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POLICE DEPARTMENT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY.

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**BLACK POLICE ATTITUDES IN THE NEW YORK CITY
POLICE DEPARTMENT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

by

MICHAEL WUBNIG

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

BLACK POLICE ATTITUDES IN THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by

Michael Wubnig

Adviser: Professor Patricia Kendall

This is a study of the attitudes, perceptions, and problems of a sample of black New York City police completed between April 1972 and June 1973. A total of twenty-six focused interviews (names chosen at random from Guardian mailing lists) and 238 in-depth questionnaires were completed, concentrating on possible sources of status strain for the black policeman between his ascribed status of race and his achieved status of occupation within the discussion of police-minority relations in the available literature. After an introductory discussion of the police function and minorities in the United States and New York City (with special emphasis on the Guardian-PBA altercation over a civilian controlled review board in New York City in 1966 and the Guardian-Hispanic suit filed against the NYCPD in March 1972, alleging discrimination and bias in minority appointment and promotion), seven specific areas were discussed from interview and questionnaire responses (with cross-tabulations for selected variables by "age", "time on the force", and "rank"); (1) a profile of the respondents with a special emphasis on social mobility (inter and intra-generational) and the police role; (2) black police perception of the NYCPD and changes in working conditions and white police attitudes during respondents' careers; (3) evaluations of white police attitudes toward black police and civilians; (4) black police attitudes toward groups like the NAACP, Black Panthers, and Black Muslims, and to the use of black officers in undercover and infiltration work and in assignment to precincts with a predominantly minority population; (5) attitudes of black primary groups members (parents, friends, and wives/girlfriends) and non-primary group civilians to the decision to join the NYCPD; (6) the role of the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen in contributing to black

police identity; (7) evaluations of a police career for one's children and the degree of job satisfaction with respondents' own NYCPD careers. From the analysis in these areas, the single strong basis for possible status strain was seen to develop in lack of acceptance by white supervisors and the belief that blacks and other minorities were excluded as a matter of policy from positions of power in the NYCPD (although job conditions were generally seen to have improved in all areas but policy-making as a factor of external pressures on the NYCPD to recruit and promote minorities from the federal government and the need to use black police in particular areas of crime where their white counterparts would not be as effective). However, the impact of these evaluations in creating status strain was seen as being weakened both by the internal development of a black police group identity through Guardian solidarity and politicization beginning in the mid-1960's (Guardian-PBA civilian review board issue; the creation of a Guardian Defense-Solidarity Fund growing out of the Jimmy Cato incident in 1969; the role of the Guardians in minority recruitment under the Police Cadet Program; the Guardian-Hispanic suit of 1972), and by the external development of Black Nationalism. The effect of these developments was interpreted as creating a black police solidarity expressing itself in the nature of internally generated instrumental behavior. This was hypothesized (since no comparable data existed for earlier periods) as contrasting with an earlier type of black police behavior in which the primary mechanisms of adjustment were individual, since a group identity and ability to control situations affecting black police were outside of their influence. Suggestions were made in the final chapter concerning: (1) implications of this study for the future research of the development of (white and black) police attitude sets; (2) implications of this study for the future study of status strain among black police, and by extension, other black professional groups; (3) the need to reevaluate the theoretical perspectives employed in examining the relationship of black professionals to the black civilian community on the basis of emerging Black Nationalism; (4) the need for future research on black-white police interaction to examine empirically the nature of external and internal structural conditions patterning the police role in the United States and the effects of police-public relations in affecting this interaction.

Introduction

1. The Police Function and the Black American Community

A subject of increasing social interest and comment in the last decade has been the relationship between the police and the various American publics with whom they interact. The particular relevance of this area to New York City (referred to hereafter as NYC) can be seen in four recent incidents:

- a. The creation in 1966 of a Police Cadet Program at the initiative of the Federal government whose purpose it was to recruit minority, i.e., black and Puerto Rican, personnel to the New York City Police Department (referred to hereafter as NYCPD)
- b. The controversy over the issue of a civilian controlled review board in the 1966 referendum between the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (referred to hereafter as PBA) and the Guardians (a national black fraternal police organization chartered in NYC in 1949), with a suit brought by the Guardians against the PBA alleging improper use of funds to defeat the referendum
- c. The suit brought by Lt. James Harding against the Testing and Research Division of the NYCPD in June, 1969, alleging racial discrimination in the captain's promotional exam, and
- d. The class action initiated in March, 1972, by the Guardians and the Hispanic Society (the Puerto Rican equivalent of the Guardians) requesting an injunction against the use of civil service appointment lists to the NYCPD, as well as the use of similar testing devices on future qualifying exams. It was argued that the method of testing discriminated against black and Puerto Rican applicants under standards created by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC 21, 1970 - CFR 1607) and the American Psychological

Association, and that the use of the exams was improper under standards established in court decisions interpreting the legislation.

The present discussion will focus on two areas. The first will be an identification of what seem to be the most salient points in a sociological analysis of police-minority interaction and the problems attendant upon it. The second will be the role of the black policeman in the light of possible status conflicts arising between his ascribed status of race and his achieved occupational status.

Three themes will be developed in this section of the Introduction. The first will be the role of the police in the United States in the last seventy years in responding to (and in some cases, contributing to) racial disturbances. The second will be the genesis of broad role definitions in the police subculture, both as they are internally generated and as they are effected by police-civilian contacts. The last will investigate the position of the black policeman in the police occupational structure.

In the section that follows this discussion, the problems developed will be discussed in the context of the NYCPD since 1964*.

*

There is little empirical material available on the racial composition and relations in the NYCPD before 1964, when, as a result of Federal investigations into the precipitants of race riots during that year, the issue of minority police recruitment and police-minority relations became a focal area of research.

Throughout this introductory discussion, the argument will be made that any valid understanding of the nature of the position of the black NYCPD officer can only be understood in the context of the broader American patterning of minority relations and the police role. It is this society that creates a cultural set of values which patterns role expectations for the policeman and opportunities for performance (or lack of performance) of the police function. Central to this concern is an understanding of the role of police in racial disturbances in the United States.

a. The Police and American Society

Without doubt, the most salient fact in the nature of American society is that it is heterogeneous, being formed of diverse ethnic, racial and religious stocks. To the extent that assimilation has not occurred, or has occurred partially or in different degrees for different groups¹, ethnic and class communities have formed which embody differing cultural systems of values and behavior², at times perceived to be at odds with one another. Within this perspective, to speak of an "American" culture or value system is at best problematic, and to some is seen as distorting the basic heterogeneity of the United States³.

Rather, it seems more to the point that the substantive interpretation of values and the mechanisms legitimated to achieve them are largely a product of the individual's position within a particular "ethclass" (the intersection

of social class with the ascribed statuses of race, religion, and ethnicity)⁴ in American society. To the extent that this is an accurate description, the implementation of the police role in so far as it concerns the maintenance of law and order immediately creates a problem: law and order for whom, one may ask, or according to whose definitions of these terms. Bittner addresses himself to this aspect of the police role when he states that "the police are nothing else than a mechanism for the distribution of situationally justified force in society"⁵.

If different ethnoclasses do not share a common understanding of the bases of law and order in the United States, and have different power positions from which to implement their values, there is the potential for differing degrees of legitimation to be imputed to the police role. Banton stresses this aspect in his comparison of American and British police systems:

The officer in the United States is less predictable than his British colleague because, in a heterogeneous population, common understandings are less inclusive.. Different police duties bring officers into contact with different sections of the public and this is likely to influence both their attitudes and their behavior on the job. ⁶

Bittner stresses much the same point in his belief that "police activity is as much directed to who a person is as to what he does"⁷.

This approach helps us to understand the partisan role that the police have played in the incidence of ethnic and racial disorders in the United States. In discussing the race riots of 1919, Waskow claims that in "almost all of the riots, the behavior of the local police was closely connected with the beginnings of the riot"⁸.

The police partiality had different effects upon whites and Negroes, but in both communities encouraged violence. To whites, un-neutral behavior by the police meant that it was 'open season' on Negroes, and that the usual protection afforded by the law was in temporary abeyance. To Negroes, the police one-sidedness meant that their only defense against violence was self-defense, since the law would not come to their protection. This feeling crystallized into the 'fighting back' ⁹ commitment.

A related phenomenon seen in the literature dealing with the development of a police subculture is the creation of a "perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants.. as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence"¹⁰. The mechanisms behind this attitude are many, but one which is directly relevant to this discussion is the extent to which police emotionally share the values of those segments of the community who are in a position to legislate their values into law^{*}. To

*

The extent to which this perceptual shorthand is a general police characteristic is open to serious question on the basis of responses to two questions asked in a national police survey in 1969 (Watson, Nelson A., and Sterling, James W., Police and Their Opinions, Internat-

ional Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D.C., 1969, pp. 131, 143, 158). Using a Likert Scale, respondents were asked their opinion on the following two statements.

- (1) Statement 32. "The police are justified in regarding a juvenile with 'beatnik' or 'mod' appearance as a person who needs to be watched."
- (2) Statement 56. "There is something about the personal appearance of a criminal- the way he looks- by which an experienced man can pick him out." (original emphasis)

A majority of respondents disagreed with both statements. For #32, on all variables tested (total responses, years of experience, functional assignment for experienced male officers only, education and ethnic origin) the highest level of agreement (43.6%) was for training officers, and the lowest for Negro police (24.0%, as compared to 42.3% of agreement by white police). For #56, the results were similar, with less of a dichotomy between blacks and whites. Most respondents (74.0% of whites and 74.8% of Negroes) disagreed with the statement. The highest level of agreement was for recruits (37.6%).

It should also be noted that where a police perceptual shorthand does exist, this does not necessarily involve a conscious attitude by departments or their personnel to administer discretionary enforcement of the law on the basis of ascribed statuses, although police-Black Panther incidents suggest that some degree of police conspiracy did exist in this particular area (see Marine, Gene, The Black Panthers, Signet Books, 1969, especially chapter 9, "Arrest and Trial", pp. 77 - 105, for a discussion of police-Panther relations in California, and Royko, Mike, Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Signet Books, 1971, pp. 209 - 213, for police-Panther relations in Chicago), or that ascribed racial characteristics are the only or most important factors in explaining a police perceptual shorthand.

Rather, where this shorthand exists, it is constructed of a myriad of situational factors (including, at a minimum, the officer, the civilian, and the dynamics of the situation in which they confront one another) which are outside of the context of this paper to discuss. An especially thorough discussion of the factors creating the use of discretionary justice by American Police is LaFave, Wayne R., Arrest: The Decision to Take a Suspect into Custody, The Report of the American Bar Foundation's Survey of the Administration of Criminal Justice in the United States, Little, Brown and Co., 1965. The effect of visibility and ethno-related patterns in understanding police discretion (i.e., ghetto gambling on a street corner as opposed to gambling at a Church bazaar, or the prevalence of "numbers

the extent that these values include stereotypes and prejudices against particular subcultures, those groups that are defined as lying outside of traditional boundaries of community morality, such as racial and ethnic minorities, sexual deviants and political radicals¹¹, are seen in the same light by the police.

The question is not whether this is "correct" or "incorrect behavior for a group which is sanctioned ostensibly to uphold social order for all citizens, but rather what structural conditions (in terms both of the broader American institutions and the structuring of the police functions within them)¹² make a type of behavior possible which leads to differential enforcement of the law¹³. The role of the police in racial disturbances is a case in point.

b. The Police and Racial Disorders

In a study of the precipitants and underlying conditions of American race riots between 1913 - 1963, Lieberman and Silverman classified seventy-two riots for which information was available from The New York Times Index according to their immediate precipitants¹⁴. "Killings, arrest, interference, assault, or search of Negro men by white policemen" was the precipitating event in fifteen of the riots studied,¹⁵ running" in black communities) is discussed by Carl Wehrman and Irving Piliavin in their "Gang Members and the Police", in Bordua, David J., The Police: Six Sociological Essays, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967, pp. 56 - 98.

exceeded only by "inter-racial fight, no mention of lethal weapon"¹⁶. The McCone Report on the Watts riot of 1965 found that long-standing resentments between the black and police communities was one of the most critical areas of conflict underlying the riot¹⁷. Similarly, in a special study done by the Kerner Commission on racial disorders in American cities in the summer of 1967, the category of "police practices" made up by far the largest single grievance seen as contributing to racial disorders by black civilians questioned¹⁸.

The Black Panthers have claimed that "police brutality and murder of black people" is one of the major problems facing the black community today¹⁹, and one can only wonder at the effect on white police of a statement made by Louis Farakandh, a leading minister of the Chicago mosque of The Nation of Islam, that there are no black criminals in the United States²⁰, this being particularly directed to blacks in prison, or the perception by some white police of an assassination campaign directed against them by the so-called Black Liberation Army.

Conversely, alleged incidents of police brutality and murder directed against black civilians point up the roots of black distrust and hostility to the white policeman²¹. These problems are further exacerbated by incidents in NYC where black off-duty or Plain Clothes police have been shot and, in some cases, killed, by white officers. This, unfortunately, is a pattern that has been replicated in other

American cities, to the point that white and black officers have actually drawn guns on one another at police functions²².

A second factor is that of situational contingencies²³ which may develop anti-black sentiment where it was initially absent, or lay dormant. Westley's study of a mid-western police department illustrates this. One of his respondents states that:

I was raised in an Irish Catholic family and we were brought up to hate the Jews and the Negroes. I don't like that, and when I got into high school I thought now's my chance to stick up for them. So I read some books. I wanted to defend them. But I wasn't on the force three months, in the central district, 24 when I grew to hate these people.

A similar experience is reported by a white policeman interviewed by The New York Times (September 28, 1969, p. 69) for an article on racial polarization in the NYCPD. The patrolman, who had done riot duty in Harlem, claimed that originally he had no hard feelings or resentment against blacks. His experience in Harlem, however, had taught him "to hate those niggers". The existence of such attitudes on the part of police towards blacks and other minorities has been found in several studies completed to date.

"In their discussion of police-minority relations in Denver, Colorado, Bayley and Mendelsohn²⁵ found that the two factors which were most important to the police in locating possible sources of deviant behavior were perceived situational incongruities and inferred attitudes

held toward them by different publics with whom they interacted²⁶. "Perceived belligerency" was an especially important attitude imputed to blacks, as opposed to Spanish or Mexican-Americans²⁷; blacks and teenagers were cited as the two groups in which there had been as especially noticeable decline in respect for the police over the years²⁸, with a "sophisticated belligerency" being associated with "high class rank.. professional standing, and.. Negroes"²⁹.

In a study done by the National Crime Commission in 1966 on attitudes of white police assigned to ghetto areas in Boston, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., 79% of all white police were seen as holding prejudicial views, with 45% being "extremely anti-Negro"³⁰. In the Fifteen City Study commissioned by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, it was found that a definite anti-black bias existed for white police in all cities studied, and because of certain methodological problems, this bias was judged to underestimate the actual degree of anti-black sentiment³¹. Further, this study demonstrated a polarity of opinion between white and black police concerning the evaluation of the treatment of blacks in their respective cities: while 88% of all white police responding believed that blacks were treated "the same or better" than other civilians in their city (N=335), only 32% of black police concurred (N=101)³².

Finally, in a cohort study done by Savitz of the Philadelphia Police Department in 1971, white and black police

were asked at three different points in their careers (immediately at the start of training, after eleven weeks of training, and after three years on the job) how they perceived blacks to view them. For both groups, the percentage believing that they were seen as "very favorable or favorable" declined over the three periods. For whites, the decline was from 41% in the first period (N=176), to 19% in the second (N=175), to 18% in the last (N=126). The figures for black police were 46% (N=57), 28% (N=57), and 19% (N=36), respectively³³.

c. Black Recruitment to Police Departments

The recent (1966) implementation of programs directed at minority recruitment in urban police departments is seen by this observer to present two potential problems for these forces.

As can be seen from Tables 1 - 5 (pp. 14 - 16), black police are entering departments traditionally staffed and controlled by whites. White police hostility to minority recruitment presents possible conflict to the extent that (a) this represents a threat to traditional power bases, (b) this entrance is perceived as involving a loss of occupational prestige both because a group traditionally excluded is now entering and because this entrance may be judged as involving a "lowering of standards" whereby

Table 1. Negro Personnel in Representative Southern Cities: 1954 - 1966

City	Total Negro Police					% Negro Police 1966	% Negro Popu- lation: 1960
	1954	1959	1961	1962	1966		
Atlanta	16	31	40	45	73	9	38
New Orleans	12	43	36	37	44	4	37
Tampa	10	13	*	13	13	3	17
Richmond	21	21	30	34	*	*	42
Nashville	16	19	23	32	*	*	38
Winston-Salem	14	12	13	10	10	5	37
Birmingham	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
Washington, D.C.	*	*	*	417	531	18	54

* Figures not available

Table 2. Personnel in Representative Sheriff's Offices: Selected States

State	No. Offices Responding	No. White Deputies	White Dep/ 1000 Pop.	No. Negro Deputies	Negro Dep/ 1000 Pop.
Alabama	13	57	.13	0	.00
Virginia	10	74	.15	3	.03
No. Carolina	26	260	.22	9	.02
California	12	4,392	.44	215	.29
Michigan	13	757	.15	105	.15
New York	9	953	.14	25	.04
Florida	16	703	.13	25	.06

Source. The above tables are taken from The Task Force Report: The Police, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 168

Table 3. Police Personnel in Representative Cities Outside of the South by Race

<u>City</u>	<u>% Negro in City 1960</u>	<u>No. Negro Officers 1962</u>	<u>White Off./ 1000 Pop. 1962</u>	<u>Negro Off./ 1000 Pop. 1962</u>	<u>No. Negro Officers 1966</u>	<u>% Negroes on Force 1966</u>
Indianapolis	21	79	2.01	.81	93	10.0
Tucson	3	1	1.26	.14	3	1.1
Oakland	23	15	2.24	.18	16	2.3
Boston	9	37	4.09	1.59	44	1.8
Detroit	29	154	3.54	.32	170	3.9
Jersey City	13	27	3.33	.74	33	4.0
San Francisco	10	28	2.57	.38	---	---
Cleveland	29	108	2.83	.43	---	---
Cincinnati	22	62	2.00	.57	---	---
Elizabeth, N.J.	11	15	2.32	1.28	12	4.4

Source. Task Force Report, p. 168

Table 4. Black Police Personnel in Major American Cities: 1970

<u>City</u>	<u>% Black Population</u>	<u>% Black Police</u>
Atlanta	51	10
Chicago	33	16
Cleveland	40	7
Dallas	25	2
Detroit	45	13
Los Angeles	18	5
Miami	23	11
Minneapolis	4	1
Newark	80	14
New York	31	8
Oakland	40	6
Phoenix	5	2
St. Louis	41	15
Washington	70	37

Source. "The Black Cop: A Man Caught in the Middle", Newsweek, August 16, 1971, p. 20 (Figures are rounded to the nearest whole per-cent.)

Table 5. Black Police Personnel: Selected Cities: September, 1972

<u>City</u>	<u>% Black Population</u>	<u>% Black Police</u>	<u>Equality Coefficient</u>
Los Angeles	18	15	.84
Washington	70	37	.53
Chicago	33	16	.49
Miami	23	11	.48
Phoenix	5	2	.40
St. Louis	41	15	.36
Detroit	45	13	.29
New York	31	9	.28

Source. "Memo of Law in Support of Plaintiff's Motion for a Preliminary Injunction" (Civil Action No. 72 Civ 928, U.S.D.C. Southern District of New York), NAACP Legal Defense Fund, undated, p. 30 (Figures are rounded to the nearest whole per-cent.)

"unqualified" men are appointed*, and (c) minority recruitment is judged to retard attempts at police professionalization (see below, pp. 23 - 24, for a discussion of this criticism as it relates to the policy of the NYCPD).

A second problem is that possibly serious questions of identity and role definition emerge for the black policeman, to the extent that he is not accepted as a peer by his white colleagues or black civilians.

The reasons for the lack of representation of blacks and other minorities on police forces, and their relatively low representation in the NYCPD in ranks above patrolmen (Table 6, p. 21) are many, involving both direct discrimination at all levels of the recruitment and evaluation process, as well as the socio-cultural effects of institutionalized racism (such as problems of "culturally biased exams", poor schooling, and the entire range of psychological problems associated with ghetto structure). Further, the retention of minority recruits at different levels of the recruitment process involves another area of analysis, as does mobility within the department either

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In the NYCPD, this fear seems untenable since, from the information available, the only major change in standards initially was that the height requirement was lowered to facilitate Puerto Rican recruitment. There was also pressure exerted to change grounds for exclusion on the basis of moral laxities which were seen to be more frequent in minority communities (i.e., fathering a child out of wedlock or having received a Juvenile Delinquency card). To deal with this second area, The Minority Recruitment and Reevaluation Unit of the NYCPD was established in April, 1971.

through promotional exams (to the ranks of sergeant, lieutenant and captain in the NYCPD), or by personal evaluation outside of the formal civil service examination structure (as in appointment to the Detective and Plain Clothes Divisions or special assignments, such as Neighborhood Police Teams, in the NYCPD).

For the black officer who perceives law in the United States (or in his own department) as differentially enforced against blacks and other minorities, or sees himself as a target of white police hostility in his role as a law officer, status conflict may emerge to the degree that his occupational status is not validated by his white peers.

A second possible source of status strain involves the degree to which the black officer is accepted by black civilians, both at a primary and secondary group level. In his discussion of black NYC police, Alex highlights this point when he contends that for the black policeman there is always the "danger of his being cut off from his ethnic peers for to be a professional policeman loyal to a police institution which values formality and neutral practitioners, is to sacrifice some of his own ethnicity"³⁴;

He continues that

the Negro policeman is viewed as a 'traitor' to his race because his race does not benefit from the protection he offers. At the same time he is a symbol of accomplishment to segments of the Negro community. There is some kind of prestige that Negro policemen receive from their own background. While

this may be considered 'ambivalent' prestige, not all Negro policemen are considered 'traitors' or 'finks.' Their family may impute prestige to them, and certainly the possibility exists that some middle-class Negroes do. 35

Alex concludes by viewing the black NYC policeman as being isolated from his own race, from his white police peers, constrained to limit his friendship to other black officers, and forever faced with the dilemma of

reconstitut[ing] himself as a whole man, transcending both his professional and ethnic roles. This problem does not exist for the white policeman who is externally free to merge his identity with that of his profession. 36

2. The Black New York City Policeman

As of September, 1972, black police made up 6.76% of NYC police: 7.45% of all patrolmen, detectives and police women, 3.91% of all sergeants, 2.01% of all lieutenants, and 1.47% of those in the rank of captain and above (Table 6, p. 21).

The discussion in this section will focus on three concerns: (a) the problem of black recruitment to the NYCPD, (b) the problem of retention and promotion of black police through civil service exams and informal job evaluations, and (c) the factors creating polarity between white and black NYCPD officers, especially as evidenced in the 1966 Civilian Review Board issue.

a. The Recruitment Process

Largely as a result of allegations of racism and brutality leveled against urban police departments stemming from the racial disorders of the early 1960's, demands began to be made by elements of the black NYC community that some independent review mechanism be created to protect blacks against police excesses³⁷. As one result of this pressure, and because of the low representation of non-whites in the NYCPD, the Police Cadet Program was begun under the Manpower Development and Training Act in March, 1966. The purpose of this program was to recruit 1000 black and Puerto Rican youth³⁸ and to "prepare young men (underrepresented minority group members in the main) to compete in, and to qualify for, positions as Patrolmen and Police Trainees"³⁹.

In NYC, the program was funded by The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which channeled monies to the New York State Labor Department (particularly the Division of Employment), who in turn supplied funds to the NYC Board of Education, the supervisors of the original program in NYC, with the NYCPD serving as a "junior partner"⁴⁰.

Initially, five cycles were to be completed. However, because of the austerity program suffered by the NYCPD in 1971, together with the problem of attrition under the first four cycles⁴¹, there was a threat to cut off funds necessary for the completion of the last cycle.

Table 6. Incidence of Minorities at Various Ranks in the NYCPD: September, 1972

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Hispanics</u>		<u>Total Minority</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Captain and above	536	98.17	8	1.47	2	.36	10	1.83
Lieutenant		97.54	22	2.01	5	.45	27	2.46
Sergeant		95.38	99	3.91	18	.71	117	4.62
Patrolmen and Detective		90.47	1897	7.35	563	2.18	2460	9.53
Total Officers		91.28	2026	6.76	588	1.96	2614	8.72
Total % of NYCPD		68.58		21.13		10.29		31.42

Source. This table was contained in one of the plaintiff exhibits in the Guardian-Hispanic suit..

As a result, a new prospectus was drawn up by members of the program staff and on January 3, 1972, with the approval of the Police Commissioner, certain changes were made in the program to allow for refunding, although three of the basic structural elements of the original plan were altered.

The first alteration was that with the beginning of The Law Enforcement Cadet Cycle #1 on April 3, 1972, control of the program was to revert directly to the Manpower Training Unit at the Police Academy. The second was that the program now became directed toward preparing minority recruits for any city, state or federal civil service exam, rather than concentrating on the NYCPD; this was a result of the job freeze experienced by the department beginning in 1968⁴². The last change was that the category of "Police Trainee" was eliminated*.

Under the Cadet Program, candidates were to receive an initial training period of from six months to a year, during which time they were to receive subsidies, stipends,

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The minimum age for appointment to the NYCPD is 21; the category of "Police Trainee" included youths between 17 and 21 who were not old enough to be appointed as patrolmen. Certain problems of judgment in the use of firearms and authority delegated to police created problems for these trainees, and so the category was dropped. This was related to me in a discussion with Ms. Marjorie P. Haynes, a civilian employee of the NYCPD who serves as the liason agent with the Allowance Unit of the Division of Employment and Public Relations Coordinator of the Cadet Program.

and police-related jobs (i.e., guards in public or high schools) to enable them to complete the training. From its inception, the program met with severe criticism from both police and civilians⁴³. These criticisms concerned three basic areas:

- a. The program was termed a blow to police professionalization.
- b. The program was seen as undercutting attempts to raise educational levels in the NYCPD.
- c. The program was interpreted as an example of "reverse discrimination" in that critics claimed that recruitment efforts were aimed only at black and Puerto Rican youth, and so were implicitly unfair to youth of other racial and ethnic groups.

All of these criticisms were joined in a memorandum issued by Captain Henry R. Morse, Training Officer, to the Commanding Officer of the Police Academy. Morse believed that the program would raise rather than lower standards of professionalization, since

one of the marks of a true profession is service to the public, and if this program is successful, improved services will result through an improved ethnic balance in police forces, which should then be more responsible to public needs, thereby gain-⁴⁴ ing greater support of the public it serves.

Regarding the second criticism, Morse claimed that the educational level of the NYCPD would not be lowered, since, where candidates did not meet the requirement of a high school or equivalency diploma, they would be trained

to take equivalency exams and only then being the appointment process. Secondly, he stated that character examination standards would not be altered, since the same standards of screening and selection would be used with the Cadets as had been used with all prior applicants. Lastly, concerning the charge of reverse discrimination, Morse stated that while blacks and Puerto Ricans would probably be to the two groups most utilizing the program, it was only because of "poverty" and "disadvantage" that both faced in NYC, and that the program was open to all who faced the same problems⁴⁵.

b. Retention of Minority Applicants

While recruitment of minorities is a major problem that the NYCPD faced in the 1960's, a study done by The Rand Corporation published in May, 1971⁴⁶, found that by far the greater problem was that of retention of candidates once they had passed civil service exams. This was especially true for blacks (versus Puerto Ricans), who experienced high attrition during the medical-physical and character investigatory phases. Rand analyzed data on the disposition of the 2939 candidates who had passed civil service exam 6083 given on January 21, 1967 (15% of whom were conservatively estimated to be black⁴⁷), as of May 29, 1969, when all but 6.1% of all applications had been processed by the NYCPD. Of those still under investigation, 10% were black, 5% Puerto Rican and 14% white⁴⁸. The

disposition of the remaining applicants was:⁴⁹

<u>Status</u>	<u>Per-cent</u>		
	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Appointed	56	62	54
Rejected	17	19	14
Withdrew	17	14	18

For all three groups, the attrition rate due to failure to appear for the medical-physical examination was 22.0%⁵⁰. Substantial loss was also seen to occur after this phase of the selection process. In all, "1,545 applicants, or just over half of those who passed the written exam, never reached the [final] phase in the recruitment process where PA-15 forms are processed"⁵¹. The rates for Puerto Ricans and whites were roughly similar; however, "nearly 60% of the black candidates drop out or are rejected before the police department has a chance to undertake character investigation (The actual ratio may well be higher, in view of our initial, conservative assumption that only 15 percent of the applicants were black)"⁵². The researchers saw this as the critical problem in the appointment of minorities to the NYCPD:

To illustrate, let us assume that 50 percent of the candidates who never reach the character investigation processing phase submit completed PA-15 forms. This means that 131 out of the initial 263 'dropouts' would be processed. We know from the current number of blacks who already have been processed that the rate of appointment once candidates reach the foregoing phase is 56 percent. That is, 56 out of 100 men who are processed are appointed.. Thus, if the Department retained only one-half of the blacks who

passed the exam and were subsequently lost, we would expect to achieve a substantial increase in black appointees- 73 percent above the number of blacks actually appointed in this sample. 53

The Rand study identified as the major factor in high black attrition the problem of "motivation" in completing the lengthy process necessary to become appointed as a patrolman. The average length of time between passing the qualifying exam and appointment to the force was found to be seventeen months⁵⁴. Rand viewed as the solution to this problem the formulation of policies whereby individuals, because of perceived cultural characteristics, could have their tolerance for "delayed gratification" lowered. The study stressed that underrepresentation of minorities was not only due to "differences in background investigation" nor to any other type of discrimination in the process of character evaluation, but that the major problem for all groups (especially important for minorities since they are already poorly represented in the NYCPD) was individual withdrawal at different stages of the application process.

This conclusion, however, is open to serious question in light of the current class action brought by the Guardian and Hispanic Societies against the NYCPD. In this suit, the plaintiffs claim that one major factor in discouraging minority police candidates from completing the screening process is the traditional hostility and informal pressures by character investigators involved in the PA-15 form process, which causes minority candidates to voluntarily

withdraw.

Thus, while the major recommendations of the Rand study were directed at improved motivation during the seventeen month appointment process, strong allegations have been made that the entire formal and informal appointment process is steeped in racial bias and discrimination. This is seen both in the nature of appointment and promotional exams, as well as in the existence of informal mechanisms which serve to lower minority morale at all levels of the appointment, promotional and assignment process.

c. The Question of Appointment, Promotion and Racial Bias in the NYCPD

(1) Civil Service Examinations 55

Under guidelines on employment selectivity established in July, 1960, by the EEOC, a joint suit was filed in March, 1972 (Civil Action No. 72 Civ 928) before the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, by the Guardian and Hispanic Associations. This suit requested an injunction against the appointment of patrolmen to the NYCPD from three previous lists, and the cancellation of a proposed July patrolman's exam. The basis for this request was the contention that the exams already given could be proven discriminatory to blacks and Puerto Ricans under the EEOC guidelines established and upheld by court decisions in earlier suits, while the July exam was argued to be also discriminatory, given the short amount

of time available to validate it within accepted court guidelines.

As a temporary measure, the court was asked that if the two appointment lists of July 20, 1968, and May 9, 1970, were used, that one black or Hispanic patrolman be appointed for each white. If the July exam was to be given with the claim of purportedly meeting the EEOC guidelines, and whites were still seen to have a significantly higher passing rate than blacks or Hispanics, it was requested that one minority member be appointed or promoted for each white so processed, until validation could be proven. This is the second time in three years that minority discrimination has been alleged in the appointment and promotion process of the NYCPD⁵⁶. To understand the present case, one must discuss the pertinent EEOC guidelines.

Under these guidelines (clause 1707.3), discrimination in examinations is defined as the use of instruments which adversely affect the hiring, promotion, transfer, etc., of minorities unless one of two conditions is met: (a) the examination is validated as measuring skills which are directly job-related (which the defendant must demonstrate by showing that the instrument measures skills, attitudes, or personality patterns which are necessary for the successful completion of a given job), or (b) it is shown that there is no other instrument available at a given time which is less discriminatory in its impact.

The first step, then, is to establish whether or not

given examinations have statistically significant differences in the rate of minority and white passing scores. To demonstrate this, the Guardians and Hispanics commissioned a Rand study of black, Puerto Rican and white performance on the two civil service exams in question, as well as the question of differential rates of advancement for the three NYCPD groups.

The findings of this report, presented as of February, 1973, conclusively demonstrated that passing rates for the three groups were significantly different. For the first exam (July 20, 1968), 68.9% of all whites passed, as compared to 35.4% of blacks and 29.9% of Puerto Ricans. The passing rate of whites was 1.95 times higher than that for blacks and 2.30 times higher than that for Puerto Ricans. For the second exam (May 9, 1970), the results were similar: 82.3% of all whites passed, 48.1% of blacks and 49.1% of Puerto Ricans.

Similar results were found in analyzing the passing rates for two sergeants exams: for the first (April 12, 1969), whites passed at a rate of 2.75 times that of blacks and 6.6 times that of Puerto Ricans; for the second (February 28, 1970), whites passed at a rate 10.6 times that of blacks, no figures being available for Puerto Ricans .

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In an affidavit submitted by Professor Siegmund of Columbia University addressed to the statistical significance of the different passing rates, it is asserted that "the chances are less than 1 in 1000 that the discrimination shown is the result of chance rather than race".

Minority appointment was further seen to be hindered by the distribution into deciles of scores for each of the three groups and by the problem of the so-called "magnifier effect".

(a) Distribution of Scores and the Magnifier Effect

As can be seen from Table 7 (p. 31), not only did whites pass at rates significantly higher than that of blacks and Puerto Ricans, but they tended to score in the higher deciles. This was seen as a particular problem in the appointment and promotion of minorities since those who score highest are first appointed, while many who passed the exam in the lower ranges may never be appointed because of the expiration of a list.

Therefore, not only was the white passing rate higher than that of blacks and Puerto Ricans, but the proportion of whites passing consistently increased from the lowest to the highest decile. In addition to demonstrating minority discrimination in all exams studies, the plaintiffs argued that an injunction be issued since the rate of discrimination was shown to be significantly higher than that in the two court cases used as the legal precedents for the Guardian-Hispanic action*.

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Griggs vs. the Duke Power Company (401U.S. 424, 197)
and Chance vs. the Board of Examiners (NYC Board of
Education - 330F. Supp. 203 C.S.D.N.Y. 1971)

Table 7. Passing and Scoring Rates for Whites Shown as
Multiples of Rates for Blacks and Hispanics
Combined

<u>Exam 0013</u>		
<u>Score</u>	<u>Decile</u>	<u>Passing Rate</u>
84 or above	5th or above	1.68 times
87 or above	4th or above	2.37
89 or above	3rd or above	2.84
92 or above	2nd or above	3.26
94 or above	1st or above	4.23

<u>Exam 8046</u>		
<u>Score</u>	<u>Decile</u>	<u>Passing Rate</u>
78 or above	5th or above	2.09 times
82 or above	4th or above	2.29
86 or above	3rd or above	2.99
90 or above	2nd or above	3.42
96 or above	1st or above	3.49

Source. NAACP Legal Defense Fund Memo

Regarding the so-called "magnifier effect", the plaintiffs claimed that not only was there evidence of racial discrimination, but that the effect of this was compounded as one moved up the police hierarchy, i.e., that discrimination at lower levels only served to create barriers to social mobility to higher status positions.

(b) Demonstrating Exam Validity

Given the prima facie evidence of exam discrimination, the problem of the validity of the instrument so far as job-relatedness was next discussed. Three mechanisms have been established by the EEOC and the American Psychological

Association whereby this can be demonstrated:

1. Criterion-related ability. Using this, the defendants must show that the exam tests for factors that relate to over-all job performance abilities, on the basis of actual job * analysis.
2. Content validity. Using this, the defendants must demonstrate, again on the basis of validated job analyses, that exams test for specific abilities which are necessary for particular tasks called for on the job (ie., motor ability, logical evaluation, etc.).
3. Construct validity. Using this, the defendants must show through the use of validated job analyses, that the exam tests for job-related psychological constructs (such as ability to function under stress, general emotional stability, or ability to exercise judgment and self-control in specified situations).

In the Guardian-Hispanic suit, the contention is made that none of these criteria have ever been used by the NYCPD in validation studies, and that where attempts have been made by outside researchers to demonstrate job-relatedness in appointment and promotional exams for the department, in not a single case at any level was

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Lieutenant Harding used this criterion when he claimed that the grammar section of the captain's promotion exam, which comprised 12 out of 135 total questions, was intended as an "eliminator" for minorities, who because of ghetto education would be at a disadvantage to whites here. The Testing and Research Division successfully argued that verbal communication was a primary area of police-public relations, especially for captains. The question which Harding particularly objected to was that which dealt with the use of the term "dark complectioned" as opposed to "dark complected".

such relatedness demonstrated*.

The plaintiffs asked on the basis of the above discussion, that four steps be taken by the NYCPD before future exams be given, and that the interim measures discussed above (pp. 27 - 28) be instituted until the steps had been completed: (1) the preparation of valid job descriptions and analyses; (2) the creation of performance criteria for use in test preparation and subsequent validation; (3) the completion of validation studies; (4) the creation of special mechanisms to perform validation studies for black and Puerto Rican applicants.

It is their contention that since not one of these steps has yet been taken by the NYCPD, that discrimination has been demonstrated within the EEOC guidelines⁺.

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Three studies are offered in support of this contention. The first is an Educational Testing Service study done of the NYCPD in June, 1970. The conclusion, on the basis of interviews done with NYCPD personnel, was that no job-relatedness between appointment and promotion exams for the department and necessary skills to perform police functions was shown; the study was never acted on by the department. (Exhibit T to the Crowley Affidavit of March 19, 1973) A second study was done by The New York Times (November 16, 1972) which found that in not one case was there a correlation between NYC civil service exams and job performance, and stated that the Civil Service Commission was "inadequate, outdated, rigid, largely 'mindless' and possibly superfluous /and/ seems to discriminate against the most qualified applicants for public service" (p. 1). An earlier Rand Report of 1957 (no date supplied) found a total lack of correlation between NYC civil service exam scores and job performance.

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Tacit discrimination is also alleged to the extent that success or failure on promotion exams is seen as a factor of rote memorization, rather than through the internalization of knowledge or skills necessary to the police role at particular levels. The use of mnemonic devices

(2) Personnel Screening and Minorities

A second major area in the Guardian-Hispanic suit is discrimination at the level of personnel screening after successful completion of the written and medical-physical exams. This involves four components.

(a) Length and Complexity of Form PA-15

The conclusions of the Rand report on Minority Recruitment and Retention (pp. 24 - 27, above) are supported and elaborated in the affidavits of Sgts. Sheffey and Matthews as to the discriminatory effects of personnel screening and the PA-15 form on minority recruits.

The length and complexity of the form is seen as presenting an initial problem to blacks and Hispanics who may have no prior experience in the completion of such material. Further, large parts of the questionnaire are viewed as unnecessarily complicated, while particular questions are seen as presenting problems of interpretation

is particularly stressed. In two affidavits (Sheffey and Grimes, March 19, 1973) examples are cited for the sergeant's exam: POSDCORD ("planning, organization, staffing, discretion, coordination, observation, reporting and budgeting") and ROBS ("recognition, opportunity, belonging and security") (Grimes retired as a sergeant in June, 1970, because of a dispute about his taking a leave of absence to complete his law degree.) It is claimed that minorities are at a disadvantage because white police are given preferential assignments (i.e., desk duty in a station house) where they can simultaneously work on the job and study for promotional exams. The practice of giving white police "easy assignments" which allows them to study for promotional exams while on duty is one of the areas discussed in the Grimes affidavit.

to black versus white youths^{*}, serving to discourage completion of the form.

A third criticism is that the form must be properly notarized before submission. This is seen to implicitly discriminate against minority applicants in cost factors and knowledge of notary publics; it is suggested that applicants instead be required to swear that information provided is accurate to the best of their knowledge. Even where forms are returned notarized, in those cases where supporting notarized letters to form PA-15 are requested by the Screening Unit (requests for such letters allegedly being more frequent for minority versus white applicants), it is claimed that many blacks and Puerto Ricans fail to provide the requested support letters and so are automatically disqualified.

A last point made in this area is that much of the material requested is unnecessary in applicant assessment of fitness and ability to perform the police role⁺, and

* Question 4 of the form asks for a listing of all residences upon completion of public school, as well as all jobs held. This is seen to implicitly discriminate against blacks because of their relatively high rate of residential and job mobility. The request to list "all summonses" is seen to confuse black applicants, who might not be aware that traffic violations are what is meant here, in contrast to white applicants.

+ Specific areas referred to in the supporting affidavits are the arrest record of applicants' relatives, associations with friends who may have arrest records, and questions concerning general family background.

that in many cases the answers to these questions are intentionally used to discriminate against and disqualify potential candidates.

(b) Cultural Values

As of 1969, only three out of a total of seventy-five Screening Unit personnel were either black or Hispanic. It is argued from this that there exists a cultural bias on the part of Screening Unit members against particular traits in minority populations which are interpreted as involving moral laxity and are used to discourage minority candidates from continuing the appointment process.

This is discussed in the affidavits particularly in terms of negative attitudes taken by Irish Catholic examiners to illegitimate children, common law marriage, the incidence of venereal disease, and arrest records of family members, realities which "would be understandable to responsible members of the minority community", but which are morally objectionable to the white screening officer. It was found that where any of the above factors existed in the applicant's background, a common "suggestion" was that he withdraw from further processing, although none of the factors in themselves was official ground for rejection⁵⁷.

The suggestion of withdrawal was seen as a particularly favored approach since the decision could then be explained as "voluntary" and the officer in charge was under no

pressure to explain the withdrawal. It was claimed that where the suggestion to withdraw was not directly made, conditions were created which had the effect of harassing and embarrassing the applicant. Finally, even given that all conditions were met in the screening process, candidates in many cases were still rejected*.

(c) Attitude and Situational Factors

A third area discussed in the affidavits is the existence of generally negative and/or hostile attitudes of white screening officers which serve to discourage, dissuade or disqualify potential recruits. This runs the gamut from volume and tone of voice used in interviewing, to disparaging remarks made to minority applicants regarding certain of their answers, to addressing black candidates by their first names rather than as "Mister". Further, it is argued that there is a degree of hostility directed at the Minority Recruitment and Reevaluation Unit which hampers its efforts.

As evidence of the above, the Sheffey affidavit asserts that initially where a candidate was in question, the

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An excellent example comes from Sgt. Matthews' affidavit. Before joining the NYCPD he fathered two children out of wedlock, both with a woman he later married. Even though he presented on request a notarized letter explaining the birth of his two children, the incident was used by the Screening Unit to initially disqualify his application.

Recruitment and Reevaluation Unit discussed the case with the individual screening officer in charge of the case. At a later point, for "unknown reasons", all inquiries had to be directed to the officer in charge of the entire Screening Unit. Replies to these queries often took from five to six weeks and generally were so vague that they were useless in initiating any action.

The location of screening units is cited as another problem. It is claimed that not only are members of the unit predominantly white, but that their location is concentrated in white neighborhoods, where a minority applicant might feel uncomfortable. This is seen as creating problems of motivation, compounded by perceived screening officer hostility and personal negative civilian experience with white police. These problems are judged to have the dual effect of discouraging minorities from completing the screening process and creating feelings that they are unwelcome in the NYCPD.

(d) The Status of Appeal Mechanisms

A final point made in the discussion of the application process is that there is no formalized procedure whereby applicants can be effective in overturning initial rejection. Although in April, 1971, the Minority Recruitment and Reevaluation Unit was created to meet this problem, it is stressed that this was done on an informal basis with no legal standing in the department. It is

felt that this unit can be disbanded at any time and that, indeed, there is talk of doing exactly this in the NYCPD.

While there is an automatic review procedure in cases where a candidate has been rejected, this also has no legal status within the department and is done only by custom. It is claimed in the Matthews affidavit that the process of automatic review has created much hostility in NYCPD supervisors and, like the unit itself, might soon be discontinued. Further, this would have a particularly negative effect on minority candidates, many of whom might not be aware that review is open to them on request, and so might view initial rejection as final, where, if they used the appeal mechanism, this might well be reversed (as actually occurred in the Matthews case).

(e) Functional Assignment

A last area discussed regarding minority discrimination in the NYCPD concerns advancement to positions which are made outside of the formal civil service exam structure on the basis of personal evaluation by superiors. This includes assignment to the three grades of detective, to supervisory positions above the level of captain (Inspector and Deputy Inspector), to special units (such as Plain Clothes, Tactical Patrol Force, and Neighborhood Police Teams), and to particular details such as desk work, court duty and patrol cars (versus walking a beat).

A related problem is the distribution of departmental complaints against officers, since formally advancement

into "choice" divisions is viewed as dependent on past performance records and evaluations.

Data on functional assignment by race are not available from the NYCPD, since ostensibly figures are not kept by race in any category of assignment. However, on the basis of interviews completed for this study, there was a general consensus that any type of mobility within the NYCPD was biased against blacks. This point is supported in Niederhoffer's study of the NYCPD, where he attributes the "rabbi system" as being largely responsible for lack of black mobility in the department⁵⁸. Since blacks are the most recent NYCPD recruits, they are at a disadvantage in that they have fewer "rabbis", or spokesmen, to advance their promotion, in comparison to more traditional groups such as Irish Catholics, Jews and Italians. Many subjects whom I interviewed stressed this same point, but added that among certain superiors, there existed a definite policy to "keep blacks where they belong", i.e., walking a beat.

There is, however, empirical data available on the problem of the issuing and disposition of departmental complaints by race for the NYCPD in a Rand study published in November, 1970⁵⁹. This study investigated a cohort of 1,915 officers (1,608 actives and 307 inactives) appointed to the NYCPD in 1957⁶⁰, analyzing the cohort by black, Puerto Rican and white. In the two categories of "total" and "repeated" complaints, blacks had a significantly higher

rate than whites. Further, the difference in rate by race was accounted for largely by the incidence of departmental complaints filed by commanding officers, versus higher rates of criminal or civilian complaints:

Nearly 80 percent of the black officers received at least one complaint, compared to only 57 percent of the whites and 56 percent of the Puerto Ricans. Also, on the average, each black officer incurred 1.8 complaints, compared to 1.2 for white and 1.1 for.. Puerto Rican.. The difference in rates of repeated complaints also varied by race. Nearly half of the black officers (49.5 percent) incurred at least two charges each, compared to about a third of the whites (29.4 percent) and a fifth of the Puerto Ricans (20 percent). Further, 63 percent of the black officers with at least one charge received another, compared to 48 percent and 36 percent respectively for whites and Puerto Ricans.⁶¹

For type of complaint received, examination

by race reveals that 71 percent of the complaints against black officers were departmental compared to 63 percent for whites. Also, the average number of departmental charges was nearly twice as high for blacks as for white or Puerto Rican officers (1.3 compared to .7 and .8 respectively).. Thus, the relatively high incidence of offenses for blacks is almost entirely accounted for by a greater number of departmental charges, rather than criminal charges or civilian⁶² complaints.

The factor responsible for both findings was not racial discrimination, however. Rather, the study argued that "blacks receive a disproportionate number of assignments in special units where all officers, regardless of their

race, are more likely to receive complaints"⁶³. Further, in examining the disposition of complaints, it was found that there "were no meaningful differences in final dispositions, regardless of the type of complaint, for black, white, and Puerto Rican police officers"⁶⁴.

While this interpretation may be correct, the pattern of departmental complaints against blacks can still be seen as seriously impeding their mobility within the department at three different levels (the second argument is presented by the author of the study, Bernard Cohen, himself):

- (1) Regardless of the disposition of complaints, it is commonly accepted by police that mobility within the NYCPD depends to a great extent on performance evaluation. A major part of this is the existence (rather than the disposition) of departmental charges. Thus, significantly higher rates of departmental complaints, regardless of their disposition, might seriously impede advancement opportunities. Although cleared complaints have no official status as mobility disqualifiers, they nonetheless may traditionally be so used.
- (2) It is stated in the study that only the "formal" system of NYCPD justice can be discussed, although 60.5% of departmental charges against non-detectives and 33.6% against detectives were ever brought to trial for the cohort (Figure 2, p. 31). For those cases not brought to trial, punishments "ranging from verbal sanctions to reassignments may be applied. In serious instances.. officers might even be forced to resign without any official documentation being made.. In any case, our data do not directly reflect the existence or incidence of these informal sanctions nor do they indicate the effectiveness of such procedures, should they exist" (p. 29).

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UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

John Birch Society for NYCPD personnel and police residency requirements) * .

A central issue concerning the relationship of the black and white policeman was that of a civilian controlled review board for citizen complaints. The meaning of this issue can be seen in the allegations and counter-allegations made by the Guardians and the PBA against one another, which themselves reflected long-standing misunderstandings between the police and black communities.

The PBA is seen by many black police as being an organization which represents white, rather than black, police, and within this perspective is viewed as racist. A speech made by Sgt. William Perry before the Academy of Police Science explains this view:

I think that the P.B.A. image could use a little revamping, if solidarity is what the Department is seeking. In fact, there are some members of the Guardians who think that the P.B.A. is a white racist institution.. They say that in the executive counsel

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I was told by certain black officers in discussions pursuant to the preparation of the interview schedule for this study that there were racial overtones in the Birch literature and that allowing it to be posted in station houses served to intensify anti-minority feelings. The issue is discussed in The New York Times, September 13, 1969, p. 33. Sgt. Matthews informed me that changes in the NYC administrative code in 1964 (allowing Nassau County residence) and the extension to Orange and Suffolk Counties in 1969 was seen to lower the standard of police protection to minority communities by some black police. Although I do not agree with the logic of the argument, it was felt that there would be little dedication to the service function of the police role by those who were commuters to the central city, rather than legal residents.

of the P.B.A. there are no blacks. You go down to the public relations firm that the P.B.A. has hired, there are no blacks. The last time I was up there I didn't even see one black carrying a mop or pail. I said to myself, 'Now, with this sort of a hiring attitude, a black patrolman could ask himself, 'Do these guys really reflect my views?' I get called at four o'clock in the morning with situations that ought to be P.B.A. situations. 67

The situation was exacerbated by the accidental killing of a black detective by a white patrolman in 1972. Sgt. Sheffey, speaking as a Guardian spokesman, saw the incident as growing out of the statement made by Edward J. Kiernan, PBA president, after the ambush and murder of two policemen (one white and one black), that "'we will shoot them down like dogs'" and "'shoot first and ask questions later'"⁶⁸. Sheffey broadened his evaluation of the incident when he stated that the Guardians

also feel that it is only through good luck that more of our members have not been shot.. in similar circumstances. We take a very dim view of the theory that any black man in possession of a firearm is a criminal liability and, as such, he is subject to all the racist and possible biased actions that could be stored in a lifetime. 69

The initial Guardian-PBA review board hostilities were triggered by the shooting of a black youth by a white lieutenant in Harlem in July, 1964, the refusal of a Grand Jury to indict the lieutenant, his absolution from all charges by a Police Review Board and his return to regular duty in November⁷⁰. All of this occurred even though

witnesses to the incident swore that the youth had been guilty of no legal infraction at the time he was shot. Demands began being made for the creation of a civilian controlled review board independent of the NYCPD by members of the black community. A referendum, voted on and defeated on November 22, 1966, was designed to facilitate the creation of such a board; it was over the issue of this referendum that the Guardian-PBA hostilities became focused.⁷¹

The two issues between the groups were Guardian claims that PBA funds were being illegally used to influence public opinion against the creation of the board⁷², while the PBA claimed that black police put their color before their jobs, since the Guardians was the only police fraternal organization to support the review board publicly⁷³. Hostilities escalated when William Johnson, Guardian president, claimed that "the PBA have taken the money of Negro and Puerto Rican policemen and engaged themselves in a racist and divisive campaign"; the use of these funds was allegedly illegal under PBA bylaws which allowed no monies to be spent for political purposes, although the Guardians were never allowed to see these bylaws, being told by the PBA that they were not yet printed (after five years)⁷⁴. President Cassesse countered these charges with the earlier argument of race before occupation⁷⁵. Ultimately, although legal proceedings were initiated by the Guardians, the case was

settled out of court.

