidents (See Table 2). In addition to com-

Table 2

INTER-OBSERVER RELIABILITY[1]

Behavior	Percent Agreement
Officer Behavior	
Aggression	100%
Business-like	75%
Sympathy	94%
Humor	100%
Citizen Behavior	
Aggressive	88%
Passive	88%
Calm	81%
Friendly	94%

pleting the observation booklets, observers were instructed as to their role as observers.

3. Observations. A total of 72 eight-hour tours of

[1] Reliability was based on eight observers judging two incidents each. Since agreement could reflect either the presence or absence of the behavior, there could be no less than 50 percent agreement for each item.

duty were observed. Observers were assigned to a particular "officer under observation." Male officers were observed on 38 occasions and females on 34. Observations took place over a twelve week period, from March to June of 1973. They occurred on Friday and Saturday nights from 4 P.M. to 12 midnight because these times yielded the greatest amount of activity.

Observation booklets were completed for every incident (N=765), i.e., every time the police were mobilized to act regardless of whether citizens were present or not. However, only those incidents involving interaction with citizens were utilized for this research (N=600). These are referred to as police-citizen transactions or encounters.[1]

Observers were instructed to collect data on both the "officer under observation" and the partner if possible. Because the designation "officer under observation" was arbitrary,[2] and there were few, if any, significant differences in the behavior of officers and partners,[3] the data for these two groups were combined, yielding a total of 1200 police-citizen transactions.

Observers were assigned in such a way as to avoid bias in either the sex of the officers which they observed or in the teams in which they observed. Furthermore, observers

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1 This definition is an adaptation of that provided by Reiss (1971).

2 The integrity of the original sample could not be maintained.

3 Of 80 chi square analyses, none were significant at the .01 level and only two were significant at the .05 level.

were not assigned to observe the same officer more than once if at all possible.

While information was gathered on as many as five citizens in each encounter, only the data on the three most central citizens were analyzed. The presence of four or more citizens was so infrequent that further analyses would have added little of interest. In all, female officers were observed interacting with 729 citizens, males with 1421. The greater number of observations for male officers is due to the fact that males designated as "officers under observation" invariably had male partners while female "officers under observation" had both male and female partners.

To some degree, the characteristics of citizens with whom female officers interacted differed from those with whom males interacted (See Table 3). Women had more frequent transactions with male citizens and non-white citizens. They also dealt with proportionately more bystanders and informants and more young people, particularly adolescents.

4. Supervision. Observers were under continual supervision. Observations were discussed on a weekly basis, with emphasis on problematic coding categories. In addition, the role of the observer was continuously reinforced.

Profile Sheet

Description. The Profile Sheet was designed to provide information about the behavior and attitudes of officers throughout an entire tour of duty rather than in a particular incident. The officer's feelings about the people in

Table 3

DESCRIPTION OF CITIZENS

Characteristic	Female Officers N	Female Officers %		Male Officers N	Male Officers %
Number					
Total	729	100%		1421	100%
Citizen 1	392	54%		808	57%
Citizen 2	225	31%		439	31%
Citizen 3	112	15%		174	12%
Sex					
Male	461	67%	*	843	62%
Female	231	33%		527	38%
Race					
White	264	37%	**	596	43%
Black, Hispanic, other	453	63%		789	57%
Role					
Complainant	114	16%		226	16%
Offender	188	26%	*	406	29%
Victim	204	28%		422	30%
Bystander, Informant	217	30%		367	26%
Age					
18 and under	121	18%	**	173	13%
19 and over	563	82%		1191	87%

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

the neighborhood as well as his or her attitudes about women on patrol were noted.

Procedure. Each observer completed a Profile Sheet immediately following the tour of duty. Observers were trained and supervised, as with the Incident Report.

Incident Interview (See Appendix C)

Description. A structured interview was administered to officers regarding specific encounters in which they were involved. It tapped the following kinds of information:

1. Officer's view of the situation-- e.g., typicality, potential danger, impression of primary citizens.

2. Officer's view of his/her behavior-- e.g., how situation was handled, why it was handled in that way, perception of alternative actions or behaviors.

3. Officer's view of outcome-- e.g., satisfaction with way situation turned out, sense of citizen's satisfaction and what could have satisfied citizen.

4. Officer's view of how policewomen/policemen would have handled same situation.

Procedure. An experienced interviewer was trained to carry out the Incident Interview. An attempt was made to interview as many observed officers as possible regarding at least two but no more than four observed incidents. The interview was face-to-face and occurred as soon after the observed police-citizen transaction as possible.

The investigator obtained the observation schedules shortly after each tour of duty. All incidents which met

any of the following criteria were selected out:

1. Primary citizen was an offender or an offender group

2. Attitude toward police officer was antagonistic at outset

3. General state of primary citizen was angry, irritated, upset, or nervous

4. General state of officer at outset was angry, irritated, upset, or nervous.

If less than two incidents met these criteria, another interview, based on a different tour of duty, was conducted. If more than four incidents met these criteria, four were randomly selected in such a way as to ensure that at least one included an offender and one an antagonistic citizen, providing there were such incidents. It was considered important to interview officers about more than one incident because the small number of officers as well as incidents in a given tour maximized the possibility of selecting an atypical incident.

The criteria for selecting incidents represented an attempt to deal with situations where there was opportunity for the maximum amount of variation in police response. Where the citizen was an offender, was antagonistic, or was angry, irritated, upset, or nervous, the police officer had a considerable number of behavioral options. It is conceivable that aggression would be one of those options.

Patrol Survey

Description. The Patrol Survey was an anonymous self-

administered questionnaire designed to measure a variety of attitudes.[1] Of special interest in this study were attitudes concerning the ability of women to perform patrol functions. These provided indirect information about the relative importance of various aspects of the police role. Responses to the following questions were examined:

1. Do you think it is a good idea to have policewomen as a regular part of Neighborhood Police Teams? Please explain your answer.

2. How do you think the use of policewomen on patrol will affect both your job in particular and the police department in general?

Procedure. This survey was distributed to all patrol officers in experimental and comparison Neighborhood Police Teams at the outset and conclusion of the evaluation. For the two administrations, the return rate was 61 percent and 51 percent respectively, yielding 120 completed surveys on the first administration and 118 on the second.

Monthly Debriefing Sessions

During the course of the evaluation, female officers were required to attend monthly debriefing sessions at the Police Academy. The evaluators attended these sessions as well, taking detailed notes during the three to four hours that problems and experiences were discussed. Relevant information emanating from these meetings was used to supplement the data acquired through observations.

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[1] This survey is a modified version of the one developed by the Urban Institute for use in Washington, D.C. It was designed for the evaluation of policewomen as patrol officers.

Interviews with Police Personnel

Throughout the evaluation, periodic interviews were conducted with female police officers as well as their sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and deputy inspectors. While many of these interviews were arranged in order to resolve procedural and philosophical problems, there was some discussion about the performance and experiences of women on patrol. These interviews were reviewed, and information relevant to this research was utilized to enrich more rigorously obtained data.

INDEX CONSTRUCTION

Efforts to increase the reliability or accuracy of data can be introduced in a variety of ways throughout the research process. Insofar as observational data are concerned, these include careful training of observers, assessing inter-observer reliability, and assigning observers so as to distribute any bias which might exist. In addition, reliability can be increased once the data has been collected.

In an attempt to minimize measurement error and random influence, indices were constructed by combining selected items from the Incident Report. Indices were designed to reflect officer interaction styles, types of officer aggression, citizen interaction styles, and types of citizen aggression.

In order to construct indices, all relevant items from the Incident Report were coded or recoded in a dichotomous fashion, with one indicating the presence of that particular behavior and zero indicating its absence. Subsequently, individual items which seemed to reflect the same type of interaction style or the same form of aggression were combined. The internal consistency of index items was determined by computing alpha coefficients using the Kuder-Richardson test for dichotomous variables. This statistic produces a measure of reliability based on covariances among individual items in an index or scale. An index was

retained if the alpha level was .5 or higher, reflecting adequate reliability for research purposes (Nunnally, 1967). Where an index lacked sufficient internal consistency, it was either modified or eliminated.

In each of the four areas being considered-- officer interaction styles, types of officer aggression, citizen interaction styles, types of citizen aggression-- it was necessary that indices be not only reliable but also distinct from one another. In order to determine whether the indices did, in fact, reflect distinct types of behavior, correlations among the indices were carried out. However, correlation coefficients tend to be attenuated or deflated because of measurement error. In order to compensate for this, the correction for attenuation was applied, producing estimates of what the correlations would be if the indices were perfectly reliable (Nunnally, 1967). An index was considered to have discriminant validity if correlations with other indices were low.

While data were collected on officer interactions with Citizen 1 (the most central citizen in the interaction), Citizen 2 (the second most central), and Citizen 3, internal consistency and discriminant validity were determined for male and female officers with all citizens combined. Combining citizens was justified in that interaction styles were not substantially different toward or by Citizens 1, 2, or 3 (See Appendix D). Where differences existed, they

could be accounted for by the role which the citizen assumed in the transaction.[1]

Officer Interaction Styles

It was posited that officer behaviors would fall into three major groupings: behavior which was aggressive, behavior involving sympathy or humor, and behavior which was business-like. Three indices-- Aggressive, Friendly, and Business-like-- reflecting these styles of interaction, were constructed from items on the Incident Report.

Aggressive Index

Of the 28 items on the Incident Report which were consistent with the definition of aggression proposed earlier, eight were omitted from the analysis because of their infrequent occurrence. The remaining twenty items consisted of the following:

1. Angry- officer seemed irate or ill-tempered at the outset of the encounter.
2. Irritated- officer seemed annoyed or impatient at the outset of the encounter.
3. Was maternalistic or paternalistic- officer seemed to treat citizen as a child, as naive (manipulative technique).

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[1] There was a significant relationship between the role of the citizen and the designation as Citizen 1, 2, or 3 ($p < .01$). Complainants, victims, and offenders were more likely to be central to the encounter (Citizen 1), while bystanders and informants were more likely to be peripheral (Citizen 3).

4. Used threats- officer indicated that police or other authority would take action against citizen (manipulative technique).

5. Used silence or ignored- officer seemed to willfully neglect or disregard citizen, e.g., refused to answer questions (manipulative technique).

6. Instilled guilt- officer attempted to make citizen feel bad or responsible for behavior of self or other (manipulative technique).

7. Lost self control- officer displayed momentary or extended rage or fury.

8. Was hostile, nasty, provocative- officer's general manner seemed antagonistic, challenging, denigrating.

9. Was brusque, bossy, authoritarian- officer's general manner seemed abrupt; demanded obedience and subordination in a peremptory way.

10. Openly ridiculed or belittled- officer's general manner was obviously mocking, contemptuous, derisive.

11. Subtly ridiculed or belittled- officer's general manner was covertly mocking, contemptuous, derisive.

12. Interrupted- officer broke into citizen's comments with questions or remarks.

13. Looked away, distracted- officer shifted attention from citizen; disregarded citizen's concerns.

14. Threatened with arrest- officer gave verbal warning that citizen may be taken into custody (informal use of power).

15. Other threat or warning- officer gave notice that punishment or harm would be administered by an authority (informal use of power).

16. Used physical constraint- officer restrained or limited citizen's actions or words through physical means, e.g., held arm, used handcuffs (informal use of power).

17. Gave orders or directed- officer issued commands in an authoritarian manner (informal use of power).

18. Admonished or moralized- officer expressed disapproval or rebuked citizen on grounds of legality, morality, or social responsibility, e.g., "Now look at all the trouble you caused" (informal use of power).

19. Verbal aggression- officer engaged in verbal behavior which was designed to or resulted in harm or hurt.

20. Physical aggression- officer engaged in physical behavior which was designed to or resulted in harm or hurt.

Internal consistency was demonstrated for both male and female officers (See Table 4). Thus, the twenty items were considered to be a reliable index of officer aggression.

Friendly Index

Six items were selected from the Incident Report which seemed to reflect friendly and supportive behaviors toward citizens. These were:

1. Happy, enthusiastic- officer was good-humored, cheerful, spirited at the outset of the encounter.

2. Used humor or jolliness- officer made jokes, cajoled, was jocular (manipulative technique).

3. Was concerned, sympathetic- officer's general manner indicated compassion for and interest in citizen.

4. Was good humored, playful, jovial- officer's general manner seemed high spirited, friendly, humorous.

5. Gave advice or counseling- officer offered specific, concrete suggestions regarding a problem or condition (helping behavior).

6. Gave consolation or emotional support- officer sympathized with or comforted citizen (helping behavior).

Table 4

ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR OFFICER INTERACTION STYLES

Index	Female Officers	Male Officers
Aggressive	.66	.76
Friendly	.56	.46
Humorous	.67	.66
Sympathetic	.54	.28
Business-like	.50	.64

This complex of behaviors had adequate internal consistency for female officers but was not sufficiently reliable insofar as male officers were concerned (See Table 4). In order to gain greater insight into this index, it was broken down into two clusters-- Humorous and Sympathetic. The Humorous Index was comprised of items 1, 2, and 4. This index was internally consistent for both males and females. The remaining items-- 3, 5, and 6-- were not a reliable index of Sympathy for male officers, although they were reliable for females (See Table 4).

Thus, in reconsidering the Friendly Index, it seems evident that for male officers, behaviors involving sympathy, counseling, and emotional support were not displayed together with any consistency. Because they are considered important aspects of officers' interaction styles, they will be retained as separate items for further analysis.

Business-like Index

Two items from the Incident Report were considered to reflect business-like behaviors. They were:

1. Calm, business-like- officer did not appear agitated or excited at the outset of the encounter.
2. Was business-like, routinized, impersonal- officer's general manner seemed efficient, methodical, unemotional.

Alpha coefficients were found to reach acceptable levels for male officers. They showed reasonably good internal consistency for women as well (See Table 4).

It should be noted that the index was somewhat more

reliable for male officers than for female officers. This may be due to the fact that while both male and female officers were calm and business-like at the outset of their interactions, females were considerably less business-like, routinized, and impersonal as the interaction proceeded. The behaviors which women did engage in during the course of their interactions with citizens will be discussed in a later section.

Nonetheless, there is sufficient internal consistency to use this index for further analysis.

Discriminant Validity: Officer Interaction Styles

As can be seen in Tables 5 and 6, each index reflects a distinct aggregate of behaviors. The relationships among them are either negative or nonexistent. Thus, the indices were considered sufficiently distinct to retain them for further analysis.

Officer Aggression

It was hypothesized that not only would male officers display more overall aggression than female officers, but that different types of aggression, reflecting different styles of policing, would be typical of men and women. Thus, despite the fact that the aggression index was internally consistent, the aggression items were broken down into a number of clusters or sub-indices. Again, internal consistency was tested by computing alpha coefficients and discriminant validity was determined by correlating the various sub-indices.

Table 5

INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR FEMALE OFFICERS
(OFFICER BEHAVIOR)

	Index			
Index	Aggressive	Friendly	Humorous	Business-like
Friendly	-.04 (-.07)[1]			
Humorous	-.01 (-.01)	.73 (1.18)		
Business-like	-.09 (-.16)	-.14 (-.26)	-.16 (-.28)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

Table 6

INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR MALE OFFICERS
(OFFICER BEHAVIOR)

	Index			
Index	Aggressive	Friendly	Humorous	Business-like
Friendly	NA			
Humorous	-.03 (-.04)[1]	NA		
Business-like	-.29 (-.41)	NA	-.12 (-.18)	

NA Not applicable because index lacks internal consistency

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

The aggression sub-indices and the behaviors associated with them are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

INDICES OF OFFICER AGGRESSION

Index	Behavior
Physical Aggression	Physical Constraint Physical Aggression
Passive Aggression	Used Silence or Ignored Looked Away, Distracted
Hostile	Angry Hostile, Nasty, Provocative Openly Ridiculed or Belittled
Patronizing	Was Maternalistic or Paternalistic Instilled Guilt Admonished or Moralized
Belittling	Subtly Ridiculed or Belittled Interrupted
Authoritarian	Was Brusque, Bossy, Authoritarian Interrupted Gave Orders or Directed Used Threats Lost Self Control Verbal Aggression

Physical Aggression

While the computed alpha coefficients for this index reflected adequate internal consistency for both male and female officers (See Table 8), the fact that physical aggression had an N of one for women undermines its reliability.

The index is clearly more applicable to males than to females. Not only was there considerable internal consistency for males, but also they engaged in the two

Table 8

ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR AGGRESSION SUB-INDICES
(OFFICER BEHAVIOR)

Index	Female Officers	Male Officers
Physical Aggression	.50	.82
Passive Aggression	.74	.67
Hostile	NC	.60
Patronizing	.42	.32
Belittling	.61	.24
Authoritarian	.61	.76

NC Not computable because of small N's

behaviors comprising the index approximately the same amount (3 percent) of the time. Female officers, on the other hand, displayed physical constraint .9 percent of the time and physical aggression .2 percent of the time. Thus, it seems that physical constraint for women was not necessarily associated with physical aggression.

Passive Aggression

The Passive Aggression Index showed good internal consistency for both males and females (See Table 8). The alpha level was somewhat higher for women, suggesting that the index has greater reliability for this group.

Hostile

The Hostile Index showed reasonable internal consistency for male officers, but was not a reliable index for female officers (See Table 8). This can be accounted for by noting that the behaviors which comprised the index were virtually never displayed by female officers. This, in itself, is an interesting difference between male and female police officers. Men were angry one percent of the time, hostile three percent of the time, and openly ridiculing two percent of the time. In contrast, women never displayed anger at the outset of their encounters nor were they hostile. They were openly ridiculing less than one percent of the time.

Patronizing

With both male and female officers, there was insufficient reliability for the Patronizing Index to be retained.

The items did not covary sufficiently with any other item to form an index. These behaviors, then, were relatively isolated. Because they occurred frequently, they will be analyzed as separate measures.

Belittling

This index was found to be unreliable for male officers but ostensibly reliable for their female counterparts (See Table 8). Upon further examination, it became apparent that the occurrence of interruptions on the part of women was too infrequent (N=4) to assure reliability of the index. Thus, the Belittling Index will be omitted in future analyses.

Authoritarian

The Authoritarian Index was reliable for both male and female officers (See Table 8). When displayed by male officers, the internal consistency of the index was greater, indicating that this aggregate of behaviors was engaged in more consistently by male officers than by their female counterparts.

Discriminant Validity: Officer Aggression

For each group, reliable indices were correlated in order to determine whether or not they measured distinct behaviors (See Tables 9 and 10). While factor analysis indicated that all of the indices, to some degree, reflected one general factor, this factor only accounted for 40-47 percent of the variance in observed behavior. Therefore, a decision was made to retain the indices which demonstrated adequate reliability.

Table 9

AGGRESSION SUB-INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR FEMALE OFFICERS
(OFFICER BEHAVIOR)

Index	Physical Aggression	Passive Aggression	Hostile	Authoritarian
Passive Aggression	.10 (.16)[1]			
Hostile	NA	NA		
Authoritarian	.24 (.44)	.17 (.29)	NA	

NA Not applicable because index lacks internal consistency

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

Table 10

AGGRESSION SUB-INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR MALE OFFICERS
(OFFICER BEHAVIOR)

Index	Physical Aggression	Passive Aggression	Hostile	Authoritarian
Passive Aggression	.09 (.12)[1]			
Hostile	.29 (.41)	.11 (.17)		
Authoritarian	.41 (.52)	.09 (.12)	.42 (.62)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

Citizen Interaction Styles

Citizen behaviors were grouped into four general interaction styles: Friendly, Calm, Passive, and Aggressive. Each was tested for reliability and discriminant validity.

Friendly Index

The Friendly Index consisted of two items:

1. Friendly, helpful- citizen's overall behavior seemed amicable and cooperative.
2. Good natured, jovial- citizen's verbal behavior seemed good-humored, friendly.

While internal consistency was good (See Table 11), the alpha levels were somewhat higher with behavior directed toward female officers, indicating a more consistent behavior style.

Calm Index

The Calm Index was constructed from three items on the Incident Report:

1. Calm- citizen did not appear agitated or excited at the outset of the encounter.
2. Cooperative- citizen's overall behavior seemed compliant; reflected willingness to work with officer.
3. Matter-of-fact, conversational- citizen's verbal behavior seemed calm, relaxed.

Again, alpha coefficients were sufficiently high to verify the reliability of the index with both groups of officers (See Table 11).

Passive Index

Three items from the Incident Report were thought to reflect passive behavior on the part of citizens. They were:

Table 11

ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR CITIZEN INTERACTION STYLES

Index	Female Officers	Male Officers
Friendly	.74	.63
Calm	.69	.65
Passive	.65	.66
Aggressive	.84	.87

1. Detached, distant- citizen seemed withdrawn at the outset of the encounter.

2. Passive, unexpressive- citizen's overall behavior seemed withdrawn, detached.

3. Passive, quiet- citizen's verbal behavior reflected detachment.

Internal consistency was demonstrated with both male and female officers (See Table 11).

Aggressive Index

The Aggressive Index was comprised of the following 15 items:

1. Violent- citizen seemed out of control at the outset of the encounter; evidenced by fury or use of physical force.

2. Angry- citizen seemed irate or ill-tempered at the outset of the encounter.

3. Irritated- citizen seemed annoyed or impatient at the outset of the encounter.

4. Antagonistic at outset- citizen seemed disrespectful, challenging at the outset of the encounter.

5. Antagonistic at conclusion- citizen seemed disrespectful, challenging at the conclusion of the encounter.

6. Uncooperative- citizen was not compliant or helpful throughout the encounter.

7. Challenged authority- citizen seemed to question officer's legitimacy.

8. Violent, aggressive- citizen's overall behavior involved physical and/or verbal assaults.

9. Uncooperative, antagonistic- citizen's overall behavior involved resistance to officer's wishes.

10. Disgruntled, sullen- citizen's overall behavior seemed sulky, ill-humored, dissatisfied.

11. Insulting, baiting, provocative- citizen's verbal behavior seemed attacking, inciteful.

12. Hostile, nasty- citizen's verbal behavior seemed unfriendly, antagonistic, denigrating.

13. Argumentative- citizen's verbal behavior involved disputing or contesting officer's actions.

14. Verbal aggression- citizen engaged in verbal behavior which was designed to or resulted in harm or hurt.

15. Physical aggression- citizen engaged in physical behavior which was designed to or resulted in harm or hurt.

Items 4, 5, and 6 were recoded so as to be dichotomous. For item 6, any behavior which was not cooperative was considered to be uncooperative and, consequently, coded one. This index was found to be reliable with behavior directed toward both male and female officers (See Table 11).

Discriminant Validity: Citizen Interaction Styles

Tables 12 and 13 present the intercorrelations of citizen behavior indices. It is evident that Aggressive, Passive, Calm, and Friendly reflect distinct styles of citizen behavior. Only one positive relationship existed; when citizens were friendly with either male or female officers, they tended to be calm as well. Since even these correlations were relatively low, the four indices were retained for future analyses.

Citizen Aggression

In order to determine whether or not citizens displayed different types of aggression toward male and female officers, clusters of citizen aggression items were tested for internal consistency. The sub-indices which emerged were

Table 12

INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR FEMALE OFFICERS
(CITIZEN BEHAVIOR)

Index	Aggressive	Passive	Calm	Friendly
Passive	-.03 (-.04)[1]			
Calm	-.49 (-.64)	-.21 (-.31)		
Friendly	-.19 (-.24)	-.15 (-.22)	.21 (.29)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

Table 13

INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR MALE OFFICERS
(CITIZEN BEHAVIOR)

Index	Aggressive	Passive	Calm	Friendly
Passive	-.00 (-.00)[1]			
Calm	-.55 (-.72)	-.24 (-.36)		
Friendly	-.21 (-.28)	-.15 (-.23)	.20 (.31)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

then correlated in order to establish their distinctness. The sub-indices as well as the behaviors associated with them are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

INDICES OF CITIZEN AGGRESSION

Index	Behavior
Violent	Violent Violent, Aggressive Physical Aggression
Antagonistic	Antagonistic at outset Antagonistic at conclusion Challenged Authority Uncooperative, Antagonistic Insulting, Baiting, Provocative Verbal Aggression
Hostile	Angry Irritated Uncooperative Disgruntled, Sullen Hostile, Nasty Argumentative

Violent

As can be seen in Table 15, the Violent Index was internally consistent.

Antagonistic

The alpha coefficients were sufficiently high to accept the Antagonistic Index as reliable with both male and female officers (See Table 15). Alpha levels did not differ based on the sex of the officer, suggesting that this aggregate of behaviors was equally applicable to both groups.

Table 15

ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR AGGRESSION SUB-INDICES
(CITIZEN BEHAVIOR)

Index	Female Officers	Male Officers
Violent	.75	.65
Antagonistic	.66	.67
Hostile	.85	.81

Hostile

The Hostile Index was extremely reliable for both groups (See Table 15). Again, the data indicated that citizens directed the same patterns of behavior toward male and female officers.