The creation of the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen by Lenny 12X Weir in 1964* further reflects a degree of polarity between certain white and black police, as well as between segments of black police themselves. Weir explains the formation of the organization as stemming from an experience he had outside of the Harlem officer of the Guardians in 1961 (the offices being located today in Brooklyn):

I was standing outside the building with this fair-skinned policewoman who invited me to the club and two white policemen who thought she was white and jumped me. I wasn't hurt but some Black officers just stood around and watched, only showing shock and did nothing. What hurt me was the cowardice of the Black officers. Right then I knew something had to be done. 76

Weir began his group because he believed that the Guardians were not responding properly to the needs of both the black policeman and the civilian, and that in many cases black police were used as "stooges" for the white police establishment:

In the past, black officers have been 'door mats' because 'all they did was sneak around and set black people up for arrest to have their heads busted by white boys who can't function in our neighborhoods because they don't understand black people.' 77

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Weir was subsequently ousted from the Black Muslims because he was a policeman.

While Weir believed along with the Guardians that police discrimination existed against both black officers and civilians, he felt that more radical approaches to the problem were demanded than traditionally taken by the Guardians*.

A last area in which potential polarity can be seen between elements of the white and black members of the NYCPD is the attitude of certain white police and organizations to programs directed at minority communities. Both the Cadet Program and the civilian review board issue are seen by elements of white police as being primarily motivated by political pressures instigated by urban blacks, rather than by considerations of the maintenance of law and order⁷⁸.

The PBA allegations of race before color in the review board issue can be seen as a part of the belief system of many white police⁺. The contention by some white police

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Membership in Weir's group is open to all blacks, regardless of whether or not they are police. Weir feels that to "police means to protect and clean up.. and I think we can protect and clean up our neighborhoods without a gun and a shield. In that sense we can all be policemen" (Amsterdam News, December 25, 1971, p. 13).

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In the preparation and teaching of a police seminar at Brooklyn College for two consecutive terms in conjunction with the 63 Precinct, this allegation was repeatedly made by officers registered in the course and by police speakers. Particular enmity was addressed to the Guardians, rather than to individual black officers.

that suggested changes in riot control policy tend to support attitudes which encourage, rather than contain or control, disorder, creates white police hostility which in some cases is directed at the black policeman as well as to his civilian counterpart⁷⁹.

Two programs have emerged in the 1970's which address themselves to the problem of white-black polarity in the NYCPD. The first is "black-white dialogues", which were initiated as a pilot project in the 105 Precinct in Queens, and which have been extended to other precincts on a voluntary basis⁸⁰. The purpose of this program is to bring together groups of black and white officers on a voluntary basis in confrontations which hopefully will create a better understanding of the feelings and anxieties each group feels toward the other*⁸¹.

The second program, initiated by Benjamin Ward, a black Deputy Inspector for Community Affairs, on March 6, 1971, was the integration of police radio car teams ("salt and pepper teams") to create some basis of common

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These dialogues were not completely voluntary in the way that participants were chosen. In some cases, I was told by a Community Relations officer in Queens who organized one of the original dialogues, officers were asked if they would "like" to participate by their superiors. In an interview completed for this study, I was told by a patrolman that although he very much wanted to participate in the dialogues, his commander had never chosen him to do so. I attempted to get further information about the dialogues from one of the officers who had structured the first one, but he refused to discuss anything other than the "official" nature of the program.

experience between the two groups of officers*.

In closing, it should be stressed that although there are serious issues and contentions between segments of both white and black police, to speak of absolute polarization seems unwarranted. There is not a single black or white police character, nor do all black police necessarily adhere to the same world view, as evidenced in the creation of Weir's organization.

In the opinion of this observer (as will be discussed from the results of this study), among black police there exist differences in attitude, value and perception, which is seen to hold equally true for white police. Conflicts in perspective may exist over particular issues which are directly racial in nature or are loosely related at points to race. However, to discuss universal polarity along lines of races at this time seems unwarranted. Rather, many problems confronting urban police forces today stem from underlying tensions and issues outside of the control of the departments themselves. Until these

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The study of the effect of this program became an issue between Sgt. Perry and the PBA in 1972. Sgt. Perry mailed a questionnaire to members of the teams in conjunction with a course he was taking at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The PBA ordered precinct commanders to impound the results and sent Sgt. Perry a letter stating that if he continued the research they would initiate formal procedures to stop it, since it had not been cleared through their offices.

are resolved, the problem of black and white police relations in the NYCPD cannot be effectively joined.

Footnotes

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In this context, see Gordon, Milton M., Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, especially chapter 3, "The Nature of Assimilation", pp. 60 - 83.

2

The role of intrinsic ethnic variables (in the sense of race, religion and ethnicity) versus extrinsic factors of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion, in the formation of subcultures is beyond the scope of this discussion, although crucial in understanding the development of American subcultures. A particularly good discussion is Kohn, Melvin L., Class and Conformity: A Study of Values, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1969.

3

It is this which is stressed by the cultural nationalists in their rejection of the theories of Anglo-conformity, the Melting Pot and Cultural Pluralism. These three traditional theories of assimilation all assume a degree of shared values among different ethnic and class subcultures, as disparate as each is from the other, which the nationalists reject as myth. See Cruse, Harold, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, Wm. Morrow and Co., Inc., New York, 1967.

4

Gordon, pp. 51 - 54

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Bittner, Egon, The Functions of the Police in Modern Society, National Institute of Mental Health Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, Rockville, Maryland, 1973, p. 39

6

Banton, Michael, The Policeman in the Community, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1964, p. 168

7

Bittner, p. 10

8

Waskow, Arthur, From Race Riot to Sit-In: 1919 and the 1960's, Anchor Books, New York, 1966, p. 209

9

Ibid., p. 210

- 10 Skolnick, James, Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society, John Wiley and Sons., Inc., New York, 1967, p. 45
- 11 See Chevigny, Paul, Police Power: Police Abuses in New York City, Vintage Books, New York, 1969, especially chapter 7, "Outcasts", pp. 114 - 135; Niederhoffer, Arthur, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society, Anchor Books, New York, 1969, especially Table V, "Police Attitudes towards their Clients", p. 130.
- 12 This is the major area analyzed in Wilson, James Q., Varieties of Police Behavior: the Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities, Atheneum Publishers, New York, 1970. Three approaches to the police function are discussed (watchman, legalistic and service); the conclusion is made (pp. 276 - 277) that to understand the police role in given communities, one must first discover the nature of the "political culture" and its effects on the police role.
- 13 An elaboration of these factors is the basis of Skolnick's analysis.
- 14 Lieberman, Stanley, and Silverman, Arnold, "The Precipitants and Underlying Conditions of Race Riots", American Sociological Review, December, 1965, pp. 887 - 898
- 15 Ibid., Table 1, p. 889
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Violence in the City: An End or a Beginning?, A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riot, December 2, 1965
- 18 Kerner, Otto, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Bantam Books, March, 1968 (unnumbered table on "Weighted Comparison of Grievance Categories", p. 149)

- 19 editor, Foner, Phillip S., The Black Panthers Speak, Lippincott Co., Inc., New York, 1970, p. 3
- 20 Discussion with Reverend Louis Farakandh on Black Journal, WNET, Monday, May 8, 1973, 9 - 10 P.M.
- 21 New York Times: July 1, 1964, p. 17; July 21, 1964, p. 22; April 29, 1973, p. 1
- 22 "The Anguish of Blacks in Blue", Time Magazine, November 23, 1970, pp. 13 - 14. It is reported on p. 13 that this "summer blacks and whites exchanged punches at the annual Fraternal Order of Police picnic in Pittsburgh. Black and white cops have drawn guns on one another in Washington, D.C. At a convention of the Black National Council of Police Societies in Atlantic City this summer, the delegates agreed to prevent the killing of blacks by white policemen; if necessary, black cops would arrest white cops".
- 23 Although both incidents provided as examples of this deal with actual contact between white police and ghetto civilians, situational contingencies cannot be understood outside of the context of the social, political and economic climate in which the police function; thus, it is not necessarily the contact itself, but the nature of values brought to the interaction, which explains its effect on the officer.
- 24 Westley, William A., Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 103 - 104. A more recent work (Westley's research was done in the late 1940's) makes the same point: "I like to think that I treat people decently regardless of the color of their skin or where their parents come from or what church they go to, but there have been times when I've worried that being a cop spawned ugly, cancerous attitudes of the racist in me without knowing it. Sometimes the job can make it easy to hate". (Taken from Dubinsky, Sgt. Steven, and Standora, Leo, Decoy Cop, Ace paperback, 1974, as quoted in the New York Post, Saturday, June 15, 1974, p. 26)

- 25 Bayley, David H., and Mendelsohn, Harold, Minorities and the Police: Confrontation in America, The Free Press, New York, 1969
- 26 Ibid., pp. 92, 103
- 27 Ibid., p. 45
- 28 Ibid., p. 33
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 New York Times, September 28, 1969, p. 69
- 31 Rossi, Peter, et. al., Fifteen City Study ("Between Black and White") Supplemental Studies for the National Commission on Civil Disorders, Washington, D.C., 1968; Police departments were asked to supply lists of patrolmen who had ghetto assignments. Thus, since the sample was not a probability one and was supplied by officers themselves, a conservative bias was suspected.
- 32 Ibid., Table 3.2, p. 288
- 33 Savitz, L., Philadelphia Study of Socialization of Police, 1971 (unpublished)
- 34 Alex, Nicholas, Black in Blue, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1969, xx
- 35 Ibid., p. 17
- 36 Ibid., p. 72; Alex states on p. 140 that when "30 of these men were asked to list the occupations of their three best friends, 22 listed one Negro policeman among the three. This seems consistent in the light of the uneasy social situations they find in their communities."

37

Demands were made for the appointment of civilians to the review board with no police ties whatsoever (the board as it was and is constituted today with the defeat of the referendum is formed by civilian employees of the NYCPD) and overall changes in NYCPD policy regarding blacks and other minorities.

38

Niederhoffer, p. 193

39

Matthews, Sgt. Eljay, Project Coordinator, Manpower Development Training Unit, Police Academy, memo entitled "Law Enforcement Cadet (Police) Training Program under 'Manpower' _____ Cycle #1", no date, p. 1

40

Ibid.

41

Ibid., pp. 1 - 2

42

Sheffey Affidavit of March 19, 1973, p. 17

43

New York Times, March 25, 1966, p. 1

44

Memorandum dated March 30, 1966, "Subject: Professor Hewett's Remarks: Re: Police Cadet Program", p. 1

45

Ibid.

46

Minority Recruitment in the New York City Police Department (Hunt, Jr., Isaac C., "Part I. The Attraction of Candidates", and Cohen, Bernard, "Part II. The Retention of Candidates"), The NYC Rand Institute, 1971

47

By law, statistics by race are illegal for the NYCPD. To obtain estimates for Puerto Rican candidates, all applicants with Hispanic names were identified (p. 53). For blacks, the problem was more difficult: "The NYCPD estimates that as many as one-third of those who currently take the qualifying examinations are

minority group members. In the interest of conservatism, we will base our analysis and discussion on a lower figure, and assume that 15 percent of those who took (and passed) the examination were blacks. By making a conservative estimate, we assure that our calculations do not overestimate the proportion of black candidates who drop out of the process" (p. 55).

48

Ibid., Table 22, p. 58

49

Ibid., p. 14

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Ibid., Table 21, p. 54

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Ibid., p. 50

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Ibid., p. 55

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Ibid., p. 57

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Ibid., p. 61. It is stated here that on "the average, the recruitment process lasts 17 months from the time a candidate takes the written exam to final appointment as a probationary patrolman. Approximately 60 percent of those who passed the exam but were not appointed had simply failed to fulfill all the procedural requirements of the application process. The remaining 40 percent were rejected because they did not pass either the medical-physical or the character investigation". Recommendations to retain candidates are given on pp. 62 - 64, and include six steps: (a) personal letters sent to those who have passed the written exam to encourage them to appear for the medical-physical exam, (b) expedient and swift scheduling of the medical-physical exam, with alternate dates provided for those who cannot appear for the initially scheduled appointment, (c) letters and/or phone calls to those who do not appear for the medical-physical exam encouraging them to appear at an alternate date, (d) encouragement to complete (original emphasis) and submit PA-15 forms from both the NYCPD and line organizations, (e) attempts to shorten the seventeen month appointment process, and

(f) the creation of a recording system by the NYCPD to monitor the success or failure of minority recruitment efforts.

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The discussion in this section, unless otherwise noted, is taken from the "Memo in Support of Plaintiff's Motion for a Preliminary Injunction.." prepared by Christopher Crowley, Jack Greenberg, and Elizabeth A. DuBois, NAACP Legal Defense Fund (undated). The problem of minority recruitment encompassed far more than only institutionalized police discrimination. In The Task Force Report: the Police, prepared for The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1967, it is stated that even "in the absence of discrimination, a substantial discrepancy would remain [between white and black police recruits]. Of 117 departments with acknowledged problems in recruiting non-whites, 48 said that the problem was too few applicants and 83 noted failure to pass the examination and meet other standards" (p. 169). However, these problems can be seen in large part to stem from minority perception (whether valid or invalid) of police attitude toward their communities and themselves as potential recruits. As one example of this, The Task Force (p. 168) noted that although the NYCPD and the NYC Housing Police use basically the same standards in appointment, 55% of the latter and only 6% of the former are black. This was explained to me by many pre-test interview respondents, and in an interview with the Deputy Commissioner of the NYCHA Police, as a factor of the traditionally greater stringency and discrimination by the NYCPD in its screening process of blacks when compared to the NYCHA screening.

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In April, 1969, Lt. James Harding, a black officer with 22 years experience and 47 departmental awards, sued the New York State Civil Service Commission through the New York State Human Rights Division claiming racial discrimination in the captain's promotional exam. He claimed that the grammar section (12 out of a total of 135 questions) was intended as a "racial eliminator" and implicitly discriminated against minorities because of inferior ghetto education. An injunction against appointments from the list was obtained, which was overturned in May because of a countersuit filed by 126 lieutenants. In September, 1969, Harding's case was lost. (I was told in a conversation with Deborah Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund that actions filed in state courts in New York are much more difficult to prepare and defend than those filed

in Federal district courts, where the current Guardian suit is being heard). For details of the Harding case, see the New York Times: April 13, 1969, p. 1; April 21, 1969, p. 46; May 13, 1969, p. 38; July 1, 1969, pp. 12, 16; August 1, 1969, p. 39; August 2, 1969, p. 17; September 16, 1969, p. 55.

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The implication is that while none of these can be used as a formal ground of rejection, they are so used by tradition and practice in the NYCPD.

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Niederhoffer states that "Detectives are the upper class of police society and haughtily guard their special status and privilege" and discusses the role of "anticipatory socialization" to the detective role from the stage of recruit in the Police Academy to actual appointment to the division. The attitude of detectives is explained "as the result of nepotism in department appointments. Some cynics claim that since almost every detective must have an important 'rabbi,' to get in the division no clever operator would risk antagonizing some unknown and powerful sponsor by being rude to his protege, and thus adopts a friendly and democratic policy toward subordinates" (p. 83).

59

Cohen, Bernard, The Police Internal Administration of Justice in New York City, The NYC Rand Institute, November, 1970

60

Ibid., p. 13

61

Ibid., p. 15

62

Ibid., p. 17

63

Ibid.

64

Ibid., p. 38

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It is the consensus of most black officers with whom I spoke that more of these incidents are never made public. One particularly bizarre event occurred in Queens between a white and black officer, where one of the officers was shot in an argument over whose snow was being shoveled into whose driveway (reported in Sgt. William Perry's "Black-White Relationships in the New York City Police Department", Proceedings of the Academy of Police Science, November 25, 1970). White police treatment of blacks also has created some polarity. One of the best known incidents was the attack on members of the Black Panther Party and their sympathizers by a group of 150 whites, including many off-duty police, outside of a Brooklyn court during hearings for three Panthers who were charged with assaulting police (New York Times, September 5, 1968, p. 1).

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New York Times, September 28, 1969, pp. 1, 69; Armbrister, Trevor, "The Lonely Struggle of the Black Cop", Readers Digest, March, 1971, pp. 123 - 127; "The Black Cop: A Man Caught in the Middle", Newsweek, August 16, 1971, and Ebony issue of May, 1971

67

Perry speech, "Black-White Relationships"

68

New York Times, April 14, 1972, p. 40

69

Ibid.

70

New York Times: July 1, 1964, p. 17; July 21, 1964, p. 22; September 2, 1964, p. 1; November 7, 1964, p. 1; November 11, 1964, p. 35

71

For an excellent discussion of the issue of police review boards, see "Civilian Complaints Against the Police", Report of the Committee on Civil Rights, Bar Bulletin, vol. 22, #5, 1964 - 1965, pp. 228 - 236.

72

New York Times, November 6, 1966, p. 86

73

Niederhoffer, p. 186. Niederhoffer views the issue in terms of PBA President Cassesse's fears and hostility

to minority pressures to control the board, rather than his stated reason that the creation of an independent civilian review board would lower police morale.

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New York Times, November 14, 1966, p. 45

75

Ibid.

76

Amsterdam News, December 25, 1971, p. 13

77

Ibid.

78

For the Cadet Program issue, see Prof. Hewitt's article in the New York Times, March 25, 1966 and the Morse memorandum joining the article. For the review board issue (particularly the position of the PBA and Cassesse), see Niederhoffer, pp. 178 - 192.

79

Both the Kerner Commission and Task Force reports make broad recommendations for changing police-minority relations policy by creating police-community relations programs and improving techniques for riot control. In the Task Force Report (p. 193), former NYCPD Commissioner Murphy is quoted as stating, "'We may well be headed toward a situation where we will feel obliged to say 'pardon me' as we escort the violator to the waiting patrol wagon. But, gentlemen, if our work is to be done properly that 'pardon me' will in no way interfere with the speed and efficiency of the arrest process'".

80

New York Post, June 15, 1971, p. 25

81

Ibid.

Chapter 1. Methodology

1. The Research Problem

This is an exploratory study of the attitudes, problems and role conceptions of black NYC police through the use of twenty-five focused interviews¹ completed between April 18, 1972, and December 7, 1972, and a questionnaire (Appendix II) which was sent to all active* members of the Guardians during the week of March 19, 1973. In addition to the analysis based on these two instruments, interpretations of the findings will be suggested as they compare with other studies discussing white and black police attitude in the United States. The analysis of questionnaire data will utilize the 238 completed questionnaires returned as of July 10, 1973.

Three important qualifications of the data should be made clear immediately. The first is that any conclusions made from the questionnaires can only be suggestive at best, since the return rate for delivered questionnaires

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The Guardian mailing lists had been reviewed approximately two weeks before the questionnaire was mailed. Ostensibly, all members who were non-dues paying, deceased or who had moved without giving a forwarding address, had been deleted (approximately 400 names). The 1700 remaining names were supposed to be those Guardians, either retired or on active duty in the NYCPD, who were members in good standing, i.e., had paid all dues. However, 100 mailed questionnaires were returned as "undeliverable". Although I attempted to locate these 100 officers at their new addresses, this was not possible since the Guardians had no information on them.

was 20%*, and the sample to which it was sent was only a specific segment of the 2,026 black NYC police. The approximately 400 policemen deleted from the Guardian lists might well have a different profile and set of attitudes from those Guardians in good standing. I do not believe, however, that this is a critical problem in the analysis for various reasons that I will attempt to demonstrate at different points in the discussion.

A second qualification of the data is that the results obtained deal with the perceptions of respondents in all instances, and therefore do not purpose to describe objective reality either for themselves or for those whose perceptions they are discussing. In both the interview and questionnaire, respondents were asked to reflect on their own past experiences and feelings (i.e., "Why did you decide to join the NYCPD?"; "What were your expectations about the attitude that white police would have to you when you joined the force?"; "What would you say are the major changes in the NYCPD since you joined, and how would you evaluate their effect on black police job satisfaction?"), their perceptions of how others viewed and evaluated them (i.e., reactions of wife, parents and friends to becoming a policeman), and what the feelings

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The possible factors responsible for this return rate are discussed on pp. 90 - 93, below.

of significant groups were to the black policeman (especially how members of the black civilian community and white police viewed them).

The responses in all cases reflect present evaluations and understandings, and may well be, either intentionally or not, a distortion of earlier feelings and views. In evaluating the validity of attitudes imputed to significant others, Berger's definition of the task of the sociologist as being the "social construction of reality"² is especially pertinent.

Berger emphasizes that one's view of social reality is not only a product of the culture in which an individual is located, but of specific statuses and positions which he holds as a result of his role set. Thus, black police may be seen as responding to their occupational status within the context of their entire range of role and status positions. In this view, one might well expect that their ideas, evaluations and reactions to specific realities in the NYCPD might well be challenged by different status groups within the department. Since this study did not include a formal discussion of the reality systems of other ethnic and racial groups in the NYCPD (see below, pp. 65 - 68, for an explanation of this), it should always be remembered that what is being presented is one group's conception of the "facts", rather than a universally agreed upon Weltanschauungen.

A third qualification of the data is that although the study was completed only two years ago, at the time of this writing (May, 1975) it is possible that changes in the NYCPD would make certain qualifications necessary if attitudes were to reflect the conditions in the NYCPD in 1975.* Since interview and questionnaire material was completed before these changes, the analysis only purports to explain black police perception within the time of respondents' own experience on the force.

2. The Development of the Research Problem

Vidich and Bensman repeatedly make the point in "The Springdale Case: Academic Bureaucrats and Sensitive Townspeople", that it was their

experience that by and large the logic of a problem has its own internal dynamic which means that once one has embarked on the pursuit of the problem and is willing to follow its logic, he must administer /original emphasis/ in terms of where the problem leads and not in terms of pre-arranged schedules. 3

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For instance, it would be quite interesting to discuss the possible role of the assignment of female officers to patrol duty in 1974 to perceptions that black police have about their relations to white colleagues within the perspective developed by Simmel that it "is sociologically very significant that isolated elements /i.e., black and white police/ are unified by their common relation to a phenomenon which lies outside of them /i.e., female patrol person/" (editor, Wolff, Kurt H., The Sociology of Georg Simmel, The Free Press, 1950, chapter 4, "The Triad", pp. 145 - 169, at p. 145). Since this policy was not instituted until the completion of interviews and questionnaires, such a discussion is not possible.

This in a very real sense was my own experience in "carving out" the research problem to be studied here. Because of certain aspects of my own biography, I had early been interested in black-white relations. The most significant factor in this concern was the inconsistency between my father's perception of black-white problems which he gained as a patrolman after 20 years in the 79th Precinct (Bedford-Stuyvesant), and my own experiences both as a volunteer tutor for two years with JOIN in this precinct and my sociological studies⁴.

The present study developed out of two earlier problems I had contemplated studying, but because of methodological problems, decided not to pursue⁵. In the present study, I initially considered comparing three cohorts of police (Irish, Jewish and black) to see if there were significant differences in their attitudes, perceptions and approaches to the police function and, most importantly, their perceptions of one another. These three groups were chosen because they represented the three major cohorts that had been recruited to the NYCPD at different times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Irish, because of their control of early American political machines, were the ethnic group which traditionally manned American urban police forces from the creation of a full-time NYC constabulary force in 1844⁶. As such, they represented the most entrenched and numerous ethnic group in the NYCPD. Jews in NYC joined the department basically for job security

during the 1930's depression, while blacks became a symbol of attempts to integrate racially modern American police forces. I soon found, however, that this approach might present serious problems, especially in respondent access.

In most discussions of the police function in American cities it is stressed that there is a definite "code of secrecy" that prevents many police from discussing their departments with anyone defined as an "outsider"⁷. Not only was this code described, but the point was made that definite sanctions were employed where any violation of the code was thought to exist. Although this trait was discussed primarily for Irish-American police, I felt that after approximately forty years on the force, the same attitude might have developed among Jewish police, heightened possibly because of recent minority recruitment. Whatever religious or ethnic differences might have existed previously between NYCPD groups, might in the light of racial changes be minimized to present a common front to a common "outsider", the black recruit. Indeed, in the interviews this "closing of ranks" by white police was perceived by many respondents to have occurred, even by the older ones who had been on the force longest.

Given either a general police ethos, or one based on race, religion or ethnicity, which supported a "code of secrecy", I feared that formal or informal pressures would be applied either by the PBA or particular line organizations that I had contacted for the study which would

cut off access to potential respondents^{*}, as had been the case with Sgt. Perry's study of "salt and pepper teams" (p. 50, above).

Because of these possibilities, I felt that the safest group to approach would be black police, through the Guardians, since they would probably be the least likely to define their interests as that of protecting police anonymity. I felt this to be true both because blacks were the most recent recruits to the NYCPD, and thus might be least likely to have developed an "in-group" consciousness, and because of the previous conflicts between the Guardians and white police (i.e., civilian review board issue and Cadet Program).

It was thus that I came to define the area of analysis to be that of the attitudes, problems and perspectives of black NYCPD personnel. The first problem to be met was that of access.

3. The Problem of Access

The problem of access to black police was particularly frustrating initially because it was the consensus

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Line organizations are NYCPD associations which serve as spokesmen for particular groups, on the basis of race (as the Guardians), ethnicity (The Emerald Society for the Irish, Pulaski Society for Poles and Columbia Society for Italians) or religion (Shomrim Society for Jews).

of many people whom I approached that my race would immediately disqualify me from Guardian cooperation. Even given initial cooperation, I was warned, unless I could obtain black interviewers I would experience lack of cooperation in interviews and/or invalid response. I was told that less than cordial relations existed between certain branches of the NYCPD and research organizations (Rand was particularly mentioned here) which had previously done studies for them, and that the issue of black-white police relations was especially volatile. Because of all of this I was warned that as an "outsider", regardless even of my color, I would experience great problems in obtaining valid responses.

At the suggestion of Professor Hylan Lewis, I first approached Sgt. Bill Perry at the Police Academy to discuss Guardian approval for the study. Sgt. Perry was the coordinator of the Police Cadet Program and had been the previous Guardian president. I discussed the project with him and found him very receptive, to the point that he promised me his full cooperation, which was consistently given. However, he told me that I would have to speak to Sgt. Howard Sheffey, who at the time was the Guardian president, to gain access to Guardian lists from which to draw an interview sample, and that he would make initial contact for me. This was done and I had my first meeting with Sgt. Sheffey at the Personnel Selection and Evaluation Unit at the Police Academy, of which he was in charge.

My emotions at the time were mixed. Sgt. Sheffey's unit shared a larger office with the Special Investigations Unit. I immediately noted that there was a clear line of racial delineation between the two units. Sgt. Sheffey's was composed of six men, five black and one Puerto Rican. The Special Investigation Unit, on the other hand, had only white police. Sgt. Sheffey's unit was in the rear of the room, the Special Investigations Unit in the front. Not only was the area occupied by each unit physically distinct, but there seemed to be little personal interaction between members of the two units. What interaction did exist was work-related (i.e., exchange of reports, procedural questions, etc.). My impressions were similar to those I had in the Cadet Program office. Although this was a small room manned at the time by only two black officers and one black secretary, I nonetheless felt that I was in a "black" unit, rather than a "police" one*.

I had to wait approximately one hour for Sgt. Sheffey and during that time, I distinctly felt an outsider both from the perspective on the black members of the unit in which I

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These impressions were later confirmed by Sgt. Sheffey. He told me that his unit had only recently been initiated at the Academy (It has since been relocated in the Old Slip Station House in lower Manhattan) and that the initial reaction by white police had been one of anger and somewhat veiled hostility. If anything, he said, the situation had much improved since the first days of the unit.

was sitting and the white members of the unit on the other side of the room. Added to this was the anxiety about how Sgt. Sheffey would react to me personally and to the proposed study. It was a distinct relief when he finally appeared, although his immediate reaction was disheartening.

While Sgt. Perry had been immediately in favor of the proposal, Sgt. Sheffey was more cautious. I began by explaining the nature of the study, my own background as this related to the development of the research idea, and the research that I had done on the available literature prior to formalizing the study. Sgt. Sheffey began by asking me two pointed questions. The first was what literature I had used which was written by black authors. I answered that so far as I knew no relevant studies had been written by ~~blacks~~, other than isolated articles and speeches. The second question was a bit more difficult to answer, and as it was asked, I felt a sinking feeling.

Sgt. Sheffey asked whether a study such as I contemplated would not be better written by a black. He referred, however, not to methodological problems, but to two issues which he defined as ethical. The first was his feeling that the problems of blacks had been used to the great "profit" of white researchers, who built their status and reputations from these studies, while doing nothing to improve or solve the conditions which they uncovered. In this context he suggested that one possible

way to gain Guardian cooperation would be to promise to donate a percentage of the profits to the Guardian scholarship Fund if the study were to be published, which I did. His second misgiving was that he felt that in many studies done of blacks by whites, the former were portrayed as seen from a white, middle-class bias, and this in his view only continued a tradition of negative stereotyping.

In discussing these problems with Sgt. Sheffey, I attempted to make my own position very clear; that is, that I fully agreed with his misgivings but that I was no more responsible than he for the creation of a system built significantly on racism, or in the structuring of educational conditions which had resulted from generations of anti-black sentiment. This led to a general discussion of the racial issue in which I attempted to be as candid as possible about my own experiences and prejudices, even though I understood that certain of my opinions and feelings might be offensive at times to Sgt. Sheffey as a black man*. I understood clearly that not only was the project being evaluated by Sgt. Sheffey in our discussion, but more importantly, I was. I stress this point because I believe that if I had attempted to structure my answers so that

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I particularly noted my reservations about the success of the Open Enrollment Program at Brooklyn College and discussed work that I had done in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. This led to a discussion of mechanisms to create better social and educational equality between blacks and whites in the United States.

they would be agreeable to Sgt. Sheffey both as a black and a policeman, my case would immediately have been closed.

After about two hour's discussion, Sgt. Sheffey told me that he would allow me to work with the Guardians and seemed quite amenable to the projected study, especially after hearing that one of my advisors was a black sociologist^{*}. He informed me, however, that final approval would have to come by a membership vote at that evening's meeting, and that I should phone him the next morning to find out the result. I then drove Sgt. Sheffey home and continued our discussion. I called his office the next day and was told that the project had been approved.

4. Drawing an Interview Sample

With this news, I began to write my interview schedule in cooperation with my three advisors and Bill Perry. By the beginning of March, 1972, the schedule was completed and I contacted Sgt. Sheffey to arrange to draw a 10% random sample of names to be contacted for interviews. While this first sample was drawn, it was never used because of several problems connected with the lists.

The first was that the lists were three years old. I thought that, as a result, they would be biased because of

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I have often wondered how much this actually influenced him, since he alluded at different points in the conversation to the harm that he believed certain black sociologists and researchers had done to an understanding of blacks, alluding to what he considered to be questionable interpretation and interests of what he called the "black bourgeoisie".

black police who had joined the department after 1969 when the Cadet Program was shifted from control by the Board of Education to the NYCPD itself. A second problem was that the lists of Guardian members were not complete. Of the two provided, the first (124 names) was of those Guardians above the rank of patrolman (two Assistant Chief Inspectors, four Deputy Inspectors, one captain, twenty-four lieutenants and ninety-three sergeants), while the second (724 names) was of those Guardians below the rank of sergeant who had paid all dues. Thus, the lists included a total of 848 names, while the reported number of black NYCPD police as of September, 1972, was 2,026 (Table 6, p. 21).

Because of these problems, I asked Sgt. Sheffey if I might obtain a more recent list. I was put in contact with Sgt. Charles Gillian, second Vice-President of the Guardians, who had complete and up-to-date membership lists.

I met Sgt. Gillian at the Guardian clubhouse at 506 Marion Stree in Brooklyn to draw a second sample. However, because of certain constitutional problems^{*}, I was not allowed to

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The Guardian Constitution and Bylaws do not allow membership lists to be used by anyone other than organization officers. Sgt. Gillian was initially concerned that problems might arise if certain members contacted for interviews asked how they had been chosen, and discovered that an outsider had been given access to the lists. To bypass this, we agreed that I would contact the sample by mail (Appendix II), rather than by phone, as I had intended. Further, if asked how I had obtained a name, I would explain that Sgt. Gillian had drawn the sample from my instructions, after which I sent the contact letters.

use the lists he had brought which were in the form of IBM sheets, containing approximately 1700 names. Sgt. Gillian agreed, however, to let me draw a sample from the lists at his home. When I arrived, he had forgotten the first part of the sheets (letters A-K) at his offices, and had only that part from letters L to Z. Because of this, I drew the first part of the sample from file cards, which included names of current Guardians, retired black police, non-Guardians, and suspended or deceased personnel, and the second part from the IBM sheets. On the basis of the original lists, I had decided to draw every 27th name as a first contact and every 28th as an alternate. However, because of the use of the file cards for letters A to K, I actually drew a sample of 146 names (73 first contacts and 73 alternates) rather than the intended 120.

On Tuesday, March 28, Sgt. Sheffey signed the letter which I sent to the sample and on Friday, April 1, copies of the letter were mailed with stamped, self-addressed return envelopes. To alert Guardian members to the study, a short paragraph was included in the April Newsletter explaining that in the near future certain members would be contacted to participate in interviews for a study of black police attitudes.

5. The Interview Schedule

a. The Interview Instrument

The interviews which were completed had two basic purposes in the context of the broader study. The first was to probe selected areas in the experience of black police as these related to their perception of the police role in NYC and relations with selected significant communities. Four distinct areas were investigated:

- a. The motivation of the individual in filing for the NYCPD patrolman's exam, the reactions of his family and friends to his decision, his expectations about the police role and perceived departmental changes in areas relating to the black officer.
- b. Areas of role strain and status inconsistency between race and occupation. Three focal points were probed here:
 - i. Respondent perception of white police attitudes to black police and minorities in general
 - ii. Perception of status distance from white police
 - iii. Perception of status strain between ascribed status of race and achieved status of occupation. Where strain was felt, attempts were made to discover the mechanisms used to deal with it.
- c. The perceived role of the Guardians in the identity of the black officer, and peripherally, the issue of the National Association of Afro-American Patrolmen.
- d. Background characteristics of respondents, such as education, area of residence, age, desire to make police work a career, mobility aspirations in the NYCPD, and attitudes toward one's child pursuing a NYCPD career.

The second purpose of the interview was to serve as background for the construction of a questionnaire. While I basically knew what areas I wanted to cover in the questionnaire, as suggested in the above outline, I attempted in the interviews to assess the best manner of phrasing and structuring each area, and to familiarize myself with the defined reality of the black policeman, so as to construct a questionnaire which would be seen as both meaningful and relevant from his perspective.

b. The Interview Sample

Twenty-six interviews were completed between April 25, 1972, and December 7, 1972. The average length was two hours, the shortest taking approximately one hour and the longest, which was completed in two meetings, four. A tape recorder was used in twenty-three of the interviews, two respondents requesting that it not be used. During some of the interviews, the recorder was shut off at different points at the respondent's request. In one case where an interview was recorded, due to recorder malfunctioning, the tape was destroyed at the completion of the interview. One interview is incomplete, since the respondent, a detective, had to leave midway in the interview because of his schedule and did not contact me to finish it, nor was I able to contact him after several attempts*.

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One possible interpretation is that the respondent reacted negatively to the interview situation, which was carried

One "non-interview" was done by telephone. I had made an appointment with the patrolman for 8 A.M. at his Bronx station house, at which time he went off duty. I arrived approximately ten minutes late and the respondent was not present. I called him that evening to arrange another appointment, thinking that he had either forgotten the first one or thought that I had since I came late. However, the respondent showed much fear and apprehension about the entire project when I spoke to him. After trying to explain the project to him for almost eighty-five minutes, he told me that he had changed his mind and declined to be interviewed. His fears were that he would face possible negative consequences if his responses were not kept anonymous, and that the study might serve to exacerbate the already strong divisiveness which he saw as existing between black and white NYCPD officers. Three events that occurred during the early weeks of May, 1972, well might have contributed to his fears.

out in my home. I doubt that this was the case for three reasons. The first was that he left a folio with articles about his career in my home, which he did not pick up until one year after the interview. The second was that he called me in June, 1973, and put me in contact with his nephew to assist him on a film project which he was completing for a class at New York University. I met twice with his nephew and was in telephone contact with the uncle, who could not find time to finish the interview. The third reason is the comment that he wrote on his returned questionnaire: "Conflict in appointments, a congested schedule, prevent my concluding the first interview. But when available would be more than glad to aid this thesis. Best wishes!"

The first was the Knapp Commission probe, front page news at the time. The second two were more directly related to black police. During the weeks immediately preceding the scheduled first interview, a black lieutenant, Fletcher Hueston, had committed suicide at the Bossert Hotel in Brooklyn Heights because he was to be investigated for corruption and it was expected that he would be indicted. A second black officer, Lt. James Harding, had been indicted on thirty-six counts of bribery and police misconduct, and sentenced by a Grand Jury to six years in prison.

While these incidents were not specifically mentioned by the respondent, he continually referred to his misgivings about the confidentiality of response, asked why he had been chosen to participate, and many times asked what the results of the study were "really" to be used for. As one example of his almost paranoid fear of participating, he asked why, if I claimed to be affiliated with Brooklyn College, I gave my home telephone number as one means of contact. I explained to him three times that, as he could see, the contact letter was sent on Brooklyn College stationery, with the telephone number of the Sociology Department given, but that since I was not always at the college, I thought it best also to include my home phone number. My answers to this and other questions did not satisfy him, and so no interview was completed.

On April 4, 1973, a second letter was sent to the

original sample who had not responded to the first*, as well as to alternates where this was in order (i.e., where original letters were returned for insufficient address; where, as in the above incident, a respondent had changed his mind; or where a letter was answered declining to be interviewed).

From these two mailings, thirty-seven positive replies and nine negative ones were received; fifteen letters were returned for insufficient address. Although thirty-seven police agreed to be interviewed, only twenty-six actually were. In four of the remaining cases, the respondents had changed their minds about being interviewed when I contacted them by telephone to set up appointments. One of these cases was the "non-interview" discussed above. In a second, the policeman had just retired and was beginning a new job; he claimed that he had no time for the interview. The third case told me that he had changed his mind with no elaboration. In the fourth, a policewoman who had called me to ask about the study after having "checked it out" with Bill Perry, failed to contact me to finalize a date

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Of the original 73 letters sent, 15 positive and 5 negative responses were made, and 9 letters were returned for improper address. The remaining 44 letters were never answered, possibly because the policemen involved were not sufficiently interested. In a discussion with the president of the Sibernian Association (black Transit Authority line organization) a similar problem in response was discussed. It had taken the president of the group 18 months to receive a 90% reply to letters sent to his members about life insurance for their wives. In this situation, one would believe that the results of the questionnaires sent with the letters would be much more relevant to the respondents than the present study.

for the interview.

In another case, I made two appointments with a respondent who lived in Queens, but he failed to appear for either one. In the other six cases, I was unable to make phone contact with the respondents. In one case, a number had become unlisted in the interval between the time I had been contacted and the call to make an appointment. In another, the respondent had given his father's business number since he was moving. I left three messages for him, but my calls were never returned. In the other five cases, I was unable to make telephone contact with the respondents either at home or at work.

Since the data which I obtained from the twenty-six completed interviews seemed to repeat the same motifs, together with my feeling that I had gained enough of a background to construct a sensible and relevant questionnaire, I discontinued the interviews after the twenty-sixth.

c. The Interview Process: An Evaluation

After contacting respondents who had replied positively to the contact letter, a dual strategy was employed. Upon telephone contact, an initial comment from almost all respondents concerned the question of what the study was about. I attempted to explain this in as general terms as possible, i.e., that this was a study of the attitudes and problems of black NYC police which was to be used as a part of a

broader project for a doctoral dissertation. I tried to be as unspecific as possible regarding the broader theoretical orientation, since I did not want to bias future response by in any way suggesting particular perspectives to be probed. I further discussed the development of the problem from my own background, stressing the police role of my family (so as not to be defined stereotypically as an "ivory tower academic" with no experience of the "real" world), and a sympathetic view of police problems. I suggested that if there were any questions about the study that a potential respondent would like "officially" explained, he might contact either Sgts. Perry or Sheffey.

Although the respondent could choose any place at his convenience for the interview, I attempted to arrange them outside of my own home. This was done for two reasons. The first was that I believed that the respondent would be most comfortable and at ease in his own territory, and would therefore be able to respond in a more relaxed and natural manner. Secondly, I felt that interactional cues between myself and the subjects would by necessity be intensified if the interviews were to take place in my own home, since they would in many cases react to me both in terms of how I was individually perceived, as well as the reflection of a particular lifestyle which might be imputed to my surroundings. In two previous studies that I had done involving interviews, I found that situational factors

were extremely important in effecting interview response. In this study, I wanted to minimize these as much as possible so that response would be maximally geared to the questions asked, rather than to statuses which I might be defined as holding. One status which could not be affected was that of my race, however. This will be shortly discussed.

In all, twenty interviews were conducted at respondents' homes. Of the remaining six, two were conducted at my own home, including the partial detective interview discussed on p. 77, one ("non-interview", pp. 78 - 79) was conducted by phone, one at the CUNY Graduate Center, one at a bar which the respondent (a retired sergeant) managed, and the last in a Harlem precinct.

The problem that I was of a different racial background than the respondents was one which I immediately had to face; Sgt. Perry felt that my race in itself would not necessarily be a major problem in eliciting valid response, but that my status as an outsider might. I believe, however, that to the extent that this played a role, it was in the selection process of those who agreed to be interviewed rather than in the interview situation itself.

My interview sample might have been initially biased as to the respondents who did not identify with the alleged code of secrecy, the others either not having answered the contact letter or refusing to participate. Sgt. Perry recommended that I hire some black police to do some of the

interviews; however, since I had no funds at the time, this was not possible. Further, the possibility exists that the use of black police interviewers might present its own methodological problems (both because of their identification with the police role and because of their color, the latter which will be presently discussed). Nonetheless, I realized the possible role that my color might play in obtaining valid response, but did not believe that this in itself would present insoluble problems.

The first reason for this was that I had received cooperation to work with the Guardians, although most people with whom I spoke told me that the organization would never cooperate with a white researcher*.

Secondly, I believed that if I could demonstrate a common basis of communication in an understanding of police problems and workings, a shared field of interest could be created which might partially transcend racial differences. Thirdly, I felt that there was a distinct possibility, as was actually reflected in the interviews, that at certain key points the respondents' own value

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In discussing the study with Professor Arthur Niederhoffer of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, he expressed great surprise that the Guardians had agreed to work with me. He told me that he knew of at least twenty-five students at John Jay who had envisaged similar projects, but had failed to get Guardian cooperation.

systems would be similar to mine^{*}, although racial differences existed, since the police system as a part of the Civil Service sector has been defined as a mechanism of middle-class mobility for minorities⁸.

A related problem stressed by Sgt. Perry was the use of "black" English. He suggested that the idiom spoken by some black police might be foreign to me, and my idiom foreign to them. This, however, never presented a problem, since all of the respondents could understand and use my idiom. Fourthly, and I believe most importantly, my own attitude was one in which I approached each respondent as an individual, rather than as a black man or policeman. I believe that this was understood and respected by most of my respondents, and that this aided me most in eliciting cooperation and honest responses. After each of the interviews was completed, I was invariably invited to stay for coffee or a drink at the respondent's home and to discuss the project and my own background a bit further with him and his family, where they were present.

Lastly, the most recent literature available on the effect of interviewer's race in eliciting response where those interviewed are of a different race, has shown that

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One of the most consistent impressions that I got from the interviews was the the black police whom I met were all basically motivated by values which were very much a part of my own background, i.e., social mobility for self and children, "good" schools for their children, economic solvency and making a legitimate income.

the role of race as an independent factor is becoming minimized. Further, the effect of race was seen as being most important in the context of situational factors, rather than as an independent variable.

Sattler's review of the literature⁹ states that the single most important factor in inter-racial interview response is not the interviewer's race in itself, but rather the racial attitudes of the interview subject, together with the skill with which the interviewer probes for responses. Where subtle cognitive and affective opinions were probed, genuine introspection was seen to be the result, yielding accurate and valid responses.

Further, Sattler found that three different major socio-economic factors had to be identified before the problem of race as an independent variable could be assessed for white interviewer-black interviewee situations:

- a. Distortion of black attitude by white interviewers seemed to be decreasing in large cities (of which NYC would be an example), but not in smaller cities and rural communities.
- b. The status of race seemed to be most important in distorting responses from lower-class blacks, versus middle or upper-class respondents (in which category black NYCPD police would be placed).
- c. "Socially desirable", rather than "valid" responses tended to be made to white interviewers by black respondents, except where the interviewers were defined as having a higher social status than the respondents (this on the basis of black student interviews completed by white

teachers.)

The use of black interviewers with black subjects was not seen as necessarily improving the chances of valid response by Sattler, since this type of situation presented its own problems. First, it was found that in many cases the interviewer was viewed with resentment and/or hostility where he was defined as holding a higher class position than respondents. Second, attitudes of political conservatism were often imputed to the interviewer because he was identified as holding professional status. Last, the interviewer was perceived by some respondents as representing "white" rather than "black" interests, again, as an inferred attitude deriving from his professional status¹⁰.

Sattler's findings in no way prove that color did not play a role in the interviews completed for this study; but the problem is largely a moot one. In none of the interviews did I pick up cues which would suggest that my color was evaluated negatively and that responses were thus structured. I am further confirmed in this because in most cases when interviews were completed I was invited to further discuss the project, and in three cases names of friends and acquaintances were spontaneously suggested who might be able to help with the study. *

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In one case I tried to contact the friend of one respondent who was a detective and, according to the respondent, was so light-skinned that he invariably

A second problem to which I was quite sensitive was that of feeding perceptual cues to respondents that might elicit "desirable" responses. I did not want to define the major interview theme as black-white police polarity in the NYCPD for my respondents*. I attempted to assess, rather, whether this area was independently seen as a reality. To do this, I began each interview by asking general questions about the respondent's background and his decision to become a policeman. I then went on to probe his feelings about the existence of racial problems in the NYCPD (i.e., "Have you seen any changes in the department since you joined which have had a specific effect on the black policeman?"; "How do you feel about these changes?"; "How would you characterize the attitude of the white policeman to the black policeman since you joined the force?").

passed for white until informing his associates that he was black. I made three appointments to meet the detective in his midtown station house. After missing all three because of work assignments, I made no further attempts to contact him.

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Some of the respondents, however, might already have had this defined for them in contacting either Sgts. Perry or Sheffey. One policewoman who called me after having cleared the study with Sgt. Perry said that she had been told that the study was about racial problems in the NYCPD. In some cases where respondents suggested further contacts (as the detective above), this was prefaced by stating that the person to be contacted could "really give me what I wanted" since he was light-skinned, and therefore white police spoke in front of him as if he himself were white.

After about forty-five minutes, I proceeded to the second part of the interview which was composed of specific questions concerning status conflict for the black policeman, attitudes about the role of the policeman in his contacts with the community (i.e., "How do you feel about the idea that the first job of the policeman is to make himself feared by the public?"; "Do you think there are basically different attitudes about the black policeman held by black and white civilians?"; "Do you agree that most people don't respect the policeman until they learn to fear him?"). Finally, attitudes regarding specific departmental policies affecting black police (i.e., mobility and promotion opportunities; the issue of assigning black police to black neighborhoods) were probed.

To locate status strain, respondents were asked their perception of the way that white police viewed minorities, black police colleagues, and themselves personally, problems which they saw as being peculiar to black police, and personal methods of coping with work problems where these existed.

The third part of the interview contained questions about membership and participation in the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen. The primary concern here was to assess whether either of these groups was viewed as significantly important in

forging an identity between the respondent's racial and occupational statuses, or for his black police colleagues. In the final section of the interview, respondents were asked to provide biographical data, and the questions of general level of job satisfaction and feelings about the choice of a NYCPD career for one's children were discussed.

6. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was developed over several months and was mailed to approximately 1700 Guardians during the week of February 27, 1973. In all 238 questionnaires were returned completed, 100 were returned by the Post Office for "insufficient address", and 12 were returned blank.

Of these twelve blanks, six officers gave no explanation as to why they chose not to complete the questionnaire. One stated that he was a civilian employee of the NYCPD and therefore felt that it was not his business to complete it. Four were retired police; one claimed that he had already been interviewed and so felt that the questionnaire was redundant. The final case where a questionnaire was returned blank had written on it, "The Guardians did not clear this questionnaire" and so the officer refused to participate*.

*

I could not get this clarified by Sgt. Sheffey, whose signature appeared on the cover letter of the questionnaire. Further, they were mailed by the Guardians themselves, and in many cases a flyer was included

The return rate of approximately 20% of the delivered questionnaires was disappointing, to say the least, especially since a paragraph had appeared in the April Guardian Newsletter alerting members to the study. I believe that five interconnected factors were responsible for the rate of return:

a. The Nature of a Mailed Questionnaire

The nature of a mailed questionnaire itself, regardless of the population to which it is sent, is one in which the only incentive for completion is the respondents' potential identification with the purposes and logic of the instrument, and/or cover letter, since the researcher is not present to prod or elaborate. One of the major drawbacks of mailed questionnaires is that response tends to be low. In the case of the Siberian Association's attempt to provide insurance for families of black transit police (p. 80, above), only after constant prodding and reprinting of questionnaires (which requested only names, age, etc., of wives) was a 90% return obtained after 18 months. Problems of response for black NYCPD police are highlighted in a statement by Norman Redlich, Esq., 1st Assistant Corporate Counsel of NYC, made in Exhibit P, p. 2, of the Guardian-Hispanic suit. He states that a questionnaire sent to black and Hispanic police probing perceived job discrimination, the results of which were to be used in the legal action, "may have a response of only 20%".

advertising a Guardian trip to the Bahamas in the summer of 1973.

b. The Nature of the Population

The assertion has been repeatedly made in affidavits for the Guardian-Hispanic suit that minority police are relatively unfamiliar with questionnaires and surveys, and so fail to complete and return them. The experience with form PA-15 (pp. 34 - 35, above) discussed in both affidavits and Rand studies, is representative of the problem, although in this case appointment to the NYCPD depends on completion of the form. The mailed questionnaire for this study was a total of eleven pages and 107 questions, many of them multiple choice and some involving scaling. The length and complexity of the instrument, then, might have played a role in response rate. This point was brought up by some respondents in the questionnaire pre-test. However, in its final form I believe that the instrument was as simple as I considered possible to elicit responses to areas deemed significant for study.

c. The Literacy of the Population¹¹

Goode and Hatt state that to complete a questionnaire, a "minimum necessity is the ability to read and write. Further, the amount of reading attention and writing skill for most questionnaires is much greater than is implied by a minimum definition of 'literate'. For many who are able to read and write, neither burden is assumed easily" (p. 173). On the basis of comments written on returned questionnaires, a large part of the population could be defined as having difficulty in written expression (in spelling, grammar, punctuation and clear expression of ideas). The effort for others might have been too great and the project not sufficiently relevant to warrant completion and return of the instrument.

d. NYCPD Factionalism

The factionalism with the NYCPD might also have kept prospective respondents from completing and returning the questionnaire. The study was specifically approved and supported by the Guardians, and those black

police who disagree with perceived Guardian policy and goals might not have returned the questionnaire. Further, those black police who might have sympathized or been members of the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen might have chosen not to participate. *

e. The Climate of Public Opinion

A last factor possibly contributing to the rate of return might have been the reaction to the climate of hostility and suspicion that the public was viewed as holding to the police because of the Knapp Commission, and the particular incidents with Lts. Hueston and Harding (p. 79, above), which occurred immediately prior to the questionnaire mailing. Perhaps some black officers defined the situation as one in which potential for greater damage to the police image existed, and so chose not to cooperate in any study of police attitudes and behavior.