Discriminant Validity: Citizen Aggression

The intercorrelations of the aggression sub-indices are presented in Tables 16 and 17. There is little justification for maintaining three distinct indices, since the correlation coefficients are quite high and a general factor, produced by factor analysis, accounts for 62-69 percent of the variance in citizen aggression.

One conclusion which can be drawn is that more variation exists with officer aggression than with citizen aggression. In addition, the pattern of aggressive behaviors directed toward female officers is much the same as that directed toward their male counterparts.

Table 16

AGGRESSION SUB-INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR FEMALE OFFICERS (CITIZEN BEHAVIOR)

Index	Violent	Hostile	Antagonistic
Hostile	.32 (.40)[1]		
Antagonistic	.41 (.58)	.56 (.75)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

Table 17

AGGRESSION SUB-INDEX INTERCORRELATIONS FOR MALE OFFICERS (CITIZEN BEHAVIOR)

Index	Violent	Hostile	Antagonistic
Hostile	.26 (.33)[1]		
Antagonistic	.34 (.52)	.62 (.85)	

[1] Figures enclosed in parentheses are corrected for attenuation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Officer Interaction Styles

In the preceding analysis, a number of relatively consistent officer interaction styles emerged. These included a style which was business-like, a style which was aggressive, and a style which was friendly. Because the latter was not consistently displayed by male officers, it was broken down into behaviors reflecting sympathy and a style characterized by humor.

We have assumed throughout that behavior is a means of communication, not merely of action. We must therefore ask what is being communicated by each of these interaction styles. When a business-like style is adopted, the officer is indicating that he or she is removed from the interaction, that emotional distance is being maintained. In effect, the officer might be saying, "I am here because my job requires it. I will conduct myself in an impartial way and will not become emotionally involved with you or with your personal concerns." The distance communicated by the officer may reflect professionalism on his or her part. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as disinterest or boredom.

In contrast, both aggressive and friendly interaction styles communicate greater personal involvement and interest in the encounter. When aggression or power is displayed, the message is that the definition of the situa-

tion, including both its management and its resolution, is to be controlled by the officer alone. Moreover, adoption of this style suggests that the officer has considerable investment in controlling the definitions of both his or her social identity and the identity of the citizen. Thus, the officer might be saying, "This is my show. You take your cues from me."

In displaying sympathy, the officer is conveying not only interest in the concerns of the citizen but also an acceptance of the citizen's definition of the situation and the roles of the participants. In adopting this style, an officer is indicating that cues provided by the citizen will not be ignored. In effect, the police officer is saying, "I view your concerns as legitimate and serious. As an authority figure, I take personal interest in your well-being."

Finally, a behavioral style characterized by humor suggests that the officer will collaborate with the citizen in defining the situation. More specifically, an officer who embraces this style is communicating that the crisis or problem at hand is resolvable if all the participants cooperate and show good faith. By displaying good humor, the officer is setting the tone for further cooperation. What is being said, then, is "I am doing this job not because I have to but because I want to. I am not your adversary. If we cooperate, we can resolve any difficulties which might exist."

It was hypothesized that the overall interaction styles of male and female officers would differ in the following ways:

Hypothesis 1a: Male officers will more frequently engage in behaviors which involve aggressive or power displays.

Hypothesis 1b: Female officers will more frequently engage in behaviors which display friendliness (i.e., humor, sympathy).

Hypothesis 1c: Male and female officers will not differ in the extent to which they display business-like or impersonal behaviors.

Mean index scores and mean item scores, ranging from zero to one, were determined for each officer. The difference between male officers' mean scores and those of females was then tested. It should be noted that Student's *t*, a statistic generally used in comparing two sample means, was not applicable to data where the variances for males and females were significantly different. In those cases where an F test revealed significant differences in the variances, an approximation to *t* was used for the analysis (Winer, 1971).

All of the hypotheses regarding officer interaction styles were confirmed (See Table 18). The style most characteristic of both male and female officers was a business-like one. While t-tests revealed no significant differences between male and female officers in business-like behaviors, the Business-like Index tended to be more reliable for men than for women. This implies that the behaviors comprising

Table 18

DIFFERENCES IN OFFICER INTERACTION STYLES

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Index	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Aggressive[1]	.02	.01	.04	.04	<.01
Business-like[2]	.61	.13	.70	.18	n.s.
Humorous[1]	.09	.06	.04	.07	<.05
Sympathetic[1]					
Concern	.26	.13	.16	.15	<.05
Advice	.09	.05	.04	.06	<.01
Consolation	.06	.05	.02	.06	<.05

[1] One-tailed test

[2] Two-tailed test

the index were displayed together with greater consistency by male officers.

Differences between male and female officers in business-like behaviors are presented in Table 19. At the outset of the majority of their encounters police officers, regardless of sex, were calm and business-like. The differences between male and female officers resided in the subsequent interaction, where men were typically more business-like, routinized, and impersonal. It is evident that for women, business-like behavior at the outset of an encounter did not imply business-like, routinized, or impersonal behavior throughout the course of the interaction.

Table 19

DIFFERENCES IN BUSINESS-LIKE BEHAVIORS

	Female Officers		Male officers		
Behavior	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Calm, business-like at outset	.78	.13	.77	.16	n.s.
Business-like, routinized, impersonal	.45	.14	.62	.24	$<.05$

Sex differences in interaction styles were most evident when officers departed from a business-like style. Where this occurred, men engaged in aggressive or power displays more frequently than did women (See Table 18). Female officers, on the other hand, were more friendly toward citizens than were males.

While sex-differences on the Friendly Index could not be tested since the index was unreliable for males, this is significant in its own right. It implies that for men, friendly behaviors did not comprise a consistent interaction style.

The Humorous Index was constructed from three items on the Friendly Index and proved to be reliable for both male and female officers. Women engaged in humor significantly more often than did men (See Table 18). The fact that the Sympathetic Index was unreliable for male officers suggests that concern and sympathy, advice and counseling, and consolation and emotional support did not constitute a consistent behavioral style for men. Women displayed each of these behaviors more frequently than did men (See Table 18). Thus, female officers consistently exceeded male officers in the extent to which they displayed friendly behaviors.

The empirical differences found in officer interaction styles were reflected in opinions expressed by male and female officers. In the Incident Interview, they were asked how an officer of the opposite sex might have handled the situation. Female officers frequently said that men would act more harshly (i.e., take more extreme action) or provide less service. For example, one female officer suggested that her male counterpart would have been more prone to react to a volatile man and, consequently, have gotten into an argument. Another woman described a situation where a

drunk female had fallen asleep in a stranger's house. The officer woke her up, talked to her, and took her home. Regarding a male officer's performance in the same situation, she said, "A policeman might have picked her up and carried her out to get it done faster. They don't have the same patience."

Male officers suggested that women would take more modest action and would be more apt to listen and be compassionate. Typically, they felt that the style of female officers would lead to greater difficulty. One male officer, who dispersed a crowd of hispanic men who had been drinking beer, said:

> A policewoman would probably have tried to talk to them, straighten them out. The men might not have left and would have been more abusive.

Another male officer described an incident with a drunk woman who was driven home and ordered out of the patrol car at her door. He said:

> A policewoman might have been more compassionate. She probably would have been more involved, especially when the woman started talking about trouble with her husband. A policeman listens, but inattentively.

Differences in interaction styles were also noted by police supervisors. A Deputy Inspector, who worked closely with both male and female police officers, summarized his observations as follows:

> In many situations, female police officers can do a better job than male police officers. Too often, males feel required to correct with physical strength or aggressive behavior the improper conduct of others. Female police officers, on the other hand, are more likely to use their intelligence and persuasiveness to accomplish the same task. Female police officers are less likely to resort to arrest or summons as a solution to a problem and, on the whole, seem to have a stronger self image than males. Female police officers reduce violence by their mere presence while males are likely to encourage it in order to exert their maleness.

To what can we attribute differences in interaction styles? No doubt, the socialization of males and females in this culture is largely responsible. Sex-differences found in this study correspond precisely with sex-differences evident in cultural stereotypes. These stereotypes have guided socialization practices and have provided standards against which appropriate behavior is measured or judged. Thus, males are encouraged to be instrumental and aggressive, while females are encouraged to be affective, nurturant, and caring.

If the behavior of police officers corresponds to sex-role standards, it would not be surprising to find our observers being influenced by these standards as well. While precautions (e.g., extensive training) were taken to mitigate stereotypic judgments on the part of observers, it is possible that, at least to some degree, observers saw what years of conditioning led them to expect-- greater aggres-

siveness on the part of males and greater sympathy on the part of females.

It is unclear to what extent adult socialization, particularly socialization into the police role, has affected the behavior of the officers being studied. If assimilation into the police culture involves increasing reliance on displays of power and aggression, our findings might simply reflect the fact that women have thus far not been fully assimilated.

Clearly, the women in our sample were not exposed to the same police socialization practices as were the men. They belonged to a special subculture where their jobs included clerical and matron duties, were trained for patrol in isolation from male officers, and were introduced to patrol in very small numbers and under ambiguous guidelines. Moreover, many of the women's supervisors were interested in capitalizing on their "feminine" qualities. One sergeant said, "You'd lose your advantage if you tried to make women aggressive." Another said, "Policewomen act different. They're ladies. Women are born ladies, and people are going to like that." Finally, a Deputy Inspector claimed that, "If a woman approaches a situation like a woman, she's better than a man. There would be a problem if she approached it like a man." Thus, social expectations may have contributed to the different policing styles exhibited by male and female officers.

Whether or not behavioral differences between male and

female police officers will disappear when women are hired, trained, and assigned in precisely the same manner as men can only be determined by future research.

It seems likely that the behaviors of police officers would be affected by the ways in which they define their role. Police officers are called upon to perform a number of disparate functions. They must enforce the law, maintain order, and provide service. There is some evidence that male officers maximize the law enforcement aspect of their role and minimize the service functions. Inferences can be made from their behavior alone. Among the situations in which male officers tended to exceed female officers in aggressive interactions were those in which the citizen was either a victim or required some kind of service. At best, aggression in these situations was inappropriate. It would seem to reflect either impatience with the task or frustration due to inadequate skills and resources. Similarly, male officers were less sympathetic with victims, in calls requiring service, and in jobs initiated by a citizen in the field.[1] Finally, the only situation in which males exceeded females in displaying humor was where the task involved law enforcement (i.e., past or in-progress felonies).

Male officers seem most comfortable, then, when they are doing what they consider to be "real police work,"

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[1] Unlike dispatched and on-view calls, those initiated by a citizen in the field were significantly more likely to involve requests for service ($p < .01$).

that is, enforcing the law. Their preference for this aspect of their role is reinforced by the police establishment, which rewards officers for good arrests but not for the sensitive handling of human problems.

Additional evidence concerning male officers' definitions of their role was indirectly provided by the Patrol Survey, where officers were asked whether they thought it was a good idea to have women as a regular part of Neighborhood Police Teams and why. The majority of men felt that women should not be on general patrol. Instead, they felt that female officers belonged in specialized "women's" areas (e.g., working with juveniles, questioning female victims of sex offenses) or in non-hazardous positions (e.g., clerical, investigation of past crimes). Many men felt that by using women in limited ways, male officers could then devote more time to real police work:

> I feel that they [policewomen] bring a fresh approach to community relations for the department. I also feel that policewomen can help a great deal in regards to certain situations that could possibly tie up a police officer from the major concern-- crime.

In discussing the pros and cons of women on patrol, male officers consistently referred to the dangerous nature of their job. Their opposition to the introduction of female officers was most frequently based on women's supposed lack of strength-- both physical and emotional. One officer said, "It [introducing women] will certainly

make my job more difficult. Most women do not possess the physical strength a man has." Another claimed the following:

> Policewomen cannot command enough respect because of their sex, in uniform. . . . The street is the toughest place to work, and the law "the strongest survive" fits the job.

The fact that men so frequently referred to strength and danger indicates the significance of these qualities in defining their role.

The role preferences of male officers reflect their definitions of situations, including their interpretations of their social identity. The fact that they seem to favor that aspect of their occupational role which is most compatible with their sex-role is not unrelated to their socialization as men and as police.

It should be noted that all of the men in the sample entered the department at a time when women were excluded from patrol. This can only have reinforced the notion that policing was "man's work" and police departments were rightfully male domains. Height and physical fitness requirements further perpetuated the myths that police officers had to possess the most stereotypically masculine qualities. Finally, the reward structure built into police departments enhanced the value of crime fighting, with its attendant risks and dangers, and minimized the prestige associated with social service. Thus, from an historical perspective, the social identity of police officers was inseparable from

the masculine mystique of policing. For men, sex-role was and continues to be a salient feature of their identity as police officers.

However, the ways in which male officers define situations seems to have affected not only their social identity but their handling of incidents as well. Clearly, male officers, even more than their female counterparts, must be faced with uncomfortable role conflict. In actuality, very little patrol time is devoted to law enforcement; instead, police officers spend a good portion of their day intervening in human problems. How, given the nature of their tasks, can male officers protect their social identity? Perhaps, by emphasizing strength, aggressiveness, and lack of emotional involvement-- characteristics associated with the masculine stereotype-- male officers mitigate the conflict between service and law enforcement, thereby reducing the unpleasant and stressful consequences of ambiguity.

Officer Aggression

In discussing aggression, it was suggested that such behavior can be viewed instrumentally, as strategic behavior designed to reach a goal, or as behavior which is a goal in itself. Thus, the various types of officer aggression will be considered in terms of their instrumental functions (i.e., boundary-maintenance) and their expres-

sive functions (i.e., release).

Both encounters and social relationships have been characterized as having a focus as well as boundary rules (Goffman, 1961; M. McCall, 1970). The focus is the reason for which the encounter or social relationship exists. The boundary rules, on the other hand, enable the purpose of the interaction to be realized by excluding disruptive or irrelevant events and emotional states and by clarifying the identities of the participants.

While the communicative function of aggression in police-citizen encounters is of great importance in understanding the meaning which aggressive behavior has for police officers, the expressive function cannot be ignored. An aggressive statement or act may reflect anger or rage on the part of a police officer. In addition, it may indicate a feeling of frustration or helplessness on the part of an officer resulting from inability to cope with either a particular problem or the manner in which the problem has been expressed.

Both instrumental and expressive elements are apparent in displays of physical aggression. They are illustrated in the following description of an observed encounter:

> Two male officers undertook a routine auto check (for an inspection sticker). As they approached the vehicle which was occupied by two young teenage boys, it sped away, going through red lights and in and out of traffic. It side-swiped a police car and hit several other cars in an attempt to flee. Finally, the

> auto was stopped by a police blockade. The two officers jumped out of their car. One policeman began hitting and kicking one of the boys who was struggling and who apparently had kicked the officer initially. The officers took the two boys to the precinct for booking. Once there, the second officer began hitting the other boy's head against the trunk of the police car. Both boys were being slapped and hit. The behavior of both the officers and the youths later changed radically. When they were being booked, the boys were cooperative and friendly, and the officers joked with them in a jovial way.

The officers, themselves, acknowledged the expressive component of their aggressive behavior. One claimed that he became violent because he was attacked first. The other said he was releasing anger because he had almost been killed. Thus, physical aggression in this situation may be an expression of relief in that the encounter ended with no one being seriously hurt.

Viewed as a means of communication, physical aggression on the part of the officers suggested that they would resort to any means necessary to restore control of the situation. In this sense, physical aggression can serve as a final warning where more modest warnings have failed. It can be a means of establishing or reaffirming the boundaries of police-citizen transactions, boundaries which establish the officer as a legitimate authority figure and the citizen-offender as a person of lesser status who must defer to that authority.

Authoritarian aggression includes varied types of verbal aggression which express the power and authority of a police officer. Aggression of this type establishes the boundaries of the relationship between an officer and a citizen (i.e., superordinate-subordinate). It conveys that the officer not only intends to but has the right to control the behavior of citizens in public places. Authoritarian aggression can have an expressive function as well. Thus, when the officer's control of the situation is threatened, this may give rise to loss of self control. Consequently, hurting or intimidating a citizen may become an end in itself. The following observed incident serves as an example:

> Two male officers responded to a burglary call. A female complainant had called to report that her mailbox had been burglarized. A vociferous dispute between neighbors developed. One officer yelled at the complainant to "keep her mouth shut" so that he could listen to the neighbor's story, which he seemed to believe. The complainant became irate and continued to argue. During the course of the argument, the officer turned to the woman's husband and said, "Can you keep her mouth shut?" He interrupted her a number of times and finally walked away saying, "the hell with this fucking slut." The officer then entered the room where his partner was taking a report and said, "What's this fucking shit? Let's get the fuck out of here."

In this incident, as in most which are characterized by authoritarian aggression, an attempt is made to establish the boundaries of the transaction by clarifying what each participant can do or say in the interaction.

Hostile aggression differs somewhat in that boundaries are maintained by establishing who each interactant, particularly the citizen, is. This is typically accomplished by redefining or characterizing the citizen as a non-person or as a contemptible person to be scorned. One observed incident was described as follows:

> Two male officers arrived at the scene of an accident shortly after it occurred. While they were checking licenses and registrations, one citizen accused another of being drunk. The citizens began to argue, and one officer tried to quiet them down. The citizen who was allegedly drunk spoke English very poorly. When the officer requested his license, he showed him a Columbian license. The officer said, "We're not in Columbia, you hump." He arrested the citizen, frisked and handcuffed him, and moved his car to a parking space. The second officer led the man to the police car. When the first officer got into the car, he slammed the door, and the man said, "Watch it." The officer sarcastically replied, "Sorry, fella." In the car, the man began to cry. The officer taunted him most of the way to the police station, referring to him as a "pig" and a "slob." When the man continued to cry, the officer began singing, "Oscar's a baby." The citizen, at one point, addressed the officer as "my friend." The officer cut him off with, "I'm not your friend." Eventually, the citizen became angry. The second officer finally told his partner to stop teasing the man. He also told the citizen to talk to him rather than to his partner. The man, however, continued to talk, and the first officer told him to "shut up." He said that if the man "barfed" on him, he'd kill him. The officers took the man to Central Booking.

Passive aggression involves such potentially provocative behaviors as ignoring a citizen, refusing to respond

to a citizen's questions or concerns, or looking away when a citizen is speaking. These behaviors signify that the citizen is not worth the officer's time and energy. In effect, the citizen is reduced to the status of a non-person by being deprived of his or her identity. In one observed incident, the following transaction took place:

> Two male officers were assigned to a disaster area, where the facade of a building had caved in killing three people. One officer was responsible for keeping the crowd away from the area. He carried this out in a brusque, authoritarian manner, offering no explanation about the accident when asked. When a female bystander tried to cross the barricade, he ordered her back, ignoring her when she asked why she had to remain where she was. Finally, another officer explained why the barricades were necessary.

Passive aggression, as a strategy for boundary-maintenance, defines what is important and relevant and what is not. That is, it is an assertion that the citizen's concerns are of little importance and have no legitimate place in the interaction.

In the kinds of aggression discussed thus far, boundary-maintenance is clearly a means of controlling the immediate interaction. It protects not only the officer's well-being, but his or her social identity (i.e., legitimate authority) as well. This occurs to a lesser degree with behaviors which are characterized as patronizing. To the extent that there is an element of condescention, boundaries regarding the social identities of the participants are constructed. The more important instrumental function perhaps lies in

the provision of a moral yardstick by which a citizen's future behavior can be guided.

Aggression which takes the form of infantilization (i.e., maternalism or paternalism) is problematic. First, the data indicate that these codings were at times used to characterize non-aggressive behavior. Furthermore, paternalism typically has a more negative connotation than maternalism. The latter frequently refers to motherly and caring qualities, while implicit in the former is a relationship between a superordinate and a subordinate where the superordinate reduces an adult to a childlike position with no rights to control his or her personal affairs. When used in its aggressive sense, the boundary-maintenance functions of infantilization are clear, in that the roles of the participants for the duration of the interaction are defined. In effect, the officer becomes a benevolent dictator and the citizen a helpless child.

Insofar as instilling guilt or admonishing or moralizing are concerned, instrumental functions are served by redefining the meaning of the citizen's behavior in such a way as to introduce moral considerations. Consistent with this is an expressive function involving a display of moral indignation. The following observed incident serves as an example:

> Two female officers responded to a call involving the destruction of property. An hispanic man had come to visit his

> wife and children. He had been drinking and upon entering the apartment building broke the glass in the downstairs door and the windows in a vacant apartment. He then proceeded to fall asleep in the vacant apartment. The wife called the police but could not speak English, so her ten year old son translated and told the officers what had happened. One officer told the man to lean against a wall, and she handcuffed him. While waiting for the landlord to arrive, the officer said things such as, "Is this any way for a man to act in front of his son?"

It was predicted that differences between male and female officers would only be evident with certain types of aggression:

Hypothesis 2a: Male officers will exceed females in certain types of aggressive behaviors, namely physical aggression, authoritarianism, and hostility.

Hypothesis 2b: Male and female officers will not differ in the extent to which they display certain types of aggressive behaviors, namely passive aggression and patronizing behavior.

In order to determine whether differences existed in the types of aggression displayed by male and female officers, t-tests were carried out on the aggression sub-indices which were reliable for both males and females (See Table 20).

Males clearly displayed certain constellations of behaviors (i.e., physical aggression, authoritarianism) more often than did females. Sex differences were also found in hostile behaviors, in which women virtually never engaged while men did so three percent of the time.

Table 20

DIFFERENCES ON OFFICER AGGRESSION INDICES

	Female Officers		Male officers		
Index	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Physical Aggression	.00	.01	.02	.04	<.01
Passive Aggression	.02	.02	.03	.05	n.s.
Authoritarian	.02	.02	.06	.07	<.01

On the other hand, male and female officers did not differ in the extent to which they displayed Passive Aggression, nor were there differences on the discrete behaviors which could be considered Patronizing, i.e., maternalism or paternalism, instilling guilt, admonishing or moralizing (See Table 21). Generally speaking, male officers exceeded females in displays of the active or direct forms of aggression, while no sex differences were found insofar as passive or indirect aggression was concerned.

Sex-differences were also evident when one examined the frequency of certain aggressive behaviors (See Figure 1). The most frequently occurring type of aggression displayed by males involved a general manner which was brusque, bossy, or authoritarian (directed toward eight percent of citizens). Maternalism had the greatest occurrence for females (directed toward citizens seven percent of the time). In fact, using maternalism as a strategy for dealing with citizens was the only form of aggression which women engaged in more than three percent of the time. Men, on the other hand, displayed the following behaviors more than three percent of the time: paternalism, threats, instilling guilt, loss of self control, authoritarianism, orders, and verbal aggression. In addition, there were a number of behaviors which female officers virtually never engaged in. These included anger at the outset of an interaction,

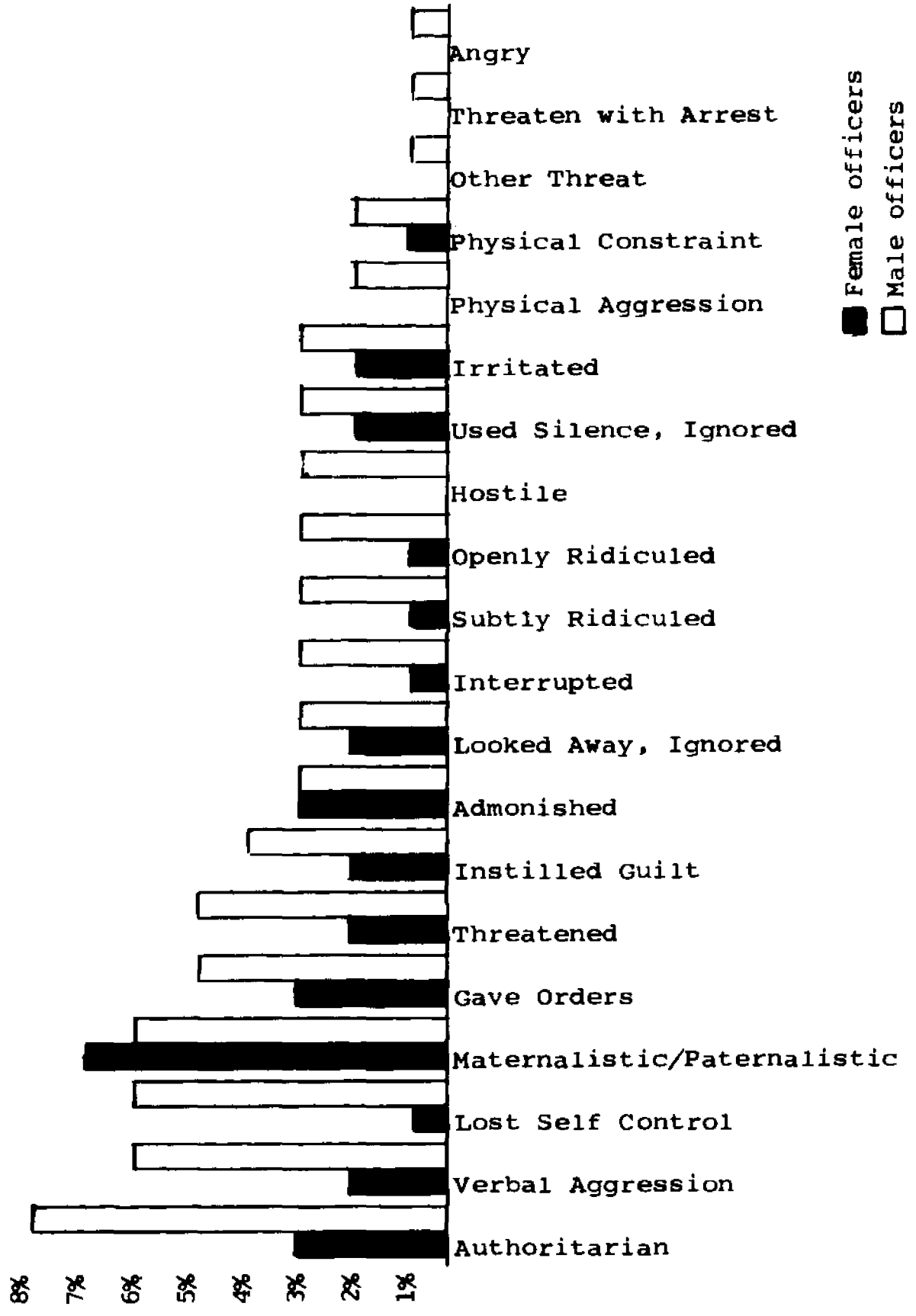
Table 21

DIFFERENCES IN PATRONIZING BEHAVIOR

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Behavior	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Maternalistic/ Paternalistic	.07	.05	.06	.10	n.s.
Instilled Guilt	.02	.02	.04	.07	n.s.
Admonished	.03	.03	.03	.07	n.s.

Figure 1

PROFILE OF OFFICER AGGRESSION



a hostile manner, threats of arrest and other threats or warnings, and physical aggression. All of the twenty types of aggression were displayed by men at least one percent of the time.

It is evident that male and female police officers differ not only in the extent to which they engage in aggressive behavior, but also in the types of aggression which they most frequently display. What accounts for these differences?

Male officers might well engage in more physical aggression by virtue of their greater strength and concomitant confidence in their ability to succeed in physical encounters. Furthermore, their social training has differed from that of women, in that they have been encouraged to fight, at least in certain social situations, while women have been discouraged from engaging in this type of behavior. It should be kept in mind that even men engage in physical aggression very rarely. They typically resort to less extreme strategies to control situations.

Authoritarian aggression is by far the most frequent type of aggressive behavior engaged in by male officers. In accounting for sex-differences, it is not sufficient to refer to the socialization of males in this society. Rather, male police officers, for the most part, have been socialized as white, lower-class males. This has implications in terms of their social identity, their social expectations, and their social learning.

A male officer's social identity-- as an authority figure-- can best be explicated by returning to Goffman's notion that an individual's performance or behavior expresses his or her identity (Goffman, 1961). The performances of male police officers frequently involve demands for unquestioning obedience in a peremptory and bossy way. Thus, their authority is displayed through verbal coercion and demonstrations of power. Needless to say, there are alternative means of establishing one's identity as an authority, for example by demonstrating competence, knowledge, or skill. It is the manner in which male officers establish their authority that reflects their socialization. As lower-class, white males, they have had ample opportunity to witness aggressive and authoritarian means of handling situations. They, themselves, were most likely disciplined in this fashion, both in their families and in their young adult lives where most were involved in military service. It is not surprising, then, that their social identity as police officers and as authority figures is frequently expressed by verbally aggressive, authoritarian behavior.

Insofar as social expectations are concerned, while male officers demand obedience and deference, they expect misbehavior and challenges to their authority. As lower-class, white males, they come from a world in which survival is contingent on power. Thus, on patrol, where their encounters are most often with other lower-class males,

they expect power struggles. Rarely do these take the form of physical contests. If they occur at all, they are played out on a verbal battlefield, with a citizen challenging an officer's authority and an officer responding to the challenge by further authoritarian displays.

It is in terms of these social expectations that male and female officers radically differ. Many males expect to be challenged and, therefore, initiate interactions in an authoritarian manner. Moreover, when a challenge occurs, they feel that they are expected to respond to it, as illustrated in the following observed incident:

> Two policemen issued a summons to a man who had made an illegal turn. Initially, the offender was very cooperative and apologetic. He said that he didn't see the sign and asked to be excused this time. When the officers refused to overlook the violation, the offender became annoyed. The officers returned to the patrol car, and one thought he heard the man say to a bystander, "No wonder they kill them so often." The officer jumped out of the patrol car and shouted, "What did you say?" His partner told him to relax, saying that it didn't make any difference. The officer replied, "Split open his fucking head and it'll make a difference. You don't want to bother because you don't want to get a collar." The partner said, "You take everything personal" to which the officer responded, "Guy wants to kill me; yes I take it personal."

When interviewed about this incident, the officer said, "I showed him that I wasn't afraid of him and that he had to respect me. I stood up to him when he said he wanted to see cops dead."

Another illustration of male officers' attitudes toward challenges comes from a response to a question about how the introduction of female officers would affect the Police Department:

> This will give the Police Department a very bad image in quite a few areas. There will be quite a few people making bad remarks to the women on the street and in alot of cases, nothing will be done about it, and in turn it will be detrimental to our image.

In some respects, the officer who made the above statement was correct. Female officers, unlike their male counterparts, do not feel obligated to take up the challenges proffered by citizens. One woman was interviewed about an incident in which she arrested an abusive, drunk driver. She said, "Male cops would have been more likely to respond to the challenge. Some might have had enough insight to know he was looking for a fight." Finally, sex-differences in social expectations regarding the behavior of both officers and citizens is reflected in the following statement: "The benefit of being female and not challenging makes up for a hell of a lot."

Not only does socialization affect social identity and social expectations, but it also influences the learning of a certain repertoire of behaviors. Many male officers have constructed an "authoritarian formula" which is utilized to control situations. One officer claimed that in potentially disruptive situations, "You assert your authority and proceed with verbal commands or force if necessary." Re-

liance on this type of behavior seems to reflect both its compatibility with the masculine stereotype of policing and its availability. Thus, a male officer may resort to authoritarian displays because he has a limited repertoire of responses. His behavioral options might well be circumscribed by his socialization as a lower-class male.

No doubt, the behaviors available to female officers are also circumscribed. Because they are women and tend to be middle-class as well, their social training has probably discouraged authoritarian displays. Thus, in family disputes where male officers typically come in, silence the people involved, and instruct the man to leave for the night, female officers are more likely to spend a considerable amount of time, hear the disputants out, and try to resolve the difficulty. One woman described a family dispute which took over ½ hour to settle. Although the husband was extremely agitated and abusive, she did not want to arrest him. She said, "I tried to give him time to back out gracefully. Finally we worked out an acceptable compromise." In discussing how a male officer might have behaved, she said, "A policeman probably wouldn't have given as long a time. He probably would have had to take the husband by force." She indicated that she prefers to spend more time because eventually reasoning works.

A precinct commander suggested that not only do male and female officers differ in their approach to family disputes, but also that women tend to be more effective. He

indicated that the resolution arrived at by female officers is more permanent-- the families do not call the police back; in contrast, male officers are often called back several times in a tour of duty. In addition, he noted that male officers are much more frequently assaulted. In fact, in his experience, a female officer had never been assaulted in disputes of this type.

In general, then, male officers are more apt to engage in authoritarian aggression than their female counterparts. This might be due to their unique socialization as lower-class, white males which has led them to view such behavior as required in police-citizen encounters, to see their social identity as being corroborated through such displays, and to be unfamiliar with alternative strategies for handling situations.

Although male officers are not hostile or contemptuous very often, female officers never engage in behavior of this sort. The differences between male and female officers are most evident where they are required to maintain order or provide service. Specifically, it is with drunks, "psychos" (i.e., persons displaying psychotic symptoms), unruly disputants, and citizens who are considered bothersome (e.g., agitated complainants, chronic offenders) where hostile behavior is most often manifested.

Hostility is typically conveyed through ridicule and epithets, expressed both during interactions with citizens and as commentary after the transactions have been concluded.

When male officers were interviewed about incidents in which they participated, they occasionally expressed contemptuous feelings. For example, a drunk woman was referred to as a "disrespectful old bat," a female complainant was called a "loudmouth," the mother in a family dispute was labeled a "pain in the ass," and her son was judged as leading a "low life."

Sex-differences in hostility have been noted by female officers, one of whom said, "Most policemen laugh at psychos. They think it's funny. Policewomen don't think it's funny." Additional evidence regarding sex-differences has been provided by the Profile Sheets, where observers noted officers' comments about neighborhood residents made in the privacy of the radio car. Fifty percent of the comments made by men were negative or derogatory, while there were no such comments made by women.[1] Male officers frequently made racist or other demeaning remarks. For example, in discussing 53 homicides which had occurred in the precinct, one male officer said, "Well, that's 53 less welfare checks."

There are several reasons why male officers might hold more contemptuous attitudes and engage in more hostile behavior than their female counterparts. First, it is important to note that they have been on patrol quite a bit longer

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[1] Based on the coding of 44 comments by male officers and 24 by female officers.

than the female officers involved in this research. As patrol officers, they are constantly exposed to human misery. It is when people are most desperate that the police are asked to intervene. Thus, for the patrol officer, the world is truly an ugly place. They see not the causes of poverty and crime, but rather the results. And it is the results-- the people who act out of desperation-- who become the object of their contempt. Male officers, themselves, have said that they deal with the "dregs of the earth," the "filth." Thus, hostility on the part of male officers may have an expressive function; it may express their disgust and distaste for the kinds of problems they deal with day in and day out.

It is probable that hostility on the part of male officers has an instrumental function as well. As lower-class males, the world that they see every day is a world that they could easily have been part of. Even as police officers, their social status is precarious. The fact that they receive sizable salaries does not guarantee them respect. Thus, displaying contempt and hostility toward citizens might be a means of enhancing their own status.

Both the instrumental and expressive functions of hostility are evident in the following observed incident:

> Two male officers were dispatched to a store where they found a woman lying on the floor. One officer shouted, "What's wrong?" The woman motioned that she wanted to write down her difficulty. The officer wouldn't let her,

> saying, "If you can write it down, you can tell me." She had been drinking and had fallen down a flight of stairs several hours before. The alcohol was wearing off, and she was now in pain. Three times, in a nasty tone of voice, the policeman yelled, "What's your name?" Then they pulled her up from the floor and roughly put her in the patrol car. On the way to the car, one officer snidely asked her how much she had to drink. At the hospital, they grabbed her out of the car. She said that she was hurt and pleaded with them not to treat her so roughly. They laughed. One officer handed her to the other who carried her into the hospital with the top half of her body swinging down. She groaned, and the policemen laughed. They dropped her on a stretcher in a very disgusted way, and left the hospital laughing.

When interviewed about this incident, one officer characterized the injured woman as "dirty, illiterate, and drunk." Furthermore, he said that although she wanted to go to the hospital, he saw no reason to take her there, since she had no visible injuries.

The disdain expressed by the officers in this incident is obvious, both toward the woman as an individual and as a representative of a class of individuals. But it is also clear that in displaying contempt, they were communicating something. In effect, they were saying, "You are so disgusting and unworthy that we don't even want to touch you," thus diminishing her status and elevating theirs.

With passive aggression, there is no disparity between the behavior of male and female officers. This may be due to the fact that it is a less direct form of aggression. While men learn early in life that direct forms of aggression are acceptable and are encouraged to be active rather

than passive, women are taught just the opposite. Given their social training, women have learned to express aggression in indirect ways, ways which are less subject to sanctions.

It should be noted that passive aggression is not engaged in very frequently by either male or female officers. This may be attributed to the fact that while it is controlling in that it diminishes the importance of the citizen, active control over the course of events is, to some degree, relinquished. It is likely that officers of either sex would only resort to passive aggression in situations where relinquishing active control does not make them vulnerable.

Finally, in behaviors which might be viewed as patronizing-- infantilizing, instilling guilt, admonishing or moralizing-- no sex differences exist. Not surprisingly, these behaviors resemble pro-social aggression (e.g., the stating of rules and the consequences of breaking them). It is precisely this type of aggression that females have been found to engage in most frequently. Once again, aggression of this sort is both less direct and less likely to have elicited sanctions during the course of women's socialization.

To summarize, then, male officers exceed female officers in aggressive behavior which is active, direct, and anti-social. Moreover, the types of aggression in which sex-differences are evident are those in which the boundary-maintenance functions are clear. That is, aggression can

be viewed as a strategy, the primary function of which is to establish the social identities of both the officers and the citizens and to, thereby, control the situation.

It was hypothesized that not only would male and female officers differ in the types of aggression they displayed, but also in their reasons for engaging in aggressive behavior:

> Hypothesis 2c: Male and female officers will engage in aggressive behavior for different reasons. Specifically, aggression on the part of males is more likely to represent a defense of their personal autonomy or an expression of contempt or disapproval. Areas in which sex-differences are less likely to occur are protection against existing or potential danger, attempt to control situation, and defense or support of others.

In incidents where observers indicated that verbal or physical aggression occurred on the part of a police officer, they were instructed to code the reasons for such aggression as well. Because the total number of occurrences was relatively small-- 167 for male officers and 16 for female officers-- codings were grouped into five general categories (See Appendix A, #21). Only incidents in which physical or verbal aggression was coded were included in the analysis.

Mean scores for each officer ranged from zero to one, with zero indicating the absence of any codings in that category and one indicating the maximum number of codings in that category. Because some officers were never coded

as being verbally or physically aggressive, t-tests were carried out on the mean scores of 39 men and 6 women.

Contrary to the original hypothesis, male officers were not more likely than female officers to be aggressive in defense of their personal autonomy. That is, aggression on the part of male officers was no more likely to be a reaction to touching or other bodily contact, to defiance of orders, to verbal abuse, to a challenge, or against orders, instructions, or demands than was aggression on the part of female officers.

There were also no differences between male and female officers in aggression which was undertaken as a protection against existing or potential danger (i.e., to terminate violence directed against the officer, to disarm a citizen, to prevent violence). Contrary to current police mythology which states that aggression occurs to protect officers and citizens from danger, aggression practically never occurred for these reasons.

No sex-differences were found in aggression for the purpose of defending or supporting others. This included aggression in defense of a police officer who was engaged in physical struggle or who was being assaulted verbally as well as aggression on behalf of a citizen who was being attacked or was in a potentially dangerous or threatening situation.

One unpredicted difference was found. Male officers were more likely than female officers to engage in aggres-

sion in order to control a situation (p=.05). Specifically, male officers engaged in proportionately more aggression to subdue a citizen, to separate citizens, or to be acknowledged, recognized, or heard.

Finally, the hypothesis regarding aggression as an expression of contempt or disapproval was confirmed ($p < .05$). That is, male officers were more likely than female officers to be aggressive because of some quality in the citizen (i.e., race, class) of which they disapproved or based on their definition of the citizen as a criminal.

Thus, male and female officers differed in their reasons for engaging in aggressive behavior in two specific areas. First, men were more likely to be aggressive in an attempt to control the situation. That is, a citizen or citizens were perceived to have lost control, and the officer attempted to re-establish a state of calm or control. Second, male officers more often displayed aggression as an expression of contempt or disapproval. In this case, aggression served as a manifestation of disapproval or to assert the officer's status vis-a-vis the citizen. These findings are consistent with our contention regarding the meaning of aggressive behavior where sex-differences exist. That is, aggression, particularly on the part of male officers, communicates the officer's status and role in the interaction and functions as a strategy to control the situation.

Citizen Interaction Styles

If the behaviors engaged in by officers are a means of communication, then the behavior of citizens can be viewed in this light as well. It is important to note, however, that police officers, by virtue of their role, have more power than do citizens. Consequently, citizens' attempts to inject a modicum of control into a situation are likely to be somewhat indirect. Moreover, citizens are apt to be reactive rather than active.

Four distinct styles of behavior were found to be characteristic of citizens. In adopting a friendly style, citizens might well be indicating that they not only accept the officer's definition of the situation, but also approve of it. In a sense, they are exceeding what is expected of them in their encounters with the police; rather than simply cooperating, they are being friendly and helpful. In effect, they might be saying, "I agree with the actions you are taking. Therefore, I will support you."

In displaying behavior which is essentially calm, citizens are, at least overtly, accepting the definition of a situation projected by an officer. Privately, they may or may not approve of the officer's actions. Nonetheless, they are letting the officer know that they will cooperate to sustain the interaction and will not disrupt or jeopardize its satisfactory conclusion. In communicating something about the officer, they are, in effect, saying "You are the expert. I will trust your actions and decisions."

They may, on the other hand, be saying something about their own social identity: "I am the type of person who obeys the law and respects legitimate authority. I don't make trouble."

Citizens who behave passively are demonstrating a degree of separateness from the transaction. Adoption of this style may well communicate disaffection with the officer's definition of the situation. It may, as well, communicate disapproval of police intervention or non-acceptance of a police officer's legitimacy or authority. In the preceding examples, passivity reflects a citizen's definition of the police and their involvement. A citizen might be saying, "I disapprove of you and what you're doing, but I will not risk overtly challenging your definition of the situation." However, passive citizen behavior may mean something quite different. It may be a comment about the citizen's social identity rather than that of the officer. Thus, it may suggest the following: "I am hurt or vulnerable. I need your help."

Aggressive behavior on the part of citizens reflects disapproval of an officer's definition of a situation as well as an attempt to influence that definition. While a citizen may contest an officer's interpretation of events by being blatantly abusive and perhaps even violent, it is far more likely that he or she will be argumentative, disgruntled, or not fully cooperative. By engaging in such behavior, a citizen is claiming some rights to define the

situation and the roles of the participants. In effect, the citizen is saying, "You do not have total control. I have a right to define myself and my needs." On the other hand, aggressive citizen behavior might simply be a statement about the social identity of a police officer. A citizen might be saying, "I know what you are, and it is not what you say you are," thus undermining the legitimacy of a police officer's authority.

In formulating this research and constructing hypotheses, one underlying assumption was that officer and citizen behaviors would not be independent of one another. For that reason, it was hypothesized that male officers would both direct more aggression toward and receive more aggression from citizens. Likewise, it was suggested that female officers would both engage in and be the recipients of more friendly behaviors.

Hypothesis 3a: Citizens will be more aggressive toward male officers than toward female officers.

Hypothesis 3b: Citizens will be more friendly toward female officers than toward male officers.

Hypothesis 3c: For the most part, citizens will be civil toward both male and female officers.

The hypotheses were only partially confirmed (See Table 22). Contrary to our prediction, citizens directed equally as much aggression toward male and female officers. At the same time, citizens were more friendly with female officers.

Table 22

DIFFERENCES IN CITIZEN INTERACTION STYLES

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Index	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Aggressive[1]	.07	.02	.08	.05	n.s.
Passive[2]	.17	.05	.14	.09	n.s.
Calm[2]	.52	.09	.53	.17	n.s.
Friendly[1]	.21	.11	.13	.11	<.05

[1] One-tailed test

[2] Two-tailed test

Hypothesis 3c could not be directly tested, as there was no overall measure of Civil Behavior. On the two indices where civility could be inferred-- Calm and Passive-- no differences were found between male and female officers. That is, citizens for the most part behaved calmly toward male police officers and toward their female counterparts. Neither were they more calm nor more passive with either group.

In light of our expectations concerning reciprocity in officer and citizen behavior, the absence of differences in aggression directed toward male and female officers is surprising. One must infer that female officers are the recipients of more aggression than their behavior warrants or that, for some reason, aggression on the part of male officers does not elicit aggressive citizen responses.

It may be that the authority inherent in the police role, and the authoritarian manner adopted by male officers in particular, inhibits most citizens from engaging in extreme behaviors. Consequently, the observable actions of citizens may not be contingent on what the officer actually does in the incident.

Alternatively, it may be that the differences in officer interaction styles described earlier contribute to the ostensible lack of reciprocity in police-citizen aggression. Some confirmation for this notion is provided by an analysis of only those incidents in which verbal or physical aggression was coded. Aggression was conceived as occurring in

three possible combinations:

1. Both officer and citizen aggression
2. Officer aggression only
3. Citizen aggression only

For each of these, t-tests were carried out, with officers being assigned a score of one where that state of affairs existed and a score of zero where it did not.

Two significant differences were found. Male officers were the only aggressor in an incident more often than were female officers ($p < .01$). Female officers were more likely to be involved in situations where only a citizen was aggressive than were their male counterparts ($p < .05$).

In fact, for male officers the most likely occurrence was that the officer alone would display aggression. Where female officers were concerned, it was most probable that if any aggression occurred, it would be engaged in solely by a citizen. For both male and female officers, it was least likely that both the officer and the citizen would be aggressive (See Table 23).

Table 23

DIFFERENCES IN DIRECTION OF AGGRESSION

	Female Officers		Male Officers	
Direction	N	%	N	%
Both	6	16%	22	17%
Officer only	8	22%	66	51%
Citizen only	23	62%	42	32%

While the behavior of male officers was potentially more provocative, it is conceivable that their style, involving assertions of power or authority, has an inhibiting or even an intimidating effect on citizens. In contrast, the interaction style adopted by female officers seems considerably more controlled. Within limits, women seem more willing than men to let the anger and frustration of citizens run their course before intervening. If this is so, it is not surprising that while citizens do not direct substantially more aggression toward male officers, they are typically less friendly toward them.

Citizen Aggression

Again, assuming interdependence between citizen and officer behavior, the following was hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 4a: Citizens will be more likely to direct certain types of aggression (i.e., physical aggression, antagonism, hostility) toward males than toward females.

There was no evidence that citizens directed certain types of aggression more often toward male officers. In constructing indices, it was found that the major part of the variance in citizen behavior which was aggressive could be accounted for by a single Aggression Index. Thus, clusters of behaviors typically directed toward male officers as opposed to female officers were not evident.

When each of the 15 aggression items was analyzed separately, only one proved to be significant. Seven percent of all citizens were insulting, baiting, or provocative with women, while only three percent engaged in these behaviors with men ($p < .05$). In general, then, citizens directed the same types of aggression toward male and female officers. Moreover, the frequency with which they engaged in these behaviors did not differ based on the sex of the officer.

> Hypothesis 4b: Citizens will direct aggression toward male officers for different reasons than toward female officers. Specifically, aggression is more likely to be displayed toward male officers as a reaction to exercise of informal power and as an expression of contempt or disapproval. There will be no differences in aggression for the following reasons: perseverence in-- or transfer or extension of-- aggression, reaction to exercise of formal power, reaction to arrest or potential arrest, defense or support of others.

Incidents were included in this analysis only if citizens were coded as being verbally or physically aggressive toward a police officer. Because some officers never encountered aggression of this sort, t-tests were ultimately conducted on the mean scores of only 31 male officers and eight female officers (See description of analysis of Hypothesis 2c for further discussion).

Of six general categories representing citizens' rea-

sons for aggression, differences were hypothesized in two. Contrary to expectations, however, no differences were found. That is, for no ostensible reasons did citizens direct proportionately more aggression toward male officers than toward female officers.

Thus, what is most evident in citizen aggression is a lack of variability with respect to male and female officers. Tests of internal consistency of indices showed no evidence of varied patterns of aggression directed toward male and female officers. In addition, there were neither differences in the amount of aggression directed toward men and women nor in the reasons for such aggression.

It may be that regardless of the behavior of police officers, a certain number of citizens will be aggressive and that the form that their aggression takes will be circumscribed both by the authority of the police and by their own cultural background. The police and the public typically come together in highly charged situations, where citizens are unusually upset, frustrated, or desperate. Aggression on the part of citizens may be a function of their situation at that moment in time rather than a function of police behavior.

It would be misleading to conclude, however, that citizens are not differentially affected by the policing styles of male and female officers. In order to explore this further, incidents in which there was some degree of

tension, violence, or excitement were analyzed. Officers were assigned a score of one if they decreased the tension and two if they increased it. Male and female officers differed significantly on this dimension ($p < .05$). In situations where the officer had some effect on the level of tension, violence, and/or excitement, male officers were most likely to increase the tension, while females were most likely to decrease it (See Table 24).

Table 24

DIFFERENCES IN EFFECT ON LEVEL OF TENSION

	Female Officers		Male Officers	
Effect	N	%	N	%
Decrease	155	76%	226	49%
Increase	48	24%	235	51%

In selected incidents where officer aggression was displayed, a similar pattern emerged with male officers most often increasing tension and females most often decreasing it. Thus, if aggression is displayed for the purpose of establishing order where none exists, male officers are singularly ineffective in achieving their goal.

Regarding their ability to de-fuse situations without using force or being abusive, one female officer said, "I treat people respectfully and calmly. It's a tactic which always works. It's your attitude. When they realize you're not going to hurt them, they calm down."