These five factors and their possible relation to questionnaire return make it necessary to stress again that the results obtained from the following analysis can only be suggestive of a broader reality system for the black policeman, since they may be biased toward a particular type of respondent. On this point, Goode and Hatt state that the "direction of.. bias in questionnaire

*

Thus, to discuss the role of the Guardians in black police identity becomes problematic from the questionnaires. In only one questionnaire comment was hostility to the group directly expressed, this by a respondent who had been interviewed. Those who felt a deep hostility to the Guardians might not have returned the questionnaire at all. Similar problems exist in Alex's interpretations (discussed above, pp. 18 - 19), since his interview population was preselected for him by Guardian officers.

response⁷ is toward those who are interested in the subject matter, those who are higher in socio-economic status, and those who have had more education"¹².

After the questionnaires were coded and cross-tabulations made using the variables of "age", "time on the force" and "rank", frequencies were obtained⁺ using the 238 completed forms. The analysis made utilized these findings together with interview responses.

*

"Age" and "time on the force" were chosen to see if major differences in perspective existed between different age groups and between those who had been police for different periods of time. "Rank" was chosen using the logic that attitude, perceptions and evaluations of job conditions might be affected to an important extent by mobility within the department; for this variables, detectives, regardless of rank, were included in the "officer" category.

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My three advisors and I decided not to use tests of significance in analyzing the data, since the nature of the study (exploratory) and the population used (non-random) would make any conclusions utilizing these tests questionable in their significance. The question of the applicability of significance tests to particular forms of sociological research is extensively discussed in Morrison, Denton E., and Henkel, Ramon E., editors, The Significance Test Controversy, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1970. See especially Patricia Kendall's "Note on Significance Tests", pp. 87 90; Lipset, Seymour Martin, Trow, Martin A., and Coleman, James S., "Statistical Problems", pp. 81 - 86; and Selvin, Hanan C., "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research", pp. 94 - 112.

Footnotes

1

Merton, Robert K., and Kendall, Patricia I., "The Focused Interview", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LI, No. 6, May, 1946, pp. 541 - 577

2

Berger, Peter, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective, Doubleday-Anchor, New York, 1963; see especially the discussion of Symbolic Interactionism, chapter 4, "Sociological Perspective: Man in Society", pp. 62 - 92.

3

Vidich, Arthur I., and Bensman, Joseph, "The Springdale Case: Academic Bureaucrats and Sensitive Townspeople", in Reflections on Community Studies, edited by Vidich, Bensman, and Stein, Maurice R., John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, pp. 313 - 349; quote at p. 317

4.

I worked in a Bedford-Stuyvesant JOIN (Job Orientation in Neighborhoods) center in my father's precinct. This experience in itself, as well as an experience with one of my students in court, did much to reevaluate my earlier attitudes about racial realities.

5

Because of an early exposure to black music, I had considered studying the extent to which this music could be seen to reflect and reinforce certain white stereotypes. Since I was not trained in this area of Sociology I never seriously structured the study. I then decided to investigate the effect of perceived systems of reward distribution in the United States by black and white public and high school students on the development of occupational motivation for each group. Methodological problems made this unfeasible. It was then, as a result of reading several studies of the police role and American minorities, that I began to think of pursuing the present study.

6

See, for instance, Wilson, James Q., "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Police Career Officers", American Journal of Sociology, March, 1964, pp. 522 - 528.

7

Robert K. Merton joins this issue in his "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 1, July, 1972, pp. 9 - 47. He states that a "great variety of inquiries into the roles of anthropological and sociological fieldworkers have explored the advantages and limitations of the Outsider as an observer. Even now, it appears that the balance sheet for Outsider observers resembles that for Insider observers, both having their distinct assets and liabilities" (p. 33). He elaborates (original emphasis is maintained) that it "is the character of an intellectual discipline that its evolving rules of evidence are adopted before they are used in assessing a particular inquiry. These criteria of good and bad intellectual work may turn up differing extents among Insiders and Outsiders as an artifact of immediate circumstance, and that is itself a difficult problem for investigation. But the margin of autonomy in the culture and institution of sciences means that the intellectual criteria, as distinct from the social ones, for judging the validity and worth of that work transcend extraneous group allegiances. The acceptance of criteria for craftsmanship and integrity in science and learning cuts across differences in the social affiliations and loyalties of scientists and scholars. Commitment to the intellectual values dampens group-induced pressures to advance the interests of groups at the expense of these values and of the intellectual product" (p. 42).

8

An excellent critical discussion and survey of the literature in this area is to be found in Watson and Sterling, chapter VIII, "Social Class Origins", pp. 105 - 119. On the basis of their analysis, they conclude that by and large "the Police Opinion Poll data and other supporting data cast doubt on the accuracy of the view that 'most policemen are products of lower-middle-class environment'" when measured by parents' social class, and that when "considered in the overall, it appears that proportionately more police officers held civilian jobs categorized as middle-class or better than is true for the general male labor force" (p. 119).

9

Sattler, Jerome, "Racial Experimenter Effects on Experimental Testing, Interviewing and Psychotherapy", Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 73, 1970, pp. 137 - 160.

- 10 Ibid., pp. 147 - 153
- 11 Goode, William J., and Hatt, Paul K., Methods in Social Research, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1952, .
- 12 Ibid., p. 173

Chapter 2. A Profile of the Sample

The focus of this chapter will be dual. The first will be to provide an overall profile of the questionnaire respondents. The second will be to discuss the extent to which appointment to the NYCPD can be interpreted as a mechanism of upward social mobility for the black policeman. This will be discussed by examining intergenerational mobility, intragenerational mobility (using as a base line the job held immediately prior to appointment to the NYCPD) and patterns of mobility within the Civil Service system itself.

1. A Background Profile of the Questionnaire Sample

The questionnaire sample used in this analysis is predominantly male (95%), American born (95%), urban by birth^{*} and Protestant⁺ (65%). The mean age of the sample is young, which is consistent with the lack of serious effort to recruit blacks into the NYCPD until the mid-1960's; 61% is between the ages of 21 and 40, 25%

*

Of those born outside of the United States, all were West Indian. Of the 95% born in the United States, 59% were born in NYC and its suburbs, and 36% outside of this area.

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Approximately one-half of the Protestants were Baptist; 15% of the respondents were Catholic, 6% claimed no religious preference, and 14% provided no response to the question of religious affiliation.

between 40 - 50, and only 10% over the age of 50 (4% of respondents did not provide their ages). Only 6% of the sample are single, 39% married, 45% divorced* and 7% separated. The great majority of respondents (86%) live in one of the five boroughs of NYC, with a majority of 34% living in the Bronx. Only 13% live outside of this area (1% not providing residence) in Nassau, Suffolk or Westchester. Most own their own homes (42%); 37% rent apartments, and 17% either live in condominiums, cooperatives or homes owned by parents (4% not providing a response).

The population is well-distributed in years on the force (Table 8, p. 100), with 30% of the sample having served from one to six years and 11% retired. The majority (62%) are patrolmen; 10% are sergeants, 2% lieutenants, one respondent a captain and 16% detectives+ (10% did

*

I believe that the high rate of divorce might have resulted from a misreading of question #75 (Appendix II). The format used in this question did not exist with any of the others; some of the respondents may have checked "divorced", thinking that they were actually checking "married".

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As discussed in the Introduction (footnote 58, p. 59), not only is the rank of detective higher in status than that of patrolman, but it also carries fixed pay increments and expense accounts. The Division is broken down into three grades, the third being the lowest. Of the forty respondents who are detectives, 29 are patrolmen, 1 is a sergeant, and for the other ten rank was not supplied; 10 of the respondents were third-grade detectives, 3 second-grade, and 2 first-grade. The remaining 25 respondents did not specify their detective grade.

Table 8. Years Working with the NYCPD (Percents)

<u>Years on Force</u>			<u>Percent of Sample</u>
1	-	2	4
3	-	4	2
5	-	6	24
7	-	8	14
9	-	10	6
11	-	12	6
13	-	14	7
15	-	16	4
17	-	18	7
19	-	20	8
	+	20	7
Retired			11

not supply rank). For functional assignment (Table 9, p. 101), the two largest concentrations were in Patrol (38%) and Detective (17%).

Finally, while the minimum educational requirement for appointment to the NYCPD is a high school or equivalency diploma, 79% of the sample have had some education beyond this (which is consistent with the findings of Goode and Hatt concerning educational level of questionnaire respondents, pp. 93 - 94, above). Of this group, 28% are currently enrolled in programs leading toward a two or four year college degree, with major concentration in Police and Social Science fields (to be discussed in the second section of this chapter), 5% having earned a college degree and 3% holding post-graduate degrees. Thirty-seven percent of the sample have attended college, but have not completed a degree,

Table 9. Functional Assignment in the NYCPD

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Percent of Sample</u>
Patrol	38
Detective	17
Juvenile	2
Staff training	3
Traffic	2
Administration	8
Other*	18
Retired	11
NA	1

*

In this category , eight each listed "Plain Clothes" and "Community Relations". Seven listed "Investigations", five "Anti-Crime", four responses were multiple, and two listed "Neighborhood Police Team". One each listed "Lockup/Detention", "Human Relations", "Fingerprinting", "Training", "Elections", "Emergency", "Restricted Duty", "Junior High School", "Foot Patrol" and "Clerical". One respondent was on a leave of absence to complete a law degree.

and 2% had some post-graduate courses without having earned a degree.

As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, the educational patterns of the sample suggest that education is pursued basically in the hopes of increasing mobility opportunities in the NYCPD, or in some cases, within the broader structure of the police occupational hierarchy in the United States (i.e., entrance into the FBI).

2. Social Mobility and the Police Role

A point repeatedly made in the literature concerning recruitment to American police forces is that one of the primary motivations in joining is to improve occupational mobility¹. The policeman is typically viewed as having his roots either in the working or lower middle class, a factor which is seen as being of particular significance when discussing authoritarianism² as a police personality trait³. Evidence for this position is found in Niederhoffer⁴, Westley⁵, and Chevigny⁶, although the roots of this either in a personality predisposition which guides an individual to pursue a police career, or the role of the police structure itself in creating and enforcing such an attitude, is differentially evaluated*.

The question of mobility is discussed in terms both of inter and intra-generational movement. It is to these two areas that the remainder of this chapter is devoted. At the conclusion, the question of mobility within the Civil Service hierarchy will be discussed.

*

The question of authoritarianism and cynicism for this sample, although not formally structured into this study, is discussed in some detail in Appendix I.

a. Intergenerational Mobility

In the Niederhoffer and McNamara studies of the social class origins of NYCPD personnel⁷, most members of both samples had origins in the lower-middle class or below. In the Niederhoffer study, 60.5% were in this class, as compared to 52.5% in McNamara⁸. The social class origins of the present sample (Table 10, pp. 103 - 104) are overwhelmingly blue collar (40%) or service (34%).

In only 12% of the cases are the parents of the present sample professional or white collar. It is here that a major difference exists in comparison to the Niederhoffer and McNamara studies. Neither of these controlled for the status of race in intergenerational mobility. In McNamara, 20.2% of the parents of the 574 NYC police were either professional or white collar, while the comparable figure for Niederhoffer is 21.9%

An unpublished study done by James Sterling of police recruits in four American cities in 1969 found that 28.3% of the parents of the sample were professional, clerical or sales workers. This compares to 26.1% of a sample of 165 recruits used in the Watson and Sterling study⁹. Conversely, figures from the above four studies show that there is much less of a concentration in service or blue collar occupations for the parents of the groups discussed than in the present study. Taking one example. in this study, of the total 238 respondents, 16% listed the category of "laborer" as father's occupation. In the

Table 10. Fathers' Major Employment for the Questionnaire Sample

<u>Occupation</u> [*]	<u>Percent</u>
1. Professional	5
2. White Collar	7
3. Service- Public ⁺	14
4. Service- Private	20
5. Blue Collar- Skilled	17
6. Blue Collar- Unskilled	23
7. Farm Work	2
8. NA	12

*

The breakdown by response in each category is:

1. Professional. 4 "own business"; 3 "musicians; 2 teachers and 1 engineer
2. White Collar. 6 "government employees"; 3 clerks; 1 each for businessman, computer operator, contractor, bank employee, supervisor, buyer and salesman
3. Service-Public. 16 Postal employees; 9 Transit Authority; 3 firemen; 2 policemen; 1 each for Sanitation, correction officer, health inspector and army career man
4. Service-Private. 9 truck drivers; 6 each for chauffeur and taxi driver; 5 porters; 3 each for waiter, night watchman, maintenance man; 8 cooks/bakers; 1 each for bar tender, superintendent, groom, service station operator and elevator operator
5. Blue Collar-Skilled. 6 mechanics; 4 carpenters; 5 seamen; 3 each for machinist, electrician, tailor; 2 each for mason, presser, butcher; 1 each for tug operator, plumber, printer, shipbuilder, copper worker, painter, molder, rigger, tool and die maker, garment worker and foreman
6. Blue Collar-Unskilled. 39 laborers; 4 each for longshoreman and construction worker; 3 railroad workers; 2 each for miner, factory worker; 1 laundry worker
7. NA - 13 "unknown"; 11 blank; 5 "retired"

+

A differentiation has been made between the public (Civil Service) and private service sectors, since the nature of the two types of work differs greatly both in social

Table 10 (continued)

status and remuneration. Equally important, the public service sector is a primary mechanism of social mobility for minorities, and represents, as will be discussed for this sample, a first step in achievement of middle-class status. Private service work does not carry this evaluation with it.

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McNamara study, this accounted for only 5.7% of respondents' parents, 8.0% in Niederhoffer, 2.6% in Sterling and 9.1% in Watson and Sterling¹⁰.

The overconcentration of parental occupations in the service and blue collar sectors of the economy for this sample of black police when compared to the general police forces discussed in the above studies is, in a sense, only a mirror of the differences in job structure between white and black Americans.

The Kerner Commission Report found that there were gross inequalities between the two groups of male workers in 1966 (Table 11, p. 106). Black workers tended to be greatly overrepresented in blue-collar, unskilled and service occupations, while whites were concentrated in professional, technical, managerial, white collar and skilled blue-collar work. Further, in a report issued by the U. S. Department of Labor¹¹, it was found that even when education and sex are controlled for, blacks still tend to have significantly lower levels of job mobility than whites. As one example, of all white

Table 11. Occupational Distribution of White and Non-White Male Employed Workers: United States: 1966 (Percents)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	<u>Percent Difference Non-White if Distributed Same as Total Male Labor</u>
Professional, Technical, Managerial	27	9	+ 183
Clerical/Sales	14	9	+ 51
Craftsmen/Foremen	20	12	+ 62
Operatives	20	27	- 23
Service Workers	6	16	- 56
Non-farm laborers	6	20	- 63
Farmer and farm laborers	7	8	- 11

Source. Kerner, Otto, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, Bantam Books, 1968, p. 254

males who were employed in March, 1967, with an education of 8 years or less, 9.9% were non-farm laborers, as compared to 24.3% of non-white males with the same education. Of white males with one to three years of high school, 6.9% were in this occupation, as compared to 20.5% of non-white males. For those white males who were high school graduates, 3.8% were non-farm laborers, as compared to 11.4% of non-white males; finally, of those white males with one or more years of college, 1.1% were in this occupational category, as compared to 3.5% of non-white males.

Finally, the great majority of respondents in this

study are both first generation civil service workers and first generation police. This is consistent with the social class background of Alex's earlier sample of black NYC police¹². In this study, 84% of respondents were the first members of their family to become a policeman. In 13% of the cases, other family members had joined the NYCPD prior to the respondent's appointment, but in only two cases did respondents have fathers who were police^{*}.

In contrast, Wilson's study of career patterns of Irish police in one American city found that of all Irish sergeants, nearly two-thirds had police relatives, and, of these, nearly three-quarters were in their immediate families¹³. For the present sample, however, only 14% had fathers employed in any civil service work. In comparison, as will be discussed in the next section, 45% of the respondents themselves held other civil service jobs prior to admittance in the NYCPD.

In conclusion, the majority of respondents come from backgrounds below the middle class when defined by fathers'

*

Of the 32 respondents who had family in the NYCPD prior to their own appointment, 8 had cousins, 4 uncles, 2 brothers, and one each had a father and a cousin, a father, brother, an uncle and a cousin, a brother and an uncle, and a "relative" and a cousin. In 13 cases, the relations who were on the force were not specified (in one of these, names of relatives were provided but not their actual relation to the respondent). From some comments made in response to this question (#83), some respondents feared that specifying particular relations who were on the force before they joined would threaten their own anonymity.

occupations. The respondents are in most cases first generation civil service workers and NYCPD officers. In assessing the degree of intergenerational mobility, a career with the NYCPD can be seen to represent a possible first step in achieving professionalization and job security for the majority of respondents, in the sense of escaping the blue collar (50%) and private service sector (20%) of their parents. Their employment in the public service sector may possibly be used, as will be discussed in chapter 6, as a takeoff point from which their own children can achieve an even higher level of occupational status and prestige.

It was further found in comparing the social class origins of this sample with those discussed in McNamara, Niederhoffer, Sterling and Watson, and Sterling, that the occupational backgrounds of the majority of parents of black police in this study were below the level found for white police in various American cities. This is consistent with the broad differences in occupational structure and opportunity for advancement between black and white Americans.

b. Intragenerational Mobility

All of the respondents were asked what their occupations had been immediately prior to appointment to the NYCPD (Table 12, p. 109). Of the 238 respondents, 89% had been employed in full-time jobs before entering the department;

Table 12. Respondents' Immediate Employment Prior to Appointment to the NYCPD

<u>Occupation</u> *	<u>Percent</u>
1. White Collar	29
2. Service- Public	45
3. Service- Private	7
4. Blue Collar- Skilled	15
5. Blue Collar- Unskilled	4

*

The breakdown by response in each category is:

1. White Collar- 34 clerks; 6 bank tellers; 8 IBM operators; 4 salesmen; 1 each for production manager, auditor, film editor, airline ticketing agent, investigator, supervisor, accounting worker, claims examiner and federal employee
2. Service-Public 47 Post Office; 24 Transit Authority (non-police); 9 Corrections or Narcotic Corrections Officers; 5 Housing Police; 4 Transit Police; 3 Bridge and Tunnel Officers; 1 each for police trainee, police aid and Sanitation worker
3. Service-Private 3 storekeepers; 2 security officers; 1 each for taxi driver, registered nurse, porter, U. N. courier, hospital worker, busboy; 6 truck drivers
4. Blue Collar-Skilled 6 lab technicians; 4 electrical workers; 3 each for mechanic, aviation technician, foreman; 2 teleprinters; 1 each for butcher, apprentice printer, printer, apprentice joiner, television tester, air conditioning serviceman, welder/draftsman, silk screen printer, shoe repair, cable splicer and furrier
5. Blue Collar-Unskilled 2 laborers; 1 each for helper, factory worker, maintenance man and crane operator

3% had been full-time students, 2% unemployed, 3% worked part-time while attending school, and 3% gave no answer.

The largest category of employment for the 211 full-time workers was in other civil service positions (45%), with almost half of these respondents working for the Post Office. Eleven percent were employed in police service jobs outside the NYCPD, while the remainder worked for the Transit Authority, and in one case, for the Sanitation Department.

Twenty-nine percent of the respondents were employed in white collar jobs, with the majority in this category (56%) listing their job as "clerk". Twenty-one percent were employed in blue-collar work, 6% unskilled and 15% skilled, while 5% worked in the private service sector.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this. The first is that in comparison with their fathers' occupations, the majority of respondents had achieved higher levels of job status before entering the police department (Table 13, p. 111). The largest occupational shifts involved movement out of the blue collar and private service sectors into the public (Civil Service) and white collar sectors.

The second pattern is that appointment to the NYCPD can be seen as one step in a general Civil Service career for many respondents. Further, in 61% of the cases, other civil service exams had been taken at the time of appoint-

Table 13. Comparison Between Respondents (N=211)
Occupations Immediately Before Entrance
into the NYCPD and their Fathers
(N=238) Occupation: Percents

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Fathers</u>
1. Professional	0	5
2. White Collar	29	7
3. Service- Public	45	14
4. Service- Private	7	20
5. Blue Collar- Skilled	15	17
6. Blue Collar- Unskilled	4	23
7. Farm laborers	0	2
8. NA	0	12

ment to the NYCPD. This pattern will now be examined in more detail.

Of the 61% of the respondents who had taken other civil service exams in addition to that for the NYCPD, the majority had taken either two or three other such exams (28% and 20%, respectively) ^{*}. The breakdown of the exams filed for is as follows:

*

This includes federal Civil Service (Post Office) and state (troopers and sheriff) exams; 46 respondent had filed for two, 29 for three, 19 for four, 3 for five, 6 for six, and one each for seven and eight. Question #4 of the questionnaire asked, "At the time you were appointed to the NYCPD, were you already employed in another NYC civil service job?" Of the 75 respondents who answered in the affirmative, 27 were actually employed in the U.S. Postal Service.

1. Transit Authority*	101
2. Fireman	54
3. Clerk (no elaboration)	33
4. Narcotics Corrections Officer	30
5. Housing Authority Police	23
6. Sanitation	15
7. Post Office	26
8. Bridge and Tunnel Authority Officer	8
9. Port Authority Police	7
10. Border Patrolman	4
11. State Trooper	3

Once can conclude from this that for the majority of respondents, a career in the NYCPD represented one of several possible entry points into Civil Service. The fact that 61% of the sample had filed for other Civil Service positions, together with the pattern of multiple filings, suggests that entrance into Civil Service, rather than into the NYCPD, was a motivating factor for a majority of respondents (more than a third, or 108 out of a total of 308 responses, were for non-NYCPD jobs). A preliminary generalization is that, given the social class origins of the sample's parents as defined by fathers' occupations, Civil Service employment in itself is a major step in upward social mobility that is open to a majority of them.

However, interpreting the results solely in a Civil Service versus police orientation is an oversimplification. When asked whether the NYCPD was the first job choice of

*

For Transit Authority, 28 listed "transit", 33 "Transit Police", 35 "Motorman" and 5 "Other".

all exams filed for, a clear majority stated that it was: of the 144 respondents who answered this question, 59% stated that the NYCPD was their first job choice, 29% that it was not, 8% that they had no particular job choice, and 4% that they had mixed feelings about the NYCPD.

From the above, it appears that for the majority of respondents (the 39% who did not take another civil service exam other than that for the NYCPD at the time of appointment, together with the 36% who had the NYCPD as a first choice although filing multiple exams) there was a definite motivation to join the NYCPD. However, these figures alone do not explain why, where this motivation existed, it was felt*.

Three factors can be seen to have an influence here. The first is the difference in the perceived status of a job with the NYCPD when compared to other Civil Service positions. The second is the difference in job benefits and security between the NYCPD and other Civil Service

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Alex found that the largest number of his sample were "civil service" rather than "police oriented". He arrived at this conclusion by comparing those who took only the NYCPD exam with those who filed multiple exams, but were first called by the NYCPD (pp. 35 - 50). The findings of the present study suggest that even for Alex's "civil service oriented" a "police" orientation may have existed, the other exams being taken as a precaution in the event either of not making the police list or not being appointed because of scoring in the lower deciles (Table 7, p. 31, above).

work. The last is the question of perceived differences in job opportunities in the public versus private job sectors for blacks. In this context, while a "police" orientation may be said to exist for a majority of black patrolmen, this may be a result of their personal... experiences with discrimination in the private job sector, together with their evaluation of a job in the NYCPD relative to the benefits and prestige of other civil service work.

c. Motivation in Joining the NYCPD

By far the most important single reason, for both interview and questionnaire respondents, in seeking civil service work concerned job security and benefits because of racial discrimination and general social conditions in the private job sector at the time of appointment to the NYCPD. For those who came to the department from other civil service positions, the most important single reason was dissatisfaction and frustration (often of a racial nature) with job conditions in these other Civil Service positions.

Motivation in joining the NYCPD is clarified by responses to question #6 of the questionnaire (p. 115). As can be seen from the responses, the two single most frequently cited reasons for joining the NYCPD were that the respondent wanted the job security and benefits of a civil service position (32%), or that he was already employed in another civil service job, but thought that he

would be more satisfied with the NYCPD (19%);

"Please check the one statement which best describes your reason for originally joining the NYCPD."

- 32% a. I wanted the job security and benefits of a civil service job.
- 19 b. At the time I was called for the NYCPD I already held another civil service job, but thought I would be more satisfied with a job in the NYCPD.
- 5 c. I had experienced racial discrimination in the private job sector, and believed that this would be minimized in civil service work.
- 9 d. I felt that as a policeman I would have an opportunity to help other people.
- 7 e. Friends of mine who were already on the force or were filing for the examination first suggested that I join.
- 13 f. I was interested in the idea of becoming a policeman from the time I was a kid.
- 15 g. Other (Please specify)
- 1 h. NA

These two choices were also the most frequently mentioned by those respondents who checked multiple choices for the question*, as well as by interview subjects, regardless of

*

Twenty-one respondents checked two choices for this question, one checked three and one four. In thirteen cases, the choice of job security and civil service benefits ("a") was checked as one of the choices, while in seven cases the respondents were employed in other civil service work when appointed to the NYCPD. Thirteen respondents checked the "Other" category ("g"). Their explanations concerned personal factors, on the whole (i.e., draft exemption in one case, a mother's insistence that the respondent file in another; the fact that special hours could be arranged for college study in one case; the perceived paramilitary structure of the NYCPD for two World War II veterans; the desire to combat police brutality against minorities for one respondent; the gain in status which one respondent felt that he could never achieve from his family).

time on the force.

Three interviewees, all appointed after having left the Armed Forces following World War II, elaborate on their reasons for seeking civil service employment, as well as their reasons for leaving other such positions to join the NYCPD^{*}. Sergeant W., who retired after having served almost twenty-one years in the department⁺, claims that he joined because it

was a matter of gettin' a job, really. I used to take every civil service exam there was to take and the police department exam happened to be one of them.. I worked for the Board of Transportation as a conductor on the subway and I worked in the Post Office. You know, I was a mail carrier.. I had no idea how the job conditions were. It didn't even occur to me.. I started in 1951.. a veteran of World War II.. It was just a job and I considered it a good job because of the retirement benefit, the twenty year pension, and because I had a friend who was a policeman and he was constantly talkin' me into comin' into the job.

Sergeant B., a veteran of twenty-three years, reflects similar motivation:

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All quotes are presented verbatim, with no grammatical corrections. When questionnaire comments are provided, no corrections either in spelling or grammar have been made.

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Sgt. W. remained in the NYCPD approximately one and a half years after he was eligible for retirement because he discovered that he had diabetes and feared economic setbacks if he was unemployed.

I worked more or less catch as catch can.. It was more or less.. based on the racial situation. At the particular time that I went into the police department or before then.. I came out of the Armed Services about '40 and I worked at various odd jobs and the racial situation was very bad.. So most.. black people were going into civil service positions.. Now, although it was a matter of sayin' that you wanted to do this or you wanted to do that, you took the jobs that were nothing, you know. You figured that later on you could do better. You took the best out of the ones you could pass.. So, before I went into the Service, I had taken a number of civil service exams but the police wasn't one of them.

Any special reason?

I had taken the police, but I didn't pass the police. But I had passed in others and among those was.. the transit conductor. So I went into the army about 1942. I came out about '45 and when I came out the employment racial situation had changed markedly. So I came out feelin' my way, more or less tryin' to get something to do. And.. I ended up working in the Navy Yard.. During that time they started callin' me for various civil service jobs that I had passed prior to going into the Service and one of them was the conductor.. I stayed there about three years and the pay had improved considerably in three years, and it increased so much that they were makin' more than the policemen because the police was still making more or less pre-war salaries and I think they had a cost of living.. bonus. When I first started there I think I was makin' \$35 a week.. This was 1946. When I left there I was makin' \$75, \$80 a week, maybe more, because I got overtime.. So then they gave this exam for the police. I decided I'd take it just to see how I'd make out. I wasn't too much interested in it because I already had another job. I took the exam. So they sent me a notice I had passed.. I didn't know whether to take it or not.. 'cause it is kind of a dangerous job and it was paying less than the job I had, you see. But I figured it this way. Eventually they would

get more money.. and also I didn't like the conductor's job too much.

/For what reason?

Number one, when I first started I worked on the platform. That was all right. But then after you're there a while they put you on the train, you see.. After a while it gets monotonous.. So I didn't particularly like it. Then they called me for the police.. and I was surprised to find out they wasn't makin' too much money.. When I went there.. I found out they were makin' a pre-war salary of \$3000, and they were given a thousand dollar bonus which.. they /NYCPD could take back. They didn't pay you a pension on it. It was like a cost of living bonus, you see.. But even with that, the salary they made.. wasn't even \$4000. This was \$4000 after three years.. But you had to work a year before you got your first increment and your first increment was \$1000.. They had you for two years makin' the minimum salary.. They worked six days a week.. and they didn't have a day off.. But what they would do, they'd come along and work you on your seventh day.. But the thing was this. They didn't pay you for it. Transit was gettin' time and a half after forty hours.

/Why did you leave? Was it the boredom?
What? With the transit? Boredom. I didn't like that openin' and closing doors for twenty years. I was there three years..

/Increments started as soon as I got there.. Every time /Michael Quill come to a strike he got more money. But the thing is, the city with the police. They /Police.. didn't get nothing 'cause they didn't say they were gonna strike. They didn't get nothing.

Detective H., also employed by the Transit Authority before joining the NYCPD, faced different frustrations which motivated him to leave his job and join the city police:

Well, I came out of the war in 1945.. I was released from the army and trying to acquire a job was very difficult. Even the fellows, the factory that I left before, at that time there was a stipulation sort of that any guy who left the job to go into the service would be reinstated after he came out. But that was no good. So I was on the unemployment role. At that time it was called the 52-20 Club /because for/ 52 weeks it was \$20 a week. So I think in 1947 or 8 I worked a couple of jobs as a salesman. I worked for a black cosmetics firm /For about/ eight or nine months and then I took a civil service exam and I became a clerk for the Veterans Administration.. and I worked with them.. up until 1949.. Then I worked part-time because I was going to school under the G.I. Bill. It was in the RCA Institute.. But that curriculum was a little rough on me. I was only in there about six months. Meanwhile, I had taken civil service exams for both the subway.. and.. the Correction Department and Bridge and Tunnel Officer. I passed all the exams, but as conductor /first to call respondent/ I worked for about three or four years. Then within the transit system I took promotion exams, towerman.. and also motorman and assistant dispatcher.. At the time, though, the city budgets weren't allowing money so sometimes you had a list in existence where they expired before you were promoted.. I know while I was in the Tower provisionally I was called for the motorman and the.. list died.. So I got tired of that system. Then there was a frictional thing with the same system I came right into in the police department, the union, the TWU, which /was/ predominantly Irish. So you had sort of a roadblock there as far as good choice of runs, good choice of vacations, selection of what stations or routes you wanted to work. Seniority was in their favor as a matter of unity.. I left the Transit Authority for that reason, a form of polarization.. because they used to call myself and another fella that's left and went into the Corrections Department radicals. We became shop stewards in a splinter-type union..

Overtime was limited. In fact, overtime we didn't see at all. Then eventually I took the.. police department and another exam, the Federal Immigration Officer for the Department of Justice, and I passed.. both exams. But I believe Truman.. cut the appropriations so I died on that list /Immigration Officer/.. So eventually I chose the police department. But all this in answering your question shows that economically since I had no trade or professional background /I had to take whatever was available/. However, in going to the Unemployment Office there still wasn't any employment for me and they were advertising for clerks in the paper, for stock and people that they need. But when you go for the interview there is where your application ends. You got out the door, it was in the waste basket.

Factors of economic necessity and racial discrimination can be seen to play an equally important role in the motivation of more recent recruits in seeking civil service work, and should not be seen as reasons confined to those black police who are older recruits to the department. Patrolman J., who has been on the force for ten years, feels that he

decided to join.. I guess it was the latter part of '63. I was an aircraft mechanic prior to joining the police force. I became a police officer after getting out of the service and having a family at that time. Job security wise, I thought that the police department afforded the best opportunity as far as I was concerned.

Patrolman S., on the force for only five years, joined for basically the same reasons:

I'm a graduate of college and I went around.. looking for a white collar job, fast money, easy bread. And it seemed that outlooks were depressing. It was mainly my color.. The police department was more money.. than I was making as a junior executive in one of these so-called retail establishments.. I imagine if I'd have stayed there I probably would have done halfway decent. But it was a rat race. They were lookin' for some showcase black and I think I was selected. So I probably would have done halfway decent. But it was a long climb and the shit, the stuff you had to go through. I wasn't interested in it. So I took the police exam.

For this sample, then, civil service benefits and job security seem to be the most important reasons for filing for the NYCPD patrolman exam, together with the desire to change civil service positions already held^{*}. Another point suggested⁺ by some interview responses in this

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Of the 75 respondents who held another civil service job at the time of appointment to the NYCPD, 52 had held one other position, 18 had held two, and 5 had held three others.

⁺

This pattern was discovered after all interviews were completed and the questionnaire was ready for distribution. Had I been aware of it earlier, I would have integrated questions concerning "social awareness" as a motive in joining the NYCPD into both the interview and questionnaire schedules as an independent variable. My feeling from the interviews completed is that in many cases, some sort of "public and/or community" service orientation was at work in the decision to join the NYCPD, especially among younger officers. I cannot, however, assess the relative strength of this factor as a motive from the available data.

area is that while social conditions were seen as motivating factors regardless of age or time on the force for all interview respondents in joining the NYCPD, it seems that some of those more recently appointed had a particular desire to correct conditions in the department that they, as civilians, perceived as harmful to blacks in NYC.

Patrolman S., on the force for three years, states that he joined the NYCPD

only because of the security, and then another reason, too, because of the social conditions that existed.. It was a very necessary thing to try to educate some white cops to what was really happening.

Patrolman K., also on the force for three years, voiced a similar concern:

Mostly, a pretty secure job and I thought I'd like it, like to do a few things to change some of the situations.

For Patrolman J. (quoted at p. 119, above), job security and benefits were only two of the reasons that he filed for the patrolman's exam. A more personal experience was equally important in his decision:

I did have one motivation outside of the fact that it offered security. I guess you could say I had a hangup about police officers. I had quite a hard time in the Service with the state police of Louisiana.. I was

seventeen years of age and was in the Air Force and traveling in an automobile which I had purchased without a license. At that time I was too young to get a license on my own. So having the car I drove it without the license and I was stopped by the state trooper and.. I was handcuffed to the bumper of my car and, you know, I was treated like an animal.. So this is my first encounter with the police, really. And I'll always remember it. So once I decided to become a police officer myself, I said, 'Well, I'm gonna be the different type of police officer. I'm gonna treat people like I would like to be treated myself.' And I think this more or less motivated me in conjunction with the fact that it offered job security.

A last point suggested by the above three quotations is that, for many respondents, factors of individual personality need and unique life experiences served as motivating forces independent of material or status benefits imputed to a NYCPD job. For many, the job was perceived as answering certain personal needs, and within the opportunity structure for employment seen to exist (created by general social conditions and racial discrimination), it was chosen as the most viable of other possible positions.

One questionnaire respondent claimed that "As a black I felt that the position would lead to prestige which I was unable to obtain from myself and my family". Another (a police woman) claims that she was first interested in joining the department because of a desire to "do something about the drug problem" in her child's school.

A third believed that, from his experience of police brutality against minorities, the best way that he could combat this was internally by joining the department. Two other questionnaire respondents believed that the job structure of the NYCPD was a para-military one which they could easily adjust to as veterans, which status also was evaluated as enabling them to face the possible danger of the job.

In conclusion, the decision to join the NYCPD is a combination of personal and social factors which the black policeman faces in his civilian life. By far the single greatest motivation for all respondents is job security and civil service benefits. For a majority, filing for the NYCPD exam represents an attempt to enter the civil service hierarchy (an improvement over the blue collar and public service sectors of their fathers), at the same time that other civil service exams had been filed for*. Or, for those already employed in civil

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A point repeatedly made in the interviews was that the NYCPD not only was seen to have better benefits and opportunities for advancement than other civil service jobs, but that a definite status hierarchy existed among the NYCPD (highest status), the Transit Police (medium status) and the Housing Police (lowest status). The percentages of blacks in the latter two departments has been traditionally higher than in the NYCPD. The alleged leniency in the character evaluation for the Transit and Housing Authority Police (see footnote 55, p. 58, above) is seen as contributing to this invidious comparison in creating a feeling that these two departments have "lower standards" than the NYCPD, although since 1964 the salaries and benefits in all three divisions have been at parity.

service, it represents an attempt to increase opportunities and benefits by switching to the NYCPD. The question of mobility within the system of Civil Service can be clarified by examining the patterns of educational achievement for the black policeman.

d. Movement within the Civil Service System:
A Tentative Discussion

Although the minimum educational requirement for appointment to the NYCPD is a high school or equivalency diploma, 79% of the questionnaire sample have some education beyond this. The concentration of courses is predominantly in the Police Sciences and Criminal Justice fields (41%), or in the Social Sciences* (41%). For those members of the sample who have earned an undergraduate degree or above, the same concentration exists: of the 19 cases where information is provided, 7 of the degrees granted were in Police Sciences and another seven in the Social Sciences. For those with post-graduate degrees, one is in Sociology, one in Urban Affairs, three in law (in two cases where BA's were cited, one was in Political Science and the other in Sociology) and one in Public Administration (with a B.S.

*

The breakdown for the Social Sciences is: 5 each in "social science", Psychology and Sociology; 2 in urban studies; 1 each in Social Studies, Political Science, History and Social Relations. (These 21 cases are degrees granted to questionnaire respondents.)

in Political Science).

The concentration of education in the Police Sciences and Criminal Justice suggests that education might be pursued by this sample as a vehicle for mobility within the NYCPD or the broader American police system. When asked whether mobility within the department was the major factor in pursuing higher education (question #80), 71% of the sample of 187 who had some education beyond high school answered that it was. Plans for mobility within the NYCPD are further supported by responses to question #92, where respondents were asked if they intended to or actually were studying for promotional exams. Of the 198 who answered this question, 77% were either planning to study for such exams or were already doing so.

Two points should be made in elaborating the mobility aspirations of this sample from the above findings. The first is that while a large proportion are studying with the primary purpose of NYCPD mobility, in some sense plans might also exist for mobility out of the department and into either the state or Federal law enforcement bureaucracy, with the ultimate goal being legal administrative work. This is suggested by the concentration in the Social Sciences, Urban Affairs and Public Administration. Further support for this interpretation comes from Alex's discussion of the "civil-service oriented"

black police in his sample; for this group, a consistent goal was to become involved in some aspect of professional or semi-professional work (teaching and law being the two most frequently cited categories)¹⁴, while a civil service job was the only realistic entrance into these positions for many of his respondents because of discrimination in the private job sector and educational inequality.

A second point is that, although mobility within the NYCPD is a definite goal for a majority of the respondents in this study, one should draw no conclusion from this about job satisfaction (which will be discussed as a separate problem in chapter 7, below). Just as motivation in joining the NYCPD was seen to develop from situational realities confronting the black policeman, so his desire for mobility within the department may represent a compromise between his occupational ideals and his perception of opportunities for job mobility available to him.

Evidence for this point is suggested by responses to two questions (#91 and #96), where respondents were asked for whites and blacks respectively, to rate the following statement on a Likert Scale^{*}: "Most white/black

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This is a scale where respondents are asked to provide their agreement with a statement on a scale from: 1 ("agree strongly"); 2 ("agree somewhat"); 3 ("don't know or no opinion"); 4 ("disagree somewhat"); 5 ("disagree strongly").

policemen are one the job because they have nothing better going for them". Forty-three percent of the respondents agreed with the statement "strongly" or "somewhat" for white police, with 44% voicing the same evaluation about why blacks joined the NYCPD^{*}. In one sense, then, entrance of blacks into the NYCPD in particular, or civil service work in general, might represent more a coming to terms with reality than an absolute job preference. Mobility aspirations within the department, rather than suggesting basic satisfaction with the job and its conditions, might better be understood in this light.

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The phrase, "have nothing better going for them", very likely has widely differing cognitive meaning when applied to the black and white officer, in the opinion of this observer. Similarity in response to this question for the two groups should not be interpreted to mean that they are viewed as having the same reasons in entering the department. This is suggested by comments made in some interviews to the effect that it takes a "special" black man to become appointed and succeed in the NYCPD, while any white "with something on the ball", as one respondent stated, should find much wider opportunities for success outside of police or civil service work. Thus, "nothing better going for them" means discrimination when applied to blacks, but, in the context of interview comments, failure when applied to whites.

Footnotes

1

Alex (p. 9) claims that "in American society the 'policeman's lot' is reserved for the second.. and often third generation American. Thus the stereotype of the 'Irish cop'". James Q. Wilson, in looking at Irish police careers for sergeants in one American city, found that in 1936, only 47.1% of the police in this city were native-born Americans, compared to 23.1% for those born in Ireland and 29.6% for those born in Europe exclusive of Ireland. In 1951, the figures had changed to 63.2%, 19.7% and 17.0%, respectively (Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences", pp. 522 - 528). The role of the Jewish NYCPD policeman is particularly interesting in this context. Niederhoffer (pp. 78 - 81) explains the entrance of Jews into the NYCPD as a reaction to the Great Depression. Jews, he claims, much as blacks today, were the victims of serious prejudice and so used the department (with mixed emotions among their families and peers) to gain some type of job security. In a discussion that I had with a PBA representative, Officer Ferranti, at the 63rd Precinct in Brooklyn (as part of the Police Seminar which I taught there), I was told that there are fewer Jews than blacks in the NYCPD today, although Jews are significantly better represented in their proportion of officers versus patrolmen than blacks. The declining amount of Jews in the NYCPD is probably a factor of improved opportunities in the private job sector after the Depression. Three factors are probably responsible for their mobility within the department. The first is the time that they have been in the department (since the 1930's). The second is the widely-cited Jewish value on education and study which created conditions conducive to departmental mobility through civil service exams (as well as the possibility that Jews who entered the department were better educated than other groups initially, and so were better prepared for written competition in exams). The third factor is the lack of traditional discrimination against this group in the department, which, although it no doubt did exist, was nowhere as strongly institutionalized as it is claimed to be for blacks and Puerto Ricans (possibly since Jews were much less numerous in the NYCPD and were never involved in making a social issue of their recruitment and treatment; also, Jews did not enter the NYCPD at a time of civilian Jewish militancy.)

2

Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswick, Else, Levinson, D.J., and Sanford, R.N., The Authoritarian Personality, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950

3

Watson and Sterling (p. 120) view this as a middle-class bias in critical studies of the police: "What we seem to be doing is reasoning that, from a theoretical point of view, middle class people are less authoritarian and less egocentric than people of lower social classes where the police are seen to be predominantly recruited from. Moreover, the middle class are assumed to be more verbally skilled, and more able to exercise control over their impulses. If we accept this and one is critical of the police for being too authoritarian and too egocentric or being unskilled in their impulses, then the solution to these problems is simply to bring into law enforcement people who possess these supposedly middle class characteristics." In conclusion, the authors state that the ideal policeman should be an "uneducated classless figure" (p. 124), since education was seen to be the single most significant factor in differentiating police views. The implementation of this, however, is left undiscussed.

4

Niederhoffer, chapter 4, "Anomie and Authoritarianism", pp. 95 - 108; chapter 5, "Authoritarian Police Personality", pp. 109 - 160

5

Westley (p. 188) sees this as developing in an attempt to maintain self-integrity in a society which is viewed as both hostile to the policeman and evil: "the crucial point in the shift of values for the policeman occurs when he recognizes that he as a policeman faces a hostile society and then conceives of himself in conflict with that society. Once this idea permeates his thinking, he is ready to discard the values of the larger society; for in accepting the idea that the larger society is evil, he easily conceives of its values as being evil. Naturally, most of the men upset the old values by a slightly different rationale- by saying that the old society does not know what is going on. But they clearly define it as evil by emphasizing those sectors that they can more easily attack- the businessman, the entertainer, the newspaper people, the lawyers, in each of whom they can empirically detect evidence of corruptions, for their very trade brings them in contact with this type of evidence; and from what they know they generalize and feel satisfied".

- 6 Chevigny discussed the role of the police in dealing with "Outcasts" (sexual, political, etc.) (pp. 114 - 135). He rejects the use of terms like "authoritarian" in explaining police behavior (p. 278), and suggests rather that the police function is one which is a mirror of the morality and ethos of the society or community in which the policeman participates, and that the "characteristic police reactions are a logical product of the police role (e.g. maintaining order) and the traditions of the department (e.g., secrecy)" (p. 278).
- 7 Niederhoffer, Table III, p. 39; McNamara, John H., "Uncertainties in Police Work: Recruits Backgrounds and Training", in Bordua, pp. 163 - 252
- 8 Ibid. (Niederhoffer, Table III, p. 39; McNamara, pp. 193 - 194)
- 9 Watson and Sterling, p. 110; Sterling, James W., Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers During Recruit Training (unpublished manuscript, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1969, p. 15; cited in Watson and Sterling, p. 110)
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Special Labor Report No. 92, Educational Attainment of Workers, March, 1967, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Table 3, "Occupational Distribution and Education of Whites and Nonwhite Workers 18 Years Old and Over, March 1967", p. 3
- 12 Alex, p. 46
- 13 Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences", p. 256
- 14 Alex, p. 126

Chapter 3. Black Police Perception of the NYCPD

1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss from both interview and questionnaire responses, perceived discrimination for the black policeman in the assignment of work details and promotion opportunities in the NYCPD. For the questionnaire sample, these areas will be further analyzed on the basis of functional assignment and time on the force. The relative evaluation of racial problems as a departmental and individual source of concern will be discussed in the context of overall problems facing the respondent and the NYCPD. Lastly, perceived changes in departmental policy affecting black police will be discussed, together with the factors viewed as creating conditions for black police in the NYCPD.

2. Department Policy and the Black Policeman

a. General Evaluation

Questionnaire respondents were asked to rate a series of nineteen factors (question #15) as "very important", "important", "relatively unimportant" or "not a real problem at all" in terms of problems faced by the NYCPD. Two of the choices dealt directly with racial issues: choice "o" ("hostility between white and minority police personnel") was seen by 85% of the sample as either a

"very important" (49%) or "important" (36%) problem.

Choice "f", while not concerned directly with racial hostility in the department, dealt with the issue of "inadequate programs to recruit minority personnel". Here, too, the large majority (90%) feel that the issue is a "very important" (58%) or "important" (32%) problem.

However, when these choices are compared with the other seventeen in their relative impact, a new perspective is gained. When asked to choose the individual problem that was the "single most" and "single least" important (question #18), hostility between white and minority police ranked sixth as the "most important" problem (5%), while inadequate programs to recruit minorities shared fourth place (8%) with "police corruption". (Table 14, p. 134).

The nature of the three most frequently cited "most important"* and the two most frequently cited "least important"+ problems suggest that racial issues are not perceived by the black policeman as being the major problems, but rather the motivation of patrolman in

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Sixteen percent of the sample cited choice "a": "little dedication to the job on the part of patrolmen"; 13% choice "e": "loss of public respect for the department"; and 10% choice "j": "leniency of the courts in sentencing criminals".

+

Nineteen percent cited choice "g": "citizen review boards" and 9% choice "k": "investigation of alleged police corruption, such as the Knapp Commission".

Table 14. Single "Most Important" and "Least Important"
Problem Facing the NYCPD: Percents

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Importance</u>	
	<u>Most</u>	<u>Least</u>
a. Little dedication to the job on the part of patrolmen	16	3
b. Police corruption	8	2
c. Overall lack of proper standards of recruitment	3	5
d. The effect of court decisions on the ability of the policeman to do his job	3	8
e. Loss of public respect for the department	13	1
f. Inadequate programs to recruit minority patrolmen	8	0
g. Citizen review boards	3	19
h. Inadequate training programs	0	6
i. Inadequate equipment and facilities	0	6
j. Leniency of the courts in sentencing criminals	10	4
k. Investigations of alleged police corruption such as the Knapp Commission	3	9
l. Lack of "professionalization"	3	3
m. Political interference in the operation of the department	0	3
n. Lack of funds	3	3
o. Hostility between white and minority police personnel	5	1
p. Too much emphasis on "traditional" ways of getting things done	2	7
q. Not enough police to do the job	0	5
r. Lack of proper incentives to get better qualified men to join the department	4	1
s. Control of group conflict and civil disorder	0	0
t. NA	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>
TOTAL:	100	100

accomplishing his job together with lack of cooperation from the public and courts. For the latter, however, concern was not shown for public scrutiny and investigation of the NYCPD; this factor (choice "k") was viewed as a relatively mild problem when compared to other areas of

departmental problems, with only 3% checking it as the "most important" problem.

Support for this finding is found in responses to question #16, where respondents were asked to evaluate thirteen areas as "problems that you as an individual face in doing your job", and then, as in the question above, to choose the single "most important" and "least important" problem (Table 15, p. 136).

When asked to evaluate each of the thirteen possible sources of personal problems, discrimination in all three areas listed was seen as a "very important" or "important" problem by a majority of respondents:

<u>Discrimination in:</u>	<u>Problem</u>	
	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>
d. assignment of work details	37%	34%
e. precinct assignment	34	45
f. promotions	37	31

Further, 54% see "lack of respect for me as a policeman by white police (choice "1") as a "very important" (26%) or "important" (28%) problem.

However, when compared to other problems facing the individual, those of a racial nature lose much of their impact. The three single most frequently cited "most important" problems are choice "c": "lack of public cooperation with the police" (16%); choice "g": "danger involved in the job" (11%); and choice "i": "poor methods of job evaluation" (11%).

This last area of "methods of job evaluation" is

Table 15. Single "Most Important" and "Least Important" Problem that You as an Individual Face in Doing Your Job: Percents

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Importance</u>	
	<u>Most</u>	<u>Least</u>
a. Boredom	3	39
b. Not enough independence in decision making	5	11
c. Lack of public cooperation	16	1
d. Discrimination in assignment of work details	6	0
e. Discrimination in precinct assignment	3	0
f. Discrimination in promotions	9	1
g. Danger involved in the job	11	4
h. Unfair methods of job evaluation	5	0
i. Poor methods of job evaluation	11	3
j. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by white police	5	3
k. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by black police	0	8
l. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by white public	1	4
m. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by black public	3	2
n. NA	<u>21</u>	<u>24</u>
TOTAL:	100	100

especially important in understanding personal job problems as a combination of both racial and non-racial departmental policy: 9% of the sample felt that "discrimination in promotions" was the single "most important" problem that they faced on the job, while 11% felt that "unfair methods of job evaluation" was their major problem. These two areas of necessity overlap, since evaluation by superiors is the major mechanism used in promotions and assignment to special divisions such as Detective, Tactical Patrol Unit and Neighborhood Police Teams.

In response to question #12 (Table 18, p. 149), where respondents were asked their opinions about changes in conditions for black police in the NYCPD, of eight areas probed, least change was seen as having occurred in the "role of black police in policy-making decisions" (choice "f"); here 46% felt that "no change" had occurred since they joined the force. The runner-up, with 33% was in choice "g", "respect for black police as a 'comrade' on the part of white police".

Thus, discrimination in mobility opportunity for the black officer should be viewed as important to his evaluations on two distinct levels. On the first, individual respondents feel a frustration in their own abilities to advance within the department. On the second, and equally important, the impact of this discrimination is viewed as keeping blacks out of authority positions, and thereby perpetuates traditional policies which are many times not representative of the views of minority police. The interplay of these two factors can be seen in comments from the interviews.

b. The Effect of Job Discrimination on Advancement Opportunities

Sgt. B. has been on the force since 1949. He is discussing working conditions for black police when he first joined the NYCPD:

There's a definite change not only in attitudes, but a definite change in the job.

[In what way?]