Thus, although the behavior of police officers is not directly reflected in or predictive of the behavior of citizens, it seems reasonable to assume that the differential styles of policing engaged in by male and female officers do have an effect, at least as far as tension, violence, and/or excitement are concerned.

Situational Context

Social psychology, in contrast to other areas of psychology, emphasizes the importance of the social context in influencing not only the ways in which people interpret their experience, but their behavior as well. Thus, the following was hypothesized:

> Hypothesis 5: Sex differences will be related to the social context in which officers interact with citizens. Behavioral differences will be more apparent in certain situations than in others.

Clearly, the police function in a multitude of settings. The focus of this analysis will be on the following:

1. Sex of the citizen
2. Role of the citizen
3. Type of incident
4. Manner in which the incident was initiated

Observers were instructed to code the role of citizens as follows:

1. "Complainant"- An individual who contacts the police to report a crime, an injury, an accident, etc.

2. "Victim"- A person against whom a crime has been committed, who is sick or has been injured, who has experienced the loss of property or persons, etc. (Includes mental patients)

3. "Offender"- An individual who is suspected of having performed a criminal act or a violation of a civil law.

4. "Informant"- Someone who provides information relevant to the incident.

5. "Bystander"- A person who is physically present at the incident but is not personally involved in the original encounter.

Each type of incident in which an officer was involved was characterized and coded (See Appendix A, #8b). Codings were organized into three basic categories: Felonies (serious crimes), Other Complaints (less serious crimes), and Miscellaneous Incidents and Problems (non-criminal). Frequently, police work is conceptualized as involving law enforcement, order maintenance, and service. Since the three categories in the Incident Report correspond fairly well with this distinction, the analyses will be reported referring to law enforcement, order maintenance, and service calls.

Finally, the functions which police officers perform can be initiated in a variety of ways. The following distinctions were utilized in this research:

1. "Dispatched"- A call which is received over the radio (most often because a citizen has called 911).

2. "On-view"- An incident which the police initiate in the field.

3. "Citizen-in-the-Field"- A citizen or citizens initiate interaction directly with officers.

While the behaviors of citizens and officers were examined in each of the four contexts mentioned above, it should be kept in mind that the social contexts, themselves, were not entirely distinct from one another. For example, female citizens were less apt to be offenders (18 percent) than were male citizens (36%). On the other hand, they were more likely to be complainants (24 versus 12 percent) and victims (40 percent versus 25 percent). Moreover, the vast majority of offenders were involved in order-maintenance calls (84 percent), whereas only 56 percent of complainants and 27 percent of victims were involved in such calls. Also, the majority of calls involving offenders were initiated by officers on-view (53 percent). Very few calls involving complainants and victims were initiated in this way (2 percent and 9 percent respectively). Furthermore, jobs which officers initiated on-view most frequently required order maintenance (80 percent) unlike dispatched calls (43 percent) or those initiated by a citizen in the field (32 percent).

Officer Interaction Styles

Thus far, the discussion of officer interaction styles has focussed on general differences in policing styles between male and female officers. There were certain social

contexts, however, in which these differences did not exist, and others in which they were most evident. There were, for example, certain kinds of situations which seemed to elicit greater demonstrations of power and aggression on the part of male officers (See Table 25 and Figure 2). These included situations which were potentially the most volatile in that an officer's authority was most likely to be challenged. Thus, differences in aggression were evident with offenders and with male citizens, who were significantly more likely than females to be offenders ($p < .01$).

Moreover, differences in aggression seemed to occur in highly ambiguous situations. Specifically, aggression on the part of male officers was evident in order maintenance calls where the definition of the situation was by no means clear as well as in dispatched calls where the nature of the incident may have been far removed from the dispatcher's description. In addition, an aggressive style was likely to be displayed by male officers in situations where they had the most discretion and the fewest institutional controls (i.e., jobs which they initiated on-view). Finally, sex differences in aggression tended to occur in situations in which the task requirements were incompatible with a male officer's definition of his role. Thus, male officers were more aggressive where provision of service was required and somewhat more so with victims.

Although male and female officers did not generally

Table 25

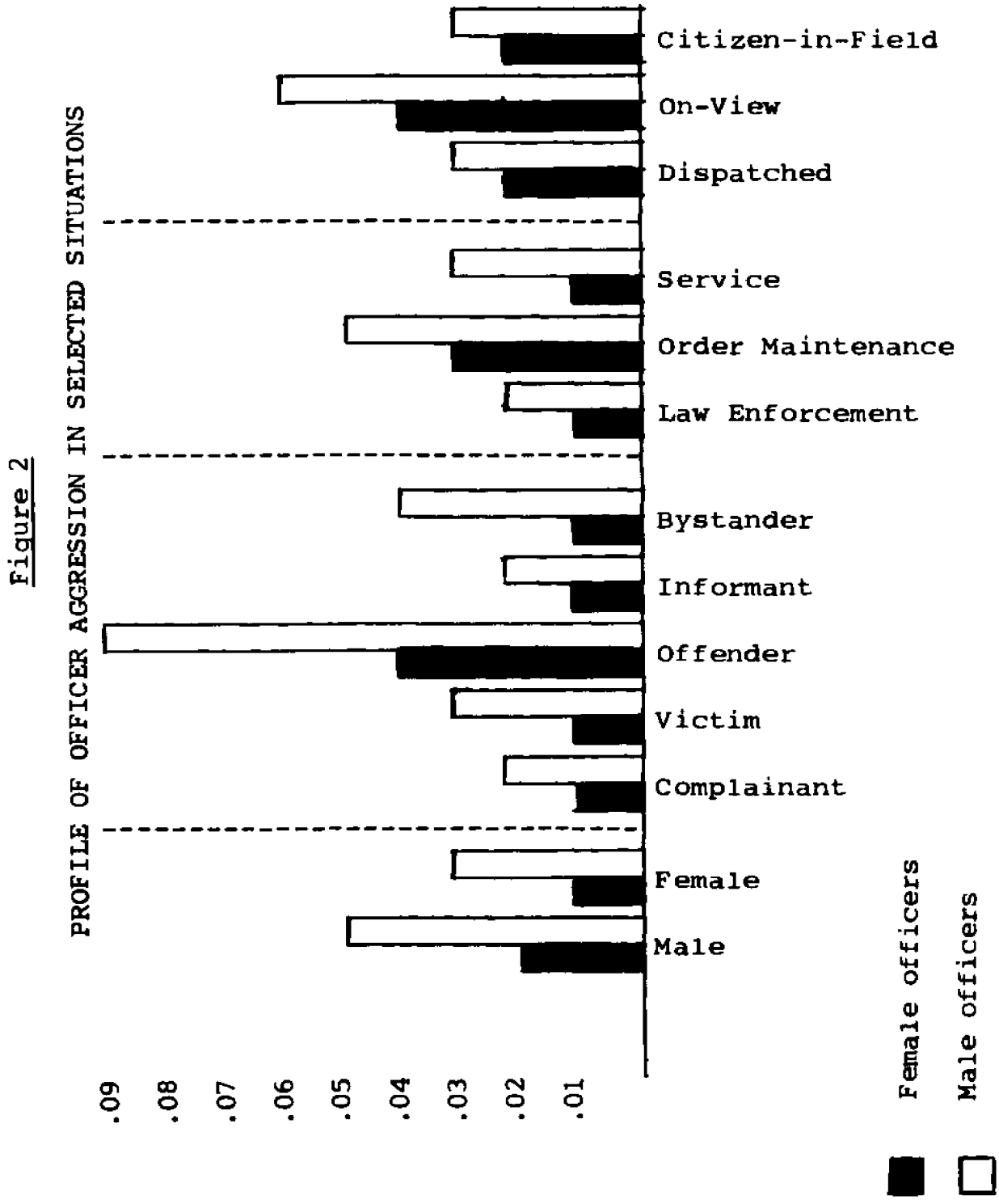
DIFFERENCES[1] IN OFFICER AGGRESSION
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.02	.01	.05	.06	<.01
Female Citizens	.01	.01	.03	.04	n.s.
Complainants	.01	.01	.02	.04	n.s.[2]
Victims	.01	.01	.03	.05	n.s.[2]
Offenders	.04	.02	.09	.09	<.01
Informants	.01	.01	.02	.04	<.05
Bystanders	.01	.02	.04	.02	n.s.
Law Enforcement	.01	.02	.02	.06	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.03	.02	.05	.07	<.05
Service	.01	.01	.03	.05	<.05
Dispatched	.02	.01	.03	.04	<.05
On-View	.04	.03	.06	.08	<.05
Citizen-in-Field	.02	.03	.03	.06	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

[2] Approaches significance ($p < .10$)

Figure 2


PROFILE OF OFFICER AGGRESSION IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.09
.08
.07
.06
.05
.04
.03
.02
.01
Female officers
Male officers

differ insofar as a business-like style was concerned, women were less likely to display this style with female citizens, complainants and bystanders, and in service calls (See Table 26 and Figure 3). These are among the situations in which women, rather than being business-like, displayed more sympathetic behaviors.

Generally speaking, women exceeded men in sympathy where service of some sort was likely to be requested (See Tables 27, 28, 29 and Figures 4, 5, 6). Thus, sex differences were evident with complainants and to a lesser degree with victims, both of whom were significantly more likely than offenders to request a service ($p < .01$). Differences in sympathy also occurred with female citizens, who were more likely than males to be complainants or victims ($p < .01$). In calls which were initiated by dispatch and those which were initiated by a citizen in the field, women exceeded men in displays of sympathy and concern. Both these types of calls were more likely to involve service than were on-view calls ($p < .01$). Finally, sex differences existed where officers were required to maintain order and, to a lesser degree, where they had to provide service, both of which may involve intervening in human problems.

Clearly, the implication is that the provision of service with its attendant displays of concern and emotional support is less problematic for female officers than for

Table 26

DIFFERENCES[1] IN BUSINESS-LIKE BEHAVIORS
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.62	.15	.68	.21	n.s.
Female Citizens	.64	.06	.75	.22	<.01
Complainants	.64	.10	.75	.26	<.05
Victims	.63	.23	.77	.23	n.s.
Offenders	.65	.15	.64	.29	n.s.
Informants	.63	.18	.68	.26	n.s.
Bystanders	.40	.22	.61	.28	<.05
Law Enforcement	.69	.20	.73	.28	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.65	.11	.69	.20	n.s.
Service	.58	.11	.68	.28	<.05
Dispatched	.64	.15	.74	.20	n.s.
On-View	.56	.27	.61	.30	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.56	.07	.63	.35	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

Figure 3

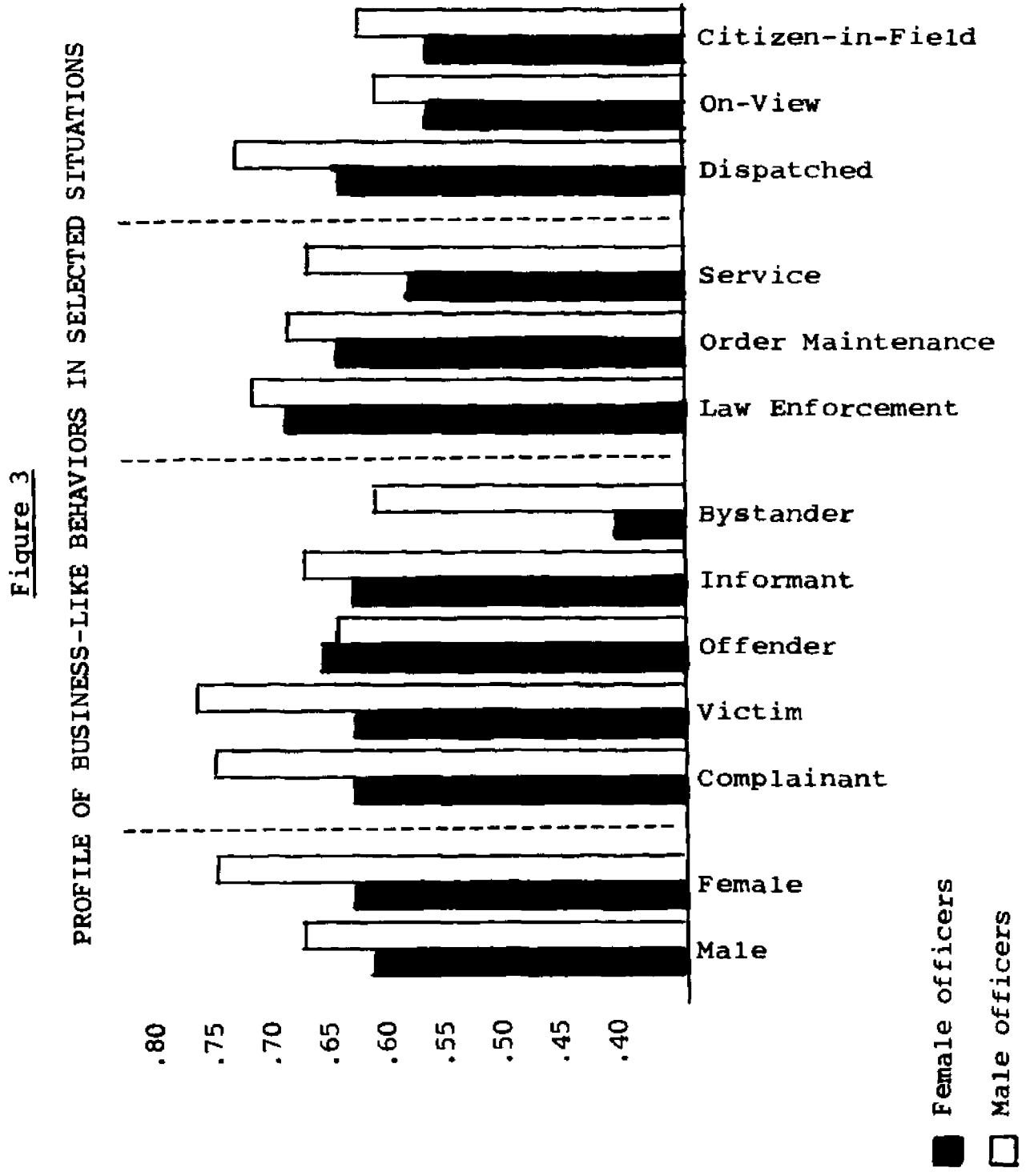

PROFILE OF BUSINESS-LIKE BEHAVIORS IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.80
.75
.70
.65
.60
.55
.50
.45
.40
Female officers
Male officers

Table 27

DIFFERENCES[1] IN OFFICER CONCERN
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.19	.10	.13	.14	n.s.
Female Citizens	.47	.18	.20	.24	<.01
Complainants	.48	.29	.21	.31	<.01
Victims	.40	.24	.23	.26	n.s.[2]
Offenders	.10	.05	.12	.24	n.s.
Informants	.16	.14	.19	.29	n.s.
Bystanders	.14	.19	.06	.19	n.s.
Law Enforcement	.28	.20	.15	.23	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.23	.11	.14	.19	n.s.
Service	.28	.13	.17	.19	n.s.[2]
Dispatched	.30	.13	.20	.22	n.s.
On-View	.09	.16	.10	.22	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.32	.25	.12	.24	<.05

[1] Two-tailed test

[2] Approaches significance ($p < .10$)

Figure 4

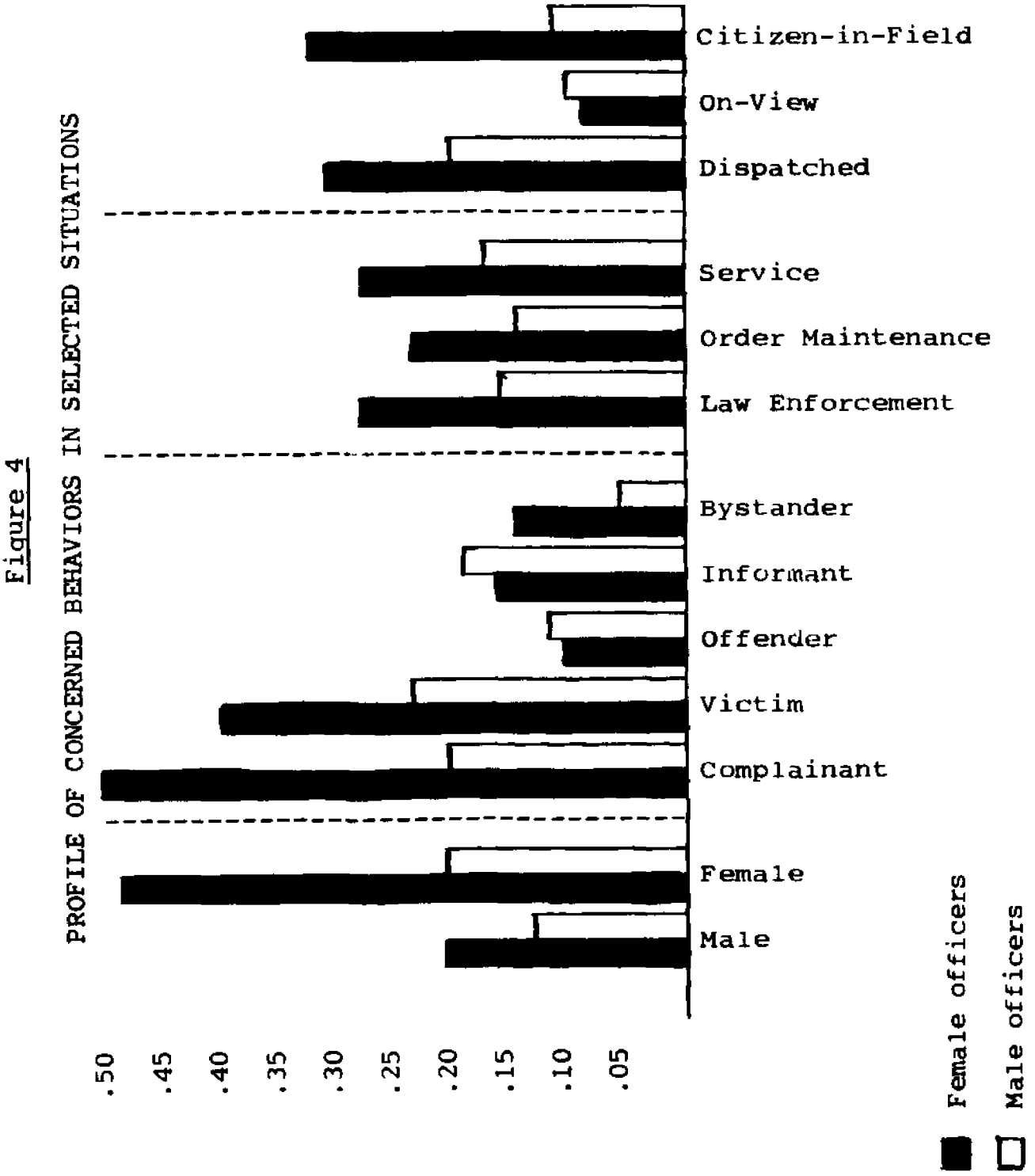

PROFILE OF CONCERNED BEHAVIORS IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.50
.45
.40
.35
.30
.25
.20
.15
.10
.05
Female officers
Male officers

Table 28

DIFFERENCES[1] IN OFFICER ADVICE
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.19	.10	.02	.06	n.s.
Female Citizens	.17	.06	.06	.15	<.01
Complainants	.14	.11	.10	.28	n.s.
Victims	.15	.13	.05	.15	n.s.[2]
Offenders	.05	.07	.03	.11	n.s.
Informants	.04	.06	.00	.02	n.s.
Bystanders	.09	.17	.00	.00	<.01
Law Enforcement	.08	.07	.04	.16	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.11	.04	.04	.08	<.01
Service	.08	.07	.03	.10	n.s.
Dispatched	.09	.06	.04	.08	<.05
On-View	.03	.04	.01	.04	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.11	.11	.07	.22	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

[2] Approaches significance ($p < .10$)

Figure 5

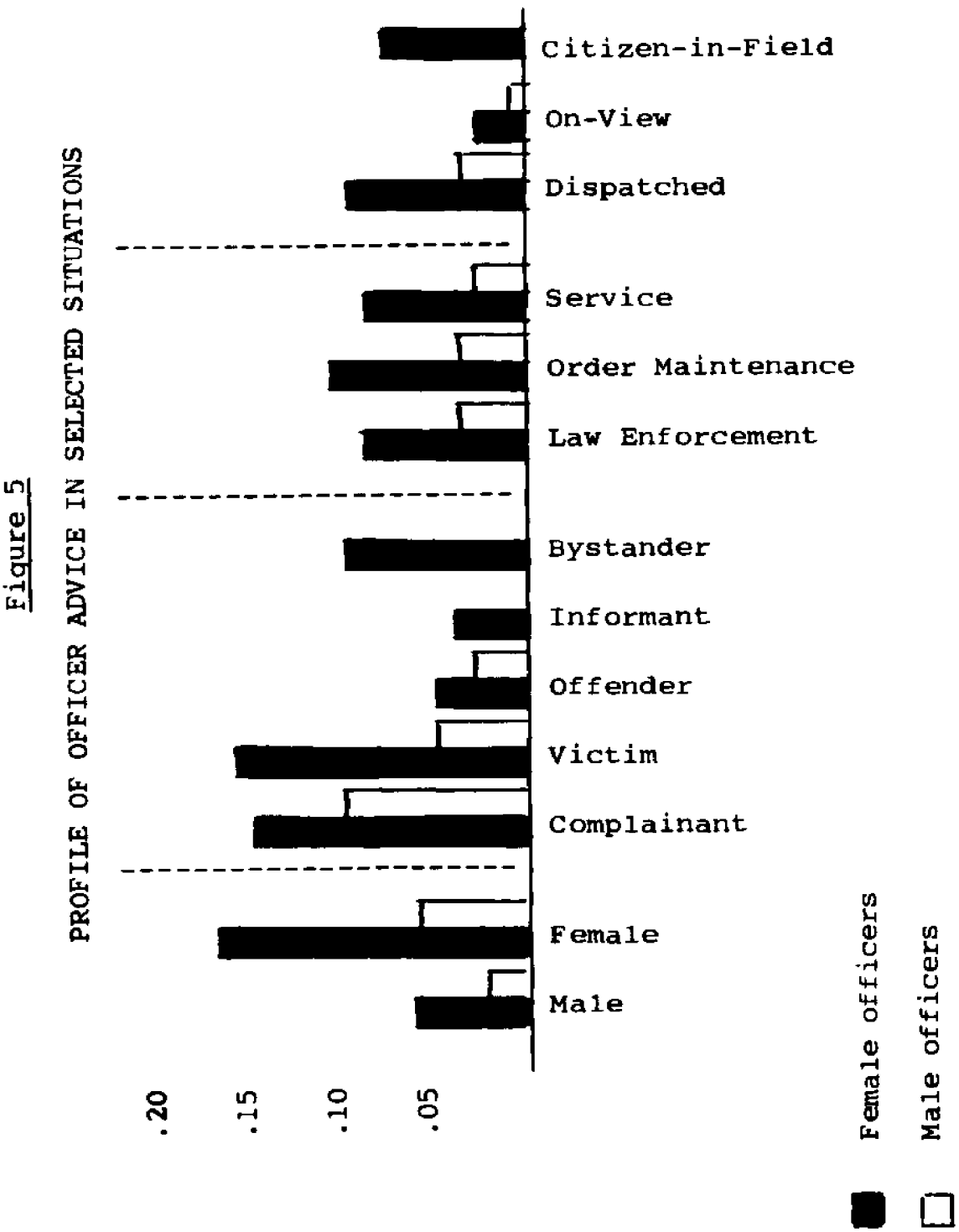

PROFILE OF OFFICER ADVICE IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.20
.15
.10
.05
Female officers
Male officers