Well, the police department was set up on racial lines when I joined.. This is 1949.. and just to give you an example,. the police department didn't have too much equipment when compared to today. They had very few cars. They depended mostly on the men and most of the men were walking and had.. their response was very poor because they had no equipment.. and the cars.. more or less, the captain assigned the men to the cars. I started off now in the -- precinct and I think we had about five cars, if I remember. Now.. out of the five.. one car.. they had set aside for the black.. and in order for a black patrolman to get into a car they had to wait for one of the black ones to come out of the black car, more or less.

[And this was something that was known? It was not kept secret?]

This was the policy. This was the procedure not only in that precinct. It was the procedure in all precincts. So, the net result was that very few black patrolmen worked in radio cars.. because usually the black ones who were in the cars didn't move too much.. and they were comfortable and that meant that the only ones they put in the other cars were white patrolmen. So, ah, besides that you had the other agencies [which] didn't take black patrolmen so easily. Like.. a lot of the white officers, they would usually come into the precinct and they'd go out of the precinct into these specialized units like Plain Clothes, Narcotics, and so forth, and there were very few blacks who would go into it and, where with the white patrolman, you put him in the precinct, and he'd be there two months and he'd be in the radio car.. the black ones would be there for years and never get a chance to get in the radio car.

[Do you know, was there a lot of hostility about this? Did people get angry?]

Well, I guess there was hostility, you know. And, the thing is that the road to advancement was mostly built on the radio car. Plus, you had another thing that was

institutionalized in the police department; what you had was the rabbi system.. wherein somebody that was in an influential position to recommend somebody for special assignment.. and at this particular time there weren't too many blacks in higher positions, so consequently, they didn't move. They more or less did foot patrol.. The white ones were continually moving.. Then you had the rabbi system and you had the system wherein you had these commendations and usually the ones who got the commendations were the ones in the radio car because they'd be called and sent to different situations where they could make good arrests, whereas the foot patrolman was localized and a lot of times he didn't make these good arrests to get merits and be placed in these good assignments.

Patrolman C. has been a policeman for twenty-two years. He is discussing the major disappointment that he experienced on the job, which is that he was never appointed to the Detective Division:

It broke my damned heart.. I didn't have a rabbi. I thought [appointment to Detectives] was on merit first. I also made the mistake when I went down for the interview and wanted to know why is it every black patrolman had to go into the Youth Squad before he got his blue shield and the white man can go right into the Bureau.
[What did they answer you?]
I shouldn't have asked.

This problem of job evaluation and advancement is not confined to those who have never gotten beyond the rank of patrolman . Two respondents, both third-grade

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From interview responses of more recently appointed

detectives, express similar frustrations. The first has been on the force for fourteen years. He is discussing what he sees as major NYCPD problems:

The problems are part of the bureaucracy, you know. To be promoted on merit as far as detective is concerned and this leaves a personality thing there. If your boss likes you, then you get promoted. It's what you do plus what he likes, you see. Whereas if it was under another system, like I understand in California, you'd have to have a test for almost every level of anything in the job from detective to first grade detective and so forth.

The second detective has been on the job for thirteen years. He believes that the written exams are equal for blacks and whites in measuring ability. However, in personal evaluation, the theme of discrimination and favoritism emerges. He believes that the system of influence (what he calls the "hook") is used by whites, while the bigoted feelings of some white superiors, although less blatant now than when he joined the NYCPD, keep blacks from being given equal consideration for desirable job assignments and promotions. Why, then, I asked, do you think that you yourself became a detective. "I became a detective because they needed a black guy",

police, however, it appears that the major problem is of evaluation itself, independent of policies in which blacks are placed in assignments where they are at a relative disadvantage to demonstrate their abilities. While differential assignments were discussed by more recently appointed respondents, the tendency did not exist as with those on the force for a longer period, to isolate this out as a particular problem in advancement.

was his response.

From the above interview excerpts, it seems that while problems of racial discrimination are an important consideration in evaluating black opportunity in the NYCPD, they are not necessarily seen as existing independent of policies (such as the "hook" or "rabbi" system) whose nature is not racial in intent, although implicitly creating barriers for black advancement. To lose sight of this is to seriously distort the understandings of black police in this, as well as other areas. In the opinion of this researcher, a major conflict-reducing mechanism for the black policeman is the creation of a "relativistic perspective"*. The situation becomes defined as one in which advancement is strongly structured along lines of racial preference and favoritism, but often for non-racial reasons, as the unintended consequence of department tradition. The lack of black police in supervisory positions makes this a particular problem, since a vicious cycle is initiated where "no black superiors" results in "no black promotion", which leads again to "no black superiors".

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This phrase is used to denote the attitude that while racial discrimination is a NYCPD reality blocking minority advancement, in many instances it is the unintended consequence of traditional department policy, rather than an intended function of white police attitude. In discussing the problem Patrolman B. says discrimination is "purposely done without actually a purpose set for it. This is cultural. It's traditional.. It's part of the police tradition.. which occurs in the whole society".

c. Perception of Departmental Changes

Questionnaire respondents were asked to evaluate changes in eight aspects of the NYCPD regarding black police from the time that they joined the force until the present (question #12). The two major areas covered in this question (Table 16, p. 143) were changes in general working conditions (choices c,d,e,f) and in attitude of white co-workers (choices a,b,g). Finally, respondents were asked to evaluate changes in the overall work situation of the black policeman (choice h).

Two immediate conclusions can be drawn from responses to this question. The first is that changes in working conditions are thought to have improved much more than in white police attitude. The two areas where the greatest deterioration is seen are "white co-worker attitude" (33% perceiving deterioration) and "respect by white police" (where 29% of the sample saw deterioration, and only 36% believed that any improvement had been made at all). The greatest improvement is seen in "work details (63%), "promotion opportunities" (62%), and "precinct assignments" (61%). A distinct minority perceived deterioration in any of these areas (12%, 7%, and 9%, respectively).

It is particularly interesting to discuss the role of perceived changes in departmental conditions and attitude in light of the sentiment on "policy-making decisions" for black police. This is the single area where a near

Table 16. Perceived Changes in Job Conditions for the Black Policeman from the Time of Joining the NYCPD Until Today (or Until Retired): Percents

	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Deteri-</u> <u>orated</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Change</u>	<u>NA</u>
a. White co-worker attitude	46	33	20	1
b. White supervisory attitude	52	18	27	2
c. Promotion opportunities	62	8	28	2
d. Precinct assignments	61	9	28	3
e. Work details	63	12	24	2
f. Policy-making decisions	39	13	46	3
g. Respect by white police	36	29	33	2
h. Overall changes	59	17	22	2

majority of the sample feel that no change has occurred (46%). Why, then, one might ask, have promotional opportunities, precinct assignments and job details seem to have improved? The solution to this seeming paradox provides a key in understanding both the attitude of the black policeman to his NYCPD role and the perceived antagonism of the white officer to his black co-worker.

d. Factors in Departmental Changes for Black Police

In the main, assignment and promotional opportunities for the black policeman are seen to have improved because of conditions external to the NYCPD itself, and are therefore not perceived as being generated from changes either in values or attitudes of white supervisors. Thus, improvements in black working conditions are largely seen as occurring "in spite of", rather than "because of" the

wishes of white superiors, as generated from outside pressured (i.e., Cadet Program and Minority Recruitment and Reevaluation Unit) or situational necessity (i.e., need for black police to infiltrate "militant" black organizations or their use in specific areas of urban crime such as Narcotics in Harlem). In this evaluation, the seeming inconsistency between perceived changes in white police attitude and black police working conditions is resolved.

The remark quoted above (p. 140) by a detective to the effect that he was appointed to this Division because "they needed a black man" is representative of this belief. Another respondent, Patrolman S., who works in the Community Affairs Division, claims that he "knows as a fact" from a lieutenant friend who works in Personnel Services, that a ratio exists between the number of blacks and whites accepted to this division. Further, he stated that where blacks were used for special assignments, they were usually assigned to Narcotics Teams in the Anti-Crime Squad, rather than to Auto Larceny or Burglary, which were traditionally considered "white" jobs. The point was repeatedly made in interviews that such units as the Tactical Patrol Force (now the Tactical Patrol Unit) and Special Events Squad were effectively closed to black police. Both of these units are specially trained for emergency work, such as riot control and mass disorder, and many of those interviewed felt that

both were created primarily to "take care of blacks" *.

The combination of forces seen as defining the changing role of the black policeman and his changing utilization creates, ironically, a situation in which hostility and antagonism are viewed as being created for both white and black officers, although each in a sense is equally a victim of the same circumstances.

Many white police are viewed as being embittered against black police because of the Guardian position in the civilian review board issue, the Guardian-PBA suit growing out of this, and federal pressure to hire and advance minorities (Cadet Program). This last is seen as "undue influence" exerted by the federal government on the internal administration of NYCPD policy and as a "lowering of recruitment standards" to appease "rioters". The feeling of outrage is only compounded

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That a racial element may well be involved in defining the image of these units by the civilian population at large is suggested by a comment made by Sgt. Briceland, who is in charge of one of the 24 TPU squads in NYC. In a seminar which he attended on September 26, 1973, at the 63rd Precinct in Brooklyn, he stated that the TPU is usually not called into precincts with special problems of law enforcement in areas like Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, where there are large concentrations of blacks, since it is feared that their presence may create more problems than it solves. While the TPU was formed primarily to handle riot control, today it is oriented to crime control, its men being dispatched to various precincts as they are needed. Sgt. Briceland stated that it was unusual for such a request to be made from captains of precincts in black areas. It must be stressed that although a racial TPU image may exist for many police and civilians, this does not mean that it is a reality.

for many white police when they remember the Guardian-PBA issue, and perceive black police as having a loyalty first to their color and only then to the police role. This involves both an affront to police comraderie and a fear that the black officer might not back the white policeman up in situations of danger.*

Understandings of black police mobility embitter the black policeman also, where he perceives this to be a product of pressure and circumstance, rather than a genuine gesture to improve his position from within the department. Assignment to any special detail is made on the basis of a screening process outside of the Civil Service system. Given the widespread acknowledgment of the "rabbi" or "hook" system, together with the belief in prejudicial evaluations of blacks by superiors (to be discussed below), discrimination both as an implicit (because of lack of "rabbis" or "hooks") and an explicit (because of discrimination) reality is perceived.

Where advancement does occur, it is often viewed on the basis of either tokenism or necessity. The dynamics of the situation become one in which neither white nor

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This discussion of white police reaction to the black officer and his recent mobility in the NYCPD can only be suggestive, since white police were not interviewed for this study. The conclusions concerning white police reactions are taken both from discussions with black interview respondents, and my own contact with white police as a teacher for one year of a Police Seminar with the 63rd Precinct and from contacts made through my family.

black police are seen as being satisfied. As the system is understood to operate by black respondents, white police do not want them to advance, while where advancement does occur, it is seen as carrying little potential to become involved in effecting meaningful change in the NYCPD. Thus, although improvement in all areas of work conditions for the black policeman is seen, fully 46% of the sample view "no change" in the area of "policy-making decisions". Ironically, then, this advancement is done within the confines of "white" police interests; it is not seen as disturbing the balance of traditional power within the NYCPD, but more as a departmental concession to maintain this power while ostensibly complying with outside regulations.

Sgt. W. is now retired after almost 21 years on the force. In his own career, he claims,

I couldn't get any kind of decent assignment or detail.. for color. In recent years, color has worked in favor of the black policeman, and not because of any great awakening on the part of the power structure, but because they find they can get a lot more effective police work out of black policeman than white..

Patrolman T. is discussing the attitude of some white police today with whom he he come into contact:

Like a guy gets a detail, he [white policeman] says he got it 'cause he's black. Lots of times this is a feeling. This job here, if you didn't know somebody, outside of your promotional exams, you

wouldn't get anyplace. It's just recently that they realized a black officer could be utilized in undercover work and things like that.

Lastly, Patrolman S., who has been with the NYCPD for six years, and is now assigned to the TPF, is discussing black mobility in the department today:

I think that they're conscious of the number of black officers they make detectives and once they get to that certain number.. they're not gonna make any more.

The extent of this feeling can be seen in examining remarks made by interview respondents who have served for different lengths of time in the department and the responses to questions #57 and #66 of the questionnaire.

Both of these questions dealt directly with the area of advancement opportunity for NYCPD blacks. Statement #57 asked the respondent to evaluate on a Likert Scale, the statement, "I think that the rate at which blacks advance in the department today is satisfactory"; fully 78% of the sample disagreed "strongly" (42%) or "somewhat" (36%). Statement #66 asked for the same evaluation of the statement, "Advancement opportunities are equal for everyone, regardless of color"; here, 80% disagreed either "strongly" (38%) or "somewhat" (42%). Only 13% agreed "strongly" (3%) or "somewhat" (10%) with statement #57, and 15% "strongly" (3%) or "somewhat" (12%)

with #66.

Support for the interpretation that where improvements have occurred in black work conditions, this is not seen primarily because supervisors wanted them, comes from responses to question #13, where the majority attitude is that there is still a long way to go before racial discrimination in the NYCPD is totally eliminated:

"Looking at the changes that have taken place for the black policeman from the time that you joined the force until today (or until you retired), how would you evaluate their effect on job satisfaction for the black policeman?"

- 2% a. Things were better for the black policeman when I first joined the force.
- 11 b. Things are better for the black policeman today than when I first joined the force.
- 58 c. Things are getting better for the black policeman today, but there is still a long way to go.
- 21 d. Things haven't really changed one way or the other.
- 3 e. Other (Please specify)
- 5 f. NA

Similar frustrations were repeatedly voiced in interview responses, regardless of time on the force. Detective H., on the force for 18 years, claims that until the last few years there existed a quota of black police who were hired from Civil Service lists, being 6 out of every 100 men hired.* He begins speaking about his first assignment

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The belief in quotas was a consistent theme in interviews, together with the belief that blacks who truly deserve promotion are passed over for whites who are less deserving, at best, and not deserving at all, at

to the 23rd Precinct in East Harlem in 1955:

In that community.. in seven radio cars, there were two black patrolmen out of teams of seven, which would be fourteen. Now that's working each tour, two black patrolmen. In the Detective Squad there was no black.. nor no Spanish-speaking, and mind you, you have East Harlem.. No, there were three black detectives. But in order to get in a radio car, or even get certain posts within the command. /You were at an advantage if you were white/.. I don't believe there were twelve black patrolmen or two Spanish-speaking. It wasn't until 1961 or '62 I got in a radio car, finally after amassing an arrest record of two pages. /Why did they try to keep you out of radio cars?/ It was a matter of being favored by the Irish aristocracy.

Patrolman H. has been on the force for only seven and one half years. He is discussing differences in career patterns for black and white officers today:

The white policeman.. coming on the same job at the same time as the black policeman but not necessarily doing anywhere as good on the job /is/ making sergeant, lieutenant, captain, you know. They're higher up and they get into the policy making positions. Meanwhile, the black, the highest he's ever gotten is a detective.. He has had the glory of being a detective and being in the light among his own peers, but nothing further. He

worst. A black detective on the force for 14 years epitomizes this sentiment: "I have seen black detectives that I consider to be excellent.. passed over and I've seen white detectives made into another grade who couldn't even hold up a slipper or shoe to these other guys".

makes no policy. He has an impact in relation to the other black cops who are still just carrying the banner. Policy is being made by a white man and this is continuing on and on and on.

A particular area of dissatisfaction has to do with the issuance of departmental complaints, since these are seen as having an especially negative effect on black police mobility.* Particular frustration existed not only because departmental complaints were seen as being issued more frequently to black than white officers, but because of the attitude of some white supervisors and the relative inability until recently⁺ to do anything about it.

This dilemma is seen as one of the major problems of the NYCPD by the youngest officer interviewed, a 28-year old patrolman who has served for three and one half years. Patrolman L. cites an example from his own experience when he received a departmental complaint while guarding a foreign consulate. He had worked the day before and then gone directly to court. The next morning, after almost no sleep, he was sent to guard the consulate

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This is consistent with the findings of the Rand study on The Police Internal Administration of Justice in New York City (pp. 40 - 43, above).

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The Guardians was not incorporated until 1949, and was not given official departmental recognition until 1953. I was told in interviews that the thrust of the organization until the early 1960's was of the nature of a social club, rather than a bargaining agent for the black policeman.

because of a threatened demonstration. Because he was "dead on his feet" and since it was snowing, he went to warm up in a building directly across the street, where he still had the consulate in full view. Nevertheless, a superior came by, saw that no-one was on post in front of the building, and issued a departmental complaint to the officer for being off his post. Patrolman L. complained to the Guardians and through their intervention received only a reprimand without loss of pay. However, he explains that

when you go for details they look for that.. see, and I think that's wrong. Any kind of detail, they went looking through your record and like, if you get out of a complaint and beat it, it's still on your record and they look at that and that's wrong.. They keep it. They never take it off.

It is this arbitrary nature of evaluation, with no set standards or guidelines, that seems particularly frustrating to the black officer, and, I would venture, also to the white. The practice of "black complaints" is the subject of a comment made by Sgt. D.:

At that time [1947] a sergeant was a big man in the police department.. The white sergeants, a year ago you had what they called a 'batting average'.. A supervisor.. had to give out so many complaints, otherwise he wasn't doing his job. This was the attitude and you [black] always got the complaint.. The easiest thing to do was to give it to the black fellow because there was nothing he could do about it.

The same practice is discussed by Patrolman J., on the force for three years, in his discussion of experiences in a Neighborhood Police Team to which he is currently assigned in Queens:

You had the thing recently, about.. last year, in which you use combination locks.

/For what?/

No serial numbers on your locker. Now, I happen to be a witness to that. I know what happened.. This patrolman in our precinct.. lost his revolver off duty and if you've done it before, that's about two weeks without pay and you're still working.. plus a.. department complaint /which/ is more serious than a civilian complaint. And.. he's /white officer/ been kooked up all along.. He's a goof-off.. one of these playboys.. And he didn't know what happened to his gun and he's telling the lieutenant and the lieutenant.. and a few more patrolmen were making up a story to keep the guy from getting a complaint. So.. the lieutenant tells the guy to go up there and tear his locker open like somebody broke it.. So this is what happened to keep the guy from getting a complaint.. Now if it was me, the guy would tell me there's nothing I can do. I have to send it downtown. It's the same old ballgame all the way around.

This incident reminds him of something that has particularly annoyed him lately: the present system of evaluation in his unit and in the NYCPD as a whole:

I'll give you another thing. They have a thing now for evaluation and it's a shame. It's all gonna change, though, because I'm not gonna stand for it because..

/Well, what was it?/

It's supposed to be evaluating patrolmen's attitudes, their activity. Well, I'm on

what they call the pros [prostitute] patrol... It's eleven of us on that.. Now, we have to make a certain amount of collars to have our name in rotation [be] eligible for reassignment in the Career Paths Program, on which promotion depends⁷. Now, everybody winds up making about three per month, eleven guys working straight midnights, sometimes four, plus the collars you make in other places. I know sometimes I make about six collars.. So then you got what you call the higher 25%, the middle 50%, and the lower 25%. So, you look at the evaluation and you find that maybe a guy who maybe was out sick the whole time or half the time, wrote no summonses, this is in a whole three months period. I'm not talking about only a month.. This guy's number one or two in the upper 25% and you in the lower 25%.

[How does that happen?]

Well, you know, that's what I'm asking. I said, 'Well look, sarge, well'.. [The response is] 'Your arrests, your summonses, your activity and everything are good enough for me, but [not] the commander.' 'What do you mean? The commander doesn't evaluate me. You do.' 'Well, you know, you can only put so many in a certain category.' 'Yeah, but you put me in a shitty category when somebody else deserves a shittier category..' 'Well, next time maybe you'll be it.' This is the way the game is.. Like I say, the whole thing is not corruption.. The whole thing is racism. Now, you have something like this.. To be frank about this, a white would have to be an awful fuck-up to be in the lower 25%.. In this Neighborhood Police Team you have forty-five men, you have five blacks, all who are in the lowest 25%.

Detective C., on the force for eleven years (first excerpt below) and Sgt. W., discussing an incident in 1954 or 1955 where a black grievance petition was passed around (second excerpt below), refer to exactly the same

pattern:

I would say the most serious thing I could see, not just necessarily for myself, but for other black policemen [is] inopportunity to prove their worth.. the favoritism or patronage of those in higher places, not on a man's ability, but rather on his ties. This, I think, is an injustice, and a loss to the people in the department. You have many white policemen who are incapable of doing the job who are given the opportunity.

[How did you become a detective?]

I was one of the lucky few. They didn't start making black detectives until that last riot we had here in New York, the last big one in 1968. They had more or less frozen the detectives to whites [before this riot].

like a black cop getting psychos, DOA's [dead-on-arrivals], which was really undesirable assignments, and you would be like a guy who had maybe a year.. or two years in the precinct and some rookie would be on a post closer to the psycho, and they'd leave the rookie alone and come all the way on the other side of the precinct, grab you, and put you on the DOA. This is some of the stuff that nobody knows anything about. But these are the things that get to you, you know.

e. Evaluations of Departmental Changes for the Black Policeman: Officers and Patrolmen

It was hypothesized as being possible, and indeed, probable, that those who were mobile in their police careers (defined as being promoted to positions above patrolmen or appointment to the Detective Division; Table 17, pp. 156 - 157) would more likely perceive improvements in departmental policies regarding black police, since

Table 17. Views on Departmental Changes and Discrimination:
Officers (60) and Patrolmen (147): Percents

12. How would you evaluate changes in each of the following areas for the black policeman from the time that you joined the force until today?

	Improved	Deteri- orated	No Change	NA
c. <u>Promotion Opportunity</u>				
Officers	68	5	22	5
Patrolmen	57	6	34	2
d. <u>Precinct Assignments</u>				
Officers	70	7	18	5
Patrolmen	53	9	35	3
e. <u>Work Details</u>				
Officers	61	14	20	5
Patrolmen	60	11	29	0
f. <u>Policy-Making Decisions</u>				
Officers	52	10	35	3
Patrolmen	34	14	50	2
h. <u>Overall Work Situation</u>				
Officers	64	18	15	3
Patrolmen	58	16	24	2

16. How would you evaluate the following areas in terms of problems that you as an individual face in doing your job?

<u>Discrimination in:</u>	<u>Problem</u>		
	<u>Major</u>	<u>Minor</u>	<u>NA</u>
d. <u>Work Details</u>			
Officers	58	33	9
Patrolmen	77	18	5
e. <u>Precinct Assignment</u>			
Officers	55	33	12
Patrolmen	74	21	5
f. <u>Promotions</u>			
Officers	55	35	10
Patrolmen	74	20	6

33. "On this job, it's not important what you know, but who you know, in advancement and promotions."

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>NA</u>
Officers	59	35	3	3
Patrolmen	81	17	3	0

*

For both officers and patrolmen, only active (i.e., non-retired) respondents were used. The "Officer" category includes patrolmen who indicated that they are detectives. For question #16, a response was coded "major" problem if

Table 17 (continued)

"very important" or "important" were checked by the respondent; a response was coded "minor" problem if either "relatively unimportant" or "not a real problem at all" was checked.

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they would not only be more likely to feel that their mobility was capable of being generalized to other police, but also because they might identify more strongly with a department that had afforded them advancement*.

This hypothesis is supported both by responses to questions about changes in departmental policy toward the black policeman (question #12, Table 17), and the extent to which discrimination was seen as a problem for the individual respondent (questions #16 and #33, Table 17).

For departmental changes, in all five categories discussed, officers saw greater improvement than patrolmen, while patrolmen either perceived "no change" or a deterioration of conditions. While a majority of both groups perceived improvements in all areas relating to departmental policy, the percentage was greater in all categories for officers than patrolmen. The greatest

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As some interview respondents noted, a difference in attitude existed between younger and older black police, since the latter were seen as not wanting to "rock the boat" and thereby threaten their own job positions, especially if they held ranks above patrolmen.

difference for the two groups is in the perception of "no change": in every case, a larger percentage of patrolmen than officers chose this response:

	No Change	
	Patrolmen	Officers
12c. Promotion opportunity	34%	22%
d. Precinct assignments	35	18
e. Work details	29	20
f. Policy-making	50	35
h. Overall change	24	15

The same pattern exists in the perceived problem that discrimination has presented as an individual problem in doing one's job, and the perception of nepotism (statement #32). In both cases, a majority of each group agrees that discrimination has been a personal problem and that nepotism exists. Again, however, patrolmen view discrimination as a more serious personal problem than officers, and a larger percent see nepotism as a reality in advancement.

f. Evaluations of Departmental Conditions for the Black Policeman: Time on the Force

While analysis by officer-patrolman did demonstrate that rank was a definite factor in evaluations of discrimination and changes in conditions for black police, the same result was not as consistently found in controlling for "time on the force" (Table 18, pp. 159 - 161). There was a tendency (although not universal for each category) for those on the force for more than ten years to be more optimistic in their evaluation of departmental changes

Table 18. Views on Departmental Changes and Discrimination:
Years with the NYCPD: Percents *

12. How would you evaluate changes in each of the following areas for the black policeman from the time that you joined the force until today?

	Improved	No Change	Deteriorated	NA
a. White Police Attitude				
- 5 years	47	30	27	10
+ 5 - 10 years	39	24	35	2
+10 - 15 years	48	16	32	4
+15 - 20 years	55	8	34	3
+ 20 years	52	5	43	0
b. White Supervisory Attitude				
- 5 years	48	40	12	0
+ 5 - 10 years	43	33	22	2
+10 - 15 years	55	19	22	3
+15 - 20 years	71	11	14	5
+ 20 years	62	9	27	0
c. Promotion Opportunities				
- 5 years	45	47	7	1
+ 5 - 10 years	57	29	10	4
+10 - 15 years	81	13	3	3
+15 - 20 years	69	24	3	6
+ 20 years	76	24	0	0
d. Precinct Assignments				
- 5 years	45	39	11	5
+ 5 - 10 years	45	39	12	4
+10 - 15 years	65	26	6	3
+15 - 20 years	76	16	3	5
+ 20 years	76	14	10	0
e. Work Details				
- 5 years	54	34	12	0
+ 5 - 10 years	55	31	12	2
+10 - 15 years	68	19	10	3
+15 - 20 years	66	18	11	5
+ 20 years	76	14	10	0
f. Policy-Making Decisions				
- 5 years	34	60	6	0
+ 5 - 10 years	33	37	28	2
+10 - 15 years	42	45	6	7
+15 - 20 years	47	42	8	3
+ 20 years	61	29	10	0
g. Respect by White Police				
- 5 years	36	42	20	2
+ 5 - 10 years	37	31	30	2
+10 - 15 years	39	23	35	3
+15 - 20 years	29	42	26	3
+ 20 years	62	19	19	0

Table 18 (continued)

<u>h. Overall Work Situation</u>	<u>Improved</u>	<u>No Change</u>	<u>Deteri-</u> <u>orated</u>	<u>NA</u>
- 5 years	57	24	17	2
+ 5 - 10 years	55	27	16	2
+10 - 15 years	61	23	13	3
+15 - 20 years	66	13	16	5
+ 20 years	71	10	19	0

16. How would you evaluate the following areas in terms of problems that you as an individual face in doing your job?

<u>Discrimination in:</u>	<u>Problem</u>		
	<u>Major</u>	<u>Minor</u>	<u>NA</u>
<u>d. Work Details</u>			
- 5 years	79	21	0
+ 5 - 10 years	80	14	6
+10 - 15 years	68	28	6
+15 - 20 years	71	19	10
+ 20 years	48	52	0
<u>e. Precinct Assignment</u>			
- 5 years	70	25	5
+ 5 - 10 years	74	18	8
+10 - 15 years	75	19	6
+15 - 20 years	68	21	11
+ 20 years	52	49	0
<u>f. Promotions</u>			
- 5 years	71	23	1
+ 5 - 10 years	80	14	6
+10 - 15 years	61	26	13
+15 - 20 years	63	24	13
+ 20 years	48	52	0

32. "On this job, it's not important what you know, but who you know, in advancement and promotions."

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>NA</u>
- 5 years	79	16	2	3
+ 5 - 10 years	88	12	0	0
+10 - 15 years	68	29	3	0
+15 - 20 years	61	34	5	0
+ 20 years	57	38	5	0

*

In this table, active officers and patrolmen are taken together because of the difference in number of each group. As would be expected, the percentage of officers in each cohort increases with years of experience:

Table 18 (continued)

		Officers		Patrolmen	
		Number	%	Number	%
	- 5 years	2	3	61	97
+ 5	- 10 years	9	18	40	82
+10	- 15 years	14	45	17	55
+15	- 20 years	20	54	17	46
	+ 20 years	13	62	8	38

A difference of six respondents exists between the total number of officers and patrolmen used in Table 17 (N=207) and the 201 respondents used here. This is because six respondents (5 patrolmen and 1 officer) failed to provide their years with the NYCPD, and so were not included in this table. For question #16, a response was coded "major" problem if "very important" or "important" were checked by the respondent; a response was coded "minor" problem if either "relatively unimportant" or "not a real problem at all" was checked.

affecting the black policeman (question #12c,d,e,f,h) when compared to those on the force for a shorter period. For all variables, the most positive change (with the exception of choice "e", "respect by white police") was seen by those in the department for from fifteen to over twenty years, and generally, the most deterioration was seen by those on the force for less than ten years*.

*

As discussed above (Table 18, pp. 160 - 161), in examining the role of time on the force, the variable of rank is also involved, since the percentage of patrolmen in each time category decreases as time on the force increases, while that of officers increases. Because of the small amount of total officers (N=60), the status of rank could not be controlled for when controlling for time on the force.

This could be the function of four independent variables. The first is the confounding factor of rank (discussed in note to p. 161). The second is actual changes that were initiated in the early 1960's in attempts to increase minority recruitment and improve their utilization. The third might be changes in values created by police socialization, which, as Niederhoffer believes¹, raises frustration tolerance with increasing time on the force. The fourth might involve attempts to rationalize the investment of a lifetime in a particular job, and so lower negative critical evaluation.

Similar evaluations were found by time on the force in reporting... perceptions of changes in white police attitude to black police (question #12a,b,g). No difference was found for this variable in the perception of discrimination as a personal problem (question #16d,e,f), although those on the force for more than twenty years do have the lowest percentage claiming that discrimination has been a personal job problem. (The confounding factor of rank should be remembered here.)

3. Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the perceived conditions facing blacks in mobility opportunities and promotion in the NYCPD, their evaluation of changes in white police attitude and working conditions, and specific

frustrations in the area of job advancement. ~~Four~~ conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion:

- a. Black police definitely perceived the existence of racial discrimination, both in the past and now, as obstacles to advancement.
- b. When viewed in what has been termed a "relativistic perspective", discrimination loses its absolute significance both as an individual and departmental problem: (1) When compared to other problems facing the NYCPD (Table 14) and the self (Table 15), the most important problems are seen as concerned with problems of police-civilian interaction and proper standards of recruitment and performance. (2) Although explicit racial discrimination in advancement is recognized, it is also understood that in many instances blacks are blocked from mobility and advancement by traditional policies whose unintended consequences often create racial discrimination. To this researcher, this is a particularly important mechanism in lowering hostility, since discrimination becomes viewed as institutional (versus personal), and latent (versus manifest), for many respondents. As should be clear from interview excerpts, this is not always the case; nor is the argument being made that this is the majority view. One can only say that the perception of latent discrimination as a variable in the world view of the black policeman reduces possible frustration that might exist if discrimination were viewed only as a personal, intentional practice.
- c. A seeming paradox was that while improvements in black departmental conditions were perceived by a majority of respondents, white police attitude was viewed to have improved to a much lesser extent, together with the role of black police in policy-making decisions. This was explained by the perception of outside forces and

situational necessity as being the two primary factors responsible for changes in minority recruitment and utilization, rather than an improvement in white police attitude. This seems an especially critical area for white-black police relations in the future, since the present NYCPD policies regarding minorities can be seen to have created hostilities within both groups of police.

- d. When controlled for rank, definite differences emerged in the evaluation of officers and patrolmen in the effect of discrimination on their own careers and their perception of departmental changes affecting the black policeman (Table 17); patrolmen especially seemed to see "no change" in the categories covered. When controlled for time on the force, there was a tendency for those on the force for less than ten years to be most critical in their evaluations of departmental changes and the problem of discrimination in their own careers, while those on the force for over fifteen years tended to be most optimistic. Because of the possible confounding effect of rank in discussing time on the force, no firm conclusions can be drawn for the effect of this variable.

Footnotes

1

Niederhoffer, chapter 4, "Anomie and Cynicism",
pp. 95 - 108

Chapter 4. Black Police Attitude toward the White Policeman

1. Introduction

Attitudes of the white policeman as understood by the black policeman are perhaps one of the most difficult areas to discuss because of the complexity of factors involved. As will be shown, it is especially difficult because the black policeman is often torn between hostile feelings toward the actions and attitudes of his white colleague both to himself and black civilians, and his understanding of the white policeman as a product of a racist society.

In this, the white policeman is often considered as much a victim of the system that has produced him as an agent who perpetuates it (another example where a "relativistic perspective" is used). As one questionnaire respondent wrote, "Being the product of a white racist society the white policeman has no choice but be racist (actively or passively)". This sentiment was often expressed in both interviews and questionnaires. Many black policeman also understand that often the pressures of social change and individual precinct assignment create fears in the white policeman, and take this into account in the evaluation of his attitudes. Lastly, there is a strong antipathy to the use of broad stereotypes in discussing "white police attitude"; respondents were quick

to stress that white police were human (some more or less than others) and as such, were as variable in their actions and attitudes as anyone.

All of these understandings must be considered in a discussion of white police evaluation by black police, rather than dealing in stereotypical concepts.

To begin with, it should be remembered that all black police have had and continue to have dealings with white police in the civilian as well as job role. The results of these experiences are not always positive. Perhaps the incident which is most dramatic, and well-known to black police, is "The Jimmy Cato Story".

This occurred in the autumn of 1969 and was responsible for the creation of the first Defense-Solidarity Fund and "Guidelines for Identification" in the event that black off-duty officers were stopped by white police by the Guardians. The following description of the incident is extracted from a Guardian flyer (dated January 18, 1971, and reprinted on December 29, 1969). Original spelling and punctuation have been retained.

The Jim Cato Story

(Abridged only to the extent that the interests of the aggrieved party are protected in case of further litigation)

Guardian Brother Jim Cato, on the autumn evening in question, was assigned to plain-clothes duty in the Bronx. After having worked an excessively long period of time (into the early morning), he

proceeded to his Queens residence via the Throggs Neck Bridge and the Clearview Expressway. While traveling on the latter, and subsequently turning onto the Grand Central Parkway, he was signalled over to the side of the roadway by a Motorcycle #3 radio car containing two uniformed Police Officers. The officer (later identified as Ptl. Abrams) approached Brother Cato's auto and demanded his credentials. The Brother identified himself as a Police Officer, but his identification appeared to be insufficient for the Motorcycle "ZEALOT". Epithets were uttered, Whereupon Officer Abrams, now assisted by his partner, dragged Brother Jim from his auto, Pummelled him repeatedly, and placed him under arrest, handcuffed him to the rear, into the R.M.P.. He was transferred to the 107 Pct., Where after a time, he was permitted to call his Commanding Officer and identification "positively" established. At this point he was released and permitted to leave for home. Subsequently he was served with a Court Summons at his home, Charging him with "speeding" and for "Failure to Comply with an Officers Directions". A preliminary investigation was conducted some time later, with all the parties being referred to the Trial Room. The Guardians strategy has been in the form of confrontations with the P.B.A.'s Board of Governors and the President. A.C.I. Frederick Kowsky and Chief Inspector George McManus. Another step taken, was the formation of a defence-Solidarity Fund.. to support Brother Jim and any other Guardian member who falls prey to similar circumstances. The Board of Directors in their wisdom, opined that, Should such an incident reoccur, the responsibility for same would clearly fall into the "laps" of these "Cossack Type" individuals so we issued to our membership.. Guidelines for Identification.

It was because of knowledge of situations such as the above that Guardian members supported a civilian controlled review board: from personal incidents with white police in

their role as civilians, together with experiences with whites as co-workers, the belief developed that blacks were often the victims of police excesses and that, within the NYCPD itself, no channels existed to effectively redress the situation. This attitude is expressed by Patrolman C.: he is answering a question about how he personally felt about the review board issue when it came up:

Me! It didn't bother me. If I'm clean, then why worry about it? If somebody accuses you of something, so? The only thing I didn't like is you're never faced with your accuser and you don't know what you're accused of.. a lot of times.. And very few men have been hurt since that civilian review board has come up. Really. They needed a checkmate. They really needed a checkmate. [The immunity before any type of review board existed] was a benefit of the [white] policeman.

2. White Police Treatment of Black Civilians

a. Introduction

How exactly does the black policeman perceive differences in treatment accorded to white and black civilians by the white policeman? The perception runs the gamut from a lack of courtesy and consideration (i.e., addressing blacks in a hostile tone of voice or by first name) to outright violence (i.e., kicking doors in in Harlem apartments or physically abusing suspects). I believe

that the general attitude is best summed up in a comment made by Patrolman T.:

The white policeman is not gonna do that little bit more that's gonna make that whole situation turn around and be 100% favorable to him, you know. He's just gonna do enough to get by. Like I've seen incidents where a white policeman won't touch a black person bleeding. I've seen some of them stand there and watch a man bleed to death.

Detective C. recounts a personal experience that occurred while he was "making a ring" (telephoning) to his station house in Harlem. (Note, at the conclusion of the excerpt, his surprise in comparing the attitudes of two different white policemen, who in this case happen to be brothers; this perception of individual differences in white police attitude, even where respondents themselves were victims of white police prejudice or were involved in incidents where this prejudice was directed against others, will be discussed below as typical of the sample.)

I was calling the station house and I was on another man's post. A group of fellows came out of a local gin mill chasing one fellow and they had bats and clubs and what not, and they chased him into a store and had him pressed in there threatening to beat him and what not. And naturally I reacted. I went towards this scene. But as I started towards this particular store I noticed the white policeman that had that post standing in a store looking right at me drinking a glass of water. So I figured that, well, he's gonna be right

in back of me. He never showed up. Another white policeman that was off-duty was passing by and saw me in there with this large mob and put in a call for assistance for police.. which they did respond [to] and we broke up the crowd and the guy didn't get beat up. So when I confronted this particular policeman and asked why when he saw this mad mob dashing towards this guy with these bats and what not he didn't come to my assistance and he gave me a very negative answer and no matter what kind of policeman you are, black or yellow, you're one man and it's thousands of people that you have in your one particular area. So if somebody doesn't come to your aid, that's your red wagon. And he had a brother who worked in the station house, too, and his brother was standing there listening to this here and he proceeded to call his brother several unsavory words for his negative attitude and till today I see his older brother and we're still very good friends. And I've often wondered about this difference in two brothers..

The perception that white police treat white and black civilians differently is clearly expressed in the experiences of Patrolmen J. and C.. Patrolman C. retired after having served only eighteen years on the force. He claims that he was never basically satisfied with the job because of the corruption that existed with favoritism and promotions. He claims that he retired before his normal twenty years because he was "set up" on a false charge by a precinct captain who later became an Assistant Deputy Inspector, and that this was the "last straw", although he "knew" that he could easily "beat

the charge"* . He is discussing an incident that occurred when he first came on the job⁺:

A white patrolman will treat a black person differently.. You take this 103 as an example. I just came on the job. I was on limited duty because I hurt my back.. on the switchboard and I've seen the different attitudes towards different people that comes through that precinct. Now, you take for instance, they go over to Jamaica, South Jamaica, and make an arrest.. and they bring them [blacks] in and they slap them around, they slap them against the wall and call them.. all kinds of names, and what really.. made me a little angry, they brought this white woman in from Kennedy Airport. She had a gun in her purse and they brought her

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I strongly believe that there was more responsible for this incident than I was told. Physically, the respondent stood about six feet, three inches, giving an impression of great strength and power. Yet, during the interview, it seemed that he was an extremely repressed and frustrated person. His wife sat in the next room and at many points "cued" her husband about answers. There seemed to be little question that in this house the wife made decisions, and that the husband's normal means of coping was to retreat into silence, rather than confront her. In this context, I believe that he was extremely sensitive to any perceived slight of his authority, and that rather than face situations which threatened his self image, found withdrawal the easiest reaction. Seen in this light, his evaluation of a "set up", as well as his entire evaluation of his NYCPD career, may well be confounded by psychological factors far deeper than those directly job-related.

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The nature of the particular example provided in this excerpt, together with those provided in the following three, are consistent with the findings for question #10 (p. 194, below) that the most commonly perceived (51%) white police reaction to the black officer was one of avoidance, rather than open hostility; in all four of the incidents provided, the black policeman was an observer to the interaction (in the last two

into the precinct to make up the card, book her and everything. And they called her 'm'am'. They treated her like royalty. In fact, I didn't even know she was a prisoner until later, 'cause I was sittin' on the switchboard and they took her into what they call the 124 room and they was writin' up the arrest cards. Usually they takes prisoners in the back room and wait to write 'em up. They took her in the 124 room, asked her to have a seat; she sat down. They were makin' up the card and they brought her cake and coffee and she's walkin' around the place, you know.. So finally, they brought her before the desk to be booked and this was the first time I knew she was a prisoner, see. See, I couldn't understand this, you know. This is what I was talkin' about, the different treatment in the way some of them treat the different races.

Patrolman J. has been on the NYCPD for only three years. He views the most serious problem in the department as racism, and sees this as having become particularly serious in the last year and a half. Unlike the majority of both interview and questionnaire respondents, he does not expect to remain on the job for twenty years. He is extremely dissatisfied and recently purchased a private business to which he may soon devote all of his time. It is indirectly because of this business that his perception of white police treatment of blacks has changed since he first came on the job. He begins by speaking

without the knowledge of the white police involved), rather than a participant. Indeed, for Patrolman J., the opportunity to observe white police behavior in his own station house as a result of his purchasing a business, is viewed as changing his initial evaluations in this area and possibly causing him to resign from the department.

about Guardian support for the civilian review board:

The people, 95 to 99% being abused were blacks.. not necessarily ghetto.. 'cause I've seen it now. In fact, quite recently I've been doing something I've never been doing before. I go into work sometimes two hours early, sit around and see what's going on and this is something I never did. The last couple of months I'm doing it and I didn't start doing it intentionally. The business he purchased closes at 8:30 and sometimes I clean up and then instead of coming back home and layin' down.. now I just go in.. Maybe I'll go in the back and close my eyes, then I watch some of the guys, you know, and see things.. Sometimes you'll find people come in. They want to know where they can go and have a warrant taken out or something and you figure the guy on the desk will say maybe go to so and so.. Instead of straightening them out, they take them and march them right out.. I'm serious. This happened yesterday.. This guy escorted her to the door. The lady came back. So I'm in civilian clothes. I went to pick up my check, you know. So I says, 'Yes, may I help you?', and she said, 'I went in there to find out where to go to take out a warrant and the guy just pushed me out'. I said, 'Didn't he tell you?' 'No. Didn't you see him. He just pushed me out.' I figured he helped her already.. So I give her the address. I wrote it down. She said, 'Thank you very much', and then she said, 'Some of these so and so cops get killed. They want to know why'. This is the attitude people take, you know.. I'll tell you something. At one time you couldn't tell me the department was this way. I mean, in the last six months I think I've seen more like I say, like I've changed working with different partners.. and I guess I haven't seen anything yet.. I mean I've heard guys talking.

At times, negative white minority attitudes are discovered accidentally. Detective L., fourteen years on the force, is discussing an incident in a "black" precinct

where he worked:

I was once in the locker room and I heard two officers on the other side of the locker talking about a house they're going to. And during the conversation they'd say, 'these niggers do this, do that, and I'd wish I could get the hell out of here and get into a white neighborhood..' And I asked them, if that's how you feel, why'd you come on the job for? I said.. there's no difference in me per se and the black community out in the streets except for the fact that I have a uniform on and was a better officer. I said, now if I took my uniform off and went out in the street and a white officer came to my house who had the same attitude and started to say something to me, I'd kill 'em. So then finally one of the whites says, 'I don't like black people and I'm forced to work here with you guys and I don't like it.

Patrolman C. (quoted above, pp. 171 - 173) relates an incident that occurred while working in the TPF. He stresses first that white police attitude is an individual affair, and gives as an example:

I was in the back of a patrol wagon. They were having, this was about two years ago.. I think they were picketing the White Castle or the White Tower, one of these hamburger places over in the Bronx, and I was assigned there this particular day and I was taking a break and I was sitting in the back of the patrol wagon, you know. And this fellow's up there with the driver. So the conversation starts about the people being around, you know. Black people were walkin' around and chanting, makin' up rhymes and things like this.. So the wagon driver tells this other fella, 'Now, that's disgraceful. How can I tell, how can I explain this to their children if their children see it', or something like that. So the policeman

says, 'I'll tell you what I do. I
teach my children to hate niggers.'
/And you were in the car?/
Yes, but he didn't know it.

b. White Police Attitudes toward Minorities

Regarding the perception, attitude and behavior of the white policeman to NYC minorities, the overwhelming sentiment of the questionnaire respondents is that race is an important factor in white police evaluations and actions.

In response to question #40 ("Most white policemen are prejudiced against minority groups"), 74% of the sample agreed "strongly" (29%) or "somewhat" (45%); only 16% disagreed (2% "strongly" and "14% "somewhat").

A lack of white police willingness to understand minorities is often seen to accompany negative attitudes. In response to question # 29 ("Most white policemen don't try to understand the problems of minority groups living in the precincts in which they work"), 80% agree "strongly" (50%) or "somewhat" (30%); only 13% disagree (1% "strongly" and "12% "somewhat"). The comparable evaluation made of black police (question #42) elicited almost an exactly opposite response: 12% agreed "strongly" (3%) or "somewhat" (9%), while 79% disagreed "somewhat" (35%) or "strongly" (44%).

The same divergence in opinion regarding the two groups of officers is seen in responses to questions #26 and

#35 ("Most white/black policemen are only interested in collecting their checks at the end of the month and not in the problems of the precincts in which they work").

The results were:

	Police	
	White	Black
a. Agree strongly	40%	3%
b. Agree somewhat	31	16
c. No opinion	5	7
d. Disagree somewhat	17	42
e. Disagree strongly	5	29
f. NA	1	2

Again, what is relevant here is that a solid majority of respondents (71%) view the statement as being true for "most white police", while a distinct minority (19%) feel it to be true for "most black police".* Finally, 69% of the sample agree "strongly" (27%) or "somewhat" (42%) that "It's really hard for black people to obtain fair treatment by a white policeman" (question #22).

Although, from both interview and questionnaire response, negative white police attitude towards minorities was perceived, two factors temper the effect of this

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While 19% is a minority, it is still almost one-fifth of the entire sample. This perception of black police discrimination and hostility toward black civilians will be discussed below as another factor which lessens the sharpness of perceptions of racial NYCPD problems as the cause solely of white racism. This is one particular area where, in the opinion of this researcher, it would have been interesting to compare attitudes at earlier periods of time (1940, 1950, 1960, etc.), since some respondents noted that at one time black police themselves discriminated against black civilians, often as much as white police.

for the black officer. The first is taken from interviews and the second from responses to question #63 of the questionnaire.

In the interview material, it was universally stressed in spontaneous comments by black respondents that great care should be taken in generalizing anything as nebulous as a "general" white racial attitude. The point was repeatedly made that each white officer should be treated as an individual, and that to make generalizations about the existence of a single racial attitude was highly questionable*.

Detective C's remarks about the difference in attitude between two brother (p. 171, above) is one example of this. Patrolman C., who discusses the incident of racial slurs being made in the TPF wagon (pp. 175 - 176, above) goes on to stress that this is an individual case, and that it is not confined to white police only. As an example, he relates an incident in which he himself was abused by a black officer who stopped him for a traffic violation.

Throughout the interviews, this theme emerges:

I don't use words like average. I find
that more times than not there are a

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Thus, even though a majority agreed with question #40 ("Most white policemen are prejudiced against minority groups"), only 29% agreed "strongly", while 45% agreed "somewhat", with 16% disagreeing (2% "strongly" and 14% "somewhat").

great deal of fellows who would be guilty of [racial stereotyping]. On the other hand, I find there are a lot of fellas who are human beings and treat people as human beings and try to understand people as human beings.

The attitude is very negative, I would say. But I'm not saying that 100%, now. I have some white officers I get along with better than anybody else.

[I was] accepted in different ways by white policemen. The white policemen have a general philosophy about most minority people and what not. It does seem to be a general philosophy. It's discussed amongst them.. But every white policeman doesn't endorse it and embrace the philosophy.

The average person is interested in personal advancement, the job they're doing, the cooperation they want to give, doing good work. That's contributing. Some white police are prejudiced against minorities, not most.

I believe the majority of policemen who work with black police.. would have to change their minds if they were bigots or something. But it has to do.. a lot with what type of individual, how he's been brought up, what his beliefs were before he entered the department.

All men hold their prejudices, all men. Naturally, white policemen working in minority neighborhoods, who might be called certain names.. will build up some sort of resentment to that community and I would have to say a large majority of them are prejudiced.

I don't believe there's such a thing anymore as the typical white policeman. The younger cops that I have run into.. [There] is a difference of attitude coming into the department. I don't know if it's enough to make a change throughout the department, but it's very

noticeable to me.*

Together with this stress on individualism in white police racial attitudes, 50% of the questionnaire sample believe that the white policeman is open to modifying his beliefs. Question #63 asked respondents to evaluate the statement, "You can't reason with the white policeman when it comes to the area of race relations": a minority of 37% agreed "strongly" (9%) or "somewhat" (28%), while 50% disagreed (8% "strongly" and 42% "somewhat").

In conclusion, the black policeman views negative racial attitudes as a definite part of the world view of the white policeman, both from civilian and job related encounters. However, the point is stressed by respondents that the problem is better understood as an individual response, with half of the questionnaire respondents feeling that the white officer is open to reevaluation of his attitudes in this area.

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There were mixed feelings about the possible effect of age on the racial attitudes of white police. Question #46 asked respondents to evaluate the statement, "Younger white policemen have a better attitude toward blacks in general than older white policemen". While 53% agreed, 34% disagreed. To explain this difference one can look at interview responses; here, age seemed to be seen in one of two ways. Those who believed that the younger white officer was more tolerant of blacks saw this as a result of improved education and in general, a better understanding of contemporary social problems. Those who took the opposite view, believed that white police "mellowed" in their racial attitudes as a function of time on the force, and that the older officer learned to "cool down" and take things as they came, rather than being "headstrong" and openly opinionated,

c. Black Police Perception of Factors Structuring
White Police Racial Attitudes

(1) Introduction

The primary factor believed by respondents to create white police racial attitudes is the system of institutionalized racism in America. This is seen as giving the white policeman (as a part of his general socialization process) an attitude which is initially ambivalent at best towards minorities in general, and blacks in particular. Two other factors which are seen to reinforce initially negative stereotypes, or to create them where they did not already exist, are the elements of fear and precinct assignment.

The psychological strength of institutional racism in creating negative black stereotypes was consistently mentioned in interviews. It was the consensus that blacks were not accepted as peers by white police with whom they worked¹. In the opinion of this researcher, this becomes a factor which is of critical importance in explaining lack of primary group interaction and isolation on the job between the two groups of officers (see pp. 201 - 206 below). It should be noted that this lack of acceptance as equals is not a feeling which developed in the United

the latter two personality traits associated with youth and inexperience. Cross-tabulations were run using "age", "time on the force" and "rank" for this question, with no general trend in responses for any of the variables.

States exclusively as a reaction against blacks. Rather, the logic that is seen by respondents to exclude the black from the "normal", "moral"² community of whites is one that has been used against almost every group toward which prejudice has been directed in the United States.

To cite only two examples, the closeness of Chinese families in the United States before 1860 was initially viewed as a positive group trait. After 1860, with a recession facing the mid-West and the completion of the railroad and gold rush, the Chinese became a competitive economic threat, and their family closeness now became defined as clannishness and a refusal to assimilate into the broader society³. The American ethic of hard work, individualism and aggressive determination as represented both in the Horatio Alger myth and the glorification of the frontier, became seen as negative attributes when pursued by groups such as Jews and blacks^{*4}.

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In the opinion of this observer, the dynamics of stereotyping and prejudice are best understood not in the perception that those holding these views believe that particular groups engage in different behavioral patterns, but rather that they judge the same patterns to take on different cognitive meanings when applied to different groups.

(2) Black Stereotypes

Two excellent examples of the logic by which the black policeman sees himself defined by his white co-worker are provided from interviews. Patrolman B. has been asked whether he can think of any areas which have not been covered in the interview concerning black police problems. He thinks for a moment, laughs, and begins:

Money is the same, but the attitude is different.. It's a unique thing, but again, it's wrapped up in what we were talking about, attitudes and everything else. Any patrolman knows what another patrolman makes because it's a base salary. If you pull overtime or something, even then the guy knows how much you make. If a fellow who you work with is making the same amount of money as you're making, it's amazing to me the amount of surprise that white patrolmen have as to what the black patrolman can do with his money.

Really?

It's amazing to me. I can't get over it, you know. I don't know what they feel we spend it on.. the things that the black man likes to do. The white man, you know, he can't understand how you can do it. And I've even had a few comments about the place where they're living and I, more to instigate than something else question them about it. But there was a time when I was looking for a house, and I suggested that I would buy in the same area where white police lived and they wanted to know how I could afford to live out there, and I laughed at them. I just laughed at them. I mean, how the hell could a guy sittin' right next to me, wearin' the same uniform, makin' the same salary, doing the same

job, ask how I could afford to live in a neighborhood?

The antagonism of some white police to black police because of the latter's recent ability to move into "their" neighborhoods is the subject of Patrolman J's explanation of white police hostility to minorities. He is discussing how he came to move to Queens:

I came here over five years ago before I came on the police department. I didn't know where.. the area was. I just.. got married. I was looking for a house and called a real estate broker and it was in the price range I could afford, and they give me instructions how to get here.. So I moved in and.. it was like 99% white, and you can probably see a difference now, you know. And what happened, a lot of guys they moved out on the island and it became a little expensive for them and they need two cars.. And they can't afford it. They become bitter because you can afford to maybe move next door to them, and they have to run and it makes it hard for them, you see. They don't want to live beside you.. You have a guy move to Suffern, that'll take them by car maybe an hour and a half one way. That's a lot of travel, you know. Then they have to pool cars. If a guy makes an arrest, then they have to sit around a whole hour, maybe all of them, and they can't afford the Long Island Railroad. And this tightens up the prejudice.. They think, 'I could have been in a nice neighborhood, but he moved it', and stuff like that.

(3) White Police Precinct Assignments

The experience of working in a precinct with a large minority population is seen as contributing to negative attitude toward minorities because it is seen to either reinforce or create negative stereotypes. The point is stressed that the white policeman often loses sight of the fact that he is dealing with only a particular segment of a total community, and comes to define the entire group negatively, in a perspective initially supplied by socialization in the broader society.

Patrolman S. believes that the white officer coming to work in a ghetto immediately faces the problem of adjustment to situations which are foreign both to his understandings and style of life:

Most of what they call the bad precincts like the 79th, 81st.. the 24th or the four-one or the four-two, those are black communities. This is something you have to get adjusted to and if you're not ready for it, it's gonna take a long time. And when you're finally mature enough to be ready for it, it's time to put in your papers /retire/.

Patrolman J. discusses problems that he faces in his present precinct in arresting whites:

I work in.. Jamaica. Most of the people you run into are minorities in this precinct.. This is about the heaviest minority precinct in Queens, I would say.. You'll find that so many guys are accustomed to more locking up blacks, I would say.. Now, I've had

times when maybe I've locked up a white and I've had a black officer try to talk me out of it. And he wasn't on the scene. He doesn't know what's going on. Even, I've had where a few guys that work inside precinct assignments see this, and a few of them haven't spoken to me ever since. So, this is the biggest problem. It's racism, because the corruption stems from racism.

He then goes on to elaborate on this theme:

Most of the people that the policeman comes in contact with are those people on the street, the irresponsible ones, the drug addicts, the pushers, the burglars, the husband and wife disputes, the welfare recipient.. So 95% of the people that they come in contact with are those people that, I guess, one would normally have no respect for. So as far as they're white police concerned, this is the community.. The other 85% of the community is at work, at church, at home. They're indoors, and as a result the community is judged by those that the policeman comes in contact with.

The sentiments of Patrolman C. reflect the exact feelings expressed in this view:

It's kind of hard for them to understand. So many times they make their remarks, 'Oh, your people are bad; look what your people are doing now.' They can't seem to realize that every damn morning thousands of those black people are going into that subway and into those trains and those busses, going to work. The only thing they ever have any contact with is the criminal element.

Sgt. W. views minority attitudes held by the white

policeman as stemming from the

nature of the job, for one. When the policeman comes in contact with the dregs of society.. and in a lot of incidents the crime rate.. is higher in the black community, or to be more specific, the underprivileged community. And so they are more thoroughly policed. And since the police department represents a large segment of the white community and a small segment of the non-white community, the contact [Is] between the underprivileged, the poor and the more crime-ridden communities, and the white policeman. Therefore, white policemen really don't have too much contact in their private lives with the non-white population of the city. They have their first contact with them in a non-pleasant community and some of them judge the whole community by the people they have contact with.. Say myself, working in a totally black community, I have very little opportunity to meet the pillars of the community, upstanding, tax-paying, working people, the respectable people of the community. I have more of a tendency to run into the criminals, the hoodlums, the vice lords and so forth, of the area.

From this type of contact, Sgt. W. sees the development of a white police philosophy toward minorities which he sums up as. "Take no shit off them".

(4) The Element of White Police Fear

Fear is seen as an attitude creating a defensive posture against minorities for some white police. In this context, white police attitude is viewed as an over-reaction to a situation in which the white officer

defines himself constantly as a potential target for black aggression, and therefore strikes first. Two factors are seen to contribute to the development of this attitude. The first is an increasing black identity and vocalism; the second is actual precinct experiences.

Again, it is stressed that the white policeman forgets that not all blacks are "out to get him", and that black police are as likely targets of extremists as white ones. Rather, it is believed that some white police come to define all black civilians as a generalized "They" who are their antagonists.

This element is a pointed and direct theme in the responses of two detectives. Detective L. begins by explaining what he considers to be the psychological and social context of assignment to minority precincts in the development of white police racial attitudes. He then provides an example:

A white policeman comes from his house in the suburbs or wherever he lives, out in Ridgewood or wherever the place is. He comes to work in a black community. If he never did like black people before, at least half the things he's heard about them, he goes there with the idea, 'These people are not my people', you see. He's so glad to get away from there at night. Half the white cops are scared. They're actually afraid to work in Harlem and that's why some of them are so brutal to blacks, because it's reverse psychology. If you're afraid of something and you don't want somebody to know you're afraid

of it, you're gonna put up a front. Now.. the only way as far as the cop is concerned is to be aggressive, right? And that's why a lot of white cops are over-aggressive, because they actually deep down are afraid of black people.. This has been my experience for a long time.

He elaborates on his remarks when asked what factors he sees as responsible for white police prejudice where it exists:

It's like I said before. A white policeman living.. in a white community. You know, there are some white people even in school who have never met a black person. You know, a lot of policemen come on this job at 21 years old or 19 as a trainee. They were brought up in white communities where there were no black people at all. They lived and they worked in places where they had no black people working. And then they get on the police force and all of a sudden they're confronted with too many of them, you know. And this is quite a shock to his white ideas and his white attitudes.. We had a couple of guys who because they were afraid in this black community.. were afraid of what might happen to them. One guy brought a machine gun that he had brought from the war and used to carry it around in the back of the car.. And you should see the guy. He was about six foot six and about 280 pounds. But he was afraid of what these black people would do to him.

Detective C. believes that problems between police and blacks in NYC took a decided turn for the worse approximately five or six years ago with the surfacing of movements geared to black nationalism. He believes that the movements were in existence from the time he joined the force (1961), but were neither as vocal nor visible.

When asked about the existence of negative white police attitude towards blacks, he claims that a better way to understand the problem is as a reaction against increasing white police fear of the black civilian, and specifically mentions the Black Liberation Army. He elaborates later in the interview, when asked what, if anything, can be done to change these negative attitudes where they exist:

Education in itself is not the prime answer to it.. but I think there should be a department compulsory-type course in that area, especially for the young policeman first coming on.. You have a new generation coming on.. They're more frightened. They grew up into an area that was chaotic. The world was chaotic. They're hypersensitive. The tension is there. Any spark that seems to speak of revolution or anarchy or anything like that, they react that way because they're all hypersensitive.

d. White Police Attitudes to Minority Civilians:
An Evaluation

Initially it was demonstrated from interview and questionnaire response that respondents viewed many white police to hold negative racial attitudes toward black civilians. A majority of respondents felt, however, that these attitudes were better understood in the context of individual officer psychology, rather than a common denominator identified with all white police, and that often white police racial attitudes were open to modification.

Where prejudice toward minority civilians was seen to exist, it was discussed primarily as created by patterns of American socialization, which often were seen to be reinforced by experiences in precincts with high concentrations of minorities, and the effects of increasing black militancy on generating white police fear. In this context, evaluations of white police racial attitudes are directed more to the possible situational factors seen as responsible for particular reactions, than to evaluations of particular policemen or individual situations. In discussing particular encounters with white police, the explanation of the situation becomes broadened to include the stresses and anxieties internalized as a civilian before appointment to the department, and the reinforcement of these by precinct assignments and changes in the American racial climate.

This interpretation, to the extent that it is valid, creates in the opinion of this observer, a reaction in which the effect of perceived negative white police racial attitudes to minorities (and encounters of a negative racial nature) becomes depersonalized for many black police, and the hostility which would be otherwise directed at them modified. Thus, at one level of analysis, the white policeman becomes simultaneously the perpetrator and victim of the system which creates him, in the racial attitudes he internalizes about blacks.

3. White Police Attitudes to the Black Policeman

a. Introduction

Similar difficulties in interpretation are involved in assessment of perceptions of white police attitude toward black police as were found in an elaboration of their attitude to minority civilians. As in this area, no simple formula or statement can encompass the parameters of the perceived situation in its totality.

Although a majority of black police have worked with white police*, a minority have close friends who are white police (question #98; question #99 for black police who are close friends), nor is socialization with white police off the job frequent (question #101):

Closest Friends who are White and Black Police

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
a. Most	0%	22%
b. Many	5	18
c. Few	30	39
d. None	61	17
e. NA	3	4

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In response to question #100, 34% of the sample stated that "most" police with whom they have worked are white; 29% that "many" were; 29% that "few" were; and 6% that "none" were. In 2% of the cases no response to this question was provided.

"Do you associate regularly with white policemen with whom you work or have worked?"

<u>2%</u>	a. Yes, on a regular basis
<u>45</u>	b. Yes, but not regularly
<u>44</u>	c. I do not associate regularly with any white police.
<u>8</u>	*d. Other
<u>1</u>	e. NA

The factors structuring black police evaluations of white police attitude toward them will be discussed below as a product of three interrelated perspectives:

- a. The white policeman is viewed initially as rejecting the black policeman both as a peer and a colleague.
- b. While this lack of acceptance is noted, it is seen to be structured around avoidance and lack of cooperation and comraderie, rather than demonstrated by outright hostility. The latter does occur, but is seen as the exception rather than the rule.
- c. The initial lack of acceptance of the black policeman is seen as a factor of both racial and non-racial evaluations. Like any rookie, the black recruit is

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The seventeen responses in the category suggest that, as one respondent wrote, association rather than socializing, exists off the job for the black and white police officer, and that this is limited to individual interaction as opposed to family visiting or socializing. In three cases, off-duty socializing was confined to job-related functions; in five, "special occasions" were mentioned with no elaboration; in two cases each, association was limited to one white policeman, or the respondent did not regularly socialize with white or black police; in three cases the nature of the contact was athletic (golf, bowling and softball); two respondents provided no elaboration.

initially seen as an outsider, and so must prove himself by showing that he is a "regular guy" and that he subscribes to a particular police code. This must be demonstrated to both white and black co-workers. Although color is not a factor in evaluating all rookies, it presents a special problem for the black policeman in becoming accepted as a peer.

b. Lack of Black Police Acceptance by White Police

As can be seen from responses to questions #10 and #11 below (pp. 195, 196), the perception of general white police attitude toward the black rookie was one of avoidance rather than open hostility, while almost a third of the respondents (29%; choice "a", question #11) expected an initially greater acceptance than they received. Equally important in analyzing the results of this question, is that fully 61% of the sample had no expectations about what the attitude of the white policeman would be toward them (choice "c"). This possibly served to minimize frustrations which might have otherwise arisen when, as revealed from responses to question #10, "avoidance" (51%) and "open hostility" (5%) were actually encountered as reactions by the white policeman to the presence of the black officer.

The range of mechanisms seen as being employed in white police reactions to the black officer is elaborated in interview materials.

Question 10. "How would you characterize the attitude of the white policeman to the black policeman when you first joined the force?"

- 16% a. Generally the white policeman accepted the black policeman when I joined the force.
- 5 b. Generally the white policeman was openly hostile to the black policeman when I joined the force.
- 51 c. Generally the white policeman wanted nothing to do with the black policeman when I joined the force, although he was not openly hostile to him.
- 19 d. There was no general attitude of the white policeman toward the black policeman when I joined the force; you were treated as an individual.
- 9 e. Other (Please specify) *

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The responses in this category generally stressed the importance of individual reactions to the respondent, the role of precinct assignment in creating white police attitudes towards respondents, and the area of psychological factors in structuring white police attitude to the black officer. Typical responses in the first category were: "White policemen were racists, many indifferent, many cordial and many friendly"; "Some white policemen were friendly and tried to help me, some were hostile but not openly (I should say a few) and other wanted nothing to do with me"; "No hate stares, generally friendly, but quick to judge me as inferior". In four responses, precinct assignment was mentioned as affecting acceptance, with the attitude that in "black precincts" the white policeman is more fearful and depends more on the black officer for backup, so that he reacts more positively. In four cases, resentment as a particular attitude, in the sense, as one respondent stated it, of "intrusion upon a private preserve", was voiced; in two of these cases, it was seen as being a matter of "testing you first", and then accepting or rejecting you as an individual: "Accept their values, and they'll accept you"; "Generally, the white policeman would want to single you out as an individual to see what type of attitude you have toward some things."

* Question 11. "What did you think would be the attitude of the white policeman toward you when you first joined the force?"

- 29% a. More acceptance than actually occurred
- 2 b. Less acceptance than actually occurred.
- 61 c. No expectations one way or the other
- 7 d. Other (Please specify)⁺
- 1 e. NA

c. Mechanisms of White Police Reaction to Black Police

The mechanism of avoidance of the black policeman by his white colleague was seen as the most common reaction in both questionnaire and interview responses. This reaction is perhaps best described by Detective L. He is discussing white-black police relations from personal experiences:

There is some hostility, but it's hidden. As I say, they don't go around saying, 'I don't like niggers'. As I say, each person as an individual has his own ideas what groups they like or.. don't like. Now, I feel that a good part of the white policemen are just bearing.. I'd say the majority of white cops, they'll laugh and joke with you, but if they speak to themselves with

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No variation in response was found for this question when "age" and "time on the force" were controlled for.

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Of the seventeen responses here, four claimed that they didn't care what the white policeman would think of them when they joined the force; three felt that their reception would depend on the individual officer; the remaining ten expressed feelings which lacked a common frame of reference.

each other about you, their conversation puts you on a different level. Because I've had some of my white buddies tell me conversations they've had with their white buddies, and sometimes it's been about me and sometimes about other black cops, and it's sometimes derogatory, you know.. I think that the majority of white cops are really just bearing along with the black ones. They know they can't do anything about it, and they're just gonna make the best of it. They don't want you to come to the house.. Like you're work-inf over there in that team, they're not gonna say, 'R., I'm having a party tomorrow. Come to the house'. They're there at the job, they speak to you, 'hi', 'hello'.. You work together because they have to. When they leave, they're glad to get away from you.

Sgt. W. is discussing his first precinct assignment
(almost twenty-two years ago):

On occassion when I first went into the police department, during the time that the sergeant would walk into the back room and say, 'fall in', I would get up.. You stood in ranks.. of four, like in the army. I would form a rank and the guys would not 'dress up'. They wouldn't cover me. Sometimes, I'd fall into a rank and the rank would just disappear. The guys would step off the rank and fall into other ranks and leave me standing by myself. This was just their petty way of showing me I wasn't welcome.

In response to the question as to whether his color was the prime factor in this reaction, Sgt. W. explains that "the police department, when I first came in.. was.. a clannish, tight-knit little group of guys, and the old-timers had a certain place and the young people

had a certain place in the job, and they practically didn't speak to you when you were a rookie". He believes that the attitude was changing was he first came in because of the large number of recruits after World War II, which broke down the small, close-knit units that were the rule until then. However, he believes that black police were still singled out for special treatment: "White cops, they just didn't speak to you [if you were a rookie]. If you were a black cop they insulted you whenever they got a chance".

The experience of Detective H., who joined the force in 1954, is similar:

When I went to [my first] precinct, we went up, I think it was forty-four guys got assigned there. So naturally, the guys that were in the Academy with me, I knew. I believe I was in the precinct some two or three years before the other men spoke to me per se, 'good morning', or 'good night'. I asked the guy on the adjoining post about something, some discrepancy I wasn't sure of on a summons, and I might as well have asked the average citizen and walked by. He didn't know anything. That I'll never forget.

A final example of this type of passive avoidance is discussed by Patrolman J., on the force for only three years. He is discussing a practice that still exists in the precinct to which he is now assigned:

When you turn out for roll call, the guys outside when you turn out, sometimes you know who's using the car that you're going

to use. The guy might walk by you with the key and wouldn't speak. This is no joke. This happened to me the other night. Some won't speak and walk right by you. Some guys will give it to you and turn their heads. I mean, this is the way it is.

Forms of more direct aggression by the white policeman toward the black policeman also occur, but not, it seems, with as much frequency*. A particularly dramatic example of the release of suppressed hostility toward a black officer is found in an anecdote provided by Detective L.. He is discussing an incident that occurred a "few years ago" with his white partner⁺, who was out "catching" (doing footwork while the respondent was in the station house) and "tasting" (drinking), which was

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Among white officers who feel a particular hostility and/or anxiety toward black police and/or civilians, the direction of violence to substitute objects (i.e., shootings of black police by white officers or brutalization of civilians) may be employed. It will be interesting to see if these types of violence increase in urban police departments as pressures increase regarding minority hiring and advancement, and forms of traditional discrimination become less effective through federal regulations. Incidents between white and black police and civilians are, of course, structured by factors other than racial attitude per se. However, this attitude is an important consideration in understanding racial incidents where they occur.

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While teams of mixed partners until recently have been rare in the NYCPD, they probably existed earlier in the Detective than patrol divisions because of the smaller ratio of black to white police in this division. Given the elite nature of the Detective Division, and the intense interaction between its members, it would be interesting to explore differences in racial attitudes

a particular problem for this officer:

While he was out tasting, he ran across a woman who had tried to set a house on fire. When he went to get the woman he was a little nasty because he was high and she was a little nuts. They got into a fight and he end up.. beating the woman physically. So when he come in to the station house, I wonder what the hell's comin' up the stairs.. She's cursing at him and he's cursing at her. So he comes over to me and he says, 'R., this is your case'. And this broad's eyes are banged up, you know, and she got a jaw sticking up and he had two fire marshalls with him and there were a lot of people in the squad room, complainants. There were a lot of detectives because officers came in with a lot of arrests. So I says, 'Boy, I'm not gonna take this case.. You keep this'. Not only that. He took her in the room, he was so angry, and he started beating her some more, and she ended up beating him. She scratched him, she got her fingers in his eyes or something. He had to go to the hospital eventually. But he's snappin' her some more. So when he comes out, he's really angry, you see. So he says, 'You're gonna have to lock this bitch up.' So I said, 'I'm not locking this girl up.. It's your case. It's your arrest.' He's out catching. So he says to me, 'Yeah, huh, so I'm gonna lock this broad up. That's what's the matter with you people. You don't want to take responsibility'. So then I said, 'What do you mean by you people'. There must have been fifty some odd people in the squad room at that time. Everything got quiet with 'you people'. He said, 'You know what I means'. I said, 'I want you to tell me what you mean because when I punch you in the mouth, I want everybody here to know why I punched you. I don't want any

between black detectives and patrolmen. Because of the small amount of detectives in the questionnaire sample (17%), and the lack of complete information about their assignments (grade and work experience), this was not possible.

innuendo about it'. He said, 'I mean you black people don't take responsibility...' So I jumped across the desk and I was trying to get him, but I was caught by about four or five guys, and they pulled him away.. I didn't speak to that guy for a number of weeks after that and finally he came over to me and apologized. In fact, a lot of the white fellows on my team wouldn't speak to him either because I had a couple of good partners on my team. They were white fellows.

d. Reactions of the Black Policeman: Isolation and Avoidance

From responses to several questions on the questionnaire (Table 19, p. 202), a majority of black police view white police as rejecting them (52%; question #33), and even more (64%; question #21) view this rejection as a major problem on the job. The typical reaction (either to this perception or developing from it) seems to be the creation of a belief system in which the unique status of the black policeman (questions #25 and #61)

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The practice of a white policeman using excessive force (alluded to in this excerpt) with a black civilian and then having a black patrolman go in to either make an arrest or handle the situation in another way, was mentioned by several respondents as having occurred in their own careers. Particular frustration was voiced with this before the 1960's since many felt that at this time the black policeman was relatively powerless to do anything about it. In part, this perhaps accounts for the hostility perceived by some black police to be directed at them by black civilians (to be discussed in chapter 5). Where respondents discussed this practice, there was a general consensus that it was becoming less frequent, and that where it did exist, black police were also used to "clean up" after incidents between white police and white civilians.

Table 19. Feelings of Black Police Isolation from
the White Policeman: Percents

Question*	Dis- No			
	Agree	agree	Opinion	NA
33. I am not accepted as an equal by whites with whom I work.	52	34	13	1
21. A major problem for me on the job is the negative attitude of white co-workers.	64	28	6	2
25. There are special problems that black police face on the job that white police don't.	89	9	2	1
60. A policeman is a policeman and regardless of his color we all face the same problems	48	45	3	5
61. I personally see myself as a black man first and as a policeman second	79	16	3	3

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No major variation in response was found for these questions when controlling for "age", "rank" and "time on the force".

is stressed on the one hand, while on the other, respondents view a desire to isolate both work and off-duty socializing to members of one's own race for themselves, other black police and white police (Table 20, p. 203).

A casual interpretation of the responses in Table 19 might suggest that race is a more important consideration than occupation for him: fully 89% of the sample feel that black police face special problems not shared by white (question #25), while 79% feel that they are black first and police second (question #61). However, these results when compared to responses to question #60, where 48% agreed that "a policeman is a policeman and

Table 20. Perception of Self, White and Black Police
Racial Preferences in Partners and Social-
izing: Percents

<u>Question</u> *	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>NA</u>
23. If I had a choice I would rather work with a black than a white policeman.	66	19	13	2
28. If they had a choice, most white policemen would rather work with other white policemen on the job.	83	7	9	1
24. I have no desire to socialize with the white policeman off the job.	61	28	10	2
48. White policemen want nothing to do with black policemen off the job.	48	34	16	3
55. Black policemen want nothing to do with white policemen off the job.	44	33	21	3

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No major variation in responses was found for these questions when controlling for "age", "rank" and "time on the force".

regardless of his color we all face the same problems", suggest an apparent inconsistency. How can the seeming difference in opinion between responses to questions #25 and #60 be reconciled? In the opinion of this researcher, the situational context in which each is understood is different, and the seeming inconsistency can be explained to the extent that each question activates a different level of evaluation.

In this context, the black policeman in recognizing

the status of color before occupation may well be describing an objective understanding of his position both as a civilian and an officer in a society and a police department where race is understood to be a prominent factor in the distribution of opportunities for advancement⁵. This primacy of racial identity as imposed by outside institutions is not necessarily seen as mutually exclusive to identity with the police role and its values; rather, when evaluating problems specifically of a police nature (question #60), the response is directed to universal problems facing all NYCPD police (as demonstrated above in relative evaluations of personal and NYCPD problems, Tables 14 and 15, pp. 134, 136), although in a broader context, the focus of personal identity for the black policeman is viewed in the specific context of his race (question #61).

A desire for segregation both in work and off-duty socializing is expressed by most questionnaire respondents (Table 20, questions #23 and #24). This attitude is imputed to white (questions #28 and #48) and other black police (question #55). As with interpretations of the results of Table 19, however, any conclusions drawn from this table must be done with care.

A first consideration is that in the three questions concerning primary group relations between the white and black policeman (questions #24, #48 and #55), large

minorities of the respondents disagreed with these statements dealing with social distance. Indeed, for questions #48 and #55, approximately one-third felt that attitudes of social distance characterized neither white nor black police in general (34% and 33%, respectively).

Second, in all three questions, a goodly percent of respondents had "no opinion" or "didn't know" (10% for question #24; 16% for question #48; and 26% for question #55). This might indicate that, for this portion of the sample, the statements either had no deep emotional meaning or were not significant to their everyday lives, and therefore were not dealing with issues that had been previously considered.

A last factor is the possible meaning of the responses to question #98 (p. 192, above); here, in only 5% of the cases did respondents have "many" white police friends. In no case were "most" friends white police. However, responses to the same question for black police (question #99, p. 192), suggests an interpretation of friendship patterns in which race may not be the primary factor.

While 91% of the sample had "few" (30%) or "no" (61%) white police as close friends, fully 56% either had "few" (39%) or "no" (17%) black police as close friends. Thus, while a definite difference in friendship patterns by race is present, the extent to which black police gravitate to any off-duty police socialization, regardless of color, would first have to be ascertained before

race as an independent variable could be evaluated. Since such a question was not included in the questionnaire or interview instrument, a purely racial interpretation of questions on friendship and socializing patterns is tentative, although supported by the perception of social distance between the white and black officer*.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at two major areas. The first was perceived racial attitudes toward minorities held by the white policeman and the mechanisms responsible for structuring these attitudes. It was found that a marked bias was seen to exist against minorities by the white policeman both from personal experiences of the black officer as a policeman and civilian, and from discussions with other blacks about incidents of alleged police discrimination (i.e., Jimmy Cato incident).

The impact of this attitude in creating possible hostility to the white policeman was seen as being modified by two factors: the belief that white police attitude

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Another area that would have been interesting to study, but was beyond the scope of this analysis, is the extent to which perceived white police rejection created as a defense mechanism the attitude that neither the respondent nor other black police want anything to do with the white officer. Bayley and Mendelsohn found this factor to be of importance in the views of minorities held by white police officers in their study of Denver, Colorado (Bayley and Mendelsohn, pp. 36 - 39; pp. 154 - 169).

is better understood as an individual, rather than a general police phenomenon, and that these attitudes are a result of socialization in a racist society and are reinforced by precinct assignments and fears generated by a developing black militancy.

The second area developed concerned the perception of white police attitude toward the black policeman. Here, it was found that while rejection by the white policeman was the most commonly perceived attitude, this was seen to be expressed more in passive avoidance than outright hostility. In reconciling the seeming inconsistency between identity to race before occupation with the belief that all police, regardless of color, face the same problems, it was suggested that the two statements are not necessarily mutually exclusive for the black officer, but rather involve evaluations of different levels of meaning.

Lastly, the desire for inter-racial contacts both on and off the job was seen to exist for a minority of respondents, with the same attitude being imputed to other black and white police. This, viewed in the light of the actual degree to which respondents socialized with white police, suggests that both a psychological and physical distance is maintained between the two groups of officers.

Footnotes

1

The strength of institutionalized negative stereotypes of the black in American culture has been discussed from several different perspectives. The particular effect of the English system of slavery in initially structuring these stereotypes is discussed in Tannenbaum, Frank, Slave and Citizen: the Negro in the Americas, Vintage Books, New York, 1946; Elkins, Stanley M., Slavery: A Problem in American Intellectual Life, Grosset and Dunlop, Inc., New York, 1963; Handlin, Oscar, Race and Nationality in American Life, Anchor Books, New York, 1957, chapter 1, "The Origins of Negro Slavery", pp. 3 - 22. The particular problem of the redefinition of the black during Reconstruction and the development of Black Codes is treated in Randall, J. G., The Civil War and Reconstruction, D. C. Heath and Co., Massachusetts, 1969, Part II, "The Restored Union", pp. 533 - 701, and Logan, Rayford W., The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson, Collier Books, New York, 1972. A critical discussion of the treatment of the black image in the literature of the social sciences is contained in Billingsley, Andrew, Black Families in White America, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1968, "The Treatment of Negro Families in American Scholarship", pp. 197 - 215.

2

Tannenbaum (pp. 42 - 43) states that the "Emancipation may have legally freed the Negro, but it failed morally to free the white man, and by that failure denied to the Negro the moral status requisite for effective legal freedom. But this did not occur in the other parts of the world we call new and free. It did not occur because the very nature of the institution of slavery was developed in a different moral and legal setting, and in turn shaped the political and ethical biases that have manifestly separated the United States from the other parts of the New World in this respect. The separation is a moral one. We have denied ourselves the acceptance of the Negro as a man because we have denied him the moral competence to become one, and in that have challenged the religious, political and scientific bases upon which our civilization and our scheme of values rest".

3

Two excellent studies of the cultural roots of this process of Asiatic redefinitions in American culture

are Konvitz, Milton R., The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law, Ithaca, New York, 1946, and, regarding the Japanese, Daniels, Roger, The Politics of Prejudice, Atheneum Books, University of California Publications, 1962.

4

For a discussion of the development of anti-Semitism in its sociological and historical context from the first Diaspora (dispersal of the Jews under Babylonian captivity) to the growth of "racial" anti-Semitism in 19th and 20th century Europe and the United States, see Simpson, George E., and Yinger, Milton J., Racial and Cultural Minorities, Harper and Row, 1972, chapter 9, "Anti-Semitism- A Case Study of Prejudice and Discrimination", pp. 253 - 282.

5

Gordon (pp. 60 - 83), believes that levels of identity in American society involve four definitions of the self. At the broadest level, is identity as an American; the next most important status becomes that of race, followed by religion, and finally by ethnic background. The self image is discussed as developing within the context of these four levels.

Chapter 5. Black Police Evaluations of Policies for Racial and Departmental Change

1. Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on two areas of black police attitude. The first will be evaluations of different policies in ameliorating racial discrimination in America. Discussion of support of policies as represented for three groups ranging from "conservative" (NAACP) to "radical" (Black Muslims and Black Panthers) will be investigated in the first part of this chapter. In the second, attitudes toward the use of blacks in specific areas of the NYCPD (special precinct assignments, infiltration and undercover work) will be discussed.

2. Evaluation of Political Policies Regarding Blacks

As has been developed throughout this study, black police view discrimination as a reality in their evaluation of American social systems. Consonant with this, fully 64% of the questionnaire sample agree "strongly" (34%) or "somewhat" (30%) with statement #37, "Blacks will never be accepted as equals by whites in my generation"; only 24% disagree "strongly" (11%) or "somewhat" (13%). However, just as black police stressed that prejudice as a general white police personality pattern was not a valid generalization, the samples was almost evenly divided in its evaluation of the statement (#59)

that "Whites in general cannot be trusted by black people". Here, a distinct minority of respondents either agreed (11%) or disagreed (10%) "strongly", while approximately one-third agreed (36%) or disagreed (30%) "somewhat".

Evaluations of policies to ameliorate black conditions in America are not, however, primarily "radical". Questionnaire respondents were asked to give their support for three types of policies represented by three different black organizations involved in the Civil Rights struggle (Table 21, p. 212). Of the three, the NAACP represents the most conservative approach, in that its stress is on integration, and its policies are geared to institutionalized forms of social action. Programs such as those advocated by The Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) and Black Panthers, in their media image, can be considered as more radical. The Nation of Islam is basically a separatist group which preaches black racial superiority* and withdrawal from white society¹. The image of the Black Panthers is more radical than that of the Black Muslims, in that violence and revolution are often imputed as two major organizational goals².

*

This element in Black Muslim ideology was rejected at the death of its leader, Elijah Muhammad. One of his sons, who took power, stated that the view of all whites as "demons" should be modified, and that the focus of the group should become directed more to self-improvement of the black community.

Table 21. Support for Groups Like the NAACP, Black Muslims and Black Panthers: Total Sample and by Age: Percents

	<u>NAACP</u>	<u>Black Muslims</u>	<u>Black Panthers</u>
<u>I. Total Sample</u>			
1. Needed	77	51	30
2. Not needed	12	35	58
3. No opinion or don't know	8	10	9
4. NA	3	4	3
<u>II. Support by Age</u>			
20 - 25 years (N=10)	75	92	59
26 - 30 years (N=36)	71	57	20
31 - 35 years (N=67)	77	49	28
36 - 40 years (N=32)	87	59	34
41 - 45 years (N=30)	78	51	36
46 - 50 years (N=27)	76	48	32
+ 50 years (N=23)	96	37	29

As can be seen from Table 21, black police support progressively increases from "radical" to "conservative" groups: while 30% believe that groups like the Black Panthers are needed "strongly", (7%) or "somewhat" (23%), the percentage increased to 51% (14% "strongly" and 37% "somewhat") for groups like the Black Muslims, to a high of 77% (35% "strongly" and 42% "somewhat") for groups like the NAACP. Conversely, a majority of respondents believe that groups like the Black Panthers are not needed (24% "strongly" and 34% "somewhat"). This decreases to 35% (20% "strongly" and 15% "somewhat") for the Black

Muslims and to only 12% (7% "strongly" and 5% "somewhat") for groups like the NAACP.

a. Support for Political Groups by Age

As might be expected (as a factor of increased education and socialization in an environment of black awareness), the status of "age" plays a definite role in evaluations of the need for organizations such as those discussed. A large majority of the sample in all age groups support organizations like the NAACP, with a maximum of 96% for those over the age of 50. Conversely, while only 29% of this age group supports organizations like the Black Panthers, support increases to 59% for those between 20 - 25.

Support for groups like the Black Muslims is likewise related to age. The oldest police evidence the least support (37%), while the youngest (92% of those between 20 - 25) evidence the greatest. For age groups in between, there is a tendency to support the goals of organizations like the Black Muslims (a low of 48% for those between 46 - 50; a high of 59% for those between 36 - 40). For groups like the Black Panthers, lack of acceptance is the rule regardless of age with the exception of the youngest age group.

b. Evaluations of Political Groups

It must be stressed here, in order to maintain a proper perspective, that although the strongest support was given to groups like the NAACP by both interview and questionnaire respondents, this in no way signified that groups like the other two were seen as necessarily harmful to the cause of black liberation. This is especially true in evaluations of groups like the Black Muslims; Black Panthers, on the other hand, were seen by many interview respondents as being potentially harmful to this cause.

By far, the most important factor in evaluations of the policies represented by all three groups was whether or not these policies were seen as "realistic", rather than the political implications of their image. The solution to black oppression in America was seen as lying in integration, rather than separatism, and in the development of economic strength from which to penetrate the American mainstream.

This was a particularly important consideration in the evaluations of groups like the Nation of Islam. All interview respondents viewed the Muslims with great respect because of their stress on economic independence for blacks, and their success (often perceived from personal civilian and police experiences) in instilling pride and respect among lower-class and disorganized

* blacks . The group was not accepted with as much support as the NAACP only because policies which it was seen to espouse were not seen as meeting as broad a spectrum of needs, nor was its racial ideology of black superiority consonant with the belief system of most black police⁺. In this sense, it was the "reality" of Muslim effectiveness (and groups similar in orientation) which was being evaluated in judging the need for similar groups, rather than the intrinsic political position of the group itself.

On the other hand, political considerations were important in evaluating groups like the Black Panthers. This group was seen as being particularly "radical", which together with the evaluation of its philosophy as unrealistic, made for lack of acceptance. Sgt. W. describes the Black Panthers as follows:

*

The Muslim drug program and appeals to "street corner" blacks (often used as a synonym for black criminals and shadies in the interviews) was a common interview theme.

+

In only one interview were the Black Muslims seen to have the "strongest possibility for change" for blacks. This came from Patrolman J. (pp. 173 - 174, above), who stated that since he bought a business and has started coming in early to the precinct house, he has realized the racial injustices existing in the NYCPD. His is an interesting case because it represents the effect of his police experience as a major factor in changing initially conservative racial attitudes to more radical evaluations.

I think the Black Panthers are composed of a lot of neer-do-wells, hooligans, bad guys, and I don't think that they have really changed so basic in their philosophy, that they're now gonna be do-gooders all of a sudden.

Patrolman L., who is twenty-eight years old (in comparison to Sgt. W. who is past fifty), underscores the difference that he sees between Black Muslims and Black Panthers:

Like the Black Panthers. I can't see anything good in them at the present moment. I know they had started with a drug program which seemed to be pretty successful. But then like their whole way of thinking got extremely radical.. from one extreme to another extreme and I lost interest in them.

He then discusses his image of the Black Muslims:

They are more out to help the people. They have very good programs and they're always out to help the people. They have a very good drug program and I seen where it does wonders for a person. I have friends who became addicts and the Muslims straightened them out.

While, therefore, a certain "radicalness" is attributed to the Black Panthers, the Nation of Islam is more often seen as a respectable group with a realistic appeal to particular elements of the black community. Also, while Panthers are viewed at times as being antagonistic to the policeman (white and black), Muslims are viewed basically as peaceful people who will not "hassle" the

policeman so long as he does not "hassle" them. Although their life styles and attitudes might not be consonant with those of the black policeman, he basically respects them for the conviction of their views. These attitudes are well illustrated in an incident discussed by Patrolman C.:

First of all, I don't know much about the Panthers or the Nation of Islam, only what I read in the papers.. Personally I find the Muslims.. just want to be left alone. But if you stand up, it's like stirring up a beehive because we had an incident in Brooklyn where they was getting ready to explode like a bomb.

/What was that?/

Well, one of them dies and the son was a Muslim and the man's wife was a Catholic and there was real controversy. You see, the Muslims have their own burials and they don't believe in anybody taking any blood from them.. Since this man died without a doctor in attendance, they wanted to take him down and have an autopsy, and they didn't want to do this.. So, anyway, the next day I came to work on the four to twelve. I got a call now. It was on Chauncey Street and I didn't know what it was all about. The body was still up on the top floor of this apartment and the Muslims was more or less guarding the steps. They wouldn't let anybody up there.. So the sergeant asked me if I could talk to them, because I had a reputation of being able to talk to people and keepin' cool, you know. So I got the son on the side and I talked to him and one of them was pretty mad.. I don't know what he was. He was walkin' around with a staff like Moses. And he didn't want the son to talk to me.. I talked to the son, I said, 'Look, the body will have to go out 'cause this is a health hazard and this is the case. And instead of having a whole lot of bloodshed.. let them take the body down to the

morgue and you go down and explain your religion..' So they went upstairs and stayed about fifteen minutes.. Finally they opened a door and said, 'You can come in, but nobody else.. We want nobody to touch him so we'll take him down and put him in the wagon ourself..' So they went over to the morgue.. I seen the son about a week later and stopped the car and asked him how he made out. He shook my hand and said, 'You know, it worked out just like you said it would'. 'Cause, you know, believe it or not, while we were up there negotiating there was about two hundred Muslims out there.. with all kinds of weapons just waiting for the word. They had the Deputy Inspector and everybody down there.. And just by me talkin' to the son, it avoided a whole lot of bloodshed.

3. The Position of Blacks in the NYCPD

a. Solutions for Better White-Black Police Relations

Like evaluations of black political groups representing different social philosophies, the solution to racism in the department is basically conservative: economic and social integration were seen to be the major policies to be pursued in ameliorating black social conditions, while the education of the white policeman to black social realities was seen as an integral part of any attempt to improve understandings and working conditions between the two groups. In response to statement #58 ("The key to better understanding between the white and black policeman is better human relations training at the Academy"), 66% of the sample agreed "strongly"

(26%) or "somewhat" (57%), while 23% disagreed (19% "strongly" and 4% "somewhat"). * In contrast, only 17% believe (statement #39) that "The Police Academy does a good job in preparing the rookie to work in ghetto neighborhoods" (5% "strongly" and 12% "somewhat"), while 74% disagreed (28% "strongly" and 46% "somewhat").

In interviews, where agreement with the need for better human relations training was voiced, two strong provisos were added. The first was that the subject should be pursued as an integral part of training, and not delegated to a unit lesson of one hour and then forgotten. Rather, it was believed that attempts should be made to provide this training at every level of police courses. The second was that regardless of what might be taught at the Academy, police reactions to particular situations depended greatly on the attitude of commanders. They had to show their men that they were serious in their desire for fair treatment of all civilians, and not, as was seen to be the case from many personal experiences, only mouthing words in response to pressure from higher-ups, or because political considerations necessitated "fair" treatment of minorities.

*

No strong relation was found in responses to this question for either "age" or "time on the force", although the most agreement (83%) was for those over the age of 50.

b. Assignment of Black Police to "Black" Precincts

An area which has generated particular discussion among black police (as ascertained from interviews) is the policy of assigning black police to "black" precincts (i.e., precincts with a heavy concentration of black population). The responses to statement #54, where respondents were asked to evaluate this policy, demonstrate, in the opinion of this observer, the ambivalent attitudes of the sample in evaluating racial problems they and black civilians face. While a majority (58%) agree "strongly" (24%) or "somewhat" (34%) with the statement, fully 37% disagree (13% "strongly" and 24% "somewhat").

Evaluations of this policy from interviews presented a problem for many respondents, who, because of mixed feelings, discussed both the pros and cons of the issue as they conceived them, rather than giving an unqualified positive or negative answer.

Where disagreement was voiced, it was on two grounds. The first and most frequently discussed, was that this policy would only serve to increase segregation in a society which was being destroyed by racial division and conflict. Since the majority of those interviewed saw integration as the major realistic solution to America's racial problems, the policy of assigning black police to black precincts was considered by many

as self-defeating.

A second motif, not as frequently voiced, was that in many cases a "good" policeman worked well in any community, regardless of his color. A modification of this was that color by itself did not guarantee equity in treatment. As one respondent phrased it, "All men have their prejudice", and continued by explaining his feeling that blacks living in the suburbs might be in no better position to empathize with urban blacks than a white policeman born, raised and living in the central city.

Where the policy was approved (or its positive aspects considered to outweigh the negative ones), it was both with hopes of bringing more justice to black civilians than some white police were thought to dispense, and equally important, to improve the image of the black policeman held by some of his own racial peers.

c. The Use of Black Police in Infiltration

The question of the use of black police to infiltrate organizations which were suspected by the NYCPD to be "militant" was a second area which generated much discussion in interviews. Attitudes in this area were even less uniform than those regarding assignment to "black" precincts.

Statement #67 asked whether the respondent agreed with

"the policy of using black police to infiltrate black organizations which are suspected of being 'subversive'". Less than a majority (48%) agree "strongly" (11%) or somewhat (37%) with this policy, while 35% disagree (17% "strongly" and 18% "somewhat").

From interview discussion, political considerations were the least relevant in evaluations of this area. It was not a matter, as some might suppose, that black police feel a particular sympathy or identity with any form of black "liberation" struggle (as was discussed in considering support of three black political movements, pp. 210 - 218 above). Rather, two other factors were the most important in evaluations of black police infiltration. The first is the question of a police mandate to infiltrate such groups. The second, mentioned by all interview respondents in different contexts, was the question of personal safety.

(1) Political Motivations in Infiltration

There was a strong consensus among those interviewed that the primary job of the policeman is to maintain law and order. However, the definition of an organization as either "militant" or "subversive" was not necessarily viewed as meaning that it was engaged in illegal activities. It was believed that often, as Patrolman S. stated, the decision to infiltrate different groups,

both black and white, was made on grounds of "political motivation" from within or without the NYCPD, which often reflected broader political values (versus realities) of American society. To the extent that these understandings are felt to be one more example of discrimination against minorities (whether racial, sexual or political), infiltration is rejected^{*}. It is seen as yet another manifestation of the arbitrary nature of law enforcement, until it can be proven that laws have been broken. Only then are police seen to have a mandate to act.

(2) Personal Safety and Infiltration

A second problem associated with infiltration is the question of protection offered to the infiltrator by the department. This is discussed from two angles. The first is the possibility of having one's "cover" discovered. The NYCPD is often thought to abandon the policeman if this occurs, either because of political/legal reasons (i.e., questionable legality of police action)

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In April, 1972, a policeman was killed in a Muslim mosque in Harlem. The call that was made to the department for an "officer assist" at the mosque was later found to be fraudulent. It was the opinion of two interview respondents that the whole situation was a "set-up" by the NYCPD to discredit the Muslims and create an excuse to harrass its members. The death of the officer was seen as unintended, in that rather than "keep his cool", he probably "lost his head" and walked right into a trap.

or because to admit openly the activity of the officer might place other police with similar assignments at a disadvantage or in physical danger.

On the second level, the publicity obtained from the mass media (i.e., film coverage on television and pictures in newspapers) often renders the officer a "standing target". Since it was thought that no special protection was supplied by the department in these cases, the respondents felt that they were literally taking their lives into their hands by agreeing to be used as infiltrators.

(3) Factors Discussed in Evaluation of Infiltration

It should be stressed again that it was for reasons of possible danger and lack of a police mandate that the black policeman was ambivalent, at best, about infiltration, and not because of any necessary sympathy with "militant" causes. Even where danger was felt to be involved, the unanimous response was that, if it were proven that a particular group was violating the law, the (white or black) policeman's duty was to put a stop to it, as mandated by NYC law.

This consciousness of properly performing the police role extends also to situations where the black policeman is sympathetic to the goals of groups which he is assigned to patrol (as in civil rights marches or peace demonstrations). Where problems of conscience were felt,

there was the belief that the respondent's presence was a definite benefit to demonstrators in protecting their civil rights, provided that they stayed within the boundaries of the law.

Above all, it is stressed that the job of the policeman is to maintain law and order, and regardless of personal values and sympathies, this is a first priority in carrying out the police role. As Patrolman C. states in explaining his feelings about the possible status inconsistencies between the role of race and occupation for the black policeman:

No, I think that's a fallacy. [Police] are there to do a job. Maybe some of them don't like to do their duty, maybe in Internal Affairs [Self-investigatory unit of NYCPD] But that too is a job that has to be done.. You try your best.. I've worked down at City Hall, and all that, where black people were demonstrating.. and every time this black woman came around and call me a black bitch. That's what she called me and everything else, you know.. They figure if they gonna break through the lines or something, they gonna run upstairs and you'll let them through. Well, I'll be damned. I'm gonna do my job, protect my job and protect myself.

This feeling is best summed up in an extended quote from Patrolman S.; his attitudes not only cover the major evaluations of infiltration, but also, I feel, are totally representative of the interview sample in the perception of potential problems arising from the position of the black policeman and methods of

oping that are developed. The question of infiltration has a special meaning to Patrolman S. since, when he first was appointed to the NYCPD, he was assigned to the Special Events Squad, and is now a member of the TPF, both units almost exclusively used in policing of public demonstrations and functions.

I don't like demonstrations at all.

[And yet you're on a patrol now that basically takes care of demonstrations.]

Yeah.

[Did you volunteer for this?]

Well, at the time I was in a good precinct. I would much rather fight the man with a gun than go to another demonstration.

[What bothers you so much with this?]

Well, fighting with a gun, you know what to do. It's your hand. You take action immediately. At the demonstrations, you're standing around. You and I might be in complete agreement with the demonstrators.

The demonstrators, a large percent of them, think that I'm against them because now I'm a part of the Establishment. The [white] cops are in make-believe. Some agree [that I'm not really on their side]..

So I'm placed in an odd position right between the cops and the demonstrators. It made it pretty difficult for me. For instance, I went to demonstrations where kids were demonstrating for lower tuition fees. This would only benefit me and my kids and most black people and, you know, most minority groups. You know, naturally I'd like to say I'm in favor of that kind of demonstration. However, most of the demonstrators had long hair and were considered 'skells' [i.e., 'freaks', a term which the respondent claimed was used by many white police] by the cops I am working with.. [continues that many white police families would also benefit from lower tuition] But yet and still, they [white police] were knocking the demonstrators. They were against. So I'd rather work in the area of police work that was less sensitive, I'd have to say.

Patrolman S. is now asked his attitude toward the use of black police in infiltration generally:

I wouldn't infiltrate any black group whatsoever. I don't dig that Plain Clothes work within the police department.. It's a turnoff for me. It will get you killed a lot quicker than working in uniform. I prefer being a target where, at least, I know, I am a cop out there and I don't stand a chance of getting shot by another police officer. In Plain Clothes, you better have your shield where you can see it, otherwise you might get blown away by another cop, especially if you're black. So I'm not ready for any Plain Clothes, detective assignment. The only Plain Clothes I could dig would be Community Relations.

Following this response, Patrolman S. is asked his feelings about different black political groups:

I'm sympathetic with most black movements because there is some good in all of the black movements. However, I don't agree with the way a lot of the groups are going about doing what they're doing. But I sympathize. I think they could have done things a lot cooler than they've done them and that includes the Panthers. If they had stuck to their dentist programs, if they had come in with brooms and swept the streets in Harlem, they would have had a lot more followers than they got.. They would have been able to do a lot more.. But they did their thing. You've gotta work within the system. You cannot beat the system.

[Okay. Let me ask you this. Do you think problems of conscience between being black and being a policeman presents a problem to the average black patrolman? It has for you it seems, from what you said before, you know. At times it really bothers you.]

It has and it hasn't. There are varied people who say they want black cops in black neighborhoods. The same ones, at a

demonstration, will turn around and call you a house nigger.. Yet and still, they want more black cops.. in their neighborhoods. They themselves will turn around and call you names. So it's like got you right in between. But they do need more black cops in black neighborhoods and more black cops in general. It's a definite need for them.

/Okay, but let me ask you this. That really didn't answer the question. If I could just rephrase it. Do you think that being black and being a policeman, it causes problems at times, say, for the black patrolman? Do you think this is something you could generalize about most black policemen?/ Uh, I would think that's true all the time because if a black cop sees a crime being committed, he takes action whether that fella is black or white. At a demonstration, it's a horse of another color, because he's probably in favor of what the blacks are demonstrating for. At that demonstration, it's a little harder. But then again, on the other hand, his treatment of the demonstrators might be one of more fairness, also. He's handicapped in that he has to police the demonstration, but the demonstrators don't know how lucky they are that the black cop is there. They.. don't realize it and they call you names, but they should thank their great stars that you're there.. You know, on St. Patty's Day, the Irish cops overlook a lot of people with that bottle of wine. The same is true on Columbus Day or the Pulaski Parade, etc., etc. It's really the same thing.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the attitude of black police in two areas. The first was their evaluation of particular social philosophies geared to the amelioration of black problems. While viewing racial discrimination as a major problem facing blacks, the solution stressed

"conservative" (support for groups like the NAACP, and to a lesser extent, like the Black Muslims), rather than "radical" approaches (lack of support for groups like the Black Panthers). While the evaluations of policies represented by these three groups was uniform, age was found to be an important factor qualifying support, especially for the Black Panthers (inverse correlation with age) and the NAACP (direct correlation with age).

In the evaluation of the policies of these three groups, as in the discussion of internal policies within the NCYPD to improve racial relations and the use of black police in "black" precincts and infiltration (the second area discussed), the approach of the respondents was of a pragmatic, rather than a political nature. I believe that this is especially important to understand in the possible creation of a common system of understanding between the white and black officer.