Table 29

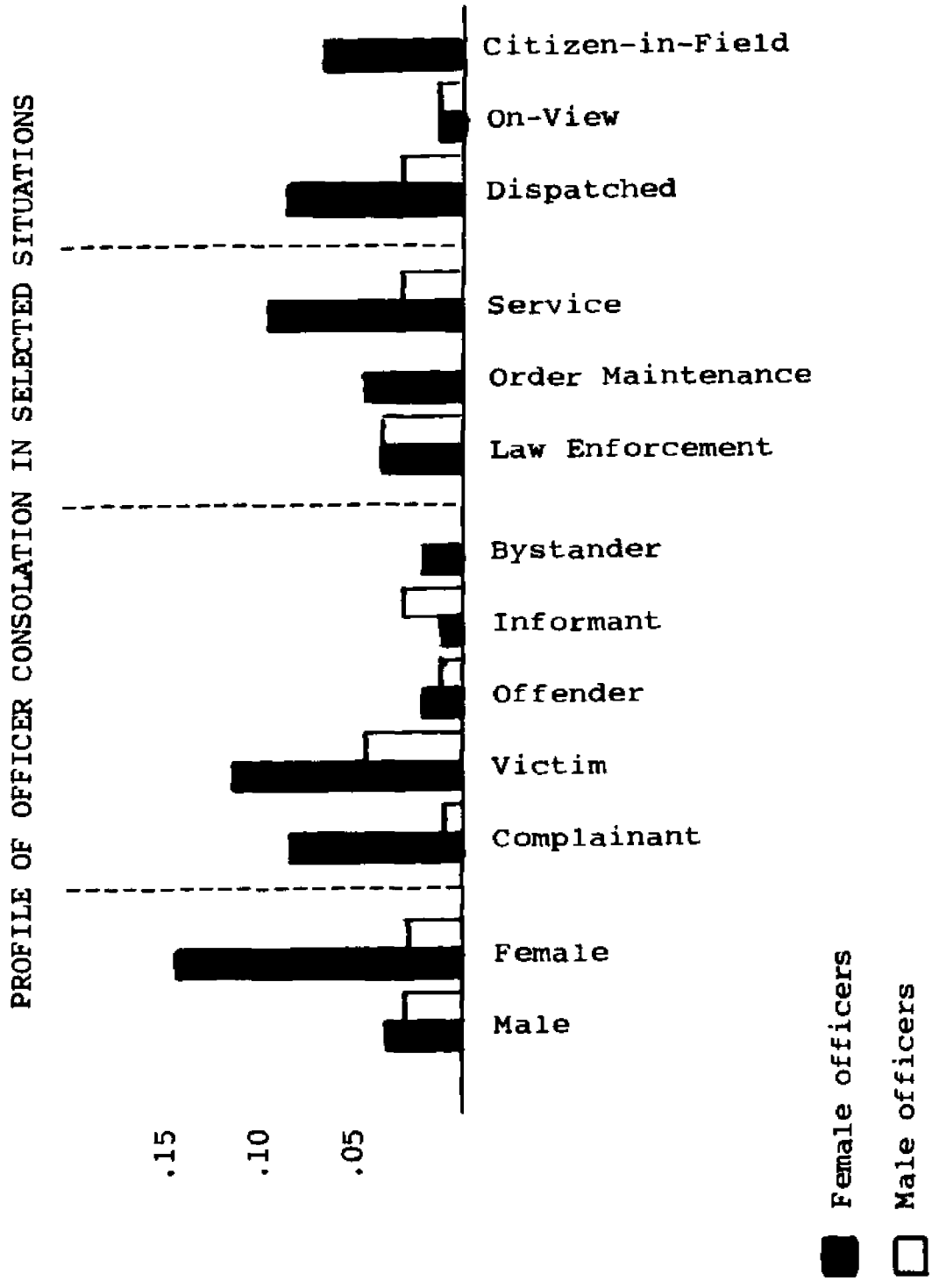
DIFFERENCES[1] IN OFFICER CONSOLATION
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.04	.03	.03	.08	n.s.
Female Citizens	.14	.08	.03	.06	<.01
Complainants	.08	.11	.01	.04	<.05 [2]
Victims	.12	.11	.05	.13	n.s.
Offenders	.02	.04	.01	.05	n.s.
Informants	.01	.02	.03	.13	n.s.
Bystanders	.02	.05	.00	.00	<.01
Law Enforcement	.04	.06	.04	.14	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.05	.05	.00	.02	<.05 [2]
Service	.09	.07	.03	.09	n.s.
Dispatched	.08	.06	.03	.08	n.s. [2]
On-View	.01	.02	.01	.04	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.07	.09	.00	.00	n.s. [2]

[1] Two-tailed test

[2] Approaches significance ($p < .10$)

Figure 6


PROFILE OF OFFICER CONSOLATION IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.15
.10
.05
Female officers
Male officers

male officers. Those social contexts in which sex differences exist are precisely those in which one would expect sympathetic responses. The failure of male officers to provide such responses is, in all probability, related to the nature of the task which men in policing reject not only in principle, but also because they lack the skills necessary for adequate performance.

Where differences existed in displays of humor, they typically involved female officers engaging in the style to a greater extent than males (See Table 30 and Figure 7). The sole exception involved law enforcement, where good humor on the part of males probably reflected the fact that their ideal role was being validated.

The situations in which women exceeded in displays of humor were potentially problematic. They involved male citizens, who were more likely to be offenders and thus pose difficulty than female citizens, bystanders who were a potentially disruptive force, order maintenance calls which were the most ambiguous and required tactful and skillful management, and on-view calls where citizens, not having specifically requested police intervention, were apt to be most unhappy with such intervention. Because these situations were probably the least predictable as far as women were concerned, displays of humor can be viewed as a strategy for controlling the situation. Adoption of this interaction style helped to clarify the role of the officer

Table 30

DIFFERENCES[1] IN OFFICER HUMOR
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

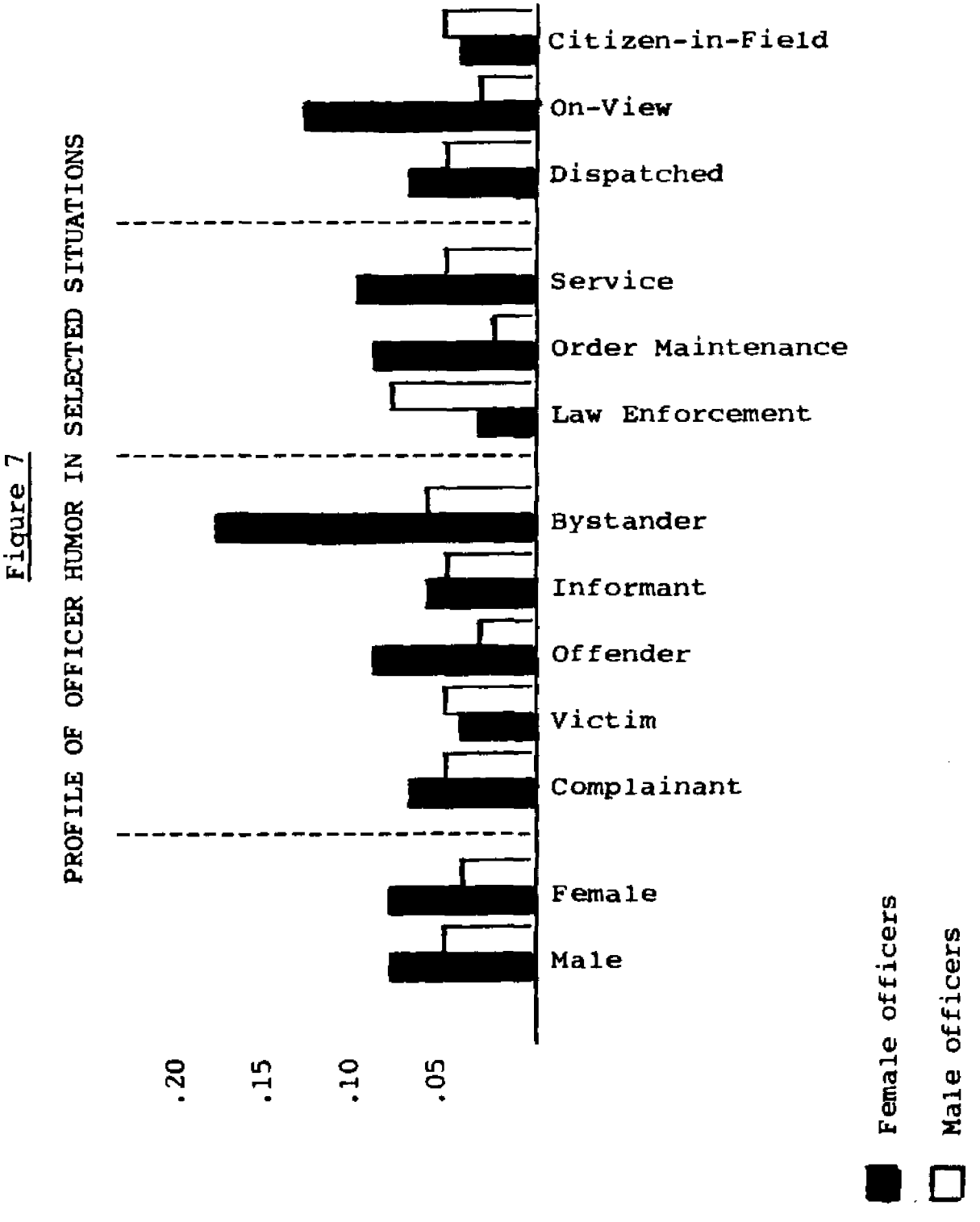
	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.08	.07	.05	.05	<.05
Female Citizens	.08	.05	.04	.08	n.s.
Complainants	.07	.07	.05	.08	n.s.
Victims	.04	.04	.05	.10	n.s.
Offenders	.09	.11	.03	.07	n.s.
Informants	.06	.08	.05	.11	n.s.
Bystanders	.17	.14	.06	.14	<.05
Law Enforcement	.03	.04	.08	.19	n.s.[2]
Order Maintenance	.09	.08	.02	.04	<.05
Service	.10	.07	.05	.09	n.s.
Dispatched	.07	.06	.05	.08	n.s.
On-View	.13	.14	.03	.08	<.05
Citizen-in-Field	.04	.05	.05	.17	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

[2] Approaches significance ($p < .10$)

Figure 7

PROFILE OF OFFICER HUMOR IN SELECTED SITUATIONS



in situations where the roles of both the officer and the citizen were unclear. The officer was, in effect, claiming the role of a friend or helper rather than an adversary.

It should be noted that in most of these social contexts, men were more likely than women to display power or aggression. It may be that in potentially disruptive situations male officers know that they can ultimately rely on force to maintain control of the situation. Female officers acknowledge their inferior strength. Consequently, they must devise alternative strategies to prevent situations from getting out of hand. Displays of humor may be one such strategy.

This finding is consistent with descriptions of character traits of other minority groups (e.g., Blacks, Jews). It is not uncommon to find people who are relatively powerless engaging in humor as a way of influencing a definition of a situation. Female officers are in a somewhat precarious situation when interacting with citizens, particularly males. While, in one sense, their status is high (i.e., their occupational role affords them greater authority), in another, their status is low (i.e., sex-role status). Were they to invoke their authority in an aggressive way, citizens might well challenge their status and their legitimacy. Their use of humor as an alternative strategy for controlling the situation protects not only the status of the officer, but of the citizen as well.

Citizen Interaction Styles

The lack of reciprocity in the interactions of police officers and citizens is particularly apparent when one views their behavior in specific social contexts (See Tables 31 to 34 and Figures 8 to 11). There was no one-to-one correspondence between friendly behaviors on the part of officers and citizens. The situations in which citizens were friendlier toward female officers (i.e., with male citizens, in service calls, in on-view calls) were among those in which female officers were significantly less aggressive than their male counterparts.

It would be tempting to conclude that while citizens felt inhibited in expressing aggression, they were nonetheless responsive to officer behavior and, consequently, were most friendly when they were not abused. However, this conclusion is undermined by the fact that in other situations characterized by differences in officer aggression, there were no corresponding differences in the amount of friendliness displayed by citizens.

There is even less correspondence in officer and citizen behaviors insofar as aggression is concerned. While male officers were more aggressive than their female counterparts in a number of situations, they were not reacted to more aggressively by citizens. In fact, citizens who initiated interactions in the field displayed more aggression toward female officers. This is surprising, since women were more friendly towards them than were men.

Table 31

DIFFERENCES[1] IN CITIZEN AGGRESSION
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.08	.03	.08	.07	n.s.
Female Citizens	.06	.03	.07	.06	n.s.
Complainants	.06	.03	.06	.06	n.s.
Victims	.04	.02	.06	.06	n.s.
Offenders	.16	.05	.15	.12	n.s.
Informants	.02	.01	.03	.06	n.s.
Bystanders	.04	.06	.10	.13	<.05
Law Enforcement	.05	.06	.06	.09	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.10	.02	.10	.10	n.s.
Service	.04	.02	.06	.07	n.s.
Dispatched	.05	.03	.06	.05	n.s.
On-View	.10	.09	.07	.09	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.12	.06	.05	.06	<.01

[1] Two-tailed test

Figure 8

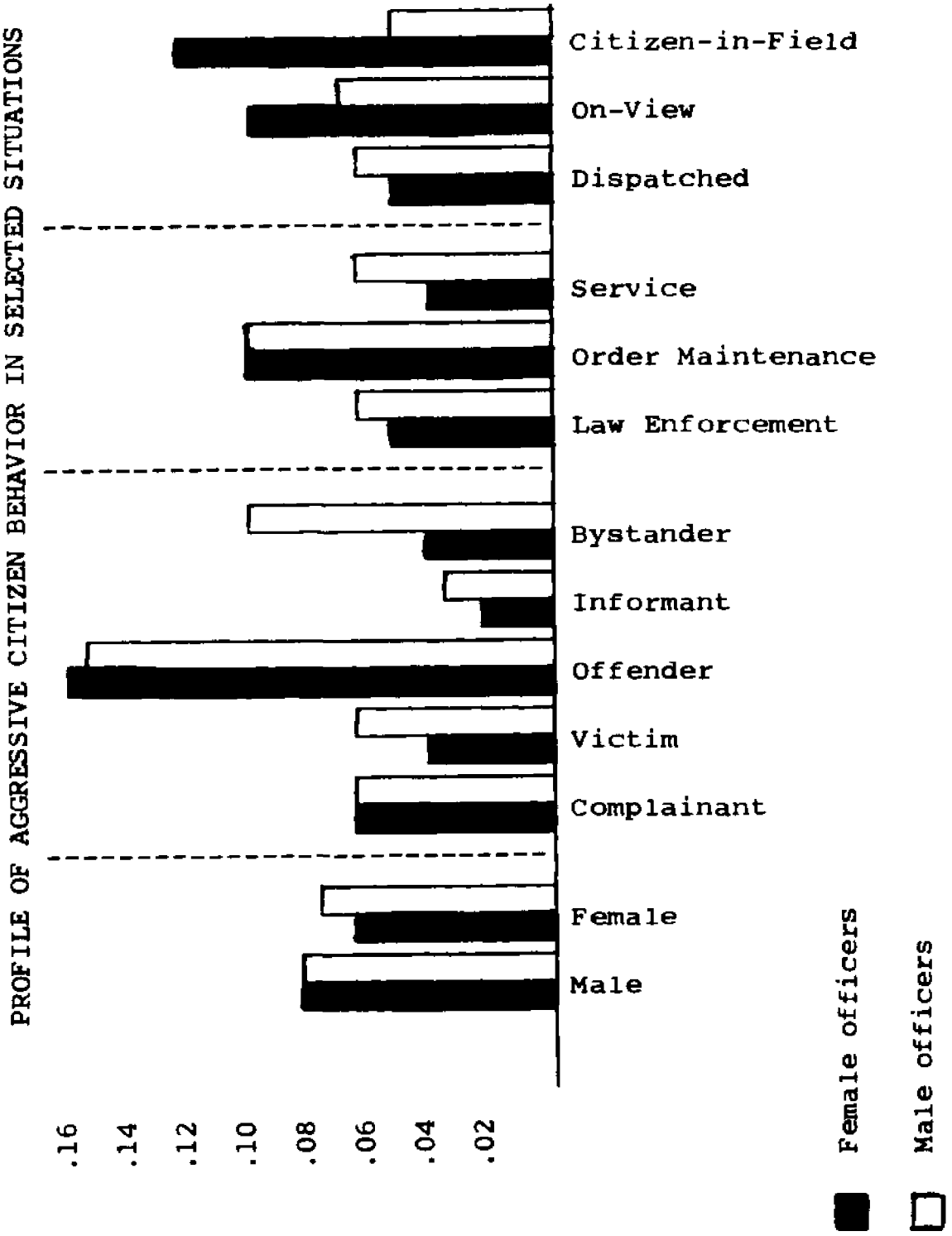

PROFILE OF AGGRESSIVE CITIZEN BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.16
.14
.12
.10
.08
.06
.04
.02
Female officers
Male officers

Table 32

DIFFERENCES[1] IN PASSIVE CITIZEN BEHAVIOR BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.16	.04	.15	.11	n.s.
Female Citizens	.17	.08	.11	.12	n.s.
Complainants	.06	.06	.05	.11	n.s.
Victims	.17	.09	.15	.14	n.s.
Offenders	.23	.12	.23	.20	n.s.
Informants	.12	.12	.10	.15	n.s.
Bystanders	.22	.22	.23	.24	n.s.
Law Enforcement	.21	.17	.14	.17	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.12	.08	.14	.13	n.s.
Service	.13	.04	.13	.10	n.s.
Dispatched	.18	.08	.13	.09	n.s.
On-View	.17	.08	.17	.18	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.11	.07	.08	.13	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

Figure 9

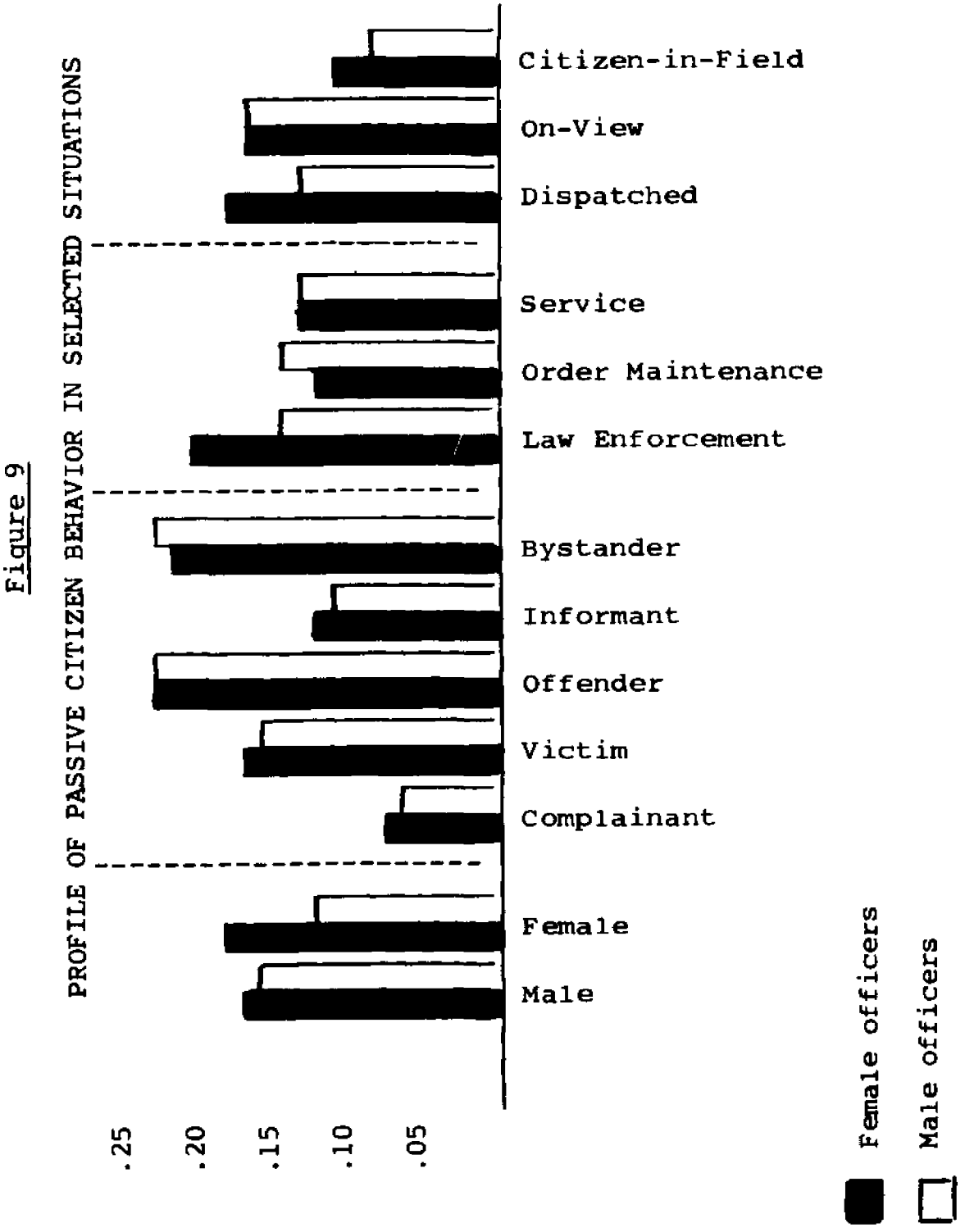

PROFILE OF PASSIVE CITIZEN BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.25
.20
.15
.10
.05
Female officers
Male officers

Table 33

DIFFERENCES[1] IN CALM CITIZEN BEHAVIOR
BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.54	.10	.54	.20	n.s.
Female Citizens	.45	.12	.52	.22	n.s.
Complainants	.53	.16	.58	.24	n.s.
Victims	.17	.09	.15	.14	n.s.
Offenders	.41	.19	.36	.24	n.s.
Informants	.71	.19	.70	.26	n.s.
Bystanders	.46	.20	.49	.30	n.s.
Law Enforcement	.56	.28	.62	.26	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.51	.09	.47	.21	n.s.
Service	.50	.15	.58	.25	n.s.
Dispatched	.59	.16	.56	.20	n.s.
On-View	.48	.16	.53	.30	n.s.
Citizen-in-Field	.40	.16	.54	.29	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

Figure 10

PROFILE OF CALM CITIZEN BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED SITUATIONS