Two incidents have been discussed in this study where black police were accused by white colleagues of putting race before occupation (the Guardian-PBA issue concerning use of funds for the civilian review board, pp. 46 - 47, and comments made to me by white police at the 63rd Precinct, p. 48). As was explained in reconciling the apparent contradiction that while 79% of the questionnaire sample see themselves as black men first and as policemen second, 44% believe that all police face the same problems regardless of color (pp. 202 - 204), the

black policeman evaluates each question from a different level of assessment, and loyalty to both a racial and police role are simultaneously held. In this context, rather than viewing racial allegiance as a symptom of disloyalty to the American system and police values, it can be stated from the discussion of political evaluations of groups like the NAACP, Black Muslims and Black Panthers, that the black officer is not interested in undermining the police function or destroying "the system", as much as in establishing a group basis for inclusion in it³. This was shown to be the most frequent motif in both interview and questionnaire responses.

It is from this pragmatic perspective that his attitudes and judgments grow. Groups like the Black Panthers are rejected not because of their politics primarily, but because they are seen as unrealistic in their policies. Groups like the Black Muslims are supported, conversely, not because they are separatist and "militantly" black, but because the benefits of their policies for elements of the black community are seen to outweigh the importance of their racial philosophy. For the Panthers, the ends do not justify the means; for the Muslims, they do. The NAACP, the most "conservative" of all three groups, is given the most support because the means (working within "the system") and the ends (black social and economic integration)

are consonant with the political, social and economic appraisals of the sample.

This pragmatic attitude is responsible also for views on the special use of black police in the NYCPD. The majority (58%) who approved the policy of assigning black police to "black" precincts did so, not because they wished to give special treatment to black civilians, but because, from both civilians and job experiences, they want to give equal treatment under the law. Where reservations were voiced in connection with this policy, it was most frequently in the sense that it would only serve to increase segregation in a society where integration was already the exception.

The use of black police in infiltration was generally not supported, again for pragmatic rather than political reasons. The black policeman here questioned the mandate of the NYCPD to do this type of work (imputing "political", rather than "legal" motives in many such undertakings), and his own safety in infiltration work.

Throughout this chapter, we come repeatedly to the pragmatic, versus the political, approach of the black officer in the construction of his attitudes. This highlights, in the opinion of this observer, a serious potential for misunderstanding between white and black officers. To the extent that black police

are evaluated as being motivated by "radicalism" and lack of loyalty to the NYCPD in their assessment of race as a primary status in identification by white co-workers*, the pragmatism responsible for their evaluations becomes interpreted as disloyalty. What the black policeman defines as the reality of situations facing him in both civilian and police life, potentially becomes defined as ideology when evaluated by white colleagues, because the systems of understandings and meanings structuring black police understanding are inconsistent with the motivations imputed to blacks..

Although the black policeman sees education as a "key" to better understanding between the two groups of police, it would seem from the above that this in itself would do little to improve the situation. This is understood by the respondents themselves in their stress on the integration of units on race as an integral part of the police educational process at the Academy, together with their stress on the attitude

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This discussion can only be made as a tentative evaluation of white police attitude, since no white police were formally interviewed for this study. I believe it is realistic, however, from both the nature of the Guardian-PBA legal action concerning the civilian review board, and from many discussions with white police (both in personal contacts made through my family and in teaching a Police seminar for a year at the 63rd Precinct).

taken by commanding officers in discussing equality of treatment for all races.

In the opinion of this observer, misunderstandings between white and black police ironically may only be exacerbated because of minority recruitment and advancement policies recently undertaken. Again, to the extent that these programs are viewed by white police as involving a "lowering of standards" and bringing "inferior" men on the job (see pp. 23 - 24, above), the possibility of major differences in understandings exists for the two groups. Within this context, it seems to this observer that a first step in any program to modify issues of black-white police polarity must be concerned with creating a common basis from which attitudes can be discussed between the two groups (perhaps as an extension of the Black-White Dialogues discussed above, p. 49). Anything short of this seems insufficient in attacking the roots of misunderstanding, where this exists.

Footnotes

1

See Lincoln, C. Eric, The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, June, 1970, especially chapter 2, "The Dynamics of Black Nationalism", pp. 33 - 49, for a discussion of the development of this philosophy.

2

It seems that the Black Panthers began in San Francisco initially as a grass-roots community self-help group. In the view of this observer, it is open to question to what extent the political radicalization of this group was internally developed, rather than growing as a reaction to public (especially police) harassment and media coverage. Foner's The Black Panthers Speak is, I believe, an especially good treatment of the evolution of this group.

3

Traditional models of assimilation in the United States (Anglo-conformity, Melting Pot and Cultural Pluralism) all stress the reality as well as the desirability of assimilation, although in contexts different from one another. Cultural Nationalism, on the other hand, questions the existence of a general American culture which can be assimilated into, the reality of integration as a historical process for minorities, and the viability of integration in solving group (versus individual) problems. On a moral level, Cultural Nationalism stresses the nature of minority problems as a function of ascribed group membership (versus individual initiative and drive, which are discussed in the more traditional theories). In its relation to social action, it stresses remedial programs to combat perceived institutionalized racism (i.e., minority entrance quotas, special exams geared to minorities, special minority hiring practices in lieu of these exams, as in the Guardian-Hispanic suit), all of which are popularly interpreted as "giving them something for nothing" by those holding more traditional views of the nature of opportunity and mobility in the United States.

Chapter 6. The Black Policeman and Black Publics

1. Introduction

The two preceding chapters have focused on the role of black police interaction with white police in the development of attitudes and understandings. An equally important factor in this development is his interaction with members of the black civilian community. This chapter will focus on three areas of intra-group relations for the black NYCPD officer. In the first section, attitudes of parents, friends and wives/girlfriends to the decision to join the NYCPD will be discussed. In the second, evaluations of acceptance by black, non-primary group associates will be discussed. The last section will examine the role of the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolman (referred to hereafter as NSAAP) in the identity of the black policeman.

2. Attitudes of Black Primary Group Members

a. Introduction

Unlike the findings of an earlier study¹, the overwhelming sentiment of parents, friends and wives/girlfriends to the respondent's decision to join the NYCPD was one of acceptance, tempered by fear for his safety, especially for parents and friends (Table 22, pp. 235 - 236). The same attitude was voiced in interviews.

Table 22. Attitude of Parents, Friends, and Wife/
Girlfriend to Respondent's Decision to
Join the NYCPD: Percents

<u>Attitude</u> *	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Wife/ Girlfriend</u>
1. Basically pleased	21	27	23
2. Basically pleased, but fear of danger of job	58	28	59
3. No particular feelings	7	21	6
4. Basically opposed because of attitudes to NYCPD	4	16	5
5. Basically opposed because of attitudes to a black being a NYCPD officer	0	2	1
+ 6. Other	9	4	5
7. NA	1	1	1

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No differences were found in responses to these three questions when controlling for "age" and "time on the force".

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Responses for each of the groups in the "Other" category were:

a. Parents. In seven cases parents were not involved in the decision (3 sets of parents were deceased, while in 4 cases "not involved" was written with no elaboration). In 4 cases, respondents claimed that parents were displeased because of the danger involved. In one case, the father was in favor of the decision, the mother against it; in another case, this was reversed. One respondent stated that his parents "said that I did not have the right temperament for the position", while another stated that "My parents just didn't like the idea..". Two of the last three cases in this category stated that their parents were basically pleased because the job represented a good opportunity for advancement, while the last checked choices "1" and "4", which makes no sense since they are mutually exclusive.

b. Friends. Two respondents felt that friends were jealous when they joined the NYCPD: "I felt they were basically satisfied but jealous that I did make it and they couldn't because they had been arrested. This is based on discussions with them";

Table 22 (continued)

"Friends I believe are jealous because of the money I make". In two cases, friends never volunteered an opinion, while in a third the respondent wrote only that friends "didn't influence me". Of the last four cases, one claimed that his friends were basically pleased because they "didn't feel there was enough minority policemen", while another thought that his friends were "surprised for many reasons: being black, the perils, for not seeking a 'better' job". One respondent wrote that "Friends I never had became friends. Girls who never gave me a tumble tumbled me. My status rose", and the last checked two mutually exclusive choices, "1" and "3".

- c. Wives/Girlfriends. In five cases this question did not apply to respondents, one of whom was separated at the time. In another three, there was some apprehension which caused the wife or girlfriend to be against the decision (two involving danger and one the "odd hours and the prospect of weekend and night work"). One respondent claimed that his wife "had a choice- either NYCPD or back to my commission in the U.S. army." The final case was a police woman who wrote that her husband was against her decision for three reasons: he didn't care for the hours, didn't like the idea of his wife leaving the children alone, and didn't like the idea of the "authority that would be invested in me as a woman".

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Here, the idea was stressed that, especially for parents, the decision to become a policeman was generally viewed as positive because of the increase in social status and prestige that the job was thought to bring. However, it was also stressed that there was much apprehension because of possible danger involved on the job.

Sgt. W. said that his mother felt that she was in "double jeopardy" when he joined the NYCPD, since he

entered after having seen active duty in the Armed Services, and she felt that since he had survived a war, he would be wiser "to leave well enough alone". Patrolman C. said that his mother felt that she had "death in hand" when he joined, since she had just lost a son in Korea.

Spouses also expressed this fear. Patrolman C. says that he would have retired much earlier had it not been for his wife:

I would have been retired from the police department some time ago now, but the first application.. to take the exam, she tore up the papers.
[Your wife tore the papers up? How come?] She thought it was too dangerous.. The second time I mailed the application myself.

Interesting differences emerge in comparing the attitudes of friends with those of parents and wives/girlfriends. Although a majority of friends were seen to approve the decision to join the NYCPD (55%), the degree of approval was small when compared to parents (79%) and wives/girlfriends (82%). Conversely, while only 4% of parents and 5% of wives/girlfriends were opposed to the decision because of attitudes toward the NYCPD, 16% of friends were believed to hold this view, with 21% having no particular feelings about the decision (as compared to 7% for parents and 6% for wives/girlfriends).

I believe that three factors explain this perceived

difference in attitude between friends - parents and wives/girlfriends.

b. Differences in Friends - Parents and Wives/
Girlfriends Attitude to Joining NYCPD

(1) Levels of Evaluation

The first factor possibly responsible for the prevalence of negative evaluations of friends in comparison to parents and wives/girlfriends to the respondent's entry into the NYCPD is that more friends (16%) than either of the other two groups were viewed as opposed because of attitudes toward the NYCPD in particular (choice "d"). A racial element does not seem to be involved here, since only 2% of respondents felt that the evaluation by friends concerned a black joining the department (choice "e"), in comparison to 1% for wives/girlfriends and no responses in this category for parents.

It is possible, then, that while parents and wives/girlfriends might, in their evaluations, have considered personal factors of status, prestige and benefits accruing to their families in the decision to join the NYCPD, friends might have viewed the decision more from the level of political and social aspects of the department. Thus, evaluations of parents and wives/girlfriends might have employed particularistic criteria, while for friends general ones were considered.

A point repeatedly made in interviews was that seg-

ments of both white and black publics had significantly different attitudes toward the police. It was believed that for many blacks the attitude existed that the police functioned basically as a repressive institution, especially with the development of black nationalist ideologies². Patrolman C. explains that where differences in police evaluation by blacks and whites exist, it is *

only because the white officer reacts differently. Thus, a lot of black people only see the blue uniform whereas a white person would see the white or black officer and they /Black civilians/ feel that the black officer is harder on them because he's black and I've seen it happen.

While wives/girlfriends and parents might share sentiments similar to the above, it is likely that they might have been secondary in an evaluation of a career for either one's child or husband/boyfriend, when compared to

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The theme of black police discrimination against black civilians (as mentioned in this excerpt) was common in interviews. Three factors were stressed in explaining cases where black police evidenced an especial dislike for black civilians. The first was that in many cases black police were known to overreact to black civilians to "prove" to both themselves and the white officer that they were not like "them" (i.e., the stereotypical black). A second factor was that where black police had been mobile in the department (or aspired to mobility), they either came to identify completely with its policy or refrained from protecting black civilians so as not to jeopardize their own chances. A last factor was that some black police (just as with some white police) were "kooks" or "oddballs", and so could not give anyone decent treatment.

more personal considerations of increasing social status and prestige for one's immediate family.³

(2) Illegal or Quasi-Legal Activities of Friends

A second element, probably more directly related to color, is that some friends and associates were engaged in quasi or illegal activities when the respondent was appointed to the NYCPD. This poses a special problem for the black policeman, given the constricted opportunities for legal income in black ghettos and the widespread opportunities (in drugs, numbers and prostitution) for "hustling". Thus, many respondents stated that their friends were basically pleased with their decision because it represented an opportunity for mobility which was legitimate and therefore did not involve the need to "hustle". For those friends who were themselves engaged in or in contact with others who "hustled", acceptance was more conditional because they didn't know how the respondent would now react to them.

Detective H. clarifies this. He first explains the attitude of his mother, mother-in-law and wife to his decision to join the department:

I assume that she [mother] felt she'd gotten me in a whole piece out of the war and to go back to something just as dangerous and being a.. religious woman and what not, she could see a place for a policeman. But I guess she couldn't see me being one and my mother-in-law had the

same feeling. My wife.. anything I want to do she wants to do as long as it's a legitimate job.

He now describes his friends' attitudes:

Well, let's say as far as associates it wasn't discussed with them too much because we were all struggling in your own individual way to get a type of job where you could attain your own self-esteem. So we either went in the Post Office, you went into the subway or Bridge and Runntel officer, or you drove a bus.

[I understand. You had to do whatever you could.]

Right. To survive without resorting to street hustling. If you wanted to maintain the respect, you had been taught to do so.

Sgt. B. makes much the same point in his stress on three factors which he views as responsible for the attitude of black civilians to the black policeman in general. The first is the type and nature of interaction between the two. The second is the general attitude to the particular (black or white) policeman, as to whether he will "ignore certain things", and the last is "who you travel with". He stresses that all police initially face the same problem with friends and associates. However, he believes that it is greater for black police because of the combination of fewer opportunities for legal and increased opportunities for quasi or

illegal income*.

(3) Sex and Family Related Roles

A last possible explanation of the difference in parent and wives/girlfriends attitude when compared to friends regarding the decision to join the NYCPD might be the role of sex and family-related factors in actual discussions of the decision. In American society, especially before the 1970's when the issue of Women's Liberation was still embryonic, males generally assumed the role of provider, while the woman was viewed as having an affective, supportive (versus instrumental) function⁴ in the marriage and family.

It is possible that respondents assumed a congruence between their attitudes and those of their wives/girlfriends, while not actually discussing the issue in any depth. Wives/girlfriends may have felt that it was "not

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From responses to two questions in the questionnaire, this problem is not experienced as a particular source of stress for the black policeman. Only 34% of the sample considered the "drifting away of non-police friends" (question #17, choice "h") as a "very important" (16%) or "important" (18%) problem; 21% considered this "unimportant" and 41% "not a real problem at all". Moreover, only 5% checked this as their "most important" problem, in comparison to 18% who considered it the "least important". This choice was considered the "least important" individual problem more frequently than any other (the only two close runners-up being choice "f": "inability to relax at home", with 17% checking this, and choice "e": "always being expected to defend the police by acquaintance", with 14% checking this choice).

their place" to question a decision made by their husbands, especially given the perception of discrimination as creating problems in achieving a legitimate income. As Detective H. stated in discussing his wife's attitude to his decision to join the NYCPD, "anything I want to do she wants to do so long as its a legitimate job". Whereas the decision to join the NYCPD might not have been discussed in any detail with the wife, there may have been a tacit assumption that she would agree with her husband's wishes. In contrast, friends might have felt freer to exchange views on the subject, and also perhaps to more honestly criticize the decision.

3. The Black Policeman and Black Civilians

a. Introduction

How does the black policeman assess the attitude toward his role held by black civilians who are not a part of his primary group? To begin with, there is little difference in the extent to which lack of respect by black and white civilians is evaluated as a personal problem: 40% of the questionnaire sample view lack of respect from white civilians as a "very important" (18%) or "important" (22%) problem (question #16, choice "1"), while 34% perceive the same problem for black civilians (18% as a "very important" and 16% as an "important" problem; question #16, choice "m"). Conversely, there is

a difference of 14% between those who feel that lack of respect by the white public is "not a real problem at all" (25%) and those who feel the same regarding the black public (39%). From responses to these two questions, it seems that where lack of civilian respect is seen as an individual problem, it is viewed not as a racial issue, but as a general issue in police-public relations* (given the similarity of attitude for the two groups of civilians⁺, with some indication that greater problems exist in interactions with white than black civilians).

Regarding the general attitude of the black community to the black policeman (Table 23, pp. 245 - 246), the general consensus is either that there never was a single attitude (30%), or that the black community had more respect at an earlier period of time (23%), with

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This is consistent with the findings in Table 15 (p. 136) where in evaluating the single "most" and "least" important personal job problems, only two respondents checked choice "l" ("lack of respect by white public") and eight checked choice "m" ("lack of respect by black public") as the "most" important problem, as compared to ten and five responses, respectively, where these choices were seen as the "least" important personal problem. Problems in general public-police interaction are suggested by responses to question #65, where 83% agreed "strongly" (34%) or "somewhat" (49%) that there "is little real understanding on the part of the public about what the policeman's job is all about".

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The affective meaning of these responses, however, might be quite different in their impact on the black policeman. For lack of respect by white civilians, this is basically a problem confronting him on the job when in uniform. For black civilians, however, the effect carries over quite probably into the black policeman's civilian life. This will be discussed below.

Table 23. Attitude of Black Community to Black Policeman
from Joining the Force Until Today: Total
Sample, Age, and Time on the Force: Percents

1. Total Sample

a. Never a single civilian attitude	15
b. More respect when first joined	26
c. Less respect when first joined	10
d. Black civilians have always respected black police	30
e. Black civilians have never respected black police	9
* f. Other	7
g. NA	3

2. Attitude by Age of Respondent

	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>g</u>
20 - 25 years (N=10)	0	8	42	33	8	8	1
26 - 30 years (N=36)	0	3	63	28	3	3	0
31 - 35 years (N=67)	0	3	60	29	2	6	0
36 - 40 years (N=32)	0	9	59	19	3	9	1
41 - 45 years (N=30)	0	18	67	6	6	3	0
46 - 50 years (N=27)	8	20	56	4	8	4	0
+ 50 years (N=23)	8	25	54	4	0	8	1

3. Attitude by Time on Force

	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>g</u>
- 5 years (N=61)	11	8	18	31	13	13	6
+ 5 - 10 years (N=54)	25	15	15	35	7	3	0
+10 - 15 years (N=31)	13	33	9	26	6	7	6
+15 - 20 years (N=39)	13	31	3	38	8	3	4
+ 20 years (N=19)	21	42	8	21	8	0	0
Retired (N=21)	19	52	0	19	0	10	0

*

Of those checking the "Other" category, in three cases more than a single choice was checked ("a" and "c"; "a" and "b"; "c" and "e"), while in another the respondent wrote "unknown" and another a question mark. Four respondents checked a single response, but then elaborated; their comments follow (the first three checked "d" and the last "b").

- "if he is involved in community affairs and have dealt with the law abiding black.. which is far greater than the average white policeman can conceive."
- "was in a white community the most part of my job"

Table 23 (continued)

- years. Answer based on recent appointment to black community."
- "The black youth represent... greatest problem to us today (lack of jobs and societies frustration in tune with the white youth's attitude towards the Establishment."
 - "With last three years militants have caused many good blacks to relate black officers with whites. Lately the attitude has been change (improve)."
- The remaining eight responses in the "Other" category were:
- "Except for the separatists, black people have come to realize that in this country economics is the name of the game and that being a cop is good economics."
 - "Only in certain areas do the black community have respect for the black policeman."
 - "Since I'm a new member to the NYCPD when I joined the black community had already begun to lose respect for the black policeman."
 - "Community get respect when they give it, mostly in the educated areas."
 - "Because of problems of today's society I find myself caught in between a ball of confusion."
 - "This is a class oriented response. Among blacks in the middle and lower middle income the response is generally positive as it is among whites. Poor and uneducated blacks can be found to curse and spit on black police as is done by similar white groups anywhere."
 - "Black attitudes have changed from mixed feelings of respect and fear, to feelings of disdain if he does not relate to current feelings and respect if he does show special concern."

age showing a strong influence in evaluations of this area. With the exception of the youngest group of police (20 - 25 years), agreement that respect for the black policeman has been decreasing among black civilians (choice "b") declines inversely as age increases. Likewise, the factor of "time on the force" also seems an important one in evaluations of choices "b" and "c":

policemen on the force for a longer period of time generally perceive black civilian respect to be declining (8% of those on the force for less than five years, as compared to 42% on the force for over twenty years and 52% of those who have retired); however, the two groups with the least time on the force (less than five years and from five to ten years) view an increase in black civilian respect for the black policeman (18% and 15%, respectively). For the other choices in this question, time on the force does not seem to play an independent role in evaluations.

Discussions of this area in interviews stressed two particular facets in understanding and attempting to evaluate black civilian attitudes to the black policeman. On the one hand, there was a tendency to recognize a different attitude among black civilians (when compared to whites) toward all police, as a result of differential treatment. However, a second point stressed was that no uniform black civilian attitude to black police existed, since black (as well as white) civilian attitude was better understood as a function of socio-economic characteristics differentiating individual views.

b. Elements in Black Civilian Police Evaluation

(1) Differential Police Treatment

Many interview respondents said that, until recently, black civilians basically respected all police, although incidents of brutality and the behavior of some (white and black) police served to modify this view*.

In one case, a respondent worked with a white policeman who, instead of knocking on doors before entering apartments in Harlem, would kick them in and then expect his black partner to take over. In another, a white policeman was seen by his black partner to beat a black suspect so severely that he bled, walk away, and expect the black officer to make the arrest. On the basis of incidents of this kind, it is believed that some black

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Patrolman M., on the force for only five years, elaborated this area at great length in his interview. He felt that years ago black police often had a negative attitude to their own race, considering their basic function to be to "keep the niggers in line". Although he sees this as changing today, he feels that the memory of this taken together with general discrimination against blacks by the NYCPD, may be partially responsible for the small number of blacks on the force. With the view of the NYCPD as a racist organization (because of actions of some white and black police), he believed that many blacks who might otherwise consider a police career have not, in their view that it is a reactionary job. He feels that a particular turning point creating negative black civilian sentiment to the police was the media coverage of the beating of Martin Luther King, Jr. by police in Birmingham, Alabama in the 1960's and the coverage of police behavior against attempts to integrate Southern schools.

civilians view the police function as one highly prejudicial to all minorities, while members of the white community have more of a tendency to view police as upholding their political and social interests⁵.

A factor confounding the problem, according to Patrolman Y., is that sometimes among both black and white police, a "feeling of superiority" develops in minority neighborhoods, which creates community antagonism. However, he continues, "People respect you when you tell them where it's at", a common sentiment in interviews: Sgt. D. feels that "black people are wanted by the black community and are respected until given a reason not to be"; Detective H. claims that from his experience, "Once you understand me personally, it's okay for everyone". Patrolman Y. cites an experience that occurred on his first assignment (which happened to be on the block where he lived as a child). While assigned here, he arrested a friend of his whose brother had been a schoolmate during high school. He feels that this in no way affected his relations with the people of the neighborhood, since they understood that he was just doing his job and that the arrest was on legitimate grounds.

(2) Socio-Economic Factors

A second theme which was frequently discussed in interviews was that various socio-economic factors had an important influence on attitudes of all civilians to the policeman. Patrolman T., who believes that there has been a general loss of respect for the police in the United States, nevertheless stresses the need to evaluate black and white civilian attitudes by examining different social classes in each community, particularly feeling that differences in police evaluation exist among the "poor", the "middle class" and "rich" segments of each.

While Detective D. adds a political dimension to his analysis of public respect for the police (believing that many blacks consider the black policeman an "Uncle Tom", especially teenagers and Black Panthers), he feels that his greatest problem is lack of acceptance by white civilians. For both civilian groups, however, he stresses that there are significant differences in perceptions of police by income. To elaborate, he feels that while working on "upper Fifth Avenue", he was treated as a "servant, period", while in lower income areas (such as Harlem and the lower East Side), he encountered fewer problems of acceptance. He imputes a particularly negative attitude toward the police to the "so-called middle class", and says that "I'd rather spend twenty years in Harlem, etc., than with

the middle class"*.

(3) Media Image of the Police

A last factor cited in interviews concerning this area is the effect of changing media images of the police on the understandings of all civilians about the police. Lt. M., who is retired, states this most succinctly in his view that the basic "problem today is that the police department has been found out". He elaborates by explaining that recent disclosures of police corruption have tended to create alienation to the police by all segments of the civilian population. He believes that years ago (for example, when he joined the NYCPD in 1942) there was more respect for the policeman, not because it

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Bayley and Mendelsohn (Minorities and the Police, p. 33) found a particularly negative attitude imputed to the police by upper income and professional groups. In NYC, one possible reason for this attitude is that in many cases the middle class own businesses which depend, to an extent, on laxity of law enforcement to operate (i.e., enforcement of metered or double-parking laws for customers and those making deliveries or pick-ups). Another reason may be that for the middle class the policeman is viewed as a "servant", while fear may be the most important attitude structuring lower class perceptions of the policeman. The upper class might be different from these two in that they are relatively more isolated from any police interaction, except where the officer is summoned by them. Chevigny (Police Power, pp. 60 - 61) found that perceived lack of respect for police by civilians was the single greatest "trigger" in abuse of police authority: "the challenge to police authority continues as a chief cause of the use of force in all urban police departments. A task force report.. in reporting twenty instances of the unjustified or excessive use of force.. observed by the investigators, said of the victims that 'most appeared to

was more deserved necessarily, but because the department had done a better "snow job" (in his own words) on the public.

c. Conclusion

In conclusion, in the opinion of this observer a better way to understand the perceived attitudes and changes in these attitudes held by the black civilian to the black policeman is to view the problem in the context of a belief that there is a general worsening of public (versus white or black) attitude to all police. I feel from both interview and questionnaire responses that the black policeman does not impute an especially negative attitude to his position on the part of black civilians. Nor, does it seem, is lack of respect by civilians, where it occurs, viewed as a particularly important source of strain.

In only two interviews did respondents report that this presented a special problem for them. Patrolman S., with the NYCPD for three years, was upset by one particular incident in which a black woman "told me to go to hell and if she needed a cop, she'd get a white one". Patrolman L., also on the force for three years, believed

contest verbally the police officer's authority'.. policemen themselves feel, regardless of the legal structures, that defiance justifies the use of force."

that his most serious problem on the job was being "viewed as an oreo cookie" by black civilians. He felt particularly upset because he believed that many black civilians viewed him as having "sold out"^{*}:

I've been called on several occasions a house nigger. Probably deep down I'm blacker than they are. Let this go on record. I was black before I became a cop. I will be black once I leave. Not that I would do anything wrong within the police department, but I believe my blackness means more to me than being a cop.

The strong emotion expressed in both excerpts above seems to be atypical, however. Although the majority of questionnaire respondents do, at times, "feel problems of conscience in being a black man and a policeman"⁺, there is not a particularly strong sentiment that they are rejected in the main by black civilians.

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Equal frustration seemed to exist for this patrolman in his lack of ability to communicate his position to black civilians who rejected him outright because of his job (i.e., "Let me put this on record..").

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All questionnaire respondents were asked to evaluate statement #64, "At times I feel problems of conscience in being a black man and a policeman"; 57% of the sample agreed "strongly" (14%) or "somewhat" (43%), while 28% disagreed "strongly" (9%) or "somewhat" (19%). Eleven percent had no opinion and in 4% of the cases no response was provided. Rank played a role here: of all those who agreed with the statement, 57% were patrolmen. Of all those who disagreed, 84% were officers (ranks above the role of patrolman or assignment to the Detective Division).

For some, their reception by black civilians is seen as secondary to a general loss of public respect, perceived to have occurred over the years. For others, it is considered necessary to take socio-economic status into account when attempting to assess views of different publics toward the police (sometimes discussed specifically as social class differences in the black community, at other times with little or no reference to race). Still others stress no special pattern in the interaction between the policeman and different civilians with whom he comes in contact (i.e., respect is a function of the individual policeman and the individual civilian).

It is these situational factors (or some combination of them) that are at the core of black police evaluations of reception by black (and white) civilians, rather than the imputation of a single "black" (or "white") civilian attitude. Further evidence of the degree to which the black policeman does not view his occupation as particularly problematic is his response to question #43, "My family would be better off if people in our neighborhood did not know that I was a policeman". While 26% agreed "strongly" (10%) or "somewhat" (16%), a majority of 58% disagreed (28% "strongly" and 30% "somewhat"). In 13% of the cases, the respondents had

"no opinion"*.

4. The Black Policeman, the Guardians, and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen

a. Introduction

As discussed in the Introduction to this study (pp. 18 - 19), the role of the Guardians was seen as particularly important in an earlier study in "transcending both [the] professional and ethnic roles [of] the black policeman]. This problem does not exist for the white policeman who is externally free to merge his identity with that of his profession"⁶. It is primarily in this context that the Guardians were defined as an organization structured for the black policeman as an institution: "attempt[ing] to find a community that embraces race and occupation"⁷⁺.

In this section, the question of the role of the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen (NSAAP) for the present sample will be discussed, together with possible factors responsible for

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Those who agreed with this statement may have considered problems other than purely racial ones, however. Coming from a police family, I know that it can be particularly difficult for a policeman if his neighbors constantly expect him to "check the neighborhood for a burglar", serve as a "moral" example to their children, etc., etc.

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From responses to questions #98 and #99 above (p. 192) it would seem that the black policeman does not especially gravitate to any police contacts off the job.

differences in findings for this sample when compared to that used in the earlier study.

b. Membership and Participation in the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen

Although membership in the Guardians was held by 89% of the questionnaire sample (Table 24, p. 257), participation in its activities was minimum. The single largest category of respondents (24%) attended meetings "sometimes" and social functions "regularly"; 14% were completely inactive, while only 5% hold or have held office and 1% attend meetings "regularly".

Membership and participation in the NSAAP (Table 24) is even less. Fully 91% of the sample neither belong to the organization nor participate in its activities. Of those interviewed, not a single respondent was a member, nor was much sympathy felt for its programs or philosophy. Where the NSAAP was accepted, the most common attitude was one of mild tolerance, in the sense that the policeman could intellectually understand its purpose in representing black police, although he did not identify with its purposes emotionally. By far the more common attitude toward the group was one of disappointment or anger, since it was often seen as a

Possible factors responsible for this will be discussed below (p. 259).

Table 24. Membership and Participation in the Guardians and the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen: Percents

	Guardians		NSAAP	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. <u>Membership</u>				
a. Member	212	89	14	6
b. Not a member	24	10	216	91
c. NA	2	1	8	3
2. <u>Participation</u>				
a. Hold or have held office	9	4		
b. Attend meetings regularly	2	1	3	1
c. Attend meetings sometimes	20	9	8	3
d. Attend social functions regularly	5	2		
e. Attend social functions sometimes	16	7	1	0
f. Only pay dues	20	8	2	1
g. Inactive	34	14	5	2
h. <u>Multiple Responses</u>				
(1) "a" and "b"	21	9		
(2) "c" and "d"	58	24		
(3) "a" and "d"	6	3		
(4) "e" and "f"	8	3		
(5) "a" and "e"	1	0		
(6) "a" and "f"	1	0		
(7) "d" and "e"	1	0		
i. NA	5	2	2	1
j. Does not apply	24	10	217	91

divisive force for the community of black police.*

On the basis of interview responses, the motivation in joining the Guardians is clear. Put simply, the single most frequent response was that "it was the

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I attempted to contact and interview Lenny X12 Weir for this study; I was told, however, that if there were to be an interview, he would ask the questions and it would be unlike any interview I had ever had. Since he did not seem to be particularly amenable to the idea of an interview, I dropped the matter.

the thing to do". It is normal procedure for recruits to be approached at the Police Academy by representatives of line organizations who enroll members. This was the way in which the great majority of respondents came to join the Guardians. Further, aside from those with friends or family already in the NYCPD, this Academy contact was usually their first knowledge of the existence of the organization.

Regarding the role of the Guardians, all police questioned believed that initially its primary function was as a "social club", but that, beginning in the 1960's with the development of the Civil Rights movement, it concerned itself more frequently with the role of the black officer, particularly his treatment and advancement in the NYCPD, and his relationship to black civilians.

In all but one case, the shift toward greater "militancy" by the Guardians was viewed positively. The group was defined as one which contributed to the development of black pride for the officer. Further, it was evaluated as increasingly representing his job interests by serving as a mediator between him and a department viewed as effectively disenfranchising the minority officer from policy-making decisions. Lastly, special pride was felt for the emerging role of the Guardians in defending black civilians (as in the

review board issue and programs to aid minority groups in studying and passing Civil Service exams).

Given this positive evaluation, however, only nine respondents "hold or have held office", and only two (out of a total of 238) "attend meetings regularly". The reasons for this were varied, but, if interview responses are generalizable here, this low level of participation is usually related both to residential and work patterns. The Guardian clubhouse is located in Brooklyn, with regular meetings scheduled for Tuesday evenings at 9 P.M. Given the fact that a majority of respondents (74%) live outside of Brooklyn*, together with the erratic work schedule of most police, even when an individual might have the time to attend meetings, he may prefer to stay home with his family. In other instances, he may need the time to rest, either because he must begin work later in the evening or in the early morning, or because he is scheduled to appear in court. Those with special assignments (i.e., Detectives) have an even more irregular schedule, and therefore less opportunity to attend (or plan to attend) meetings regularly.

*

Only 26% of the questionnaire respondents live in Brooklyn; 12% live in Manhattan, 34% in Queens, 12% in the Bronx and 2% in Staten Island. In 12% of the cases, respondents lived in suburban areas of NYC; in 2%, no residence was provided.

Thus, while a majority of this sample are Guardian members, the degree of actual organizational involvement is decidedly low, although most support its goals and react positively to what they perceive as its increased activism.

The group was accepted as bolstering general black psychological identity for the officer; but this function in the individual context seems of minor importance. Black interview respondents generally concurred that the Guardians supplied no special individual function for the black officer. In only three cases was it suggested that membership in the organization played a special role for black police, aside from a feeling expressed that "some people are joiners, some people are not".

In the only interview where extreme hostility was directed at the Guardians, Patrolman T.* said that it

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This respondent, who was so light-skinned that I initially thought he was white, evidenced extreme hostility not only to the Guardians, but to blacks in general. At the end of the interview, which took place in a Harlem station house, he claimed that "My trouble is that I never think of myself as a black man". Although this was said as a joke, I believe that there was more truth to it than he realized. The respondent's initially antagonistic attitude to the Guardians was later modified when his sergeant (a darker black officer) entered the room and was asked by Patrolman T. to support his original statements. When this support was not given, he asked that I modify his original statements, since he "guessed" that he had been too rough on the group. At one time, he said, he had been a Guardian, but dropped out

was only a "clique" for those who desired an "easy" assignment. In the other two cases, initial negative evaluations were modified to positions of support with the shift in Guardian policy to a position increasingly representative of the black policeman in the NYCPD and his relation to the black civilian. In this context, it was felt that black police who were interested in seeing justice done for themselves and for their people would have an interest in joining and supporting the organization*.

5. Conclusion

Lack of acceptance by black civilians does not seem a major problem for the black policeman from responses

because of its "clannish" nature. He expressed special scorn for southern blacks, claiming that in Harlem "all the crime is committed by those blacks from South Carolina". In discussing his job career before joining the NYCPD, he was especially bitter in his view that he lost many good opportunities for advancement when it was discovered that he was black. I believe that a particular frustration in his life was that he was almost light-skinned enough to pass for white, but not quite enough.

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These findings are inconsistent with those offered by Alex in his earlier study (published in 1969) of black NYCPD officers. Rather than actual attitude change being responsible for this, I believe his method of drawing a sample (as related to me by Sgt. Gillian, who suggested that I use the same method) is. I was told by Sgt. Gillian that Alex used a "snowball technique" from names initially supplied by the Guardians themselves, and believe therefore that his sample was more "Guardian conscious" (since they were all active in Guardian affairs) and also more similar in attitude (since individuals supplied the names of others for contact).

discussed in this chapter.

In the first part, it was found that primary groups generally approved the decision of the respondent to join the NYCPD, although this acceptance was more frequently tempered by fears of the danger of the job. This acceptance held especially for parents and wives/girlfriends when compared to friends. The difference between the two groups was discussed as stemming from the level of evaluation (concerns of personal and family status for parents and wives/girlfriends, versus general views of the police from a primarily non-racial perspective for friends), the involvement of friends in quasi or illegal activities, and the possible difference in the degree to which the decision was actually discussed with members of the three groups.

Acceptance of black police by non-primary group civilian blacks was seen as being compounded of a complex of factors. A large minority of questionnaire respondents felt that lack of respect by black civilians presented personal problems; but in a broader context, the problem was evaluated as stemming largely from a general loss of public respect for the police, rather than as a racial issue (with "age" and "time on the force" both seen as influencing evaluations in this area). The two major perspectives elaborated in interviews in understanding differences in segments of the civilian public (both black and white) in attitudes toward the policeman

were socio-economic factors and the attitudes and actions of the individual (civilian and officer). There was some consensus that a broad difference in attitudes toward the police did exist between white and black civilians, but that this was a reaction to differential treatment accorded to each group by police, rather than created by an inherent group tendency to either support or reject the NYCPD.

In the concluding section, membership and participation in the Guardians and the NSAAP were discussed. Here it was found, contrary to an earlier study, that while membership in the Guardians and support of its goals was high, actual participation in the organization was minimal. Thus, although the Guardians were viewed as having evolved to a point where today they fulfill a general function for both black officers and civilians, the organization is not seen as meeting any special needs of the individual officer. The differences in evaluations of the Guardians for this sample when compared to that of Alex were explained as primarily the function of different methodologies employed in drawing a police sample for each group.

In contrast to the Guardians, the NSAAP played almost no role whatever in the evaluations of respondents used in this study.

Footnotes

1 Alex, p. 17

2 Jerome Skolnick (The Politics of Protest, Ballantine Books, 1969) states that in "the ghetto disorders of the past few years, blacks have often been exposed to indiscriminate police assaults and.. to gratuitous brutality. Many ghetto blacks see the police as an occupying army; one of the Panthers' major demands is for stationing UN observers in the ghettos to monitor police conduct" (p. 153).

3 Waskow (pp. 3 - 4) believes that there is an American tradition which is antithetical to the concentration of police power in the hands of the government, and sees this as responsible for the government's long-standing resistance to proscribe private violence and its fear of establishing a long-standing army. The effect of the frontier in American life and the development of a vigilante tradition are stressed as two factors especially legitimizing private (versus police) violence. See Graham, Hugh Davis, and Gurr, Ted Robert, Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, A Report Submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Bantam Books, June 1969, especially Brown, Richard M., "The American Vigilante Tradition", pp. 154 - 226; Frantz, Joe B., "The Frontier Experience: An Invitation to Violence", pp. 127 - 154. Frantz states that to "argue which facets of the frontier experience have outlived their utility can be argued interminably, but certainly the wistful look backwards which Americans, informed and uninformed, cast toward the violence associated with the frontier has no place in a nation whose frontier has worn away. The time for everyone, from scenario writers to political breast beaters to economic and social individualists, to proclaim the virtues of the frontiersman and his reliance on simple solutions and direct action does not befit a nation whose problems are corporate, community, and complex" (p. 153).

4 Parsons, Talcott, and Bales, Robert F., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, The Free Press, New York, 1955

5

With the use of police in controlling anti-war demonstrations and college disorders, together with white involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, this racial difference may be dramatically declining. This is the approach taken by Skolnick (Politics of Protest, chapter VII, "The Police in Protest", pp. 241 - 292); he views the basic predicament of the police (p. 249) as being "caught between two contradictory developments: their job is rapidly becoming much more difficult (some say impossible), while at the same time their resources- morale, material, and training- are deteriorating".

6

Alex, p. 69

7

Ibid., p. 136

Chapter 7. Evaluations of a NYCPD Career

1. Introduction

So far this study has examined black police attitudes toward their police role and evaluations of interaction with white police and civilians. In this chapter, the question of job satisfaction will be discussed. The primary focus will be on individual evaluations of a NYCPD career for the self and for the black and white officer. Evaluations of a police career for one's children will then be examined, since responses in this area provide important elaborations of black police evaluations of a NYCPD career today for the black civilian.

2. Job Satisfaction: Self, Black and White Police

I think I'm a policeman now at a time where it's going through one of the greatest changes that is probably known to the history of the NYCPD, and ten years from now, fifteen years from now, I can look back and say I was on the ground floor when the change was initiated. We are going up because we have touched bottom. /Interview respondent/

In only three cases, was severe job discrimination noted as a major theme in interview response.* For all other

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The first was Patrolman C. (pp. 171 - 173, above); the second, Patrolman J. (pp. 173 - 174, above). The third, Patrolman S. (pp. 252 - 253, above) felt great conflict because of lack of acceptance by black civilians and departmental discrimination. He felt strongly that he

respondents, although there were definite dissatisfactions and personal problems associated with the job, these were balanced out by the perception of more positive conditions (i.e., security and benefits; the belief in the improving positions in the NYCPD for blacks in mobility opportunities and white police attitude; the opportunity, although limited at times, to aid black civilians).

Questionnaire respondents were asked a series of questions about their personal job satisfaction, as well as that attributed to black and white police (Table 25, pp. 269 - 270). Several conclusions can be made from responses here.

a. Perception of Job Satisfaction

A first conclusion from Table 25 is that a majority of respondents experience general dissatisfaction with the conditions of a NYCPD job for themselves (81%), other black (75%) and white (55%) police. Although job dissatisfaction is seen as greater for black than white police (a 20% difference), this is not accounted for, in the main, by the belief that white police are more satisfied than blacks with the department, but in the percentage who "don't know or have no opinion" for each of the groups: thus, while 2% of the sample checked this choice for themselves, 12% checked it for black and 22% for white police.

would eventually leave the NYCPD and become a Federal Narcotics Officer.

In this context, the black policeman, although recognizing particular problems that he faces in the NYCPD because of race, nonetheless perceives problems with the job which affect all police*; in only 14% of the cases was the respondent himself basically satisfied with the job (3% "strongly" and 11% "somewhat"), as compared to 10% of other black police seen as holding this view (2% "strongly" and 8% "somewhat") and 20% for white police (only 4% "strongly" and 16% "somewhat").

However, although job dissatisfaction was considered a general pattern, a majority disagree for both self (71%) and white police (52%) that they would not have joined the department if they had realized the problems of the job⁺. Functional assignment was seen to play a definite role in evaluations here: while a majority of both patrolmen and officers (70% and 77%, respectively) believe that they would have joined the NYCPD regardless of the problems that

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These results are consistent with earlier findings in this study: for evaluations of general (versus racial) problems as a major area of concern, see Table 14, p. 134 and Table 15, p. 136; isolation between the white and black policeman both on and off the job (pp. 201 - 206) would suggest lack of knowledge of white police attitude.

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The difference of 19% between self and white police for this variable is again basically accounted for by the "don't know or no opinion" category: while only 5% of respondents checked this choice for themselves, 24% checked it for white police.

Table 25. Degree of Job Satisfaction: Self, White and Black Police: Total Sample; Officers (N=60) and Patrolmen (N=147): Percents

Question*	Police		
	Self	Black	White
1. <u>Basically satisfied with job</u>			
a. Agree	14	10	20
b. Disagree	81	75	55
c. Don't know or no opinion	2	12	22
d. NA	3	3	3
2. <u>Would not have joined the NYCPD if job conditions were known</u>			
(a) <u>Total Sample</u>			
a. Agree	22		23
b. Disagree	71		52
c. Don't know or no opinion	5		24
d. NA	2		1
(b) <u>Officers-Patrolmen</u>	Self		
	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Patrolmen</u>	
a. Agree	15	24	
b. Disagree	77	70	
c. Don't know or no opinion	5	5	
d. NA	3	1	
3. <u>Personal Satisfaction with Job</u>	Self		
(a) <u>Total Sample</u>			
a. Very satisfied	13		
b. More satisfied than not	53		
c. No feelings	4		
d. More dissatisfied than not	24		
e. Completely dissatisfied	3		
f. NA	3		
(b) <u>Officers-Patrolmen</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Patrolmen</u>	
a. Very satisfied	20	9	
b. More satisfied than not	58	51	
c. No feelings	2	5	
d. More dissatisfied than not	17	29	
e. Completely dissatisfied	2	3	
f. NA	1	3	

* Only active (i.e., non-retired) respondents were used in the Officer-Patrolman analysis. Those respondents who indicated that they were detectives were placed in the "Officer" category. The responses in the first part of this table are taken from answers to questions #50, #51,

Table 25 (continued)

and #52 (self, black and white police), respectively, on the questionnaire. The second area is taken from responses to questions #36 and #31 for self and the white policeman, respectively. The last area is taken from answers to question #104.

they have faced on the job, there is more "strong" agreement with the statement for officers (50%) than for patrolmen (39%). Conversely, while 24% of patrolmen feel that they would not have joined if work conditions had been clearly understood, the comparable figure for officers is only 15%.

Consistent with the above findings is the belief of a majority of respondents (67%) that they have been "very satisfied" (13%) or "more satisfied than dissatisfied" (53%) with their police careers. Again, functional assignment plays a role in this evaluation: while only 9% of patrolmen were "very satisfied" with their personal NYCPD careers, 20% of officers were. Conversely, while 17% of officers were "more dissatisfied than satisfied", 29% of patrolmen felt this way. It should be kept in mind, however, that while differences between officers and patrolmen did exist in this evaluation, only one officer and five patrolmen gave an overall evaluation of dissatisfaction.

b. Conclusion

To recapitulate, the black policemen in this sample feel that NYCPD conditions are not presently viewed with particular satisfaction either by himself or by his white and black co-workers, although he does not regret having joined the department and personally evaluates his police career positively, on the whole. Rank in the department was important in evaluations here, although not changing the main trend. The responses in this area should sensitize the researcher to the need for differentiating qualitatively between perceptions of general job conditions from those of personal job satisfaction. Although the former are negatively evaluated for all groups discussed (self, black and white police), personal job satisfaction is nonetheless predominant.

In a discussion about attitudes toward having one's child join the NYCPD, an insight is gained into the factors employed in evaluating job conditions and the particular question of personal satisfaction for blacks in a NYCPD career. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of these questions.

3. Attitude toward One's Child Joining the NYCPD

a. Introduction

As can be seen from Table 26 (p. 272), the possible

Table 26. Attitude toward One's Child Joining the NYCPD
Total Sample and by Rank: Percents

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Patrolmen</u>
1. <u>Attitude</u> *			
a. Completely happy	13	12	12
b. Happy with reservations	37	33	37
c. No special feelings	9	10	10
d. Somewhat unhappy	28	33	29
e. Completely unhappy	11	10	12
f. NA	2	2	0
2. <u>Reasons for Attitude</u>			
a. Social mobility	25		
b. Job conditions (except danger)	22		
c. Danger of job	5		
+d. Other	35		
e. NA	13		

* Retired respondents were not included in the Officer (N=60) - Patrolmen (N=147) analysis.

+ The great majority of "Other" responses were divided between three different perspectives:

- (1) The largest percent of responses here were in the form of multiple factors being mentioned (i.e., improved opportunities for black mobility in private economic sector together with danger of job; attitude of civilians toward the police together with internal job conditions making it difficult to do effective work).
- (2) Personal factors discussed not related to job conditions (i.e., respondent had no children or only daughters and so had never considered the question; feeling that a child did not have the "right" psychological makeup for the job).
- (3) The idea expressed that the child's job choice was his own, and therefore that the respondent would not interfere or try to influence him regardless of the decision he made.

entrance of one's child into the NYCPD was viewed with mixed emotions by questionnaire respondents, although in an elaboration of their views, the hypothetical decision was viewed with more acceptance than rejection. In the 91% of cases where responses were supplied, five primary attitude sets were discussed (question #103):

- a. Complete acceptance of a NYCPD career for one's child (17%)
- b. Rejection because of perceived opportunities for social mobility in the private job sector (31%)
- c. Rejection because of non-racial departmental conditions (13%)
- d. Rejection because of general social conditions (23%)
- e. Rejection because of racial factors in the NYCPD (7%)

Thus, in only 7% of the cases were racial factors explicitly cited as influencing attitudes in this area. As will be developed in the discussion below, attitudes concerning one's child becoming a member of the NYCPD are far more concerned with a general evaluation of social conditions and situations confronting American police forces and blacks (where complete approval of the hypothetical decision is absent), than they are with purely racial evaluations of the NYCPD.

b. Complete Acceptance

Seventeen percent of the active questionnaire sample (31 cases) voiced complete approval at the prospect of their child following a NYCPD career. In this category, representative examples of which are quoted below,* the main theme was one of pride and overall satisfaction with the career choice, although tempered by fear for the safety of one's child (as, indeed, was the attitude of their own parents in evaluating their choice of a NYCPD job; Table 22, pp. 235 - 236, above) and the possibility of worsening public attitude toward the police. Such responses are not, as might be expected, limited to those who have experienced mobility in the NYCPD: the first nine excerpts below are from officers (5 sergeants) and detectives (4), while the last ten are from patrolmen, two of whom (respondents 50 and 183) have been on the job for fourteen and plus twenty years, respectively:

29. "I would welcome the decision since I have had fifteen relatively successful years on the job. At the present time there are only 2500 black or hispanic policemen in the NYCPD out of a total police population of approximately 32,500. Blacks should be in demand."

100. "It is an honorable job with fairly good pay, with a chance for advancement thru promotions."

*

The number preceding each excerpt is the code number of the individual questionnaire respondent.

177. "It's a proud profession and should be carried on as a family tradition, the reservations concern the frustrated social life and danger."
117. "I would not actually mind if my boy became a policeman. Today the job is professionalized. It is a profession, however, the inherent dangers of which are greater today and because of this I would have reservations.
206. "The job is good salary wise and benefits are good and we need more black policemen and police women."
142. "Good job, excellent promotion opportunities if one applies self and chance to help his fellow man by bringing about change for the better."
103. "It is a rare experience for an individual to be a police officer.. and I would be happy with his decision. The reservations would be the same as my parents had; fears because of the dangers involved at times."
7. "In spite of the handicaps it's still a very good job for a black, promotion opportunities are somewhat better than private industry and salary is good, with good fringe benefits."
67. "Broadens your outlook on life, which as a civilian you seldom come in contact: Ex: individual and community problems which you are exposed to daily. And gives opportunity to solve and by doing so, you better not only yourself, but also the community."
50. "I think job offers security and if a person is sincere when entering, he can receive a large degree of personal satisfaction in helping others whether black or white.
183. "I would be happy only if I was assured that he was determined to make promotion his #1 goal through-out his time in the job."

208. "I enjoy the job and want the best from my children and if he or she went into the NYCPD then I want the NYCPD."
202. "I feel the job will not get better for blacks unless we have more blacks on it. Also the job can be very rewarding in itself."
148. "I feel that the P.D. is a good job. And he or she would be making a positive contribution to society."
191. "A police career is a good experience for a young man anxious to learn about life. My reservations stem from the fact that if one is not regularly promoted, the frustrations that naturally arise from dealing with others' problems day in and day out can make one very unhappy and cynical as one grows older."
220. "If properly approached, the N.Y.C.P.D. is a good career. The opportunity for advancement [is] there if one chooses to avail oneself. The work is rewarding and interesting and the potential for service to the public is tremendous."
61. "The fact of the matter is: they would have a steady income and pension in line on this job without the competitive job outlook, while young, and after they could pursue any opportunity they really wanted and still have a pension income. Further they would have a more prospective outlook on [life] by putting their feet in the front door while.. young."
41. "He would have something to do with his life and maybe improve what might one day be a serious problem which is communication. Its thick enough out there today. In his time it will be vital."
11. "First of all it's a great job opportunity and a chance to really find out what motivates people. Any person with any degree of ambition can fulfill his life."

6. Reservations for a NYCPD Career for One's Child

(1) Increase in Black Mobility Opportunities

For that subgroup which indicated major reservations in evaluations of a NYCPD career for their children, the largest percentage (31%; 57 respondents) felt that, with expanding occupational opportunities for blacks in the private job sector, pursuing a police career would be both a waste of talent and energy. It was stressed that preference for careers outside of the NYCPD was not related to any specific job conditions within the department, but rather than hopes were that one's children would pursue a "higher" or "more professional" career. What strikes one here is that the major evaluation of a police career for one's children is related to alternative paths of social mobility, and in no cases concern racial conditions in the department (which is consistent with respondents evaluations of their own reasons for seeking a police or civil service career to be basically concerned with perceptions of job opportunities for blacks when they joined the NYCPD; p. 115, above). Rather, the two themes stressed are better avenues of social mobility for blacks today, and the expectation, ideally, that a child should achieve higher levels of occupation than his parents. It seems from responses in this group that mobility is cited more

by patrolmen than officers (of the 34 excerpts quoted below, 24 are from patrolmen and 10 from officers, including detectives)*.

75. "Because in his generation I would expect him to get a college education first. Then if he likes he could join the police Dept."
79. "My reservations would be that after he finish H.S. that he would go on to college and with a college education I think he can do better unless by then the requirements have changed."
159. "I hope that they can do better than this. Each generation must improve on the last."
138. "I would be unhappy because [of] the superficial aspects of the job. Also the dangers involved. And like most fathers, I would like for them to have it a little better than I did."
211. "I want something better for my children than just a cop."
228. "I desire to see my child in a professional unsalaried position."

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The difference between officers and patrolmen here is possibly accounted for by the actual degree of mobility that each has experienced in the NYCPD: while officers may see mobility conditions as existing for the black policeman on the basis of their own achievements, patrolmen might generalize their own lack of mobility as a general disqualifying aspect in evaluations of a police career for their children; this interpretation is consistent with actual evaluations of job changes for the black policeman by officer-patrolman (Table 17, pp. 156 - 157). A definitive answer to this question is beyond the scope of this study, since it would involve an analysis of a multitude of factors for which information is not available from interview and questionnaire responses (basically concerned with different psychological, family, and community characteristics between those police who have achieved higher ranks and those who have not).

116. "I would hope that my children will progress in life to a higher level, hopefully in the service of the race."
85. "Because with the upbringing that we afford our child I would like to see her choose a higher vocation in life."
- 104'. "When they reach the age to pick a job I would hope that they picked something less dangerous and a lot more rewarding. Being a policeman is ok. But I want more for my children."
94. "I believe a child should always do better than its father."
1. "Because it is best said a profession or trade or business would be more rewarding. This is why I try to educate my children that they don't have to follow in the same path I did."
2. "Because I feel that my children should be able to get a better job due to a better education."
3. "I feel that the NYCPD is a good job for the average male who hasn't obtained any form of a college education. If at all possible I would think that a parent would encourage his child's education and then let them decide for themselves."
179. "Being I have three children, what they decide to do I prefer them to continue college, get their degree, then challenge any profession in society, even the dept."
233. "I am able to give my son the best educational advantages and I would be unhappy if he wasted his education in a 'dead end' career."
120. "I feel they should have higher ideal. I am sure they have higher ability. Today there is more opportunity for black people than ever before."
32. "I want him to be better educated, then I was so his range of job opportunity would be greater."

- 47. "Children have better opportunities for college."
- 18. "There are more opportunities for blacks outside of civil service today."
- 205. "Every generation of blacks should try to exceed their parents."
- 119. "My people need doctors, lawyers, carpenters, mechanics and cops. But, we need people with real skills. Any decent human being can be a cop."
- 195. "I wouldn't be very happy because there are too many better opportunities open."
- 21. "I have daughters and even then I would rather have my child improve upon his or her father's position in society."
- 127. "I would hope that he did better than his father."
- 114. "I would want my child once he graduated from college to try in his field, if unable to get the pay scale, go into PD and take exams to pass as the salary is very good and conditions for bosses."
- 122. "My child is graduating from college this June and should be better prepared for some other occupation."
- 229. "I would feel somewhat pleased in that he would have an opportunity to enlighten his life, as well as.. have stable security. On the other hand, I feel that the above stated could be found by further education."
- 96. "As a parent if one of my children were to join the police force, I would feel very disappointed. I would want them to make the most of all the educational opportunities.. now available. After completing their education, I feel that there will be more positions that would be more rewarding than that of a police officer."
- 157. "I would want better things for them. If they wanted NYCPD- I would be personally

flattered. But there are so many new careers opening for blacks that I would want my own children to start at a higher level than I did."

90. "I would rather see my child well educated, and in another profession, but also feel that he could be worse off than a member of the NYCPD."
19. "I would rather see my child go to college and become a professional.."
76. "I would want him or her to be a doctor or a lawyer. If they join in that capacity ok. If not, be my guest."
166. "Today if one were to study there is opportunity for promotion all the way up. Also there is chance to increase college education, if one takes advantage of them."
23. "I no longer believe that civil service, at least the hazardous jobs, i.e., police and fire departments, are the only way for a black person /to/ prove that he is a man. Most people (black and white) traditionally have looked at these jobs as being stepping stones into the American middle class."

(2) Non-Racial Departmental Factors

In 13% of the responses in this area (23 cases), non-racial departmental conditions were cited* as a reason

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In this and the following category, there is a definite possibility that racial factors did play some role in evaluations. However, the statements given did not mention the racial context as being of primary importance, not did it seem to this observer that race was an important consideration in the meaning of the statements.

for hesitation in recommending a NYCPD career for one's child. The theme here was that general conditions of the job and/or the effect of the job on civilian life were unsatisfactory. None of the cases classified in this category mentioned the element of "danger" as being of primary concern (where this was the case, respondents were put in the category following this). Six officers and 17 patrolmen were placed in the present category.

- 163. "For him to be a policeman in the (NYCPD) he'll have to give up too much of his personal social life. Plus his family complete life have to be around his irregular schedule."
- 133. "Because of what happened to myself. I was hurt in the line of duty and haven't had anything but harassing since then from the Department."
- 20. "It's practically a job to no where; only about 12% get promoted and very few obtain the satisfaction of doing the type of job they are capable of, . . . i.e., community relations- youth, etc."
- 132. "Because the opportunities are not there. As stated before.. there are plenty of promises but no results."
- 111. "Because of some of the invalid ways of the police Dept."
- 37. "I feel that my children should look towards a normal type job whereby they would work steady days with weekends off regularly and whereby salary increases and benefits would be decided not by their own initiative and output and not by how the public felt or whether other agencies would be entitled to the same considerations they would have received."
- 221. "There are many pitfalls in the PD. The

temptations to do wrong are great; some problems are to be avoided. There are dangerous assignments and the boy would be very young."

14. "Viewing conditions concerning law-enforcement, the type of enforcement, the enforcers, and the results of enforcement, I would rather see me son choose another profession, unless methods and standards are improved."
140. "As the PD is today, it stinks. If it could change, it would not be a bad job."
97. "As the job stands now it is boring and frustrating, punctuated by periods of extreme danger. Unless there is some innovative changes within the department I do not feel that the job would be a fulfilling experience for him."
222. "It's their decision BUT I would tend to compare other fields of endeavor that would be more rewarding personally than for them to give their youth to an unrewarding job such as this one."

(3) Non-Racial Factors of a Non-Departmental Nature

In 23% of responses (60 cases), rejection of a police career for one's child was discussed as an amalgam of several factors primarily of a non-departmental nature (except in feelings of "danger" involved on the job).

The greatest number of cases in this category (24) expressed the theme that the parent would in no way interfere in any job decision of his child, since, as an adult, the child would be sufficiently responsible to make his own decisions:

72. "They have been taught to make their own decisions in the direction of their life as an adult. Experience is the teacher and [I] would be adverse to charting a definite direction. Children should be independent of their parents when it's time for them to course their lives."
181. "Because this is what he wants to do and I would believe that I had raised him to think for himself. As to how he wants to live his life, w/out becoming an addict or a juvenile [delinquent?]."

Fifteen cases here stressed the elements of danger and/or deteriorating social conditions as they might affect police careers for children:

62. "Danger involved, and the condition that is facing the department, racial, social and political."
161. "The policeman is treated as the criminal and his rights are not protected."
84. "I would tell him what he faces being a black policeman in a white society."
200. "My children are very young, and as I see society's problems they seem to be getting worse; if by the time they are ready to become policemen it has not improved it will be like the days of the old west where the fastest gun survived."
199. "I have only one child, a son. With attitudes being what they are, I do not want him subjected to the possibility of being shot simply because someone considers him to be his oppressor."

Some of the remaining 21 cases in this category involved respondents who were either single or had no children, and

so felt that they could not give an honest answer (since they had never considered the question). The remaining replies were too general to classify in a particular category (i.e., "four years and seven months!"; "personal"; "I would kind of hope he was suited to something else"). Again, in some cases coded into this category, there is the possibility that race did play a role in evaluations; however, it was my opinion that the general thrust of the responses did not direct themselves to racial problems.

(4) Departmental Racism

Finally, in 7% of responses (13 cases) marked negative attitudes toward the possibility of one's child pursuing a NYCPD career were voiced on the basis of departmental racism, all directed to personal experiences in the police careers of individual officers :

236. "As a M/F [mother-fucker] I am completely dissatisfied with any adverse condition and recognize my responsibility. However, I will not and do not intend to be abused by any white members of the force without retaliation- (4 black officers killed, and having heard explanations from white M/F- Nowhere, as a fact, police procedure prohibits such exhibitions (of ultimate hate, of M/F). Obviously, only outside influence of

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Of these thirteen, 5 stated in response to question #104 that they were "more satisfied than dissatisfied" with their police careers, five that they were "more dissatisfied than satisfied", and 3 that they were "completely dissatisfied".

legal redress. Fed. suit can correct situation above."

150. "I would be unhappy because of the extreme racist and discrimination in the department against blacks. I think young blacks should go into another field. My experience as a policeman blacks are discriminated against in promotion, assignment, rating etc. You name any category in the department, and I will gather evidential facts of more than one incident of discrimination."
9. "I as a black policeman got involved in a black-white situation where I am now being persecuted by the dept. on framed up charges. My family was a witness to this and they all have lost respect for the police dept."
49. "I would be unhappy if one of my children joined the NYCPD because of the unfair treatment and prejudice that they would receive."
69. "He would have good job security-benefits of retirement and salary, but would have to continue his education because of the ploy to keep minorities out of supervision positions."
137. "I don't think that this is a job a father would want for his child to take because of the discrimination practiced."
95. "I would not want my son to go through the prejudices that I have experienced on the force."
91. "I wonder if he could advance within the Dept. without the stigma of being black. I would want him to have a fine education and enter a field of employment that would recognize his talents and not his color."
168. "I would not like my child to endure.. what I know are unequal terms for blacks in this Police Dept., such as being used for what you are and treat and evaluate you not on your performance but their whims and notions."

212. "I would be happy for him to join if this was his decision. My reservations would be about acceptance as an equal, job opportunities for promotion and advancement and certainly my wish that some of the hostile feelings that exist would no longer prevail in the department."
87. "Because by that time things should be better for the black man. As it is today the black man that gets on this job if private industry was fair he would excel because it takes that much more for a black person to make it on this job."
53. "Happy he or she wanted to help others and was apparently proud of my service, but would have reservations because of unfair and unequal conditions that exist within the Dept. today."
124. "Because it is a dangerous job and it is a biased job."

4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have investigated the question of job satisfaction for the black officer. This was done by analyzing a group of questions which dealt with the problem directly (Table 25) of evaluations of a police career for the individual respondent, the white and black officer; and indirectly by examining attitudes toward the hypothetical choice of a NYCPD career for one's child.

It was found that while dissatisfaction with work conditions was viewed as a major theme for all police (with rank effecting self evaluations), the majority of respondents expressed more satisfaction than dissatisfact-

ion in evaluating their own police careers (with rank again effecting responses). Thus, it was suggested that in evaluating black police attitudes toward the NYCPD, it is important to differentiate between levels of general job problems which are perceived, and personal job satisfaction.

In evaluations of a possible career for one's child in the NYCPD, a majority of respondents (regardless of rank) felt that they would be basically pleased with such a decision, aside from the possible dangers involved. Where lack of approval was voiced (or where approval was tempered by the perception of negative aspects of such a choice by one's child), in a distinct minority of cases (7%) was race given as the primary consideration. Rather, the two major themes in dissatisfaction with such a job choice involved perceptions of increased opportunity for mobility in the private job sector for blacks today (31%), or rejection of a police career for them as a factor of non-racial departmental conditions (13%) or non-racial social conditions confronting the department (23%).

Chapter 8. Conclusion

1. Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on three questions which, from the above analysis, seem of major importance in discussing the development of attitude sets among urban police. The first is the degree to which race may be understood as an independent variable in creating distinct ranges of attitudes among black, versus white, officers. The emphasis here will be both on an interpretation of the problem from interview and questionnaire responses, together with suggestions for methodological refinements allowing for future research of the area. The special role of the focused interview as a methodological instrument in analyzing police attitudes will be developed from responses to the present study at the conclusion of this discussion.

The second area will discuss the extent to which strain between the statuses of race and occupation can be viewed as a primary variable in assessing black police attitudes, with a discussion of possible changes in the relative importance of status inconsistency in structuring black police attitudes from before the 1960's until today.

In the final section, an attempt will be made to locate particular sociological factors which, in the opinion of this researcher, are unique to the police as an occupational group in structuring inter-racial relations within urban police departments. Three sets

of structural conditions will be examined: (1) external structural conditions affecting the police role; (2) internal structural conditions affecting the police role; (3) the relation of police with clients with whom they interact. The emphasis in this discussion will be both to identify particular structural sources affecting intergroup relations in urban police departments, and to generate broader sociological issues in future research on the role of color on status strain in inter-racial occupational situations.

2. The Role of Race as an Independent Variable in the Creation of Police Attitudes

a. Introduction

Because of certain methodological problems involved in this study, the degree to which race exists as an independent variable in structuring black police attitude sets cannot be definitively answered from the data collected.

However, both interview and questionnaire responses indicate that perhaps a better line of investigation to pursue in the future would be the question of what factors are at play in determining different ranges of police attitudes, with race as one possible factor. It is clear from these responses that the black policeman sees several sets of factors as generating different attitudes on the part of white and black

police (see pp. 181 - 191, above). Equally important, black respondents themselves exhibited a range of attitudes which differed at points from one another. Thus, the question of race as a single factor in affecting police attitudes must be reinterpreted in future research by a careful control of possible variables affecting the development of particular attitude sets within (rather than between) both the white and black police community. This seems more productive in generating further hypotheses for study than an approach which extrapolates general stereotypes as a supposed function of a hypothetical "police" personality or from the social position of either group of officers.

Five particular factors seem indicated from interview and questionnaire responses as relevant to this analysis: (a) education of respondents^{*1} (particularly in contributing to heightened social awareness and to an understanding of the cultural and historical factors underlying institutionalized racism); (b) the

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Since 79% of the questionnaire sample had some education beyond the minimal necessary to join the NYCPD (p. 125, above), a further problem in generalizing responses to all black police is created. Consistent with Goode and Hatt (pp. 93 - 94, above), the questionnaire sample in the present study might well be a particular subset of black NYCPD police. Attempts were made to obtain profiles of black NYC police to check comparison of respondents with non-respondents, but these were not available. (See Appendix II, #4, below.)

effect of precinct assignment in patterns of interaction between white and non-white officers, and in the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes; (c) rank and perceived mobility of respondents* in evaluations of working environments and realities; (d) the effect of "time on the force" in influencing and changing particular attitude sets; (e) age as a factor in attitude formation.

A first step in future research would be to study control groups of white officers, perhaps using the findings of this study to compare for possible differences within the white police community (i.e., by religious and ethnic differences) and between this community and black police. It must be remembered that for methodological reasons a control group of white police was not used in this study (see pp. 66 - 68, above). Thus, any attempt to discuss differences in

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Consistent with this, I was informed by the present president of the Guardians in a discussion during the completion of this study that consideration was being given to attempts to recruit blacks to the NYCPD from outside of the NYC area, since it was believed that blacks from other areas of the United States were more likely to define personal mobility within the context of promotion within the Civil Service system, rather than entrance into this system (as was seen to be the case with blacks reared in NYC).

white versus black police attitudes on the basis of data collected in this study must first assess the degree to which black respondents were accurate in their imputation of white police values².

Future research in this area must also attempt to both draw random samples of respondents from different ethnic, religious and racial NYCPD groups independent of sponsorship from particular fraternal organization (which was the line of access to black police for this study), and concentrate on the focused interview as a major methodological tool.

While Guardian cooperation no doubt aided this researcher in access to interview and questionnaire respondents, a potential drawback which must be considered is that those black police who were not in sympathy with Guardian goals and/or policies (i.e., members or sympathizers of the NSAAP) might not have equally participated. To the extent that this is an accurate assessment, the question of generalizability of attitudes to all black NYCPD police must be seriously considered.

The role of the focused interview seems especially important (in comparison to a methodology stressing the questionnaire) in future research in this area from three different perspectives.

The first is that in an area as complex as attitude

formation, attempts must be made to carefully identify subtle cognitive meanings in analyzing responses. Two major findings from this study can be used as an example of the relevance of the focused interview to this concern. The first deals with the seeming inconsistency between allegiance to race before occupation for a majority of the questionnaire sample, at the same time that fully 48% believed that all police regardless of color faced the same problems (pp. 202 - 204, above). The conclusion that different levels of attitude were being employed in evaluating the meaning of each statement to respondents, and that in this context the two sets of attitudes were not inconsistent, was discovered only through careful analysis of interview response. As a second example, what has been termed a "relativistic perspective" has been employed throughout the analysis of data from this study in identifying particular black police attitude sets (see note to p. 141, above, for a definition of this term), together with a stress on the "pragmatic" (versus "political") nature of many black police evaluations. Again, only through the focused interview was it possible to become sensitized to the importance of these concepts in the generation of attitudes within the samples studied. Thus, while questionnaires can provide particular sets of responses, the focused interview seems to this researcher much better able to

integrate responses into a particular framework of meaning.

A second benefit of the focused interview is that in addition to supplying verbal responses, it provides an opportunity to the researcher to utilize non-verbal cues in assessing responses and meanings (as, for example, in the commentary to interview excerpts at pp. 172, 260 - 261, above). This seems particularly important at two levels. On the first, it must be recognized that an interview respondent responds as much to his particular definition of the situation as he does to questions asked; careful analysis of the interview situation can aid in further integrating particular responses into a general framework of respondent attitudes. On a second level, the present study involved an inter-racial interview situation. It might be very interesting in future research to compare the effect of white versus black interviewers in eliciting particular interview response^{*}.

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This research suggests in a broader methodological context that sociologists should reevaluate their own stereotypes about respondent access in interview situations and race. As discussed in the chapter on methodology (pp. 68 - 73; 86 - 87, above), it was the consensus of those I approached at the inception of this study that my color would either disqualify me from Guardian cooperation or from obtaining valid responses. Nothing in the interview situations, however, suggested to me that this was actually the case.

A third, and possibly most important aspect of the focused interview in this type of research, is that the instrument potentially allows the researcher to expand his initial conception of the problem at hand and thus aids in the construction of more intelligent methodological instruments for future research, or, equally important, sensitizes him to his own biases in the pursuit of the research problem.

At the first level, the possible impact of black police treatment of black civilians (as compared to white police treatment) in forming black civilian attitudes toward the police was suggested as a possible area of analysis only through interview responses (see notes to pp. 201, 239, above). At the second level, in the last interview completed for this study I made a comment to the respondent in the form of a question as to how he (being brought up in Harlem) managed to avoid illegal or quasi-legal activities which many of his peers had become involved in. He answered me, with some surprise, by asking whether any youth, regardless of his color or background, does not have opportunities to get into trouble and parents and friends who attempt to keep him out of it. It was only then that I realized that at an unconscious level I was indulging in stereotyping, although consciously I knew of many cases similar to the respondent's which should have made his

experiences easily understandable.

It seemed particularly unfortunate at the time that I was made conscious of this stereotyping only when the last interview was completed. What the situation sensitized me to, however, was the need for very careful assessment of one's own prejudices and biases in approaching a particular area of analysis, both as these influenced the type of questions asked, and the unconscious feeding of perceptual cues to respondents. In a broader sociological context, the focused interview seems particularly constructive in alerting the researcher to the possible role of this factor in influencing his own interaction in the research situation. In a field of analysis as complex as that of attitude formation among urban police personnel, researcher sensitization to stereotypes and preconceptions influencing his own approach seems particularly important in the formulation of accurate methodological instruments.

b. A "Black" Police Attitude Set?

In the opinion of this investigator, the question of the extent to which a "black" police attitude set can be assumed must be approached carefully. I believe that recent events demonstrate that, in particular areas, it is correct to assume different attitudes between

black and white police (i.e., the civilian review board issue and the Guardian-Hispanic suit).

However, I believe that, at a deeper level, the attitudes of black police in many areas are consonant with those of white police, differing primarily in dissimilar evaluations of factors contributing to specific problems or in the differential emphasis placed on individual factors. Thus, favoritism in advancements in the NYCPD would probably be recognized as a problem by all police (as demonstrated in the frequent discussions of the "rabbi" system in the literature), although the racial factor would be viewed as a particularly important element for black officers. Likewise, departmental discrimination would probably also be accepted as a component of the reality system for both groups of police, but probably could be more easily rationalized by the white officer given the racial stereotypes which he has internalized in a racist society.

In Sizemore's discussion of the development of black identity³, the position is taken that often there exists a "clash of symbolic universes" between white and black views:

Looking at American values as such may extend a way to reconcile the black observations with the white. Whites feel that the American Creed and the ideals therein, the Protestant Ethic and the Judeo-Christian ethos are

highly valued and that the race problem in this country is caused by the moral conflict engendered by their violation. Blacks feel that white supremacy, European superiority, male superiority, and the superiority of people with money are highly valued, and that the race problem in this country is caused by the white rage incited by their rejection.. It would appear that equality would be as good for a black man as it is for a white man, and it is. Yet the concept of white superiority organizes this value so that the former transcends the reality of the latter. Consequently, there is a white view and a black view of the bridge. 4

I do not mean to suggest by the above that color is an independent variable in identifying understandings of "blacks" and "whites" in the United States; indeed, studies have shown great variations in black attitudes⁵ and cultural patterns⁶ when controlling for social class and other socio-economic variables. Rather, I believe that it has been demonstrated repeatedly that for the black in America, "colour is inherent in the concept of 'self'"⁷, and in this context, evaluations of black police always must deal at one level or another / with racial awareness as a mediating influence.

In the perspective developed by the Symbolic Interactionists⁸, Banks discusses the process of the role of racial prejudice in the development of black self-concepts⁹ :

In modern American society we acquire identity from.. 'significant others'..

and incorporate it within ourselves. A person in our society validates his identity through the evaluations of 'significant others.' However, the average black American has never been able to establish social or self-identity that is comparable in terms of social valuation to that of the white majority. The ideal self in America has been made synonymous with Caucasians, and particularly middle-class whites. In his quest for identity, the black man has begun to ask, 'Who am I in relation to other races and ethnic groups?' This heightened awareness has caused many black Americans to reject their old identity, which was shaped largely by the white community.. and to search for elements out of which a new identity may be formed.

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This approach seems more productive in understanding differences in the reality systems of black and white police than discussing a "white" police versus a "black" police value system. For the police used in this study, in contemplating their position both in American society and in the NYCPD, the status of race as a disqualifier in equal opportunities is primary. This is not a "political" statement for the black officer; it is "telling things as they are".

For respondents, white police hostility, where it was believed to exist, was explained primarily as a factor of the racial situation in the United States: the initial socialization of the white officer, the development of anxiety as an effect of increasing black militancy, and the effect of assignment to minority precincts. In some cases, to be sure, white police

prejudice was seen as intentional, in that the white policeman did not want to change his attitudes. Far more often, however, a clear empathy was expressed for the dilemma of the white officer, who was viewed as much a victim of his own society as a conscious perpetrator of racial injustice.

Two comments written at the conclusion of questionnaires reflect this understanding:

Until people are man and woman, and considered as such, you will have difficulties in the P.D. between groups of people. When all of us are Americans and only think this way because we're living in the U.S.A. .. can we say the "land of the free."

No, the white policeman merely follows the trend of most middle class whites who view themselves as having made it via the Bootstrap theory. I conclude by saying that a study of this sort if made public, would have no great purpose. Gentlemen, all you have to do is be black to know the feeling.

Even given this perception of discrimination, however, the black police used in this study still hold a strong belief that their primary possibility for success (and for the success of black civilians) exists through mobility within the system, rather than in its destruction.

Indeed, in comparison with fathers' occupations and those held by respondents immediately prior to entrance into the NYCPD, mobility has been a reality

for a majority of this sample. Their evaluations of groups like the NAACP, the Black Panthers and Black Muslims, together with the stress placed on mobility through education for their own children is further evidence of their faith that the "system" can incorporate the black. In their own experiences in the NYCPD, a majority have seen an improvement both in departmental working conditions for black police and the attitude of white police towards them.

It is the differential impact of race in self-definition (both as a policeman and as a civilian), which in the opinion of this observer, primarily differentiates white versus black police understandings of reality (as opposed to attitude differences). Failure to be aware of this is what seems to lie at the heart of difficulties in constructing a common framework of values for the white and black officer.

The option of disregarding racial factors in an understanding of the self is denied to the black policeman. On the contrary, he, unlike his white counterpart, interacts in a society where his race is a constant factor in the way he is perceived by others. This identification is seen to carry over into his occupational role, not because he chooses to make racial identity more important than police identity, but because others (both civilian and police) are

believed to make this their primary basis for evaluating him.

In contrast, the reality system of many white police may be discussed as primarily differing from that of the black officer in that overall discrimination does not have the same emotional impact for self-identity, nor is the basis created by a society structured by "white" values¹¹ for the white policeman to understand the impact of race in every facet of black life.

The effects of this lack of a common system of understandings is reflected in different evaluations of recent issues confronting the NYCPD: the interpretation of a civilian controlled review board as necessary to redress police abuses to civilians by the Guardians becomes interpreted as disloyalty to the police function by the PBA; the creation of a Cadet Program to meet discrimination against minority hiring in the NYCPD becomes interpreted by some white police as "reverse discrimination". Demands for special concessions in minority hiring and promotion policies until exams are validated as job-related (as in the Guardian-Hispanic suit) become interpreted as "special preference" for groups traditionally excluded from the department. Most importantly, the primacy of racial over occupational identity becomes viewed by some as a disloyalty to both American and police values.

To the extent that the value system of white police reflects the broader American ideology of individualism as the only legitimate and realistic means for social mobility, the emergence of group identity by black police (as reflected first in the Guardian support for the civilian review board issue in 1966; the creation of a Guardian Defense Solidarity Fund growing out of the Jimmy Cato incident in 1969; and the more recent Guardian-Hispanic suit) becomes potentially interpreted as a radicalism inconsistent with the values of "law and order" that the police establishment is understood to represent.

This seems a particularly important problem that the NYCPD will have to face in the future, given the continuing acceleration of black civilian and police vocalism. Until the white policeman can become convinced of the sincerity and commitment of his black colleague to universalistic standards of law enforcement, the potential to view him as both an outsider and an intruder, as perceived by interview and questionnaire respondents, will remain.

As in so many other problems, the solution is obvious, the implementation very difficult, especially to the extent that white police understandings can be seen as rooted in institutional stereotypes. But it is the firm belief of this researcher that nothing short of a redefinition of both white and black racial

realities to one another will suffice to create the beginnings of a harmonious and judicious relationship between the two groups, and consequently, perhaps create an environment in which more equitable treatment of minorities by police can be achieved.

3. The Analysis of Status Strain and the Black Policeman

a. Introduction

The discussion in this section will focus on three interrelated areas of sociological analysis. The first will attempt to locate specific potentialities for status strain between the statuses of race and occupation for the black policeman on the basis of interview and questionnaire response. The second section will discuss the actual findings of this study as they relate to an understanding of the relative importance of status strain as a sociological variable in understanding black police attitudes, and will discuss possible changes in the saliency of this variable from before the 1960's until today. In the last section, three particular questions for future sociological research will be identified as being generated from the present research: (1) the creation of new mechanisms in integrating status and role strain for black professionals; (2) a need for reassessment, in light of the Black Nationalism movement,

of the role of black professionals in their relationship to the black community; (3) the possible crystallization of racial identity as an independent source of professionalization.

b. Status Strain and Role Sets

The area of status strain as a sociological variable in understanding the dilemma of black professionals has been discussed in varying contexts since the 1940's¹². All individuals participating in social interaction can be conceived as holding a particular role-set, defined as "that complement of social relationships in which persons are involved simply because they occupy a particular social status"¹³, which carries with it the potential both for differing expectations as to what is appropriate conduct and possible conflict between different members of the set:

To the extent that members of a role-set are diversely located in the social structure, they are apt to have interests and sentiments, values and moral expectations, differing from those of the status-occupant himself.. Since social differentiation generates distinct interests among those variously located¹⁴ in the social structure.

Thus, the dimensions of proper role behavior and expectations become both a function of the actor who holds the role and the different alters with whom he interacts.

The potential for status conflict emerges where particular members of an actor's role set challenge or question his assumption of a particular role and the status consistent with this^{*}. To the extent that professions have been traditionally closed to non-whites in the United States (Table 11, p. 106, above), those who enter them face two sets of distinct problems. The first concerns the degree to which they are accepted as peers by those already members of the profession. The second concerns problems of self and community identity to the extent that professionalization often involves the internalization of values different from those which are perceived as relevant to one's race, or in actual opposition to racial advancement (as in the perception of the police function as involving racial suppression and discrimination). Thus, the

position of the Negro in the United States can be and has been conceptualized as a question of overlapping group membership and conflicting norms.. This conflict becomes especially acute if the Negro becomes a member of a different community within the society with its own

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This should be differentiated from role conflict, where the primary concern is with competing expectations regarding performance of one's function by different members of one's role set, rather than with differential evaluations of the legitimacy of the ego in holding a particular role.

strict standards, such as a profession. Negroes entering professions become in one sense members of the privileged minority within the country and are confronted with a very specific set of norms, more specific than the general norms of American culture but compatible with them. This set of norms is even more clearly opposed to the norms of intergroup relations within the society than would be true for the non-professional. These different standards give the Negro professional a conflict of self-identification which he has to resolve in some way. An additional condition is that, as he enters one of the higher-status groups in the occupational hierarchy, his membership in a minority group may be an advantage or disadvantage in his career.

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Three possible sources of status strain (defined as differential acceptance of the occupational status of policeman by members of the respondent's role set) for the black policeman can be discussed from the findings of this study: the problem of acceptance by peers (family and friends), by civilians who are not involved in primary group relations with the black policeman (both black and white, although rejection by the former can be seen to carry more consequences in the development of self image), and by white police. The discussion of findings here will be expanded to suggest certain areas of investigation for future sociological research which emerge, in the opinion of this researcher, as issues central to an understanding of the changing situational factors influencing status conflict among

black professionals since the development of Black Nationalism in the 1960's.

c. Sources of Status Strain for the Black Policeman

From analysis of both interview and questionnaire responses for this study (see especially pp. 234 - 255, above) negative evaluations of a police career for blacks does not emerge as a particularly significant pattern for either primary group or non-primary group black civilians.

For peers (especially parents and wives/girlfriends) acceptance of the decision to become a policeman was viewed as the rule, although often tempered by fears for personal safety. A majority of respondents also perceived friends to be basically pleased with their decision to join the NYCPD (55%), although to a lesser extent than either parents (79%) or wives/girlfriends (82%). Thus, the potential for status conflict arising out of lack of peer group acceptance of the black policeman does not seem strong for this sample.

Evaluations by black civilians who did not belong to respondents' peer groups were more complex. Here, respondents were divided in their opinions. The consensus, however, was that there was a distortion of the question of black civilian attitude to the black policeman if three factors were not considered. The first was that

a generally negative shift in civilian attitudes to the police was perceived over the years, irrespective of race. The second was that often socio-economic factors were more important in understanding civilian attitudes (both black and white) to the police than race as an independent variable. The last concerned the general nature of civilian-police contacts, and the effect that this had on individual evaluations of the police. Thus, the potential for status conflict arising from lack of non-peer group black civilians does not seem particularly strong for the sample used in this study.

The extent to which white police accept the black officer is perceived very differently, however. Here, although improvement was generally noted over the individual respondent's career, it was not seen as having improved as greatly as working conditions (Table 16, p. 143). Further, the causes of improvement in working conditions were attributed either to outside pressures on the NYCPD (usually of a political nature) or to situational forces (i.e., inability of white police to infiltrate areas of black crime), and thus did not represent a positive reevaluation of the black policeman by his white peers.

This finding was used to explain the seeming inconsistency between evaluations of improvements in working conditions, on the one hand, and the sentiment of the

largest percentage of the sample (both officers and patrolmen), that the role of black police in policy-making decisions had not changed at all since they joined the force.

Although for this sample racial problems in the NYCPD were evaluated as secondary when compared to other individual and departmental problems analyzed (Table 14, p. 134; Table 15, p. 136), I believe that the area of white police acceptance is most likely to create possible status conflict for the black officer: to the extent that his occupational image is not accepted or validated by either white co-workers or supervisors as significant others¹⁶ problems in forging an occupational identity consistent with race may be seen as potentially developing for the black officer.

However, I believe that the relative significance of white police rejection of the black officer in creating possible status conflict has been reduced in recent years by changes both external to the NYCPD (specifically the emergence of Black Nationalism) and internal, in the development of a black police group image through recent Guardian activism (i.e., Solidarity Defense Fund; Guardian support of the civilian controlled review board; Guardian-Hispanic suit;

Guardian activism in addressing itself to broad social issues involved in police-minority relations)*. The development of an articulated Black Power philosophy on the part of the Guardians beginning in the early 1960's must be seen as indicative of changes in broader organizational patterns in the black community,¹⁷ which in turn suggests new directions in future sociological research of the development of status inconsistency among black professionals (which will be discussed below). The case of the black NYCPD officer can be discussed as an illustrative example of these trends.

For the black officer, the growth of an organized movement in the 1960's around black identity may be seen as providing a focus and direction for frustrations and anxieties which at an earlier period remained diffused.

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Conclusions here must be approached cautiously, since comparable data from earlier periods are not available. As I evaluated interview sentiments in this area, the conclusions seem valid, although individual respondents might not have consciously verbalized them in their comments. A study was done recently of all black NYCPD black police by a black Deputy Commissioner for Community Affairs (now retired). After repeated attempts to obtain this study (with the intervention of Sgt. Sheffey) I dropped the matter. I was told by Commissioner Ward's office that under no circumstances was the report to be made available to anyone, since ostensibly there were sampling and methodological problems which were believed to invalidate certain of the conclusions. The only copies of the report were either in the possession of ex-Commissioner Ward or on file at his office.

Dahrendorf discusses the effects of organizational development in the creation of conflict-regulating mechanisms in social conflict: although

in the stage of organization, conflict may develop a greater visible intensity [i.e., white backlash and Guardian-PBA animosity], organization has at least two side effects which operate in the opposite direction. Organization presupposes the legitimacy of conflict groups, and it thereby removes the permanent and incalculable threat of guerilla warfare. Organization is institutionalization, and whereas its manifest function is usually an increasingly articulated and outspoken defense of interests [i.e., Jimmy Cato issue, Guardian support of a civilian controlled review board and Guardian-Hispanic suit], it invariably has the latent function also of inaugurating routines of conflict which contribute to reducing the violence of clashes of interest. 18

In this context, the development of programs focused around black identity may be seen to create a group mechanism for the resolution of conflict in a situation where before the individual was more dependent on personal modes of accommodation. These, in many cases, were seen as pointless, in that the NYCPD was viewed as a bureaucratic organization in which blacks were (and still are today) excluded from positions of power and policy-making. Nationalism, in the sense that it creates a strengthened feeling of efficacy for the black officer, may thereby be seen as reducing his sense of isolation and frustration in coping with rejection by his white peers, through the creation of institutional modes of

group conflict resolution.

A second function of nationalism,,especially in the perceived shift in Guardian policy to the problems of the black officer and civilian, beginning in the 1960's, is that it can be seen as creating a psychological atmosphere in which problems of discrimination become increasingly defined as subject to internal group control, rather than as dependent on the intervention of outside forces (i.e., federal or city government), or the "good will" and acceptance by white peers and supervisors.

This function of nationalism for the black police used in this study can be analyzed from the perspective developed by Crawford and Naditch in their discussion of relative deprivation as a factor effecting patterns of minority group adjustment¹⁹. They use a paradigm^{20*} that

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The two dichotomies used (high and low discrepancy; internal and external locus of control) are discussed as creating four modes of adjustment:

- a. Content fatalism: low discrepancy and external control; typical of traditional societies and creating passive behavior
- b. Content activism: low discrepancy and internal control; typical of stable societies and creating reactive behavior
- c. Discontent fatalism: high discrepancy and external control; typical of unstable societies and creating expressive behavior
- d. Discontent activism: high discrepancy and internal control; typical of transitional societies and creating instrumental behavior

examines the relationship between two sets of variables structuring levels of minority reaction to social discrimination.

The first set of factors involves an analysis of the discrepancy between "ideal" and "real" definitions of social reality as this affects minority feelings (high and low discrepancy). The second is whether the perceived locus of control over situations affecting minorities is viewed as internal or external to group control.

While it is difficult to make generalizations on the basis of ideal typical models²¹, I believe that the use of this paradigm can be instructive in understanding possible reduction in status strain generated for the black policeman by lack of acceptance by white co-workers and supervisors.

On the variable of "perceived discrepancy between ideal and real conditions", black civilians in general, and black police in particular, would be placed in the "high discrepancy" category. Although improvements in conditions for both groups have occurred in the 1950's and 1960's, the gulf between black and white Americans is still great. For black police used in this study, the majority sentiment is that although improvements have occurred in the NYCPD for blacks in all areas except input in policy-making, there is still

"a long way to go" (question #13, p. 149, above).

For the second variable, however, a dramatic shift can be seen beginning in the 1960's from "external" to "internal" locus of control. This results from both the development of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's, and from the consequent growth of black police group identity through both federal intervention in minority hiring and promotional programs in urban police departments, and the shift in Guardian policy toward social activism on behalf of the black policeman and civilian.

In this sense, it seems valid to hypothesize (and I believe that the data from this study lend support to the conclusion) that the characteristic attitude of the black policeman today is much closer to "discontent activism", whereas before the 1960's it was probably more in the nature of "discontent fatalism" (i.e., high discrepancy between ideal and real social position of blacks, but locus of control of situations and policies affecting blacks outside of black police and civilian control).

Guardian activism in the Jimmy Cato incident and the Defense Solidarity Fund created as a result of it, the Guardian-PBA conflict over a civilian controlled review board, the current Guardian-Hispanic suit, and the creation of training programs for minority police applicants (later extended to prepare minorities for

all civil service examinations), all suggest that a basis of black police group solidarity, involving the creation of strong instrumental behavior, internally generated, to overcome discrimination against both black police and civilians, is increasingly attempted by the community of black NYCPD police.

The effect of this development in reducing possible status conflict emerging from lack of white police acceptance of the black officer (and by extension, to blacks in other professions where a similar group identity has emerged) suggests three areas of future sociological research:

1. To what extent does the development of institutional modes of conflict resolution for the black policeman (or other professional) affect patterns of accommodation, where, at an earlier period, the individual was more dependent on personal and individual modes of coping (as represented in the period before the 1960's for the black policeman)?
2. To what extent does the development of group identity for the black policeman create a focus of self-identity from which his validation as an officer becomes increasingly less dependent on the attitudes of white co-workers, and increasingly more dependent on the implementation of particular goals articulated and pursued through the creation of a black power base?
3. From interview responses, the confrontation of problems facing black NYCPD officers is seen in a broader social context as serving as a catalyst in

sensitizing both police (white and black) and civilians (black and white) to more general problems facing the NYCPD. In this context, it is believed that this new (police and civilian) awareness will possibly generate critical assessments and reevaluations of issues seen as central to problems facing urban police forces, and hopefully aid in their solution. Viewed in this perspective, the black policeman (and other black professionals involved in similar group organization²²) may be seen as expanding their interests in the development of internal group solidarity to include concerns of public welfare. The effect of this on broader issues of status conflict is indicated for future sociological research.

While the findings from this study indicate specific directions to be followed in assessing particular factors related to status conflict for the black policeman and other black professionals with the growth of internal organizational structure, at a more general sociological level they can be seen to have implications for a reassessment of perspectives from which the entire issue of status inconsistency must be approached for black professionals in future research. These reassessments will now be discussed.

d. Status Conflict and the Black Professional:
A Reassessment of Perspectives

(1) Modes of Accommodation

In general discussions of mechanisms of relieving role and status conflict²³, and in particular discussions

of this problem for black professionals²⁴, modes of conflict resolution are discussed in which the ego of necessity must compromise by adjusting his behavior to conform with particular members of his role set (i.e., withdrawal into self, role segmentation, avoidance of members of one's role set or situations generating conflict). New black awareness and organization suggest, for future research, that rather than accommodation as a means of adjustment to conflicting expectations or evaluations, black professionals may be seen as engaging increasingly in instrumental behavior geared to redefining the factors which themselves are responsible for this conflict.

Thus, to use the black police investigated in the present study as an example, attitude sets seem to be emerging in which the primary focus is on activating social changes at the level of stereotyping and discrimination which lead to lack of acceptance by white peers, rather than in behavior which is primarily geared to coping with exclusion generated by these stereotypes. The emphasis becomes both direct confrontation of institutionalized racism, (i.e., Guardian Defense Solidarity Fund, PBA civilian review board suit, Guardian-Hispanic suit), together with a reassessment of the role of the black policeman to black civilians (i.e., development of the

NSAAP and Guardian training programs for minorities seeking civil service employment).

In this context, empirical investigations of the emerging role of group solidarity as a factor influencing status strain seems indicated for future sociological research; a model such as that developed by Crawford and Naditch (p. 315, above) might be employed in empirical studies on black professionals at different degrees of organizational structure. This would serve the function of both testing the role of this variable in relation to status dilemmas posed by rejection by white peers, at the same time that it might serve to further refine the dimensions of the problem to be studied in light of current developments.

(2) The Relationship of the Black Professional to the Black Community

The relationship of the black middle class (and professionals as one subgroup of this class) to elements of the black community at a lower socio-economic level has been seen as largely non-supportive beginning with the publication of Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie²⁵. In this work, the perspective was developed that members of the black middle class tend to isolate themselves from the broader black community in constructing a world of "fantasy" and "make-believe"²⁶, at the same time that they are rejected as peers by

whites whom they attempt to emulate. The present research suggests two refinements in this discussion on the basis of the internal development of black professional solidarity.

The first is the degree to which this solidarity can be understood to create a tendency among black professionals in which they increasingly identify values of professionalism in the context of concerns relative to the needs of the black community. This involves a shift in perspective from legitimation of one's professional status as defined by either generalistic criteria of professionalism as emanating from the broader society and/or particular occupational groups, to particularistic criteria relating to the development of programs of racial amelioration.

As a possible consequence of this, there seems to be a need for future empirical research to reassess the entire relationship of black professionals to the black community. As a hypothesis, it seems that as organizational identity grows within black professional groups, norms of this professionalism come increasingly to be defined in terms relevant to the black community, creating a reapproachment between racial and professional values once seen to be in conflict with one another²⁷. The effect of this on black professional self-identity and internal organ-

izational structure in the black community seem especially important for future research.

(3) Organizational Identity and Status Conflict

Two possible unintended consequences of black professional organizational identity must also be considered in future sociological research. Although this identity evolved because of lack of response in the broader society (and in particular professions) to concerns defined as relevant to the black community, one effect of this process may be to create actual isolation between segments of the white and black professional communities.

In discussing the development of group consciousness among the Irish of Boston, Handlin argues that subcultural patterns which formed as an initial reaction to discrimination and closure from the broader society, became crystallized so that they remained as a part of an Irish-Catholic subculture long after they were functional²⁸. A similar pattern may be indicated in the development of black professional solidarity. Further analysis must, therefore, examine the degree to which this movement can be understood as a force serving to fragment generalistic criteria of professionalism within the broad professional community by replacing them with group-specific goals. The effects of

this pattern must be assessed in their broader sociological relevance to inter-group relations between the professions and intra-group relations within them*.

A last implication of this research to the study of status conflict within particular professional contexts is that sources of status conflict themselves must now be reevaluated in light of current developments. At an earlier period, when black organization and power were minimal in comparison to the situation today, much conflict for the black professional might be understood as emanating from reactions of his white peers to him (as was the case for respondents in this study). However, with goals and policies increasingly coming under control of black professionals today, a counter-movement may be seen as developing in which black professionals themselves create forces isolating them from broader professional interaction (as in the development of a Black Political Caucus, or community-controlled school boards).

All of this suggests that future sociological analysis

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As an extension of this approach, the same types of analysis should be done for the development of group consciousness among non-racial minorities, such as women's action groups in different professions. In a general sociological framework, the development of minority consciousness (for racial, ethnic, religious, sexual and political minorities) must be examined in its effects on changes in professional ideologies and intra-inter group relations among professional workers.

must consider the role of increasing minority group activism and power as an independent variable in affecting traditional patterns of professional ideology and power, and the consequences of this for organizational patterns of development and social interaction between minority and white professionals.

4. Structural Conditions Affecting Black-White Police Interaction

a. Introduction

While certain findings of this study can be seen as having broader implications for future research in the area of white-minority professional interaction, in the opinion of this researcher specific elements involved in the police working environment must be examined in assessing social relationships between white and minority personnel in this profession. The police as an occupational group can be seen as involved in a unique set of conditions affecting white-minority interaction.

At a minimum, three levels of analysis seem indicated from interview and questionnaire responses from which to study the development of attitudes and relations between white and minority police personnel:

1. External Structural Conditions

- a. Problems in clearly defining the police function
- b. Political sensitivity and police politicization
- c. Mechanisms of public control

2. Internal Structural Conditions

- a. Traditional closure to non-whites
- b. The nature of intra-group relations

3. Relations to Clients

Although all of these areas have been previously discussed in the literature examined for the present study, the emphasis has been on their effect in defining and indicating areas for a macrosociological level of study of the police function in the United States, rather than on the development of police attitudes and belief systems*. In future research, the questions and conclusions developed below might well be applied to analyses of other occupations in the civil service sector, and to comparisons of these

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Where studies have attempted this, the emphasis has been on explaining particular personality traits seen as typical of police (i.e., Niederhoffer's discussion of police cynicism and authoritarianism, pp. 351 - 360 below); Chevigny's discussion of the factors leading to police brutality (p. 328 below). What seems indicated for further research is detailed empirical analyses of the interplay between external and internal structural conditions affecting the development of police attitude sets, together with the nature of the police-client relationship.

with occupations in the private job sector.

In the discussion that follows, it should be remembered that the factors listed above will be discussed from the specific context of their effect on intra-group relations and attitude development between the white and minority policeman. All potentially could be viewed in a much broader sociological context (in their relation to other areas of concern), which is outside of the parameters of the present discussion.

b. External Structural Conditions Affecting
White-Black Police Interaction

(1) Ambiguities in Defining the Police Function

An initial factor in understanding the nature of white-black police interaction concerns ambiguities in defining the police function in American society. As developed in the introduction to this study (pp. 5 - 13), a clearer conception of the historical development of the American police role can be seen when the group is viewed as "nothing else than a mechanism for the distribution of situationally justified force in society", whose "activity is as much directed to who a person is as to what he does", than in viewing the police as an institution concerned primarily with universalistic standards of law enforcement. To the extent that institutionalized racial

stereotypes become relevant in creating attitude sets among different groups of police, future research must examine the degree to which they influence patterns of white-black police interaction by creating expectations and evaluations carried over into the police occupational subculture. From interview responses, this factor emerged as especially important in black police understandings of the development of white police racial attitudes, and should be a focus of future research utilizing cohorts of white police.

A second question which must be approached is the extent to which the NYCPD (or, by extension, other occupational bureaucracies) has the power independently to affect a common framework of values and understandings between white and minority officers. If one begins from the premise that police and their policies are first the products of a community of values in which they function, one must examine the extent to which these policies reflect broader social values and expectations at every level.

From responses in this study, it is of course a valid question as to whether the NYCPD wants to incorporate the black and minority officer. However, in one sense, the answer to this question depends ultimately on whether the broader American society itself desires this incorporation, since the initial

forces for exclusion from the department and acceptance by white colleagues can be seen as rooted in the social and political understandings about blacks institutionalized in the values of this society. In this context, for

legislators and judges the police are a godsend, because all the acts of oppression that must be performed in this society to keep it running smoothly are pushed onto the police. The police get the blame, and the officials stay free of the stigma of approving their highhanded acts. The police have become the repository of all the illiberal impulses in this liberal society; they are under heavy fire because most of us no longer admit so readily to our illiberal 28 impulses as we once did.

Viewed from another perspective, the changing emphasis on particular elements of the police function since the end of World War II can be seen as involving problems in white-black police relations at two levels of analysis.

First, the police function can be seen as increasingly involved in the implementation of "order" (i.e., the role of police in controlling anti-war demonstrations, racial disturbances and student protests)²⁹ versus "law". In Skolnick's analysis, the development of a "tension between the operational consequences of ideas of order, efficiency, and initiative, on the one hand, and legality, on the

other, constitutes the principal problem of police as a democratic legal institution", since "order.. under law.. subordinates the ideal of conformity to the ideal of legality"³⁰.

To the extent that emerging Black Power (external to the department and through black police organizational solidarity) challenges traditional concepts of "order", creating dislocations in every part of the American legal system³¹, the policeman is further confounded in his actions. Frustration, anxiety and resentment (directed not necessarily against his department or society, but toward minority police and civilians) may be a natural consequence of this dilemma.

At a second level, status strain for police departments and personnel must be investigated in the dilemmas created by minority recruitment and advancement programs to goals of police professionalization. To the extent that traditional police bureaucracies view outside attempts at minority incorporation as involving a "lowering of standards", they are faced with the paradox of increasing professionalization at the same time that they allow groups defined as less competent into the department.

In examining this question, the degree to which these understandings can be evaluated as valid becomes secondary. What is indicated for future research is

the extent to which those who reject minority hiring and advancement programs are dealing in one set of standards by which professionalism is defined, while those who support it are dealing in another (see pp. 23 - 24, above), and the effects of this on intra-group relations.

The comparison of these elements with other civil service positions where the dimensions of function are less ambiguous, and thus less amenable to influences from outside social forces in creating patterns of intra-group interaction (i.e., Fire or Sanitation Departments), must be pursued in future sociological analysis to assess the particular importance of these variables to patterns of interaction between white and minority police.

(2) Political Sensitivity and Police Politicization

With the emergence of Black Nationalism as an increasingly articulated social philosophy in the 1960's and the influx of black and other minorities into central cities after World War II, the "law and order" issue began to grow in prominence as a political issue between competing urban political interests³². At the center of this issue was the control of "black" crime and civil disorder³³, which must be examined as a factor creating both racial polarization in American cities and a politicization of different police interests

themselves.

In Ruchelman's analysis of the NYCPD³⁴, 1961 is seen as the critical year in which traditional coalitions between the Democratic party organization in NYC and the NYCPD began to deteriorate, with the effect of politicizing the area of police relations, since traditional supports of police power were becoming weakened:

As the Democratic party organization in New York City began to decline during the late 1950's and the early 1960's.. city politics became a free-wheeling, multi-factioned affair. During this time, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association entered the political lists just as other groups and organizations were 35 inclined to do.

The overall effect of this was to create an environment in which control of the police became equated to both political and racial issues exceeding the bounds of the maintenance of "law and order", and ultimately (in the struggle for power between the mayor, different police commissioners, the PBA and police interest groups, as in Guardian-PBA hostilities) politicizing the police function itself:

New York City has been subject to similar pressures as Philadelphia. This in spite of the fact that the 1969 mayoralty election was acclaimed by some liberal commentators as one of the nation's 'bright-spots.' As we saw, 'good-government' man John Lindsay, running without support from either major party, won a second term in an uphill battle against two law-and-order candidates.