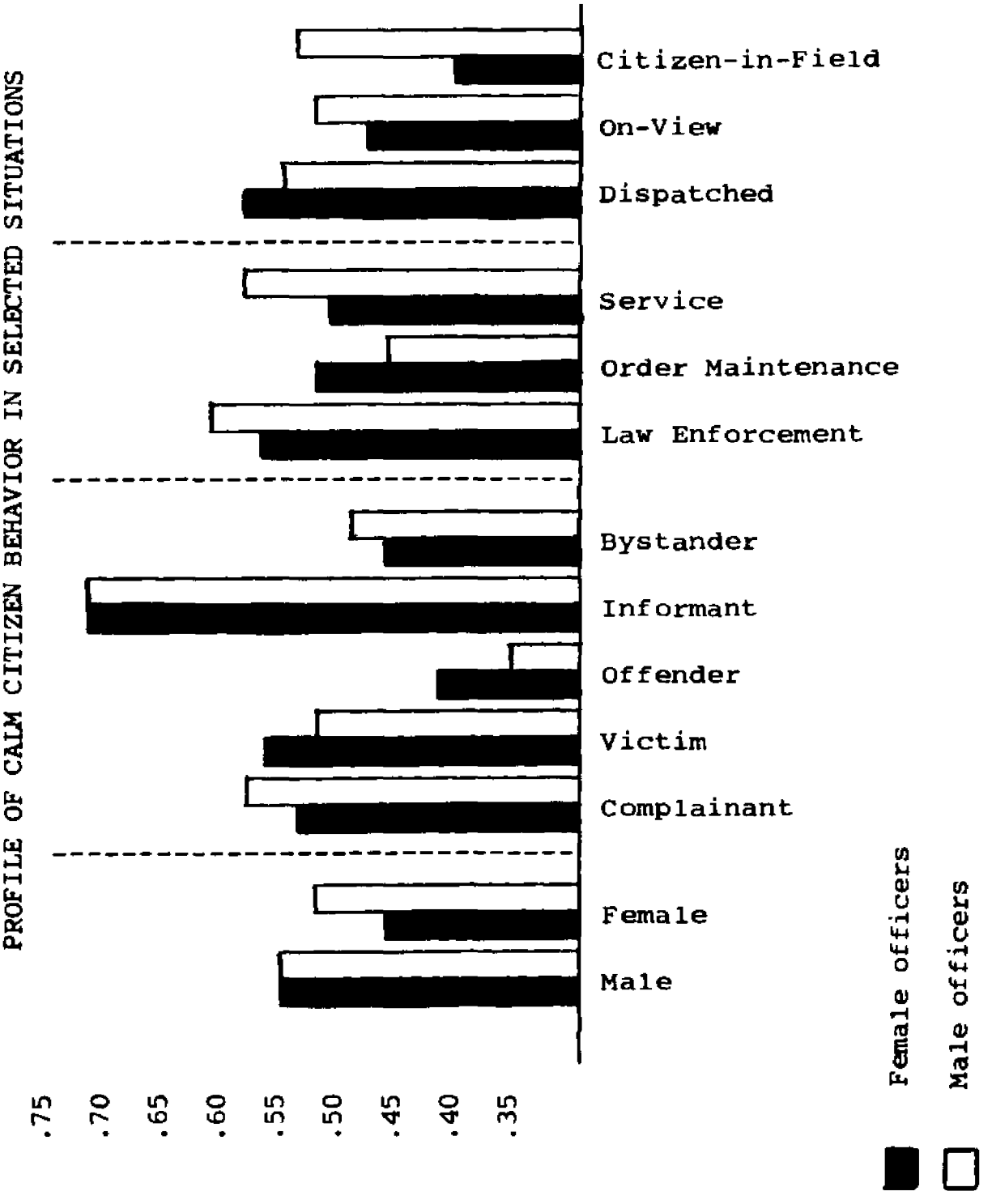


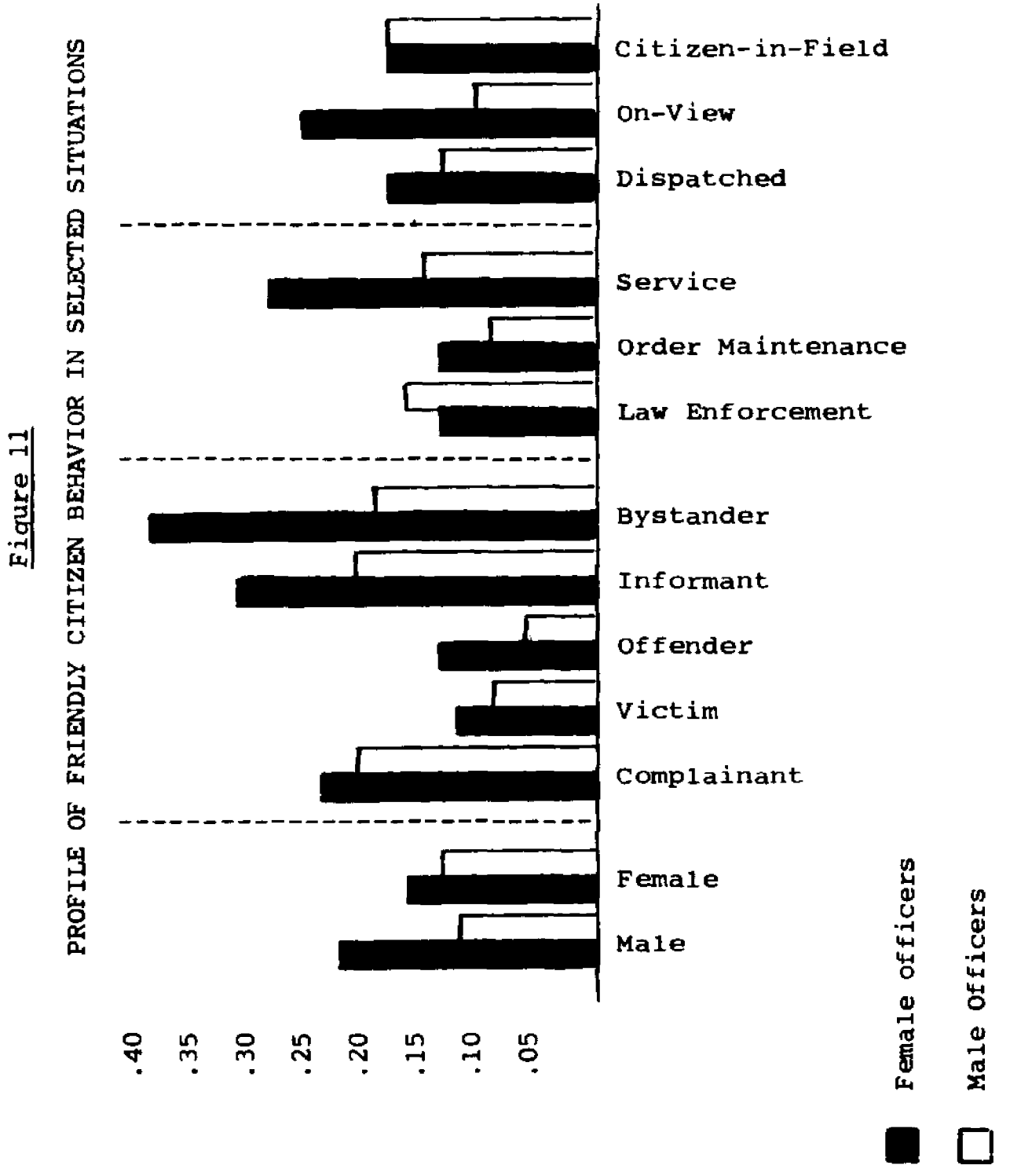
Table 34

DIFFERENCES[1] IN FRIENDLY CITIZEN BEHAVIOR BASED ON SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Context	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	P
Male Citizens	.22	.12	.12	.13	<.05
Female Citizens	.16	.09	.14	.20	n.s.
Complainants	.23	.14	.20	.25	n.s.
Victims	.11	.14	.09	.12	n.s.
Offenders	.13	.09	.07	.13	n.s.
Informants	.32	.14	.20	.18	n.s.
Bystanders	.39	.24	.19	.32	n.s.
Law Enforcement	.14	.10	.17	.20	n.s.
Order Maintenance	.14	.09	.09	.11	n.s.
Service	.29	.15	.15	.18	<.05
Dispatched	.18	.10	.13	.11	n.s.
On-View	.25	.16	.11	.16	<.05
Citizen-in-Field	.18	.11	.18	.27	n.s.

[1] Two-tailed test

Figure 11


PROFILE OF FRIENDLY CITIZEN BEHAVIOR IN SELECTED SITUATIONS
Citizen-in-Field
On-View
Dispatched
Service
Order Maintenance
Law Enforcement
Bystander
Informant
Offender
Victim
Complainant
Female
Male
.40
.35
.30
.25
.20
.15
.10
.05
Female officers
Male Officers

In this situation, it seems that female officers were the recipients of more aggression than their behavior warranted. It should be recalled that the one type of aggression which was directed more frequently toward women involved behavior which was insulting, baiting, or provocative in nature. Given the fact that the one group of citizens who were prone to being more aggressive to female officers were those who initiated encounters in the field, we can infer that there is a particular brand of harassment reserved for female officers. Both observations and interviews indicated that female officers received a certain amount of harassment simply because they were women. Thus, they were called "broads," "disguised men," "prostitutes of male officers," and the like. Despite the fact that their interaction style was more compassionate than that of men, female officers were still the objects of sexist perception.

In only one social context were citizens more aggressive toward male officers than toward females. This involved bystanders, a group which did not receive substantially more aggression from men than from women. One can only surmise that bystanders were less inhibited in aggressive responses because their peripheral role in the interaction afforded them greater protection from police sanctions.

Just as citizens in the field sometimes sniped aggressively at female officers, bystanders seemed to snipe at

their male counterparts. The content as well as the source of verbal abuse seemed to differ for male and female police officers. The abuse toward women seemed to emanate from a residue of resentment that they, as women, could be in a position of authority. Although this type of aggression was relatively infrequent, it typically made the sex-role of female officers salient and, consequently, undermined their legitimate occupational role. Male officers, on the other hand, seemed to be abused not because they were men, but because they were police and, as such, symbolized impersonal and arbitrary authority.

Summary

By and large, both male and female officers maintain a business-like stance toward citizens. Sex differences are most evident when they depart from this style, with males more often engaging in aggressive behavior and females more frequently displaying sympathy or humor. The specific types of aggression in which male officers exceed their female counterparts are those which are direct, active, and anti-social (i.e., physical aggression, hostility, authoritarianism). No differences are evident in less direct forms of aggression (i.e., passive aggression, patronizing behavior).

Differences in officer interaction styles, and parti-

cularly aggression, reflect the different ways in which male and female officers interpret situations. There is some evidence that male officers favor the law enforcement aspect of their role and dislike the service functions which they are frequently called upon to perform. Thus, their reliance on aggression rather than sympathy or humor is consistent with their definition of their role.

Differences in the social identities claimed by male and female officers are manifested in differential ways of handling situations. In order to maintain control of the situations they encounter, males frequently project their authority and status. Females, on the other hand, are more apt to display helpfulness and friendliness by asserting less overt control and allowing citizens to participate in defining the situation.

While male officers are typically more aggressive than their female counterparts and women are more friendly, these differences only occur in certain situations. The groups which most clearly benefit from sympathetic treatment on the part of female police officers are female citizens and complainants. Women show concern toward them nearly 50 percent of the time, whereas men display concern only about 20 percent of the time. Insofar as aggression is concerned, many categories of citizens benefit from the presence of women on patrol. Perhaps the greatest beneficiaries are male citizens and offenders.

Differences in officer behavior are not directly re-

flected in citizen responses. While citizens are somewhat more friendly toward female officers, they are not substantially less aggressive toward them. This is most likely a product of citizens' definitions of situations. Aggression toward male officers is probably viewed as inseparable from unpleasant sanctions. It may be that fewer sanctions are expected from female officers, both because they are women and because they present themselves in a more sympathetic and less aggressive way.

While differences in officer interaction styles are not directly reflected in citizen behaviors, citizens are, nonetheless, affected by differential policing styles. In situations which are characterized by some degree of tension, violence, or excitement, women most often decrease the tension, while men most often increase it. Thus, it is the tenor of the encounter and its final resolution which may be most affected by the different policing styles adopted by male and female officers.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

We have assumed throughout that reality is, to some degree, a social construction. People interpret events, construct and assign meanings, in order to make the world sensible and understandable. Just as people in their daily lives selectively order their experience, social scientists construct theories, frameworks, and perspectives as a way of ordering their data and interpreting their findings. And just as the same object or event can have different meanings for different people, the same data or "facts" can be differentially interpreted by different social scientists, depending upon the perspective each adopts.

In conceptualizing, conducting, and interpreting this research, an interactionist framework was utilized which focused on the ways in which police officers define situations and the means by which they project their social identity in their interactions with citizens. Goffman (1959) has suggested that one can view social establishments from a number of different perspectives (i.e., technical, political, structural, cultural, and dramaturgical). While each perspective orders facts and priorities somewhat differently, they are, by no means, independent of one another.

For example, our assumptions regarding differential definitions of situations are ultimately inseparable from technical, structural, cultural, and political considerations. All of these contribute to the meanings situations

come to have for police officers. Consequently, the implications of this study, both in terms of further research and social policy, can be examined most productively from a number of different perspectives.

We have found that male and female officers differ in their styles of policing, with men more apt to be aggressive and women more likely to engage in sympathy and humor. Given our underlying assumption-- that behavior and interaction are mediated by meaning-- we have suggested that situations are differentially interpreted by male and female police officers. Males feel that they can best control their interactions with citizens by resorting to power displays and projecting an image of authority. Female officers, on the other hand, project a somewhat different social identity. They are more apt to maintain control of situations by displaying humor or sympathy. Moreover, the different styles adopted by male and female officers seem to reflect differences in the way they define their role. Women view the service component of their role as more legitimate than do men.

Clearly, these notions regarding officers' definitions of situations are inferences made by the researcher. Although they are informed by the opinions of police officers, they derive, for the most part, from observations of the behavior of police officers in various situational contexts. Further research might well focus on the ways in which police officers, themselves, experience the situations which

they encounter and on their own interpretations of their behavior, particularly when it is aggressive.

Toch (1969, 1970) has provided a model for such research. He assumed that one could only understand violent acts by reconstructing the perspective of the violent person. Through peer interviews, he determined how an individual involved in violence viewed the situation and what dilemmas he found himself in. The use of intensive interviews enabled Toch to detect the chain or sequence of interactions which ultimately resulted in violence. This is one method, then, which could be utilized for exploring not only the more subtle aspects of behavior, but the meaning which that behavior has for the actor.

While inferences about the meaning of behavior have long been an acceptable practice in social science research, there is an inherent danger, particularly when the research has social policy implications. As we said earlier, the same results or behavior can be interpreted in a number of different ways, depending not only on one's perspective but on one's vested interests as well. Thus, our finding that citizens direct equally as much aggression toward female officers as toward males and that women do not seem to terminate such aggression as decisively as their male counterparts might well lead policy makers to view female officers as a liability rather than an asset. Clearly, reports provided by citizens regarding their definitions of situations, including their interpretations of their

own behavior and that of officers, would help to clarify these findings.

In lieu of such reports, we must rely on previously established facts, namely that women in policing perform equally as well as men according to traditional police standards. They make as many arrests, respond to as many, if not more, calls for service, and are no more likely to be assaulted or injured. Moreover, the men with whom they work are not any more likely to be assaulted or injured than those who have male partners (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Greenwald and Connolly, 1974). Thus, adoption of a non-aggressive posture on the part of female officers is not a potentially dangerous policing style. It is at least as effective as the style engaged in by male officers, and perhaps more so, since women more often reduce tension, violence, and excitement than do men.

In adopting a technical perspective, one would be less concerned with the meaning of the behavioral styles adopted by male and female police officers than with the efficiency or effectiveness of those styles in achieving predefined objectives. An obvious problem involves defining precisely what the objectives of policing are.

Typically, police departments in general and police officers in particular define their duties exclusively in terms of law enforcement or crime control. However, the actual time patrol officers devote to criminal matters is exceedingly low. Indeed, the majority of time spent on

patrol-- estimated at 90 percent or more-- involves maintaining order and providing service.

It is clear that, given the tasks police officers are called upon to perform, the number of arrests they make or number of summonses they issue are not appropriate indicators of effective policing. In fact, current standards of adequate police performance are dramatically inconsistent with the actual functions of patrol officers.

With the advent of women into policing, these inconsistencies are likely to become even more apparent. It is certainly possible that an officer's policing style-- the extent to which he or she can deal sensitively with human problems-- is more integrally related to effective policing than the current and outmoded standards. Focusing on performance criteria would seem to be the most productive area for future research involving police work.

Clearly, research of this kind is inseparable from political considerations. If policy makers decide to retain current performance standards, then the myths about policing being "man's work" will, no doubt, be perpetuated. Moreover, police officers will continue to be deprived of adequate training and appropriate skills for dealing with human crises and interpersonal conflict. If, on the other hand, performance standards are re-evaluated, women in policing are likely to be valued more highly, patrol officers are likely to be trained and rewarded more appropriately,

citizens are likely to receive better service, and law enforcement is likely to be facilitated as a result of greater citizen cooperation.

The implications of women in policing must be viewed from a cultural perspective as well, since barriers to redefining police priorities emanate, in part, from the long standing norms and moral values inherent in policing. Police departments have traditionally been male domains. The emphasis on law enforcement is inseparable from the masculine mystique of policing. Included in this mystique are notions that police officers must be tough, strong, and fearless. During the course of this research, a precinct commander asserted that male officers would never accept women in policing. To do so would imply that the job is not as dangerous and, consequently, as prestigeous as they would like to believe.

The norms and myths adhered to by male officers are not shared by their female counterparts. To date, men and women in policing represent two distinct subcultures, working side by side. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the introduction of large numbers of women would ultimately result in a coalescing of norms and values. Precisely what form that would take is a matter of conjecture at this time and can only be determined by further research.

It is possible that opening patrol work to women would produce a more realistic appraisal of what that work

entails. They might help to legitimize the service aspect of the police role. Clearly, this could only happen with the support of upper echelon police personnel. For public service to be a legitimate and respectable police function, incentives and rewards for good performance must be provided, as they are for good criminal investigation and law enforcement work.

With women entering police departments in greater numbers, they could well provide a model for a different kind of police service. Not only would the public benefit from sympathetic rather than aggressive behavior on the part of police officers, but police departments would benefit as well. Lately, it has become eminently clear that the police cannot effectively enforce the law without the assistance and cooperation of the public. This cooperation will not be forthcoming from a hostile and alienated citizenry. It can only occur if the police are not viewed as authoritarian, insensitive, and arbitrary.

We have assumed that the introduction of female officers would, over time, influence the nature of policing. It is possible that the women, themselves, would change and develop styles of policing similar to their male counterparts. This is most likely if small numbers of women are hired and assigned to patrol. While the utilization of a few "token" women would not threaten the masculine mystique of policing, neither police departments nor the public would ultimately be served.

Thus, for women to have the most beneficial impact on policing, they should be hired and assigned in precisely the same manner as men. This would be advantageous not only for police-public relations, but also as a first step in redefining police values and priorities.

In adopting a structural perspective, status relationships are emphasized. The importance of status to male officers accounts, to some degree, for their resistance to women in policing and for their behavior in relation to citizens. The social relations between male officers and citizens as well as those between male and female officers have a great deal to do with status insecurity on the part of men in policing. This is not surprising, since most of the men came from lower-class backgrounds. One would expect that newly acquired power and authority would be protected at all costs, particularly when it is supported by upper echelon police personnel.

Finally, this discussion would be incomplete without adopting a political perspective and examining the political implications of this study. First, it is important to note that to date, the tendency in police departments has been to exclude women altogether or to hire them in small numbers. Although a number of departments have called for research on the ability of women to perform patrol functions, their policy regarding women has been only minimally influenced by such research.

It is perhaps with research on social institutions

and social priorities that the research process and political considerations most clearly intersect. Frequently, research of this type is initiated for political reasons. Once conducted, the findings are often misinterpreted or ignored. Despite the overwhelming evidence that women can competently perform patrol functions (See Bloch and Anderson, 1974 and Greenwald and Connolly, 1974), departments have yet to hire and assign women in egalitarian ways. Given prejudicial attitudes toward women in policing, it is likely that the issue will ultimately be resolved in the courts. Legally, women can only be excluded from policing if sex is proven to be a bona fide occupational requirement. Research evidence, to date, does not justify their exclusion.

While individual police departments make policy decisions which affect not only the opportunities of women in policing but also police priorities and values, the social policy decisions are not made in a vacuum. Police departments are unlikely to open their doors to women so long as the society at large views women as second-class citizens. Moreover, they are not apt to reorder their priorities in the direction of better service to the poor and powerless while the society continues to operate in the interests of those who are more powerful.

While the introduction of women into police departments may help to make policing a more humane endeavor, it would be naive to assume that major changes would ensue. Police departments can be no more nor less humane than the

societies which they serve. Police officers are representatives of government at the most local level. They are the most direct link between people and abstract government. Thus, responsible and responsive policing-- policing which, in fact, serves the needs of the majority of people-- can only exist insofar as the society it represents serves the public interest. Only when the quality of life is valued by the society at large can police departments in general and police officers in particular be expected to adopt and reflect those values.

APPENDIX A:

Incident Report

Observer _____ _____

INCIDENT REPORT

1. Date: Month _____ Day _____ 2. Incident number _____

3. Time at start: _____:_____ 4. Duration of interaction: ____ minutes

5. Sex of officer under observation: ___M (1) ___F (0)

6. Sex of partner: ___M (1) ___F (0)

7. Number of radio cars responding _____

Observer _____

8. Type:

a. Dispatch code: 10 - _____

b. Definition of situation:

Part I--Felonies

___01. Assault, aggravated or "serious" (e.g., knifing or shooting)
___02. Auto theft
___03. Burglary-- breaking or entering, business place
___04. Burglary-- breaking or entering, residence
___05. Burglary-- breaking or entering, unspecified or other
(Write out:)
___06. Homicide, criminal
___07. Larceny-- theft, auto accessory
___08. Larceny-- theft, bicycle
___09. Larceny-- theft, from auto (i.e., from inside auto)
___10. Larceny-- theft, shoplifting
___11. Larceny-- theft, unspecified or other
(Write out:)
___12. Rape, attempt
___13. Rape, forcible
___14. Robbery-- business place
___15. Robbery-- street (include purse-snatching)
___16. Robbery-- unspecified or other
(Write out:)

Part II--Other Complaints

___17. Abandoned auto
___18. Assault, simple or minor (e.g., assault and battery, threat, etc.)
___19. Burglar alarm ringing
___20. Disturbance or dispute, bar-room
___21. Disturbance or dispute, domestic ("family trouble")
___22. Disturbance or dispute, landlord-tenant
___23. Disturbance or dispute,"neighbor trouble"
___24. Disturbance or dispute, noisiness or "disturbing the peace"
___25. Disturbance or dispute, rowdy party
___26. Disturbance or dispute, unspecified or other
(Write out:)
___27. Drunken person(s)
___28. Fight, gang
___29. Fight, juvenile or "kids"
___30. Fight, unspecified or other
(Write out:)
___31. Gambling
___32. Juveniles-- trouble with teenagers and children
(Write out:)
___33. Liquor law violation, underage drinking
___34. Liquor law violation, unspecified or other
(Write out:)
___35. Loitering
___36. "Peeping Tom"
___37. Property, stolen or "suspicious" (e.g., police check for suspicion of stolen property, buying and receiving, etc.)
___38. Prostitution

Observer _____

6. (continued)

___39. "Prowler"
___40. Sex offense (e.g. indecent exposure) (write out:)
___41. "Suspect"-- a person suspected as offender (write out:)
___42. "Suspicious person(s)" or "suspicious situation" (Write out:)
___43. Traffic violation, moving (e.g. speeding) (Write out:)
___44. Traffic violation, standing (e.g. parking) (Write out:)
___45. Traffic violation, unspecified or other (Write out:)
___46. Vagrancy
___47. Vandalism-- malicious destruction of property, juvenile
___48. Vandalism-- malicious destruction of property, unspecified or other (Write out:)
___49. "Wanted person" or possible wanted person (Write out:)
___50. Weapon, carrying, possessing, etc.
___51. Unspecified or other complaint (Write out:)

Part III--Miscellaneous Incidents and Problems

___52. Animal trouble-- dogbite
___53. Animal trouble-- unspecified or other (Write out:)
___54. Assist police officer
___55. Auto accident, hit and run
___56. Auto accident-- injuries
___57. Auto accident, unspecified or other (Write out:)
___58. DOA (dead person)
___59. Fire
___60. Injured person (except auto ro dogbite) (Write out:)
___61. Information request
___62. Information for police
___63. Lost person
___64. A man down (or woman)
___65. Mental patient
___66. Missing juvenile
___67. Missing person, unspecified or other (Write out:)
___68. Police escort request
___69. Police surveillance request
___70. Safety hazard (Write out:)
___71. Sick person (include maternity, not mental cases)
___72. Traffic hazard (Write out:)
___73. Transportation of person(s), other (Write out:)
___74. Unspecified or other request or incident (Write out:)

c. 1___Dispatched
2___On-view
3___Citizen-in-the-field
4___Other (specify:)

d. 1___Past
2___In progress
3___Not applicable

e. Indicate any change in definition of situation:

Observer _____

9. Number of participants:

1	___ patrolmen	7	___ female complainant(s)
2	___ policewomen	8	___ male complainant(s)
3	___ supervisor(s)	9	___ female offender(s)
4	___ other police personnel	10	___ male offender(s)
5	___ female victim(s)	11	___ female informant(s)
6	___ male victim(s)	12	___ male informant(s)
		13	___ bystander(s) or observer(s)

10. Which police officer initiated interaction?

	1 driver	2 recorder
1 officer under observation		
2 partner		
3 other (specify)		

11a. How active was the officer under observation in handling the job?

1 2 3 4 5
very active ... very inactive

11b. How active was the partner in handling the job?

1 2 3 4 5
very active ... very inactive

12. Characteristics of situation:

a. Setting (if setting changed, number in appropriate order)

01 Dwelling (e.g., apartment, house)
02 School
03 Business
04 Commercial
05 Tavern/bar
06 Restaurant
07 Hospital
08 Street
09 Alley
10 Park
11 Playground
12 Hallway
29 Other (specify:)

Observer _____

12. (continued)

b. Characterization of situation when officer arrived:

1	2	3	4	5
orderly (calm, etc.)				disorderly (violent, etc.)

c. Effect of officer on level of tension, violence, and/or excitement:

		officer under observation	partner
1	greatly decreased		
2	decreased		
3	made no difference		
4	increased		
5	greatly increased		
6	inapplicable		
7	don't know		

d. Was officer under observation in physical danger during incident?

___Yes (1) ___No (0)

If yes, describe in detail the circumstances:

Was partner in physical danger during the incident?

___Yes (1) ___No (0)

If yes, describe in detail the circumstances:

e. Characterization of situation when officer left:

1	2	3	4	5
orderly (calm, etc.)				disorderly (violent, etc.)

f. Outcome: 1___Resolved
2___Ambiguous
3___Unresolved
4___Don't know

Observer _____

13. Characteristics of primary citizen participants in the situation: (Use one column for each participant. Place the most central person first, the second most central person second, etc.)

			#1		#2		#3		#4		#5	
a. Sex			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
b. Race			W	B	O	W	B	O	W	B	O	W	B	O
c. Role	1	Complainant										
	2	Complainant group										
	3	Offender-- suspected or alleged offender										
	4	Offender group										
	5	Victim-- e.g., sick person, parent of missing child										
	6	Victim group										
	7	Informant										
	8	Informant group										
	9	Bystander										
	10	Bystander group										
	11	Don't know										
d. Age	1	0-10 Child										
	2	11-18 Youth										
	3	19-25 Young adult										
	4	26-45 Adult										
	5	46-60 Middle-aged										
	6	Over 60 Old person										
e. Class	1	White collar										
	2	Blue collar										
	3	Don't know										
f. Unusual physical condition (check as many as may be necessary	1	Sick										
	2	Slightly bruised or cut										
	3	Seriously wounded or injured										
	4	Unconscious										
	5	Some signs of retardation										
	6	Drunk										
	7	Disoriented										
	8	Other (specify)										

Observer _____

14. Manner of the primary citizen participants in the situation:

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
a. General state at outset (check more than one if necessary	1	Violent					
	2	Angry (not violent)					
	3	Irritated					
	4	Upset					
	5	Nervous					
	6	Calm					
	7	Detached, distant					
Other (specify)	8						
	9	Don't know					
b. Respectfulness at outset	1	Deferential					
	2	Civil					
	3	Antagonistic					
	4	Don't know					
c. Respectfulness at conclusion	1	Deferential					
	2	Civil					
	3	Antagonistic					
	4	Don't know					
d. Degree of cooperativeness	1	Cooperative					
	2	Uncooperative					
	3	Detached					
	4	Mixed					
	5	Don't know					
e. Challenges officer's authority	1	Yes (officer A)					
	0	No (officer A)					
	1	Yes (officer B)					
	0	No (officer B)					
f. General state when police were leaving (check more than one if necessary)	1	Grateful					
	2	Content					
	3	Indifferent					
	4	Ambivalent					
	5	Confused					
	6	Unhappy					
	7	Frightened					
	8	Angry					
	9	Other:					
	10	Don't know					

g. If manner changed during the interaction, describe the nature of the change and the point at which it occurred:

Observer _____

19. Information regarding primary citizens:

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
a. General behavior of primary citizen participants (check as many as necessary)	1	Violent, aggressive					
	2	Uncooperative, antagonistic					
	3	Disgruntled, sullen					
	4	Passive, unexpressive					
	5	Cooperative					
	6	Friendly, helpful					
	7	Other (specify)					
b. Verbal behavior of primary citizen participants (check as many as is necessary)	1	Insulting, baiting, provocative					
	2	Hostile, nasty					
	3	Argumentative					
	4	Passive, quiet					
	5	Matter-of-fact, conversational					
	6	Good natured, jovial					
	7	Ingratiating, obsequious					
	8	Other (specify)					
c. Did citizen specify service?	1	Yes					
	0	No					
d. If yes: (check more than one if necessary)	1	Attention to a medical problem					
	2	Removal of someone					
	3	An arrest					
	4	Settlement of an argument or dispute					
	5	Advice or counseling					
	6	Protection (of person)					
	7	Attention to a physical condition					
	8	Surveillance or protection of property					
	9	Attention to suspected criminal activity					
	10	A report					
	11	Other (specify)					

Observer _____

15. (continued)

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
e. Evaluation of service received (if service)	1	Generally satisfied					
	2	Ambivalent					
	3	Generally dissatisfied					
	4	Disinterested					
	5	Don't know					
f. Citizen's evaluation of police manner	1	Generally satisfied					
	2	Ambivalent					
	3	Generally dissatisfied					
	4	Disinterested					
	5	Don't know					
g. Possession of weapon	1	Knife					
	2	Gun					
	3	Other (specify)					
	4	No weapon					
h. Threatened with weapon	1	Yes					
	0	No					
i. Used weapon	1	Yes					
	0	No					

j. If any of the above changed during the interaction, describe the nature of the change and the point at which it occurred:

Observer _____

16. Manner and behavior of officer under observation toward the primary citizen participants in the situation:

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
a. General state of officer under observation at outset (check as many as necessary)	1	Angry					
	2	Agitated					
	3	Upset					
	4	Nervous, Cautious					
	5	Calm, business-like					
	6	Happy, Enthusiastic					
	7	Detached, distant					
Other (describe)	8						
	9	Don't know					
b. Form of address used by officer under observation (describe)	1	Familiar					
	2	Respectful					
	3	Impersonal					
	4	Derogatory					
	5	No direct address					
	6	Don't know					
c. Officer's manipulative techniques (check more than one if necessary	1	Made particularistic appeal					
	2	Took point of view temporarily					
	3	Isolated citizen					
	4	Used humor or politeness					
	5	Was paternalistic or maternalistic					
	6	Used threats					
	7	Used silence, i.e., waited					
	8	Instilled guilt					
	9	Used reasoning or problem-solving					
	10	Was seductive					
	11	Other					

Observer_____

16. (continued)

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
d. Officer's control of self	1	Maintains self control					
	2	Briefly lost self control					
	3	Lost control for extended period					
e. Officer's general manner (check more than one if necessary)	4	Was hostile, nasty, provocative					
	5	Was brusque, bossy, authoritarian					
	6	Openly ridiculed or belittled					
	7	Subtly ridiculed or belittled					
	8	Was indifferent					
	9	Was business-like, routinized, impersonal					
	10	Was concerned, sympathetic					
	11	Was good humored, playful, jovial					
Other (specify)	12						
f. Officer's behaviors which conveyed manner (check more than one if necessary)	1	Listened					
	2	Made comments					
	3	Asked questions					
	4	Made suggestions					
	5	Touched					
	6	Interrupted					
	7	Refused to answer					
	8	Looked away(distracted)					
	9	Walked away (rudely)					
	10	Used profane or offensive language					
Other (describe)	11						

g. Describe the behaviors checked above (f):

h. General state of officer when leaving:
1___satisfied, content
2___indifferent
3___ambivalent
4___dissatisfied, annoyed
5___angry
6___other
7___don't know

i. If the officer under observation's manner or behavior changed during the interaction, describe the nature of the change and the point at which it occurred.

Observer _____

17. Manner and behavior of partner toward the primary citizen participants:

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
a. General state of partner at outset (check as many as necessary)	1	Angry					
	2	Irritated					
	3	Upset					
	4	Nervous, Cautious					
	5	Calm, business-like					
	6	Happy, enthusiastic					
	7	Detached, distant					
Other (specify)	8						
	9	Don't know					
b. form of address used by partner (describe)	1	Familiar					
	2	Respectful					
	3	Impersonal					
	4	Derogatory					
	5	No direct address					
	6	Don't Know					
c. Officer's manipulative techniques (check more than one if necessary)	1	Made particularistic appeal					
	2	Took point of view temporarily					
	3	Isolated citizen					
	4	Used humor or jolliness					
	5	Was maternalistic or paternalistic					
	6	Used threats					
	7	Used silence, ignored					
	8	Instilled guilt					
	9	Used reasoning or problem-solving					
	10	Was seductive					
	11	Other					

Observer _____

17. (continued)

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
d. Partner's control of self	1	Maintained self control					
	2	Briefly lost self control					
	3	Lost self control for an extended period					
e. Officer's general manner (check more than one if necessary)	1	Was hostile, nasty, provocative					
	2	Was brusque, bossy, authoritarian					
	3	Openly ridiculed or belittled					
	4	Subtly ridiculed or belittled					
	5	Was indifferent					
	6	Was business-like, routinized, impers					
	7	Was co[illegible] sympathetic					
	8	Was good humored, playful, jovial					
Other (specify)	9						
f. Partner's behaviors which conveyed manner (check more than one if necessary)	1	Listened					
	2	Made comments					
	3	Asked questions					
	4	Made suggestions					
	5	Touched					
	6	Interrupted					
	7	Refused to answer					
	8	Looked away (distracted)					
	9	Walked away (rudely)					
	10	Used profane or offensive language					
Other (describe)	11						

g. Describe the behaviors checked above (f):

h. General state of officer when leaving:
1___satisfied, content
2___indifferent
3___ambivalent
4___dissatisfied, annoyed
5___angry
6___other _____
7___don't know

i. If the partner's manner or behavior changed during the interaction, describe the nature of the change and the point at which it occurred:

Observer: _____

18. **Police Actions:** (Indicate all that apply. Please the no. series) of the citizen(s) to whom the action was directed under the appropriate officer and time of occurrence)

	Officer with Citizen		Partner	
	0 Mid	End 1	0 Mid	End 1
100. Formal or official action				
101. Made arrest				
102. Gave traffic summons				
103. Gave other summons				
104. Made official report				
105. Took to station				
106. Other in this area				

Describe or specify action taken:

200. Informal use of power				
201. Threatened with physical force				
202. Threatened with weapon				
203. Threatened with arrest				
204. Other threat or warning				
205. Used verbal constraint ("You're not going anywhere")				
206. Used physical constraint (holding of arm, use of handcuffs)				
207. Used physical force against person				
208. Gave orders or directive				
209. Admonished or reprimanded				
210. Other in this area (other kind of degradation ceremony)				

Describe or specify action taken:

18. (continued)

	Officer under observation		Partner	
	Mid	End	Mid	End
300. Informal Police Action				
301. Gave traffic warning				
302. [illegible]				
303. Interrogated (suspects)				
304. Searched property				
305. Searched or "frisked" person				
306. Gave special surveillance or attention after leaving setting				
307. Dispersed crowd				
308. Gave chase (on foot)				
309. Gave chase (in patrol car)				
310. Other in this area				

Describe or specify action taken:

400. Preparation or Suggestion of Future Action				
401. Referred to other police unit				
402. Suggested further use of police service				
403. Suggested use of civil court or [illegible]				
404. Referred to non-police agency				
405. Suggested use of non-police services				
406. Encouraged citizen who wanted to sign a complaint				
407. Asked citizen if he would sign a complaint-- citizen agreed				
408. Asked citizen if he would sign a complaint-- citizen refused				
409. Offered or [illegible] an investigation				
410. Offered or promised special surveillance or attention				
411. Other in this area				

Describe or specify action taken:

19. (continued)

	Officer [illegible]		[illegible]	
	0 [illegible]	[illegible]	0 [illegible]	[illegible]
500. Physical Service				
501. Requested an ambulance				
502. Made phone call				
503. Transported to medical setting				
504. Transported-- other				
505. [illegible]rted to medical setting				
506. Escorted-- other				
507. Gave first aid or other physical assistance				
508. Performed other physical service (removed dead [illegible]				

Describe or specify action taken:

600. Helping Behavior				
601. Arbitrated or mediated in dispute (made judgment or acted as referee)				
602. Gave advice or counseling				
603. Gave consolation or emotional support				
604. Other helping behavior				

Describe or specify action taken:

18. (continued)

	Officer under Observation 0 Mid	Officer under Observation End 1	Partner 0 Mid	Partner End 1
700. [illegible]				
701. Talked or [illegible] person into handling problem [illegible]				
702. Talked or [illegible] person into seeing police action as [illegible] because of [illegible]				
703. Talked or [illegible] person into denying that a problem [illegible] in the first place				
704. Talked or [illegible] person into seeing a problem as solved or taken care of after the fact [illegible]				
705. Talked or "cooled" person into postponing his concern or [illegible] by suggesting that he "wait and see" ([illegible] you let it ride for awhile...")				
706. [illegible]				

Describe or specify action taken:

800. Other				
801. Call unfounded; continued to other business ([illegible])				
802. Continued to other business without having taken any [illegible]				
803. Took information and encounter was terminated				
804. Gave or [illegible] information and encounter was terminated				
805. Called for police [illegible]				
806. [illegible]				
807. Other action taken-- not categorized in above sections				

Describe or specify action taken:

Observer ____________________

19. Incidence of observed aggression: (identify officer and citizen)

	Type
1___ **Officer** toward citizen	
2___ **Citizen** toward officer	
3___ **Citizen** toward citizen present	
4___ **Citizen** toward citizen absent	

If aggression occurred, describe what precipitated it and what the officer did:

20. If aggression was directed toward an officer:

(mark as many **as** necessary: specify citizen's number under the appropriate **officer** and **type** of aggression. "VERBAL" - verbal aggression: "PHYS" - physical **aggression without** a **weapon;** "PHYS W" - physical aggression with **a weapon)**

	Officer under Observation			Partner		
	Verbal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3	Verbal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3
100. Perseverance in--or transfer or extension of--aggression [illegible] aggressive act which is merely extended to the officer)						
110. As a reaction against interference with, or interruption of, aggressive actions						
120. Because officer is seen as siding with other party						
130. Because aggression is viewed at the time as appropriate behavior						
190. Other or ambiguous (specify)						

Observer ________________

20. (continued)

	Officer under observation			Partner		
	Ver-bal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3	Ver-bal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3
200. Reaction to [illegible] of Informal Power (citizen [illegible] reacts to actions by the officer which [illegible] an object of undesirable manipulation; reacts to defend personal [illegible])						
210. Aggression as reaction to touching or other bodily contact						
220. Aggression as reaction against orders or instructions						
230. Aggression as reaction against threats made by officer (specify)						
240. Aggression as reaction against uninvited entry in home, or other trespass on self-defined area of jurisdiction						
250. Aggression as reaction to being disturbed or awakened						
260. Aggression as reaction to verbal abuse by officer (specify)						
270. Aggression as reaction to officer's demeaning attitude (specify)						
290. Other (specify)						
300. Reaction to [illegible] of Formal Power other than arrest (person [illegible] of action taken by officer and/or views action as [illegible])						
310. Aggression as reaction to issuance of traffic summons (specify)						
320. Aggression as reaction to issuance of other summons (specify)						
390. Other (specify)						

Observer ____________________

20. (continued)

	Officer under Observation			Partner		
	Verbal	Phys	Phys W	Verbal	Phys	Phys W
400. [illegible] (person [illegible] danger and [illegible] to avoid or retard [illegible])						
410. Aggression in an effort to flee or escape arrest						
411. After having assaulted officer physically or verbally, and before arrested						
412. After being arrested or subject to arrest for aggression against others						
413. After being arrested or subject to arrest for action not related to aggression						
414. W[illegible]						
420. Aggression in an effort to prevent being transported or moved after being arrested						
421. After having assaulted officer physically or verbally, and before [illegible] for this						
422. After being arrested or subject to arrest for aggression against others						
423. After being arrested or subject to arrest for action not related to aggression						
430. Aggression in an effort to avoid discovery of evidence which would lead to arrest or other [illegible] action						
440. Aggression as a [illegible] of [illegible]						
441. After having assaulted officer physically or verbally and being arrested for this						
442. After being arrested or subject to arrest for aggression against others						
443. After being arrested or subject to arrest for action not related to aggression						
490. Other (specify)						

Observer _____

20. (continued)

	Officer under Observation			Partner		
	Ver-bal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3	Ver-bal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3
500. Defense or support of another person takes the part of others which he views as requiring or deserving aid. Does aggression to rescue or increase the effectiveness of "significant others" who are the object of aggression or injurious						
510. Aggression in defense of other persons engaged in physical struggle or being physically abused						
520. Aggression in defense of those seen as being verbally abused						
530. Aggression in defense of others who are subjected to perceived threat or danger						
540. Aggression in defense of others who are being or have been arrested						
590. Other (specify)						
600. Aggression as an expression of contempt or disapproval (officer merely serves as negative stimulus by virtue of his identity and physical presence. Aggression serves as a manifestation of disapproval or to assert the citizen's status vis-a-vis the officer)						
610. Aggression to reinforce a verbal challenge directed at an officer						
620. Aggression following verbal threat to officer						
630. Aggression following verbal abuse or expression of contempt						
640. Unannounced or spontaneous aggression						
690. Other (specify)						
900. Unclassifiable (situations in which there is insufficient information to make a judgment)						

Observer ________________

21. **If officer [illegible] aggressive [illegible]:**
(mark as many as [illegible]; specify citizen's number under the appropriate officer and type of aggression. "VERBAL" - verbal aggression; "PHYS" - physical aggression without a weapon; "PHYS W" - physical aggression with a weapon)

	Officer under Observation			Partner		
	Verbal	Phys	Phys W	Verbal	Phys	Phys W
100. Defense of Personal Authority (officer reacts to actions of citizen which appear to be attempts to manipulate him or undermine his authority)						
110. Aggression as reaction to touching or other bodily contact						
120. Aggression as reaction to defiance of orders						
130. Aggression as reaction against orders, instructions, [illegible]						
140. Aggression as reaction to verbal abuse, epithets, etc. (specify)						
150. Aggression as reaction to a challenge (specify)						
190. Other (specify)						
200. Protection against [illegible] danger (officer perceives citizen as threat to his safety and reacts in effort to avoid or retard danger)						
210. Aggression to terminate violence directed against officer						
220. Aggression to disarm citizen						
230. Aggression to prevent violence						
290. Other (specify)						
300. Attempt to control situation (citizen or citizens are perceived to have lost control and officer attempts to re-establish a state of calm or control)						
310. Aggression in order to subdue citizen (specify citizen's state)						

Observer _____

22 (continued)	Officer under Observation			Partner		
	Verbal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3	Verbal 1	Phys 2	Phys W 3
320. Aggression in order to separate citizens						
330. Aggression in order to be relieved and accompanied aboard						
390. Other (specify)						
400. Defense or support of others (officer takes the part of others whose views as requiring or deserving aid. Uses aggression to rescue or increase the effectiveness of others who are perceived as objects of aggression or incursion)						
410. Aggression in defense of police officer(s) who is engaged in physical struggle						
420. Aggression in defense of police officer who is being assaulted verbally						
430. Aggression on behalf of a citizen who is being attacked						
440. Aggression on behalf of a citizen who is in a potentially dangerous or threatening situation						
490. Other (specify)						
500. Aggression as an expression of contempt or disapproval (aggression serves as a manifestation of disapproval or to assert the officer's status vis-a-vis the citizen)						
510. Aggression based on some quality in citizen (i.e., race, class) of which officer disapproves (specify quality)						
520. Aggression based upon definition of citizen as criminal						
530. Unprovoked or spontaneous aggression						
590. Other (specify)						
900. Unclassifiable (situations in which there is insufficient information to make a judgment)						

Observer _____

22. To what extent did each officer give directions or instructions to partner:

Officer under observation: 1 never — 2 infre-quently — 3 [illegible] — 4 [illegible] — 5 very frequently

Partner: 1 never — 2 infre-quently — 3 [illegible] — 4 [illegible] — 5 very frequently

23. Was there any difference of opinion between the officers over how the job was handled?

___Yes (1) ___No (0)

If yes, when did it occur?

___During job (2) ___When job was completed (3)

If yes, describe what occurred:

24. If at least one of the officers was a policewoman, citizen's response to sex:

			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
a. Citizen's affect	1	indifferent					
	2	surprised					
	3	pleased					
	4	irritated					
	5	other (specify)					
b. Citizen's behavior	1	interacted primarily with policewoman					
	2	interacted more with policewoman					
	3	interacted equally with both					
	4	interacted more with patrolman					
	5	interacted primarily with patrolman					
	6	not applicable					

25. Describe any specific appeals made to either police officer based on sex (e.g., 'You're a man/woman. You understand these things.')

Observer _____

26. Write out any comments made by citizens or officers regarding women on patrol: (identify citizen or officer)

27. Write out any other information about the situation or what was said about it that might aid in its overall portrayal:

APPENDIX B:

Training Manual for Patrol Observation

I. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Each observer will be assigned a one-digit number. This number must appear on each "Incident Report" and on the "Profile Sheet" for each tour of duty.

2. In completing either form, if there is inadequate space provided, use the back of the page, being sure to label your answer with the appropriate Item Number.

3. Be sure to wear a watch (with minutes if possible) whenever you go out to observe.

4. If a situation arises where, in order to transport prisoners, etc., you are asked to leave the radio car, do so. Take a taxi or other transportation back to the station house. You will be reimbursed for any expenses.

5. If, in an officer's judgment, a situation is dangerous and you are asked to remain in the car or another safe place, do so.

II. OBSERVATION PROFILE SHEET

Complete profile sheets immediately following the tour of duty observed.

Enter your observer number on the upper right hand corner of each page.

Specific Instructions

Item #	Instructions
1	Enter date in digit form (2/13)
2	Enter last name and sex of officer under observation
3	Enter last name and sex of partner
5	Enter NPT number of the two officers (leave blank if you don't know)
6	"Time in service" = Duration of interactions + Time on patrol and available for calls
7	"Out of service" = meals; getting gasoline; filing reports in the station house; the time spent in the car before notifying dispatch that they are available for calls, following an incident; etc.
8	Total time out of service = total of #7

OBSERVATION PROFILE SHEET (continued)

Item #	Instructions
9	Number of incidents - Includes all incidents, either dispatched, picked up or initiated by citizens in the field. (The number should equal the incident number of the final incident observed.)
10	This judgment should reflect the working relationship of the partners: degree of communication, understanding of working habits, division of labor, etc.
11	This judgment should reflect the personal relationship of the partners: friendliness, amount of tension, cooperation, etc.
12	"Help or information" = physical or verbal assistance. Ratings should reflect the extent of the differences between the officers on this dimension.
13	"Physical exertion" = acts that require physical strength (moving, lifting, etc.)
14	"Information and/or assistance" = physical or verbal help. Ratings should reflect the extent of the differences between the officers on this dimension.
15	In completing this item, refer both to comments and actions directed toward citizens and to statements made in the car when citizens were not present.
16	In completing this item, refer to explicit remarks or behaviors of officers. If no information is available by the end of the tour, ask the officers directly.

OBSERVATION PROFILE SHEET (continued)

Item #	Instructions
17	General remarks - Use this section for information on topics related to those on this form which will help to better characterize the officers or the tour.

III. INCIDENT REPORT

General Instructions

1. An "Incident Report" is to be completed each time the police are mobilized to act (either on their own initiative or that of citizens) regardless of whether or not citizens are present.

2. Items #1 -8 should be completed during or immediately following the incident. In addition, detailed notes concerning the incident should be taken, particularly with regard to the nature of the situation, the behavior and manner of the officers and citizens, and the outcome of the encounter. It may be necessary to complete the Incident Report at a later time based on these notes.

3. Incident Reports should be completed at the earliest possible time. This may mean any of the following:

--immediately following the incident while officers are completing reports (either in the radio car or in the station house)

--during the inactive periods later in the radio car

--during the officers' meal period

--immediately following the tour of duty

4. It may be easier to complete the early items if you familiarize yourself with dispatch codes (a card will be provided).

5. If the officers separate, follow the "officer under observation" (that to whom you have been assigned).

6. Unless otherwise specified, answer questions as to the officer under observation.

INCIDENT REPORT (continued)

7. Citizens in each interaction will be assigned identifying numbers in Item #13. These numbers should remain constant throughout the Incident Report.

8. If you have insufficient information to complete an item and there is no "Don't Know" category, leave the item blank.

9. If citizens are brought to the station house and the officers accompany or follow them, treat it as a "change in location" and continue to observe the officer under observation.

Specific Instructions

Item #	Instructions
1	The date of the observation should be entered in digit form.
2	Incidents in one tour should be numbered consecutively (e.g., the 5th incident observed will be given the number "5").
3	Be certain to wear a watch and note the time when the police arrive at the encounter.
4	Check the time at the conclusion of the encounter and enter the duration to the nearest minute.
7	Enter the total number of radio cars which respond over the course of the incident including the one in which you are riding (e.g., if yours is the only car to respond, enter a "1").
8a	If the officers are dispatched to the incident, enter the number code which comes over the radio. If you are unsure of what it is, ask the officers.

Specific Instructions (continued)

8b. Check the number or numbers which best characterize the actual situation. It is not unusual for the dispatch code to be inaccurate. Labels are listed alphabetically in 3 units: Felonies (serious crimes), other complaints (less serious crimes), and Miscellaneous Incidents and Problems (non-criminal).

8c. "Dispatched" - A call which is received over the radio (a citizen has called 911).

--"On-view" - An incident which the police initiate in the field.

--"Citizen-in-the-field" - A citizen or citizens initiate interaction directly with officers.

8e. If the nature of the incident changed during the course of your observation, specify the sequence of events.

9 Indicate how many of each category of participant was present at any time during the encounter.

--"Supervisor(s)" - patrol sergeants or lieutenants, NPT Commanders, etc.

--"Other Police Personnel" - detectives, youth officers, emergency service officers, etc.

--"Victim" - A person against whom a crime has been committed, who is sick or has been injured, who has experienced the loss of property or persons, etc. Include mental patients.

--"Complainant" - An individual who contacts the police to report a crime, an injury, an accident, etc.

--"Offender" - An individual who is suspected of having performed a criminal act or a violation of a civil law.

--"Informant" - Someone who provides information relevant to the incident.

--"Bystander" - A person who is physically present at the incident but is not personally involved in the original encounter.

Specific Instructions (continued)

RULE: Categories are listed in order of priority. If a person can be described by more than one category, assign him or her to ONLY that classification which appears first on the list.

Item #	Instructions
10	If an officer was the first to speak in an interaction, indicate which officer made the initial contact and whether that officer was driving the radio car or functioning as the recorder.
11	Rate each officer in terms of how active he or she was in handling the job.
12a.	Indicate where the incident took place. If there was more than one location, number in the appropriate order (e.g., 01 1 Dwelling; 04 2 Commercial; 07 3 Hospital).
12b.	Characterize the situation upon arrival along an orderly-disorderly dimension. "Orderly" might mean calm, controlled, quiet, etc. "Disorderly" might mean chaotic, violent, very tense or excited, etc.
12c.	If possible, determine the effect of each officer on the level of tension, violence and/or excitement at the incident. For example, "Greatly Decreased" might mean any of the following: -- An hysterical child was calmed down by the officer -- A street fight was stopped by the officer -- A frightened woman appeared to be comforted and reassured by the officer -- A highly tense situation was defused by the officer. RULE: In situations where there is no tension, violence or excitement, "inapplicable" should be checked rather than "made no difference" (e.g., a citizen asks for directions).

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
12f.	Indicate the extent to which the problem around which the encounter took place was solved at the time the police left the scene. --"Resolved" - offender is arrested, leak is repaired, injured person is taken to the hospital, etc. -- "Ambiguous" - ambulance is called, plumber has been called but has not arrived, the participants in a dispute are calmed down but the underlying problem remains, etc. -- "Unresolved" - A report is taken of a past crime but no suspects are apprehended, citizen is told to contact another agency for performance of the service requested, etc.
13.	Characterize as #1 the citizen who interacts most with the more active officer. (This may not be the officer you have bee assigned to observe.) The citizen who interacts second most with that officer should be designated as #2, and so on.
13a	-- "M" - Male "F" - Female
13b.	-- "W" - White "B" - Black "H" - Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, etc. "O" - Other
13c.	See instructions for Item #9 for definitions of categories. Rules for groups (e.g., complainant group, victim group): 1. Consider a "Group" to be 3 or more citizens of the same category (e.g., offender, victim) none of whom are distinctive enough to be characterized singely. When an individual can be distinguished from the group, categorize him or her separately. 2. If a group is not uniform, describe all chacteristics or behaviors (check or circle more than one category)

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
13e.	"White Collar" - professional, business, etc. "Blue Collar" - laborer, etc. RULE: If there is any doubt, use the "Don't Know" category.
13f.	"Unusual physical condition" refers to any physical state which might influence or help to characterize the incident: -- "sick" - coronary, epilepsy, asthma, etc. -- "slightly bruised or cut" - external injury which does not incapacitate the individual -- "seriously wounded or injured" - external or internal injury which seriously interferes with the functioning of the individual -- "unconscious" - disregard apparent cause -- "some signs of drinking" - apparent consumption of alcohol but not "drunk" -- "drunk" - intoxicated to the point of being out of control, unable to function, etc. -- "disoriented" - confused, out of touch with reality, etc. (e.g., mentally ill, senile)
14a.	"General state at outset" refers to the citizen's manner, mood, and/or behavior upon the <u>arrival</u> of the police. You should characterize their states <u>before</u> any substantial interaction with the officers takes place.
14b. 14c.	Characterize the degree of respect shown by each citizen toward all police officer(s) present. --"Outset" - the initial exchanges between citizens and officers --"Conclusion" - the final exchanges between citizens and officers.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
14b.	--"Deferential" - extremely respectful or obsequious
14c.	-- "Civil" - respectful, polite
	-- "Antagonistic" - disrespectful, defiant
	NOTE: The middle portion of the interaction will not be coded.
14d.	Characterize citizens' cooperativeness over the course of the interaction.
	-- "Cooperative" - carries out requests of police; offers assistance, information, etc, where possible
	-- "Uncooperative" - resists carrying out requests, thwarts efforts of police, etc.
	-- "Detached" - neither cooperative nor uncooperative
	-- "Mixed" - both cooperative and uncooperative during the course of the interaction.
14e.	"Challenge" - any questioning of an officer's status, authority, legitimacy or request, regardless of the officer's response or the manner in which the comment is delivered.
	-- "Officer A" - officer under observation
	-- "Officer B" - partner of the officer under observation
14f.	"General state when police were leaving" refers to the citizens' manner, mood and/or behavior as the police were departing from the scene. This characterization should reflect the citizens' overall response to the outcome of the incident and to the way in which the incident was handled.
15a.	This category reflects the overall manner and behavior of citizens, taking both verbal and non-verbal behaviors into account.
15b.	This categorization should be based on the tone and content of words spoken by citizens.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
15c.	Consider as "a specification of service" any direct request made by a citizen to either police officer.
	-- If the request is implied rather than explicitly stated, check "No" (e.g., there is a severely injured person for whom an ambulance is called: If the police do so on their own initiative, check "No"; if they do so at the request of a relative on the scene, check "Yes".)
	-- If the police explicitly offer a service before the citizen requests it, and the citizen accepts, check "Yes" (e.g., "Do you want us to take him to the hospital for x-rays?" would be scored "yes".)
15d.	Check specific services only if they are requested or agreed to by a citizen. (Actual services performed will be coded in a later section.)
	-- "Attention to a medical problem" - a request is made that the officer treat a medical problem him (her) self or that the citizen be transported to a hospital, clinic, or doctor by the officers or through arrangements made by them (e.g., ambulance).
	-- "Removal of someone" - police are asked to remove an individual from a specified location.
	-- "An arrest" - a request is made that an individual be taken into custody by the police.
	-- "Settlement of an argument or dispute" - the police are asked to quell a disturbance, to mediate or to arbitrate
	-- "Advice or counseling" - a request is made for information about handling criminal, civil or social matters.
	-- "Protection (of person)" - a request is made that special police efforts be made to protect a person from real or imagined danger.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
15d.	--"Attention to a physical condition" - a request is made that a traffic or safety hazard (e.g., faulty traffic signal) or other physical problem (e.g., leaking pipe, burned out light bulb) be fixed either by the police or through an arrangement by them. -- "Surveillance or protection of property" - a request is made that special police efforts be made to protect someone's property from real or imagined danger. -- "Attention to suspected criminal activity" - a request is made that the police watch and/or act against suspected criminal activities. -- "A report" - a request is made that the police officially file a report (stolen auto, past burglary, auto accident, missing person, etc.)
15e.	This refers to the citizens' degree of satisfaction with the actual service provided or arranged by the police officers. It should not reflect satisfaction with the manner in which the service was performed.
15f.	This refers to the citizens' degree of satisfaction with the style and tone in which the officer under observation carried out his or her responsibilities. It does not reflect satisfaction with the actual service provided by the officer.
15g.	A citizen should be viewed as possessing a weapon if it is on his or her person or if it is easily accessible (e.g., in the glove compartment of a car), regardless of the time at which the weapon is discovered or disclosed.
15h.	Consider as "Threats" those situations in which the weapon is held by the citizen and in which the citizen gives verbal or non-verbal warnings that the weapon may be used. Record only those threats made to an officer.
15i.	"Use of weapon" refers to using a weapon against an officer, regardless of whether or not an injury results.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
16a.	"General state of officer under observation at outset" refers to the officer's manner, mood and/or behavior just prior to coming on the scene of the incident. This may be reflected in the officer's initial comments to citizens.
16b.	Write out the form of address used most often with each citizen in the appropriate box. -- "Familiar" - John, Mary, Dear, Honey, etc. -- "Respectful" - Mr. Smith, Miss Jones, Sir, Madam, etc. -- "Impersonal" - Hey you -- "Derogatory" - Punk, boy RULE: If more than one form of address is used, code the one which is used most often. NOTE: Take the officer's tone and manner into consideration when categorizing a form of address.
16c.	Manipulative techniques are strategies used by the officer to achieve his or her goals. Check as many categories as necessary. You may check none. -- "Made particularistic appeal" - e.g., "I've got a wife, I know how it is." -- "Took point of view temporarily" - adopted the perspective of whichever citizen was being spoken to. -- "Isolated citizen" - e.g., put citizen in separate room, in radio car, etc. -- "Used humor or jolliness" - made jokes, cajoled, etc. -- "Was paternalistic/maternalistic" - treated citizen as a child, as naive. -- "Was seductive" - coy, flirtatious -- "Used threats" - indicated that police or other authority would take action against citizen due to behavior or manner. -- "Used silence, ignored" -- "Instilled guilt" - attempted to make citizen feel bad or responsible for behavior of self or other.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
16c.	"Used reasoning or problem-solving" - demonstrated cause and effect, consequences of action or inaction, etc.
16e.	"Officer's general manner" refers to the general style and tone in which the officer carries out his or her responsibilities.
16f.	Check those behaviors which led to your characterization of the officer's general manner (16e). Only check those behaviors which significantly contributed to your sense of the officer's manner.
16g.	Write a brief descriptive account of the officer's behavior checked in 16f. Include the extent to which the officer engaged in those behaviors and give examples where possible. Be sure to distinguish among citizens when appropriate.
16h.	"General state when leaving" refers to the officer's manner, mood, and/or behavior immediately upon completion of the job. If you have any doubt, use the "Don't Know" category.
17	Instructions for all items are identical to those in #16 except that questions refer to the partner rather than to the officer under observation. RULE: You have been instructed to follow the officer under observation. If, therefore, you don't have enough information to make a judgment, leave the item blank or check "Don't Know".
18	Place the number or numbers of citizens to whom each police action was directed under the officer who undertook the action and the appropriate time of occurrence. -- If actions are not directed to particular citizens, simply place a check in the appropriate box. Code as "END" only the final action or composite actions taken by the officer who concludes the interaction. Code all other actions as "MID".

Specific Instructions (continued)

Example: As the police are leaving the scene of an incident the officer under observation says to the complainant (citizen #1) "Don't worry, I don't think he'll come back. But if he does call 911."

Place a "1" in the second column of items 402, 602 & 603:

	Officer under Observation		Partner	
	Mid	End	Mid	End
Action #		1		

RULE: For each action indicated give specifics in the space provided at the end of the section ("Describe or specify action taken"). Illustration: Specify "Made official report" as, for example, "Aided coronary" or "Report of past burglary."

FOR THE ENTIRE SECTION (Item #18) MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE PERMITTED. CHECK AS MANY ITEMS AS NECESSARY.

100 Formal or Official Action

101. Made arrest - formally charged with a crime

102. Gave traffic summons - Moving or standing violation

103. Gave other summons - Peddler, Noise, etc.

104. Made official report - Aided, Accident, Complaint, etc.

105. Took to station - No formal charges made or observer doesn't know if charges were preferred

106. Other - Any other formal or official actions

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
18 - 200	Informal Use of Power

201. Threatened with physical force - Made verbal or non-verbal threats to injure citizen or gave warnings that coercion will be applied.

202. Threatened with weapon - Made verbal or non-verbal threats with gun, nightstick, or other potentially dangerous instrument.

203. Threatened with arrest - Gave verbal warning that individual may be taken into custody.

204. Other threat or warning - Gave notice that punishment or harm will be administered by an authority. This does not include warnings of natural consequences ("If you don't fix the leak the ceiling may cave in.")

205. Used verbal constraint - Restrained or limited citizen's actions or words through verbal command or statement ("You're not going anywhere," "Shut up.")

206. Used physical constraint - Restrained or limited citizen's actions or words through physical means (holds arm, uses handcuffs).

207. Used physical force against person - Any attempt to subdue or injure a citizen through physical force, with or without a weapon. Injury does not have to result (slaps face, hits with nightstick, etc.).

208. Gave orders or directed - Issued commands or directions to citizens in an authoritarian manner.

209. Admonished or moralized - Expressed disapproval or rebuked citizen on grounds of legality, morality or social responsibility ("Now look at all the trouble you've caused," "Can't you see that it's dangerous to speed in a populated area like this?")

210. Other in this area - Other informal exercise of power.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
18- 300	Informal Police Action

301. Gave traffic warning - Gave formal or informal warning regarding traffic violation. No summons was issued.

302. Undertook investigation - After learning the initial facts about an incident, the officer sought further information, either through examination of physical conditions or through questioning other people who might have been involved.

303. Interrogated suspect(s) - Questioned a citizen thought to be engaged in or associated with criminal activity.

304. Searched property - Examined citizen's belongings (car, home, personal possessions) in connection with suspected criminal activity.

305. Searched or "frisked" person(s) - Examined someone's person for weapons, evidence, etc.

306. Gave special surveillance or attention after leaving setting - Provided extra service or attention to a person, place or condition following the conclusion of the incident but within the same tour of duty.

If more than routine patrol is involved (conversation with citizens, investigation, etc.), check here, but IN ADDITION, fill out a full indicent report.

307. Dispersed crowd - Broke up a group of three or more persons through either verbal or physical means.

308. Gave chase (on foot) - Pursued (on foot) offenders or suspects who were fleeing the scene of the incident.

309. Gave chase (in patrol car) - Pursued (in car) offender or suspect.

310. Other in this area - Other informal police actions.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
18- 400	Preparation or Suggestion of Future Action

401. Referred to other police unit - Transferred responsibility for further service to another police unit (detectives, youth division, etc.). Only score as "referred" those cases which are officially transferred via phone call, report, etc.

402. Suggested further use of police service -

a) Told citizen to notify police should a related or similar condition occur in the future ("If he comes back, call 911.")

b) Suggested use of another police unit but left citizen to make the contact.

403. Suggested use of civil court or lawyer - Recommended civil action, since problem is "not a police matter" ("Go to family court," "Call your lawyer and sue him.") Suggestions for contacting a lawyer should be scored "403" only in NON-CRIMINAL matters.

404. Referred to non-police agency - Transferred responsibility for further service to a non-police agency outside the legal system (marriage counselor, plumber). Score as "referred" both (a) cases in which the officer personally contacts the agency for the citizen by phone or in person, and (b) cases in which the officer provides the citizen with the information with which to contact the agency (name address, phone number) without actually making the contact.

405. Suggested use of non-police services - Recommends use of non-police agency outside the legal system for further service. Advice is general rather than specific ("Call a plumber.")

406. Encouraged citizen who wanted to sign a complaint - The suggestion must come from the citizen and be assisted by the officer.

407. Asked the citizen if he would sign a complaint - citizen agreed - The suggestion must come from the officer. Score citizen as "agreed" regardless of the amount of persuasion required to achieve compliance.

Item #	Instructions
18	
	408. Asked citizen if he would sign a complaint - citizen refused - The suggestion must come from the officer. Do not use this category when citizens suggest filing a complaint and are persuaded not to by an officer.
	409. Offered or promised an investigation - Officer told citizen that they or other police units would follow up on the incident in question ("The detectives will be by later this evening.")
	410. Offered or promised special surveillance or attention Citizen told that police would continue to provide service or attention to a person, place or condition, following the conclusion of the incident.
	411. Other in this area - Other suggestions or preparations for future action.
18 - 500	Physical Service
	501. Requested an ambulance - By radio or telephone
	502. Made phone call - Assisted citizen by personally contacting other persons or agencies to provide further service.
	503. Transported to medical setting - Brought citizen to hospital, clinic or doctor.
	504. Transported (other) - Brought citizen to location other than stationhouse or medical setting.
	505. Escorted to medical setting - Accompanied citizen to hospital, clinic, or doctor (followed or rode in ambulance).
	506. Escorted (other) - Accompanied citizen to nonmedical location
	507. Gave first aid or other physical assistance (artificial respiration, rescued from swimming pool, etc.)
	508. Performed other physical service - removed dead dog, changed fuse, etc.
18 - 600	Helping Behavior
	601. Arbitrated or mediated in dispute - Made judgments, clarified issues, enforced rules of discussion or otherwise acted as moderator or referee of a disagreement ("Don't interrupt," "It seems to me you're saying. . ." "I think Jane has a valid point.")

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
18- 600.	602. Gave advice or counseling - Offered specific, concrete suggestions regarding a problem, condition, etc. ("Why don't you try...?", "If I were you, I'd call...")
	603. Gave consolation or emotional support - Sympathized with or comforted citizen ("It'll be OK")
	604. Other helping behavior -
18- 700	"Cool Out"

"Coolout" refers to a strategy used by officers to divest themselves of responsibility for handling a situation in the manner requested by the citizen, or to convince a citizen that an action already taken was the appropriate one. This attempt may or may not be successful. Distinctions among the categories are based on the specific manipulative technique used:

701. Talked or "cooled" person into handling problem himself - Manipulative technique = convincing person that the problem is not a police matter and would be better handled by the person himself ("It's a civil matter, call your lawyer.")

702. Talked or "cooled" person into seeing police action as undesirable because of consequences - Manipulative technique = convincing person that police action would do more harm than good ("If we arrest him, he'll just come back angrier.")

703. Talked or "cooled" person into denying that a problem existed in the first place - Manipulative technique = convincing person that there really wasn't any problem.

704. Talked or "cooled" person into seeing a problem as solved or taken care of after the fact of police action - Manipulative technique - convincing person that his or her dissatisfaction with the police action taken is inappropriate.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
18- 700	705. Talked or "cooled" person into postponing his concern or demand by suggesting that he "wait and see" - Manipulative technique = convincing person that the problem will be solved over time if no action is taken.
	706. Used other "cool out" technique -
18- 800	Other
	801. Call unfounded; continued to their business (10-90) no such address, no one answers, etc.
	802. Continued to other business without having taken any action whatsoever - do NOT use this category if the call is unfounded (801).
	803. Took information and encounter was terminated - Use this category for information other than responses to requests for official reports (104) (citizen reports a suspicious person, a defective street light, etc.)
	804. Gave or exchanged information and encounter was terminated - Use this category for responses to requests for street directions or for other specific information ('My neighbor has a noisy dog' how do I file a complaint?")
	805. Called for police assistance - Called a 10-85 or 10-13 or asked another officer or a citizen to do so.
	806. Drew weapon - Held gun or nightstick ready for use, either with or without a citizen present.
	807. Other action taken - Specify here any actions taken by officers which cannot be classified elsewhere.
19	"Aggression" - any verbal or non-verbal/physical act or response which is either intended to harm or hurt or which results in harm or hurt.
	RULE: If you are not certain whether an act is actually aggressive, indicate your doubt in the open-ended section of Item #19. In such cases, always give detailed descriptions of the event so that final coding decisions can be made at a later time.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
19	In this section, report only those incidences of aggression which you see personally.
	--Identifications: Be sure to identify citizens involved by number (1 - 5) maintaining those designations used in prior sections. Identify officers as "officer under observation" or "partner."
	--"Type" - specify verbal or physical aggression, with or without a weapon, plus an indication of people involved.
	--Description- should include mention of provocation or precipitating circumstances, actions of individuals involved, and particularly the behavior of the officers, whether or not they are directly involved in the aggression. Your description should be thorough enough to permit another person to fill out Items #20 and 21 after reading it.
20	Complete this section only if aggression directed toward an officer occurred.
	--Multiple answers are permitted
	--Characterize the incident by placing the number of citizens engaged in the aggression under the officer to whom the aggression was directed and the type of aggression observed.
	--If the aggression is directed against both officers or if its object is indistinguishable, place the citizen's number under the appropriate type of aggression for both officers.
	--Type of aggression: "Verbal" - any words which are either intended to harm or hurt. Includes degradation, use of profanity, harassment, lack of respect, etc.
	--"Phys" - Physical aggression without a weapon. Any act which is either intended to harm or hurt or results in harm or hurt. Includes hitting, slapping, pushing, etc.
	--"Phys W" - physical aggression with a weapon. Any use of an object other than one's body which is either intended to harm or hurt or which results in harm or hurt. Objects may be designed as weapons (guns, knives) or may be used as such by the individual (ash tray, basebal bat, etc.)

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
20	--Categories ending in 00 (e.g., 100, 200) - Use main categories when unable to make a more specific judgment (e.g., 110, 120, 441, etc.) NOTE: If you have difficulty coding the incident according to the categories supplied, do the best you can and note the ambiguity in your detailed description of the incident (Item #19).
21	Complete this section only if an officer displayed aggressive behavior toward a citizen. --Multiple answers are permitted. --Characterize the incident by placing the number of the citizen(s) at whom the aggression is directed under the officer's number and the type of aggression. --If the aggression is directed against more than one citizen, place all citizens' numbers in the box. If the object of the aggression is not clear, just place a check in the appropriate box. --Types of aggression are the same as in Item #20. --Categories ending in 00 (e.g., 100, 200) - use as in Item # 20. NOTE: If you have difficulty coding the incident according to the categories supplied, do the best you can and note the ambiguity in your detailed description of the incident (Item # 19).
20-21	EXAMPLE: A suspect (citizen #2) is order by the officer under observation to stand against a wall. The citizen refuses by saying, "You bastard, I'm not going anywhere." The officer responds by pushing the suspect to the desired place. For Item #20: place a "2" in the first column of #220. For Item #21: place a "2" in the second column of Items # 120 and 140.

Specific Instructions (continued)

	Officer under observation			Partner		
	Ver-bal	Phys	Phys W	Ver-bal	Phys	Phys W
20 Item # 220	2					

Item #	Instructions
22	"Directions or instructions" -"Go call for help," "Put a pillow under his head," "Clear the hallway," etc.
	--Ratings should reflect the extent of the differences between the officers on this dimension.
23	"Difference of opinion" - "You shouldn't have done that," "I thought that the mother knew more than she let on. We should have pressed her more."
24a.	"Citizen's affect" - the overt reaction of a citizen when confronted with a policewoman as opposed to a policeman.
24b.	"Citizen's Behavior" - only complete this section when both male and female officers are present (whether or not they are members of the team under observation).
	--Rating of "amount of interaction" should reflect the extent to which citizens' comments, questions, etc. were directed to the male vs. the female police officer.
25	"Specific appeals" - references made by citizens to an officers's sex and/or attributes that are ordinarily implied by sex. Write out such references as completely as possible. Specify the citizen's number.

Specific Instructions (continued)

Item #	Instructions
26	List here any comments made by citizens or officers about the existence, competence, effects, etc. of policewomen on patrol. Specify citizen's number and identify officer.
27	Use this section to include any information which you feel is important and is either not included in the observation schedule or is inadequately described by the coding system. Keep in mind that events will be reconstructed from this incident report and there will be cases in which special information is necessary to impart the flavor of what took place.

APPENDIX C:

Incident Interview

Officer_____ Interviewer_____

Precinct_____ Date_____

INCIDENT INTERVIEW

Introduction:

1. Do you remember _____

_____

_____

situation? (describe highlights of situation and when it occurred)

   a. If no, proceed to next situation or terminate interview.

   b. If yes, continue to # 2.

2. Could you tell me what happened?
(probe for detailed description of situation)

3. Would you say that this situation was typical of

_____ calls or was it unusual?

   a. Please describe what was typical or unusual about it.

Officer_____ Interviewer_____

Precinct_____ Date_____

4. Do you think the situation could have become dangerous?

5. What did you think of _____(describe role and characteristics of primary citizen)?

   (Probe on dimensions such as respect for authority, hostility, etc.)

6. What do you think the citizen wanted from you?

   (Probe: particular service, to be left alone, to be listened to, etc.)

7. What do you think the citizen thought of you?

   Why?

Officer_____ Interviewer_____

Precinct_____ Date_____

8. How did you try to handle the situation?

(Probe: get at formal action and informal behavior, both general and specific attempts to handle situation)

9. Could you tell me other ways that you might have handled the situation?

(Probe for sense of options, alternatives)

Officer_____ Interviewer_____

Precinct_____ Date_____

10. Were you satisfied with the way the situation turned out? Why or why not?

11. Do you think _____ (the primary citizen) was satisfied with the way the situation turned out?

    a. If not, what could have satisfied the citizen?

    b. Was that a possibility?

12. How do you think a policewoman (policeman) would have handled the same situation?

APPENDIX D:

Comparisons Among Citizens 1, 2, and 3

BEHAVIORAL COMPARISONS: CITIZEN 1 VERSUS CITIZEN 2

	Female Officers		Male Officers		
Behavior	Mean-1	Mean-2	Mean-1		Mean-2
Officer behavior					
Aggressive	.02	.01	.04	*	.03
Business-like	.62	.62	.71		.69
Humorous	.09	.09	.05		.04
Sympathy	.27	.25	.17		.17
Advice	.12	.07	.05		.01
Consolation	.08	.05	.03		.03
Citizen behavior					
Friendly	.22	.21	.16		.12
Calm	.53	.52	.53		.51
Passive	.18	.16	.13		.16
Aggressive	.09	.06	.09		.09

* $p < .01$

BEHAVIORAL COMPARISONS: CITIZEN 1 VERSUS CITIZEN 3

	Female Officers		Male Officers	
Behavior	Mean-1	Mean-3	Mean-1	Mean-3
Officer behavior				
Aggressive	.02 *	.01	.04	.03
Business-like	.62	.58	.71	.64
Humorous	.09	.08	.05	.06
Sympathy	.27	.19	.17	.11
Advice	.12 *	.03	.05 *	.00
Consolation	.08 *	.03	.03	.01
Citizen behavior				
Friendly	.22	.18	.16	.14
Calm	.53	.43	.53	.48
Passive	.18	.17	.13	.18
Aggressive	.09	.05	.09	.09

* $p < .01$

BEHAVIORAL COMPARISONS: CITIZEN 2 VERSUS CITIZEN 3

	Female Officers		Male Officers	
Behavior	Mean-2	Mean-3	Mean-2	Mean-3
Officer behavior				
Aggressive	.01	.01	.03	.03
Business-like	.61	.58	.69	.64
Humorous	.09	.08	.04	.06
Sympathy	.25	.19	.17	.11
Advice	.07	.03	.01	.00
Consolation	.05	.03	.03	.01
Citizen behavior				
Friendly	.21	.18	.12	.14
Calm	.52	.43	.51	.48
Passive	.16	.17	.16	.18
Aggressive	.07	.05	.09	.09

NOTE: No significant differences at the .01 level

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