What should not be overlooked.. is that Lindsay could well have lost if enough white, middle-class voters had concentrated their support in one of his two adversaries. Ignored by election analysts were the motivations for Lindsay's selection of Sanford Garelick, a former chief police inspector and political unknown, to run ostentatiously on his ticket as City Council President.. Not only are new types making claim to the leading offices of cities like New York and Philadelphia, but the political structure of such places has taken on new dimensions as well. As the old party machines continue to decline and disappear.. the police bureaucracies have come to assume special significance in their new role of providing support to law-officer candidates and law-enforcement issues. Spurred on by a pervading popular anxiety over radicalism, student demonstrations, and Black Power, they appear to be performing many of the functions that parties served in the past. Where law permits, and sometimes in spite of the law, policemen's associations have been raising campaign funds, placing political advertisements, endorsing candidates, and organizing voters during 36 elections.

The implications of this politicization of urban police forces must be incorporated into future research on white-minority interaction in police departments where it has occurred, in order to assess its importance as a variable contributing to future disparities in frames of reference and the development of attitude sets among members of this profession.

c. Mechanisms of Public Accountability

As an occupation in the public service sector, police share with other civil service positions the element of public accountability and regulation. However, the nature of groups attempting to influence and regulate police behavior and policies can be seen as much more dispersed than for other occupations (i.e., Sanitation and Fire Departments) in this sector of the economy. This is the case because police action (or lack of it) can be seen as having ramifications for several different interest groups, whose expectations and needs are different at points from one another.

Theoretically, the police are responsible to all civilians whose life, property and rights they are sworn to protect. Where, however, because of ambiguities in establishing guidelines of proper behavior (i.e., riot patrol) or because of political interference, strict guidelines are not supplied, the police must often utilize their own judgments. To the extent that these involve racial evaluations, conflict with elements of the civilian community become a distinct likelihood.

A further complication is the degree to which federal pressures (as opposed to pressures emanating from elements of city politics) are increasingly shifting the locus of control over departmental

decision-making from the departments themselves to outside agencies. This seems particularly evident in the recent creation of both formal (i.e., federal guidelines for minority employment and promotion quotas) and informal (i.e., funding of particular police programs being made contingent on compliance with federal guidelines for minority utilization) standards concerning minority representation in police departments, and in the expanding role of Supreme Court decisions concerning due process to suspects and prisoners and proper boundaries for the gathering of evidence^{37*}..

A last group which has become increasingly vocal in attempting to exert indirect control over the police function has been civil rights groups. This is especially evident in the question of police brutality and excessive use of force which developed the issue of civilian review of the police in various American cities in the 1960's³⁸. Not only

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In this context, issues of civilian review of police actions represent, in the opinion of this researcher, not only questions related to the relations between the police and the public, but far deeper issues concerning recent challenges to the issue of police internal control. Thus, this issue can be seen to have important social implications beyond the immediate question of civilian accountability of the police.

have recent challenges to police power increasingly developed from these groups, but the campaigns fought around them have involved a further degree of racial polarization (as in Guardian-PBA allegations discussed at pp. 45 - 47, above) for both police and civilians. The effect of this, as demonstrated in this study for NYC, was an exacerbation of fears and antagonisms between members of the police and minority communities, and the development of further strain between black and white police.

c. Internal Structural Conditions Affecting
White-Black Police Interaction

(1) Traditional Closure to Non-Whites

As has been developed in the introduction to this study (pp. 13 - 19, above), urban police forces have been predominantly white in the United States. In this context, attempts to integrate police departments may be viewed as involving potential challenges to the bases of power exercised by traditional bureaucratic police interests.

A particular problem compounding the question of acceptance of minorities on police forces must concern itself with the use of special mechanisms created to facilitate both the entrance and advancement of minorities in the NYCPD. A common reaction to this (pp. 23 - 24, above) has been the allegation of

"reverse discrimination" and "favoritism" at the expense of white personnel. This suggests that future examination of this area must direct itself to both objective and subjective evaluations of minority recruitment programs on the part of different cohorts of officers.

If interview and questionnaire responses from this study are accurate, present programs of minority recruitment and utilization in the NYCPD become defined for the black officer as an adjustment of standards to make them conform more with the reality of racial discrimination, while the white officer sees them as involving a "lowering of standards"* to allow entrance of a group which is not defined as sharing in his community of values.

Michael Novak's discussion of the development of white backlash is relevant in elaborating this issue:

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Two particular issues here are the waiving of misdemeanors as a ground for exclusion from the NYCPD and the general discrimination against minorities in civil service exams. Many white police with whom I spoke view the first area as allowing ex-criminals to enter the NYCPD; for black police, on the other hand, there is more a tendency to view the issue in the context of differential enforcement of the law and differential access to criminal activity in black and white areas. The question of exam discrimination, likewise, is seen by many black police as geared to eliminating racial bias, while for many white police it was viewed in discussions as eliminating intelligence itself as a standard for entrance into the department.

Ethnic groups are not merely interest groups, but often they are at least that. Blacks.. have been so deeply penalized in education, economic resources, and political organization that their social strategy has had to be unique.. It is in their interest as an ethnic group to insist on high quotas in schools and jobs, and not to accept as valid the argument that equality is only for those who 'qualify.' For it is exactly in their lack of preparation to qualify that many blacks have borne the weight of injustice. Hence blacks have seen fit to 'change the rules.' ..Ethnics can understand the strategic interests of blacks. Hence, to place costs and needs on a frank trading basis would no doubt constitute a step forward.. If racial issues are pulled out from the mists of liberal rhetoric, and thought through in terms of their costs and benefits to each ethnic group involved, the more likely it will be that fairness and mutual satisfaction will ensue. The new ethnic politics asks no more than a fair deal- but for each group [emphasis in original].. It demands a multiform ideology and culture.. in which each group supplies pivotal ideas and methods. 39*

It is in this context that, in the view of this observer, much of the conflict generated between black and white

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I would like to stress here that I do not agree with Novak's basic interpretation of the issue; I do not believe that minority quota programs are concerned as much with a desire to "change the rules" as they are with creating a set of relevant ones (i.e., through job analyses) to be universally applied. I also seriously take exception to Novak's interpretation of the desire of white ethnics to create a "multiform ideology and culture" including each group, on the basis of the institutionalization of a cost-benefit model. Novak has been quoted only because I believe that he well illustrates the type of differential evaluations potentially involved in the area of minority-white reactions to current policy changes affecting both groups of workers.

police does not concern itself directly with race as an issue, but more with particular evaluations of meaning from which each group of police potentially approaches situations affecting the police role. Race becomes one of several salient factors in understanding a possible lack of a common framework of values between white and black officers in this perspective.

(2) Patterns of Intra-Group Interaction

A situational factor which seems particularly important in understanding black-white police interaction is that of the dynamics responsible for the degree of intra-group cooperation on the job. This must be studied from two distinct levels.

The first is the nature of patterns of cooperation between different officers as structured by working conditions which they face. To put this into a proper focus, one may hypothetically compare the working environment of the police with that of other civil service positions. Questions necessary for future research in this area are:

1. To what extent does the need for teamwork (or the lack of it) affect intra-group attitudes among cohorts of police? (i.e., teamwork is a constant factor of the occupational environment facing firemen on the job in their responses to emergency situations. Conversely, an occupation such as sanitation workers does not involve of necessity as much intra-group cooperation. The varying situations confronting police

call at times for strong teamwork, as in the Detective Bureau or responding to crisis situations, at other times for a medium degree of teamwork, as in radio car patrols, and at other times, such as in assignment to traffic duty, little or no teamwork.) How does this affect different patterns of interaction among these groups of workers?

2. To what extent does the working environment of the police lead to certain degrees of familiarity with other police, and what effect does this have in affecting attitude formation among cohorts of police? (i.e., firemen literally live together in fire stations for a large part of their working hours, sleeping and eating in common. Sanitation workers do not share this degree of intimacy. Police, on the other hand, fall somewhere between these two occupations, to the extent that a significant part of their working hours is spent in station houses with other police.) Is the degree of intimacy involved on the job a significant factor in formulating attitude sets?
3. To what extent does the police working environment (in comparison to that found in other occupations) stress individualism over group identity as a mechanism in mobility within the department, and how does this affect intra-group relations and attitudes among cohorts of police? (The effects of special minority hiring and advancement programs recently instituted must be especially investigated for this question.)

At a second level, it was the strong consensus from interview response that attitudes of white police toward both black civilians and co-workers are strongly structured by precincts in which the officer is assigned. Assignment to precincts with a large minority population is often seen to reinforce institutionalized stereotypes against blacks, at the same time that it creates attitudes of

cooperation toward the black policeman. The dynamics of this variable must be carefully studied in future research, and compared to possibly different situations among other groups of civil service workers^{*}.

d. Police-Client Relations

A last area which must be studied empirically in future research is the extent to which the police-client relationship itself creates certain problems in interactions between white and minority officers. The police are in a unique position in that their role often involves them in negative actions against civilians with whom they interact (in comparison, for example, to firemen, whose role is generally supportive and positive). In recent years, the role of race has become especially critical in allegations of brutality and corruption.

To compound the problem, police relations to minorities has developed broader political and social implications with the dissolution of traditional urban

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The role of precinct assignment in affecting police attitudes initially was to be studied in the present research. However, this was not possible because of a lack of complete information on precinct assignment in questionnaire responses, and because the information from interviews was not considered sufficiently in-depth to formally structure a discussion. Baehr and Froemel found that for their sample of Chicago police recruits, precinct assignment played a definite role in field performance, with those assigned to precincts with high concentrations of minorities generally exhibiting lower field performance than other police.⁴⁰

political machines (see pp. 330 - 332, above). Thus, the effect of the racial element in structuring urban police values and policies should be the subject of future research, especially in light of the increasing politicization of this area of police work, with the broader goal of extrapolating implications to police intra-group relations.

In conclusion, just as the evolution of specific attitude sets among urban police has been examined in this chapter as a function of the total situational forces structuring civilian and occupational meanings, the question of future black-white police relations in the NYCPD must be viewed within a context of the sum total of social factors ultimately defining the role and position of urban police forces in America, and the evolving role of the police function in its relation to changing social and political trends.

Footnotes

1

Watson and Sterling (Police and Their Opinions) found that the strongest factors responsible for differences of opinion among a national police sample concerning a group of questions on social and political issues were: (a) personal evaluation of education, with those better educated consistently placing a higher value on education for police; (b) attitudes toward authority; (c) "pragmatism" (pp. 89 - 96). Level of education was found as a significant factor in differentiating attitudes in all three variables: "When we divide our sample into two levels with respect to education, we also get significant differences. In one group, we included those officers (N=2158) who have only a high school education or less. In the other group are the men (N=2414) who have had some college education as well as those who already have a college degree. The tests of significance reveal that these two education groups differ reliably in the way they react to each of the three factors. In other words, there are, on a group basis, true differences in the way men of different education levels answer the questions in these three factors" (pp. 95 - 96).

2

In examining the effect of race on police attitudes, Watson and Sterling (Police and Their Opinions) found that "it is the issues which separate the groups and not an across-the-board disagreement which is attested by the lack of difference on questions concerning internal police administrative problems. We chose a number of questions which rather directly deal with police matters and which do not involve social problems of society at large. When we plot the positions of the white and Negro officers on these internal police problems, we find that they do not differ" (p. 85).

3

Sizemore, Barbara A., "Social Science and Education for a Black Identity", in Banks, James A., and Grambs, Jean D. (editors), Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1972, pp. 141 - 168

4

Ibid., pp. 146 - 147

5

The Kerner Commission Report, as one example, found in comparing profiles of rioters, non-rioters and counter-rioters in the 1967 urban disorders that the "typical counter-rioter was an active supporter of existing social institutions.. His actions and his attitudes reflected his substantially greater stake in the social system; he was considerably better educated and more affluent than either the rioter or the noninvolved. He was somewhat more likely than the rioter, but less likely than the noninvolved, to have been a migrant. In all other respects he was identical to the noninvolved" (p. 129); Gary T. Marx (Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community, Harper and Row, New York, 1969) found that the "factors associated with militancy in the black community (excluding the tiny minority who are militants of the Muslim variety) are also in most cases the factors associated with tolerance. Those more removed from the value system of the traditional South, those highest in social position and participation, and those most likely to possess a positive self-image, high morale, and intellectual sophistication were the most militant. They were also the most tolerant" (p. 202).

6

The issue of black family structure has been particularly discussed in this context. See Rainwater, Lee, and Yancey, William L. (editors), The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1967.

7

Seward, G., Psychotherapy and Culture Conflict. The Ronald Press, New York, 1956, p. 129

8

In Mead's discussion, the self is a dyad formed of the integration of the "I" as the reaction of the ego to the attitudes of significant others, and the "me" is the sense of self that ego internalizes as an organized set of attitudes from this interaction; the "'I' is always something different from what the situation itself calls for. So there is always that distinction.. between the 'I' and the 'me.' The 'I' calls out the 'me' and responds to it. Taken together they constitute a personality as it appears in social experience. The self is essentially a social process going on with these two distinguishable phases." (Mead, George H., Mind, Self, and Society, Charles W. Morris, editor), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, p. 178)

- 9 Banks, James A., "Racial Prejudice and the Black Self-Concept" (in Banks and Grambs, Black Self-Concepts, pp. 5 - 35)
- 10 Ibid., pp. 6 - 7
- 11 In discussing the effects of racism, Andrew Billingsley (Black Families in White America, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1968) believes that it "is not always blatant, gross and straightforward. It often lies hidden in some of the grand illusions which infest the American value system. There is deeply ingrained in the American collective unconscious a number of illusions, particularly as they bear on and affect the Negro people. Many of these are outgrowths of.. the Anglo-conformity doctrine; they are at the head of a modern type of racism which infects the broader society. They include the illusions of stability, of excellence, of wisdom, of morality, of normality, of beauty, and of power" (p. 156).
- 12 See, for instance, Frazier, F. Franklin, Black Bourgeoisie, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1957; Back, Kurt W., and Simpson, Ida H., "The Dilemma of the Negro Professional", Journal of Social Issues, April, 1964, pp. 60 - 70; Parker, Seymour, and Kleiner, Robert, "Status Position, Mobility and Ethnic Identification of the Negro", Journal of Social Issues, April, 1964, pp. 85 - 102; Sanders, Charles L., "Growth of the Association of Black Social Workers", Social Casework, May, 1970, pp. 277 - 284.
- 13 Merton, Robert K., On Theoretical Sociology: Five Essays, Old and New, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1967, p. 42
- 14 Ibid., p. 44
- 15 Back and Simpson, "The Dilemma of the Negro Professional", p. 60
- 16 Mead (Mind, Self and Society) defines the "organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self.. 'the generalized other'" (p. 154).

- 17 This is seen as a primary variable in Sanders' discussion of the development of the Association of Black Social Workers: "These grievances [with the institutions of social welfare in the United States] as well as the unresponsiveness of the conference, provided a solid foundation for the continuation of the group" (p. 279).
- 18 Dahrendorf, Ralf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., p. 65
- 19 Crawford, Thomas J., and Naditch, Murray, "Relative Deprivation, Powerlessness, and Militancy: the Psychology of Social Protest", Psychiatry, May, 1970, pp. 208 - 223
- 20 Ibid., p. 214
- 21 Weber sees the need to "provide... terms with the necessary precision [for] sociology [to] design 'pure' ('ideal') types of corresponding forms of human behavior, which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration because of their complete adequacy on the level of meaning. But for the very reasons that this is so, it is hardly ever, if at all, probable that a real phenomenon can be found which corresponds exactly to one of these ideally constructed types.. But when sociology refers to typical cases it must always be understood, unless stated otherwise, that the term means ideal types, be they rational or irrational.. [They] are, in any case, always constructed with a view to adequacy on the level of meaning." (Weber, Max, Basic Concepts in Sociology, translated by H. P. Secher, The Citadel Press, New York, 1964, pp. 52 - 53)
- 22 Sanders ("Growth of an Association") concludes that the Association of Black Social Workers "developed a more responsive black and white community by stimulating awareness of black clientele.. These initial accomplishments indicate that ABSW as a black organization has brought the black and white community closer to the black experience. While it is giving new direction for service delivery and social welfare education, it is providing also a new sense of power, participation, and control for blacks over their

own destinies" (pp. 282 - 283).

23

See Merton (On Theoretical Sociology), pp. 41 - 45; Merton, Robert K., "The Role Set: Problems in Sociological Theory", British Journal of Sociology, 1957, pp. 106 - 120; J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba ("Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study", American Sociological Review, April, 1954, pp. 164 - 174) discuss as possible reactions to role conflicts the choice of "one of several alternatives: [the actor] may abandon one role and cling to the other, he may attempt some compromise between the roles, or he may withdraw either physically or psychologically from the roles altogether" (p. 165).

24

Parker and Kleiner ("Status Position, Mobility, and Ethnic Identification") conclude that for those blacks in their sample of Philadelphia respondents, among those at a higher socio-economic level there were "stronger desires to associate with whites, more internalization of negative attitudes toward other Negroes, and relatively weaker ethnic identification, than individuals in lower status positions" (p. 102); Back and Simpson ("Dilemma of the Negro Professional") compare different adjustive attitudes toward racial ambiguity of status among a sample of black medical students divided into "pessimists" and "optimists" (for those who are conscious of racial problems in pursuing a medical career) and those for whom race is not a salient issue in defining their career expectations.

25

Frazier, F. Franklin, Black Bourgeoisie, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1957

26

See Part II, "The World of Make-Believe", pp. 129 - 195 (1962 edition, Collier Books, Collier-MacMillan Ltd., London).

27

The consequences of this development must also be studied in their effects on organizational structure and attitudes within the black professional and civilian community. In Sanders' discussion ("Growth of the Association of Black Social Workers"), a problem faced in organizing the ABSW was that not "only did blackness as an institutional force cause

a problem for black social workers, but blackness as a personal experience evoked emotional responses which were constraining to the all-black group. The unique quality of blackness was reflected in the intensity of feeling toward the subject. In this group it was evident that there were differences and similarities about blackness. Both personal and professional elements were intricately involved in dealing with issues" (p. 281).

28

Chevigny, Police Power, p. 280

29

Skolnick (The Politics of Protest) states that an understanding of the politicization of the police must take into account that "participants in the new protest movements of the sixties.. have come to see the police as enforcers of the status quo. Civil rights workers, first in the South and then in the North, and subsequently student and anti-ward protestors, have met with active opposition, hostility, and force. In addition.. minority communities, especially black and Spanish-speaking, have come to regard the police as a hostile army of occupation enforcing the status quo. While these types of political involvement pose serious questions, recent events point to a new and far more significant politicization of the police. This.. raises questions that are at the very basis of the role of the police in our society" (p. 269).

30

Skolnick. Justice Without Trial, pp. 6, 9

31

This element of police problems is excellently discussed in The Kerner Commission Report, where the failure of the judicial system to meet emergency needs generated by large-scale civil disorder is related to the development of police frustration and anger (chapter 13, "The Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions", pp. 337 - 357). The issue of "plea-bargaining" must also be studied as an area potentially generating police frustration, since it may be defined as tacit non-support of the police role by the courts, since the latter are not seen as properly punishing the criminal. In Chevigny (Police Power), the "Criminal Court is not viewed as a tribune for the determination of fact, but as a sort of administrative adjunct to the police station for the purpose of obtaining desirable results" (p. 142). It seems open to question whether a strong

degree of support for this statement would be found among (black or white) NYCPD personnel today.

32

This is a particular area of analysis in Ruchelman, Leonard, Police Politics: A Comparative Study of Three Cities, Ballinger Books, Cambridge, 1974; the "law and order" issue and its relation to minority communities and particular political cultures is discussed for Chicago, Philadelphia and New York City.

33

In Ruchelman's analysis (Police Politics), what has exacerbated urban political problems is "a new and more serious level of concern about... the whole question of race and the anxieties which this question generates. Over the past score years, the in-migration and politicization of large numbers of blacks has had a most pervasive impact on big city politics. Usually poor and low-skilled, such persons are rapidly becoming a numerical majority in many of the largest cities in the country.. As viewed by growing numbers of white citizens, this development is the root cause of a host of key urban problems including school integration, rising welfare rolls, and joblessness. Perhaps most important has been the 'law and order' problem, a reflection both of rising crime tolls and rioting on the one hand, and growing white anxiety on the other" (p. 96).

34

Ibid.

35

Ibid., p. 81

36

Ibid., p. 97

37

Niederhoffer (Behind the Shield) traces the development of court restraint on police behavior from the McNabb-Mallory decision of 1957 (right of a prisoner to be arraigned in Federal courts with no delay) to the Miranda decision of 1966 (right of a suspect once he is taken into custody to remain silent and to be provided with counsel before speaking to the police). His discussion concentrates on the effects of these decisions in contributing to police cynicism. An equally important consideration, in the opinion of this observer, which is not discussed, is that Supreme

Court decisions are often so vague that police are at a loss in interpreting them until actual cases have been tried under particular decisions. Niederhoffer's discussion (chapter 6, "The Police and the Supreme Court", pp. 160 - 174), however, attempts to clearly discuss the relevance of the role of the Supreme Court in understanding the development of police attitudes.

38

An especially good discussion of this issue is "Civilian Complaints Against the Police" (Report of the Committee on Civil Rights), Bar Bulletin, Vol. 22, No. 5 (1964 - 1965), pp. 228 - 236

39

Novak, Michael, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, MacMillan Publishing Co., New York, 1973, pp. 335 - 336

40

Baehr, Melany E., and Froemel, Ernest C., Psychological Assessment of Patrolman Qualifications in Relation to Field Performance. United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., November 5, 1968

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A Note on Black Police Authoritarianism and Cynicism

I. Authoritarianism

a. Introduction

The supposed existence of police authoritarianism is widely discussed in attempts to understand the development of an assumed "police personality". While this study did not include a formal scale to measure black police authoritarian tendencies (since it was not considered a concern in the central scope of our investigation), certain sections of the questionnaire allow a tentative discussion.

The concept of authoritarianism as it was originally developed by Adorno and his associates* was an attempt to relate fascist attitudes ("F-scale") to the existence of anti-Semitism.

The discussion of alleged traits of police authoritarianism is typically developed from one of three perspectives. The first sees the trait as a product of the class background from which the "typical" recruit is drawn⁺:

*

Adorno, T. W., Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, D. J., and Stanford, R. N., The Authoritarian Personality, Harper and Row, New York, 1950

+

Turner, William, The Police Establishment, G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York, 1969, p. 38

Most policemen are products of lower-middle-class environment that stresses such virtues as frugality, cleanliness, punctuality, and conformity.

A second approach views the nature of the police role as attracting those with authoritarian tendencies: *

the police- devoted to the racial status quo and inclined to overlook the niceties of mere law in their quest for law and order- have found a variety of means, both conventional and otherwise, for countering the aims of Negroes. In so doing they are not only adhering to the norms of their institutions but also furthering their personal goals as well.

The final perspective holds that authoritarianism develops from the nature of police socialization. Niederhoffer (p. 160) states that

police authoritarianism does not come into the force along with the recruits, but rather is inculcated in the men through strenuous socialization. The police occupational system is geared to manufacture the 'take charge guy', and it succeeds in doing so with outstanding efficiency. It is the police system, not the personality of the candidate, that is the more powerful determinant of behavior and ideology.

Likewise, Chevigny feels (p. 278) that

the word 'authoritarian' either reiterates what we know already about policemen, or

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Boesel, David, et. al., "White Institutions and Black Rage", Transaction, Vol. 6, No. 5, March, 1969, p. 29

else is irrelevant.. It is enough for us to know that the characteristic police reactions are a logical product of the police role (e.g. maintaining order) and the traditions of the Department (e.g. secrecy).

b. Black Police Authoritarianism

While, as mentioned above, this study did not use a formal measure of authoritarianism, responses to eight statements in the questionnaire (Table 27, p. 326) would indicate that the drift toward authoritarian sentiments is not strong for this sample. In only one case (question #20: "A major problem with kids today is that they're not taught respect for law and order at home or in the school") did a majority of respondents (74%) agree "strongly" (38%) or "somewhat" (36%). I believe that this exception is caused primarily because the question concerned attitudes of respect for law and order among juveniles; Bayley and Mendelsohn (p. 45) found that for their sample of Denver, Colorado police:

Policemen immediately think of two groups in which there has been a noticable decrease in respect for them in recent years- teen-agers and minority communities. Furthermore, asked if there were groups which had a particularly unfavorable view of the police- and 76% of the officers thought there were- officers again singled out minority groups and teen-agers.

For all other statements in this table, the elements of fear, respect and cynicism in explaining police attitudes

Table 27. Authoritarian Sentiments: Questionnaire
Sample: Percents

<u>Statement #</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>No Op- inion</u>	<u>NA</u>
20. A major problem with kids to- day is that they're not taught respect for law and order at home or in the school.	74	22	3	1
30. All people are basically dishonest.	15	76	8	1
34. People only obey laws when they're afraid not to.	34	50	12	3
38. There would be much less crime if policemen were allowed to use their nightsticks more.	27	64	6	1
41. Most important job of the pol- iceman is to understand people and problems of the precinct in which he works.	88	9	2	1
45. After working on the job for a while, you realize how bad most people are.	21	66	10	3
47. Most important job of the pol- iceman is to instill fear of the law into people where he works.	5	92	0	3
56. People don't respect the police- man until they learn to fear him.	13	82	3	3
62. Most people couldn't control themselves if it weren't for fear of the police.	19	69	10	3

was supported by only a minority of respondents: this
ranged from a high of 34% agreeing that "People only
obey laws when they are afraid not to do so", to a
low of 15% agreeing that the "most important job of

the policeman is to instill fear of the law into people where he works". In contrast, fully 88% of the sample agreed "strongly" (63%) or "somewhat" (25%) that the "most important job of the policeman is to understand the people and problems of the precinct in which he works".

The lack of a pronounced drift toward authoritarian sentiments for this sample is consistent also with the findings of Watson and Sterling; in a national survey of police opinion, they found that there was neither overall support for an "aggressive or hard-line approach to police work" nor in "relationships to authority" for either black or white police (Watson and Sterling, Police and Their Opinions, pp. 69 - 77). Further, neither group of police was seen to be as "conservative" in their attitudes as the sample of civilian conservatives used as a control, nor as "radical" as the control group of civilian radicals.

In conclusion, I believe that the results of this brief discussion taken together with the findings of Watson and Sterling, suggest the need for a much more in-depth analysis than has been done to date of the trait of police authoritarianism.

2. Police Cynicism

a. Introduction

Like authoritarianism, police cynicism is seen as a normal component of the personality structure of American law enforcement personnel. This attitude is thought to develop both toward the civilian public and the police department itself (for the former, because the policeman's job puts him in contact with the most disreputable members of society) ^{*}. Niederhoffer says (p. 100) that

it is possible to distinguish between two kinds of police cynicism. One is directed against life, the world, and people in general; the other is aimed at the police system itself. The first is endemic to policemen of all ranks and professions- including the professionals. The second, common among patrolmen, is by definition excluded from the ideology of the professional policeman. The professional wants to transform and eventually control the system. This hope keeps him from cynicism.

*

i.e., Chevigny's statement that the "police have become the repository of all the illiberal impulses in this liberal society" (p. 280); The Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption voiced particular concern at "the apparent immunity from arrest enjoyed by givers as opposed to takers of bribes" (p. 280), underscoring the role of the public in creating an atmosphere conducive to police corruption. This area was seen by the Knapp Commission as one of the most important to consider in evaluating police attitudes toward corruption in the NYCPD.

He continues by discussing four types of cynicism which he sees as being a normal development in NYCPD career patterns (p. 104): the first stage of "pseudo-cynicism" is seen as typical of the recruit; it is a "front" which "barely conceals the idealism and commitment beneath the surface". The second stage of "romantic cynicism" is seen as typical of the officer serving his first five years on the force; this stage is considered as most common in the "most idealistic young members of the force.. who are most disillusioned by actual police work". The third stage of "aggressive cynicism" is said to be most prevalent among those officers on the force for ten years, and is viewed as corresponding to "ressentiment because resentment and hostility become obvious through the conjunction of individual cynicism and the police subculture of cynicism" (original stress). In the concluding years of the police career, the final stage of "resigned cynicism" is thought to occur: "This detachment may be passive and apathetic or express itself as a form of mellow if mild good will. It accepts and comes to terms with the flaws of the system."

b. Black Police Cynicism

(1) Cynicism Directed at the Civilian

As with authoritarianism, although no formal scale was

used to measure cynicism in this study, it is possible to make some comments on the basis of interview and questionnaire responses. Looking at the area of cynicism directed at civilians, this does not seem to be characteristic of black police used in this study. In only 38% of the cases did respondents agree (13% "strongly" and 25% "somewhat") with statement #25: "Nowadays, it seems as if everybody is out to get the cops"; 38% disagreed "somewhat" and 18% "strongly". For statement #45 ("After working on the job for a while, you realize how bad most people are"), only 21% agree (5% "strongly" and 16% "somewhat").

Responses to these two questions are consistent with the discussion of perceived civilian attitude to the police (pp. 243 - 252, above). Here, clear delineations were made by socio-economic factors and the nature of police-civilian contact. Increasing loss of respect for police was, however, generally seen by older black police and for those on the force for longer periods of time (Table 23, pp. 245 - 246). Further, "loss of public respect for the department" was seen as the second most serious problem facing the NYCPD (Table 14, p. 134) and the most important single problem facing the individual respondent (Table 15, p. 136).

I believe, however, that to interpret the above three findings as evidence of cynicism is to lose sight of the degree to which they might be an accurate ass-

essment of reality. Social forces affecting the NYCPD today (i.e., commissions to investigate police corruption; the role of police in civil disorders; the idea of police as a repressive agent of broader social institutions) would make it plausible that significantly larger segments of the civilian public are, indeed, becoming alienated from the police. This seems a more meaningful interpretation than that which would impute cynicism as an independent variable in explaining perceived loss of respect for the department.

(2) Cynicism Directed at the Department

The second type of cynicism discussed by Niederhoffer involves a more complex interpretation of the results found in this sample.

On the basis of perceived discrimination faced at every level of black police careers (chapter 3, pp. 132 - 165), one might argue that a lack of faith in the police bureaucracy represents a realistic evaluation of the situation of the black policeman, rather than an attitude developed primarily as a defense mechanism to cope with an occupational environment considered hostile to the individual.

However, a strong belief in the ultimate unwillingness of the police system to incorporate the minority officer appears to be central in the belief systems of both

interview and questionnaire respondents. This explains why the largest percentage of questionnaire respondents felt that "no change" had taken place in the "role of black police in policy-making decisions", although improvements in all areas of working conditions for the black policeman and in white police attitude was perceived by a majority of the sample (Table 16, p. 143; Table 17, pp. 156 - 157). In this context, I believe that, for this sample, cynicism is a general characteristic of their evaluation of the way in which whites supervise and evaluate the black policeman. However, because of counter-pressures from outside institutions, this cynicism cannot be regarded as a general pattern in evaluating their own mobility within the department.

APPENDIX II

1. First Interview Contact Letter
2. Second Interview Contact Letter
3. Questionnaire Cover Letter
4. Letter from Peter S. Ring, Assistant
Director, Employment Division, NYCPD
5. Questionnaire



Brooklyn College of the City University of New York

Bedford Avenue and Avenue H Brooklyn, New York 11210

School of Social Science

Department of Sociology

April 1, 1972

Dear ,

A study is being done in cooperation with the Guardians of the attitudes, feelings and problems of the black New York City policeman by Michael Wubnig, an instructor in the Department of Sociology, Brooklyn College. The study is being sponsored by Dr. Patricia Kendall (Professor, Department of Sociology, The City University of New York), Dr. Merton Bard (Director, Police Family Intervention Program, The City University of New York) and Dr. Hylan Lewis (Vice President, MARC Corporation).

Your name has been randomly chosen to participate in an interview as a part of this project. All information obtained will be confidential and no identifying material will be made available regarding participants.

Would you please fill out the form below and return it in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelop to Mr. Wubnig. If you have any questions about the study or interview, please feel free to contact either Mr. Wubnig or Sgt. Bill Perry at the numbers below.

Michael Wubnig (Phone number) Tuesdays and Thursdays
10 A.M. - 12 P.M.
7 P.M. - 9 P.M.

Bill Perry (Phone number) Monday thru Friday
10 A.M. - 5 P.M.

Your cooperation is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

(Sgt.) Howard Sheffey, Pres.
The Guardians

-
- ___ 1. I would be willing to be interviewed and can be reached at: _____ Name _____ Phone number _____
Please call between _____
- ___ 2. I would not be willing to be interviewed.



Brooklyn College of the City University of New York

Bedford Avenue and Avenue H Brooklyn, New York 11210

School of Social Science

Department of Sociology

May 4, 1972

Dear ,

I am writing about a letter which I sent to you on April 1 regarding a study that is being done of black New York City policemen as a PhD dissertation at The City University of New York in cooperation with the Guardians. Your name was randomly chosen as a respondent to take part in an interview as part of this study, and as yet I have not heard from you regarding whether or not you would be willing to participate. The success of this project (which I have been working on now for six months together with the help of Sgt. Bill Perry and with Guardian approval) depends completely at this point on the interviews which I hope to complete. To choose the sample of names itself, was a process which involved negotiations of almost two month's work, and at this point it is impossible for me to proceed without first having completed the proposed interviews. I have been working in the area of ethnic and police relationships at Brooklyn College for two years now, and come from a background of two generations of New York City police. I hope that you can see from this the very real interest and importance that these interviews, and the project in general, hold for me. If this part of the study cannot be completed, the work of a solid year's preparation and effort will largely have been pointless. Let me stress again that the results of these interviews will be completely confidential, and the respondent will have complete freedom as to which questions he chooses to answer, or indeed, to stop the interview at any point. I realize that as a policeman your schedule must be very rough, and ask only that you reply to this letter in the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelop so that I can determine how many people of the original sample would be willing to participate. Again, any questions that you might have regarding the study can be answered by calling Sgt. Bill Perry (phone number, Monday thru Friday, 10 A.M. - 5 P.M.) or me (phone number, Tuesdays and Thursdays, mornings or afternoons).

Thank you for taking the time to answer this letter.

Sincerely,

Michael Wubnig

- ___ 1. I would be willing to be interviewed. _____ Name
_____ Telephone # _____ Best time to call
- ___ 2. I would not be willing to be interviewed.



-504-

Brooklyn College of the City University of New York

Bedford Avenue and Avenue H Brooklyn, New York 11210

School of Social Science

Department of Sociology

January 30, 1973

Dear Officer,

A study is being done by Mr. Michael Wubnig of the Sociology Department of Brooklyn College in cooperation with the Guardians of the attitudes, opinions and problems of the black New York City policeman.

As part of this study a questionnaire is being distributed to all black New York City police personnel which will be used in the final processing of data. The information and results obtained in these questionnaires is STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL and will not be made available to anyone.

We ask, therefore, that you complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it at your earliest convenience to Mr. Wubnig in the enclosed stamped and self-addressed envelop. All attempts have been made to keep the questionnaire as short as possible for your personal convenience, realizing that as a police officer, your schedule is quite cramped and hectic.

If you have any questions about the project in general, or specific questions about the questionnaire, please feel free to contact either Sgt. Howard Sheffey or Mr. Wubnig (at the above telephone number, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 9 A.M. - 12 P.M.), and every attempt will be made to answer your questions.

If for any reason you choose not to complete the questionnaire, would you please return this letter in the enclosed envelop with an explanation of your decision on the reverse side. PLEASE DO NOT FURNISH YOUR NAME WHETHER OR NOT YOU COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THIS IS FOR PURPOSES OF PROTECTING YOUR OWN ANONYMITY.

Many thanks for your cooperation with this project.

Sincerely,

Michael Wubnig

-365-



POLICE DEPARTMENT
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013

April 4, 1973

Mr. Michael Wubnig
Department of Sociology
Brooklyn College
of The City University
of New York
Brooklyn, New York 11210

Dear Mr. Wubnig:

I wish to acknowledge your recent letter of March 29, 1973.

I am sorry to have to report that we have very little in the way of any kind of reliable data relating to the changing racial composition over the past twenty years. There is no hard data and very little soft data.

I think your best bet on this specific aspect of the study you are doing, would be to contact Lieutenant Robert McNulty of our Personnel Planning Office. I believe he could provide you with the names of a number of the more prominent Black officers in the Department's recent history who might then be able to give you their impressions of how things changed while they were on the job. Lieutenant McNulty can be reached at 280 Broadway, Room 432 or by telephone at 962-2330. You should make reference to a profile of the History of Black Officers in the New York Police Department.

I am sorry that this response could not have been more positive, but I wish you well with your endeavors.

Very truly yours,


Peter S. Ring
Assistant Director
Employment Division

RM

5 copies of
4/19- report absolutely not
for release - Comm.
Ward.
COVER THIS

Part I. We would like to begin by asking some general questions about how you first decided to become a policeman, the attitude of your friends and family to your decision, and your feelings about certain aspects of police work. You will probably find that some of the questions are easier than others to answer. For those choices which you might find difficult to make, we would appreciate your giving serious thought before checking your answer.

1. At the time that you were appointed to the NYCPD, had you taken tests for any other civil service positions in New York City?

___ a. Yes
___ b. No
2. (Answer only if you checked "yes" to question 1.) What other civil service examinations had you taken at the time you were first appointed to the NYCPD?

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
d. _____ e. _____ f. _____
3. (Answer only if you checked "yes" to question 1.) Was the NYCPD your first job choice of the civil service examinations that you had taken?

___ a. Yes
___ b. No
___ c. I had no particular choice of job.
___ d. Other (Please specify.)
4. At the time that you were appointed to the NYCPD, were you already employed in another NYC civil service job?

___ a. Yes
___ b. No
5. (Answer only if you checked "yes" to question 4.) What civil service position(s) did you hold before becoming appointed to the NYCPD? If you held more than one civil service job before joining the NYCPD, please list first the job that you held at the time you were appointed to the force.

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
6. Please check the one statement which best describes your reason for originally joining the NYCPD. (Choices

are continued on the opposite side.)

- ☐ a. I wanted the job security and benefits of a civil service job.
 - ☐ b. At the time I was called for the NYCPD I already held another civil service job, but thought I would be more satisfied with a job in the NYCPD.
 - ☐ c. I had experienced racial discrimination in the private job sector, and believed that this would be minimized in civil service work.
 - ☐ d. I felt that as a policeman I would have an opportunity to be able to help other people.
 - ☐ e. Friends of mine who were already on the force or were filing for the examination first suggested that I join.
 - ☐ f. I was interested in the idea of becoming a policeman from the time I was a kid.
 - ☐ g. Other (Please specify.)
7. Which statement best describes the attitude of your parents when they found out you were becoming a policeman?
- ☐ a. My parents were basically pleased with my decision.
 - ☐ b. My parents were basically pleased with my decision, but felt some fear because of the danger involved in the job.
 - ☐ c. My parents had no particular feelings about the decisions.
 - ☐ d. My parents were against my decision because they didn't particularly care for the New York City Police.
 - ☐ e. My parents were against my decision because they didn't like the idea of a black man being a NYC policeman.
 - ☐ f. Other (Please specify.)
8. Which statement best describes the attitude of your friends when they found out you were becoming a policeman?
- ☐ a. My friends were basically satisfied with my decision.
 - ☐ b. My friends were basically pleased with my decision, but felt some fear because of the danger involved on the job.
 - ☐ c. My friends had no particular feelings about my decision.

- ☐ d. My friends were against my decision because they didn't particularly care for the New York City Police.
 - ☐ e. My friends were against my decision because they didn't like the idea of a black man being a NYC policeman.
 - ☐ f. Other (Please specify.)
9. Which statement best describes the attitude of your wife or girlfriend when she found out you were becoming a policeman?
- ☐ a. My wife or girlfriend was basically pleased with my decision.
 - ☐ b. My wife or girlfriend was basically pleased with my decision, but felt some fear because of the danger involved in the job.
 - ☐ c. My wife or girlfriend had no particular feelings about my decision.
 - ☐ d. My wife or girlfriend was against my decision because she didn't particularly care for the New York City police.
 - ☐ e. My wife or girlfriend was against my decision because she didn't like the idea of a black man being a NYC policeman.
 - ☐ f. Other (Please specify.)
10. How would you characterize the attitude of the white policeman to the black policeman when you first joined the force?
- ☐ a. Generally, the white policeman accepted the black policeman when I joined the force.
 - ☐ b. Generally, the white policeman was openly hostile to the black policeman when I joined the force.
 - ☐ c. Generally, the white policeman wanted nothing to do with the black policeman when I joined the force, although he was not openly hostile to him.
 - ☐ d. There was no general attitude of the white policeman toward the black policeman when I joined the force; you were treated as an individual.
 - ☐ e. Other (Please specify.)
11. What did you think would be the attitude of the white policeman toward you when you first joined the force?
- ☐ a. I thought the white policeman would accept me more as a fellow policeman than he actually did.

- ☐ b. I thought that the white policeman would accept me less as a fellow policeman than he actually did.
 - ☐ c. I had no expectations about how the white policeman would view me when I joined the force.
 - ☐ d. Other (Please specify.)
12. How would you evaluate changes in each of the following areas for the black policeman from the time that you first joined the force until today (or until you retired)? Please fill in one number from 1 to 5 in each of the listed areas. The numbers mean:
- 1. Improved greatly
 - 2. Improved somewhat
 - 3. No change
 - 4. Deteriorated somewhat
 - 5. Deteriorated greatly
- ☐ a. Attitude of white co-workers toward the black policeman
 - ☐ b. Attitude of white supervisors toward the black policeman
 - ☐ c. Promotion opportunities for the black policeman
 - ☐ d. Precinct assignments for the black policeman
 - ☐ e. Work details for the black policeman
 - ☐ f. Role of black police personnel in policy-making decisions
 - ☐ g. Respect for the black policeman as a "comrade" on the part of white police personnel
 - ☐ h. Overall work situation for the black policeman
13. Looking at the changes that have taken place for the black policeman from the time that you first joined the force until today (or until you retired), how would you evaluate their effect on job satisfaction for the black policeman?
- ☐ a. Things were better for the black policeman when I first joined the force.
 - ☐ b. Things are better for the black policeman today than when I first joined the force.
 - ☐ c. Things are getting better for the black policeman today, but there is still a long way to go.
 - ☐ d. Things haven't really changed one way or the other for the black policeman from the time that I joined the force.
 - ☐ e. Other (Please specify.)
14. How would you characterize the attitude of the black community toward the black policeman from the time that you first joined the force until today?

- ___ a. There has never been a single attitude within the black community toward the black policeman.
- ___ b. When I first joined the force, the black community had more respect for the black policeman than it does today.
- ___ c. When I first joined the force, the black community had less respect for the black policeman than it does today.
- ___ d. Within my own memory, the black community has always basically respected the black policeman.
- ___ e. Within my own memory, the black community has never basically respected the black policeman.
- ___ f. Other (Please specify.)

The police force as a whole confronts a variety of problems. Many of them are new while other have been around for a long time. For questions 15, 16 and 17, we would like to know how you personally feel about some of these problems. For each of these questions please fill in a number from 1 to 4 in each of the blanks. The numbers mean:

- 1. Very important problem
- 2. Important problem
- 3. Relatively unimportant problem
- 4. Not a real problem at all

15. How would you evaluate the following areas in terms of problems faced by the New York City Police Department?

- ___ a. Little dedication to the job on the part of patrolmen
- ___ b. Police corruption
- ___ c. Overall lack of proper standards for recruitment
- ___ d. The effect of court decisions on the ability of the policeman to do an effective job
- ___ e. Loss of public respect for the department
- ___ f. Inadequate programs to recruit minority patrolmen
- ___ g. Citizen review boards
- ___ h. Inadequate training programs
- ___ i. Inadequate equipment and facilities
- ___ j. Leniency of the courts in sentencing criminals
- ___ k. Investigations of alleged police corruption, such as the Knapp Commission
- ___ l. Lack of "professionalization"
- ___ m. Political interference in the operation of the department
- ___ n. Lack of funds
- ___ o. Hostility between white and minority police personnel
- ___ p. Too much emphasis on "traditional" ways of getting things done

- ☐ q. Not enough police to do the job
- ☐ r. Lack of proper incentives to get better qualified men to join the department
- ☐ s. Control of group conflict and civil disorder

16. How would you evaluate the following areas in terms of problems that you as an individual face in doing your job?

- ☐ a. Boredom
- ☐ b. Not enough independence in decision making
- ☐ c. Lack of public cooperation with the police
- ☐ d. Discrimination in assignment of work details
- ☐ e. Discrimination in precinct assignments
- ☐ f. Discrimination in promotions
- ☐ g. Danger involved in the job
- ☐ h. Unfair methods of job supervision
- ☐ i. Poor methods of job evaluation
- ☐ j. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by white police
- ☐ k. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by other black police
- ☐ l. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by the white public
- ☐ m. Lack of respect for me as a policeman by the black public

17. How would you evaluate the following areas in terms of problems that you as an individual face as a result of your job?

- ☐ a. Irregular work schedule
- ☐ b. Badly timed vacations
- ☐ c. Inadequate salary
- ☐ d. Inadequate fringe benefits
- ☐ e. Always being expected to defend the police by acquaintances
- ☐ f. Inability to relax at home; can't leave the job behind
- ☐ g. Can't spend enough time with my wife and family
- ☐ h. Drifting away of non-police friends

18. For each of the three areas covered in questions 15, 16 and 17, we would like to know which of the problems that you checked you would consider to be the single most important problem and the single least important problem. Please write the letter of the problem that you consider to be the single most important the the single least important in the blanks next to each area below.

Most Important Least Important

a. Department Problems (#15)	_____	_____
b. Job Problems (#16)	_____	_____
c. Individual Problems (#17)	_____	_____

Part II. We would like your personal opinion on the following group of statements. For each statement please write a number from 1 to 5 in the blank preceding it. The numbers mean:

1. I agree strongly with the statement.
2. I agree somewhat with the statement.
3. I have no opinion about the statement or don't know.
4. I disagree somewhat with the statement.
5. I disagree strongly with the statement.

- ___ 19. Nowadays, it seems as if everybody is out to "get the cops".
- ___ 20. A major problem with kids today is that they're not taught respect for law and order at home or in school.
- ___ 21. A major problem for me on the job is the negative attitude of my white co-workers.
- ___ 22. It's really hard for black people to obtain fair treatment by a white policeman.
- ___ 23. If I had a choice, I would rather work with a black policeman than a white policeman on the job.
- ___ 24. I have no desire to socialize with the white policeman off the job.
- ___ 25. There are special problems that black policeman face on the job that white policemen do not.
- ___ 26. Most white policemen are only interested in collecting their check at the end of the month, and not in the problems of the precincts in which they work.
- ___ 27. A major problem for me is that I am viewed as a traitor to my own people by many of my black acquaintances.
- ___ 28. If they had a choice, most white policemen would rather work with other white policemen rather than black ones on the job.
- ___ 29. Most white policemen don't try to understand the problems of minority groups living in the precincts in which they work.
- ___ 30. All people are basically dishonest.
- ___ 31. There would be fewer white policemen on the force today if they realized what the job was really about before they joined the department.

- ___ 32. On this job it's not important what you know but who you know in terms of advancement and promotions.
- ___ 33. I am not accepted as an equal by white policemen with whom I work.
- ___ 34. People only obey laws when they are afraid not to do so.
- ___ 35. Most black policemen are only interested in collecting their check at the end of the month, and not in the problems of the precincts in which they work.
- ___ 36. I would not have joined the force if I realized then what this job is really about.
- ___ 37. Blacks will never be accepted as equals by whites in my generation.
- ___ 38. There would be much less crime if policemen were allowed to use their nightsticks more.
- ___ 39. The Police Academy does a godd job in preparing the rookie to work in ghetto neighborhoods.
- ___ 40. Most white policemen are prejudiced against minority groups.
- ___ 41. The most important job of the policeman is to understand the people and problems of the precinct in which he works.
- ___ 42. Most black policemen don't try to understand the problems of minority groups living in the precincts in which they work.
- ___ 43. My family would be better off if people in our neighborhood didn't know I was a policeman.
- ___ 44. Most white policemen are in the job because they have nothing else going for them.
- ___ 45. After working on the job for a while, you realized how bad most people are.
- ___ 46. Younger white policemen have a better attitude toward blacks in general than older white policemen.
- ___ 47. The most important job of the policeman is to instill fear of the law into people where he works.
- ___ 48. Most white policemen want nothing to do with black policemen off the job.
- ___ 49. Most black policemen are in the job because they have nothing better going for them.
- ___ 50. I am basically satisfied with the job as it now stands.
- ___ 52. The average white policeman is basically satisfied with the job as it now stands.
- ___ 53. A major problem for me personally is the negative attitude of white civilians whom I encounter on the job.
- ___ 54. I agree with the policy of assigning black police personnel mainly to precincts with a high concentration of black population.

- ___ 55. Black policemen want nothing to do with white policemen off the job.
- ___ 56. People don't respect the policeman until they learn to fear him.
- ___ 57. I think that the rate at which blacks advance in the department today is satisfactory.
- ___ 58. The key to better understanding between the white and black policeman is better human relations training at the Academy.
- ___ 59. Whites in general cannot be trusted by black people.
- ___ 60. A policeman is a policeman, and regardless of his color, we all face the same problems.
- ___ 61. I personally see myself as a black man first and as a policeman second.
- ___ 62. Most people couldn't control themselves if it weren't for fear of the police.
- ___ 63. You can't reason with a white policeman when it comes to the area of race realtions.
- ___ 64. At times, I feel problems of conscience in being a black man and a policeman.
- ___ 65. There is little real understanding on the part of the public about what the policeman's job is all about.
- ___ 66. Advancement opportunities are equal for everyone on the force, regardless of color.
- ___ 67. I agree with the policy of using black police to infiltrate black organizations which are suspected of being "militant".
- ___ 68. Black people need more groups like the Black Panthers to stand up for their interests.
- ___ 69. Black People need more groups like the Black Muslims to stand up for their interests.
- ___ 70. Black people need more groups like the NAACP to stand up for their interests.

Part III. Background Information

71. Where were you born? _____
72. If you were not born in New York City, how old were you when you came to New York? _____
73. What was your age at your last birthday? _____
74. What is your sex? Male _____ Female _____
75. Are you ___Single; ___Married; ___Divorced; ___ Separated
76. What is your religion? (If "Protestant", please give your denomination.) _____

77. What is your father's occupation? (If deceased, please give his major occupation during his working years.) _____
78. Have you attended any school above high school?
____ Yes; ____ No
79. If you have attended school above high school, or are now enrolled in school, which of the following best describes your present educational status?
- ____ a. Currently enrolled in a program leading toward a _____ degree in _____.
 - ____ b. Took some college courses, but did not complete a degree
 - ____ c. College graduate; degree in _____
 - ____ d. Some post-graduate work, but no post-graduate degree
 - ____ e. Post-graduate degree in _____
 - ____ f. Other (Please specify.) _____
80. Are you enrolled in courses now, or did you take courses when you were enrolled, with the primary idea of improving your advancement opportunities in the NYCPD? ____ Yes; ____ No
81. How long have you been a policeman now? ____Years ____Months
82. Were you the first member of your family to join the NYCPD? ____ Yes; ____ No
83. If you were not the first member of your family to join the NYCPD, please list below the members of your family who were or had been on the force at the time that you joined.
- _____
- _____
84. Did you receive veteran's credit when you took the civil service exam for the police? ____ Yes; ____ No
85. What was the job that you held immediately before joining the NYCPD?
- ____ a. I was a full-time student immediately before joining.
 - ____ b. I was looking for work, but unemployed, at the time that I joined the force.
 - ____ c. I entered the force immediately after leaving the armed services.

___ d. I worked as a _____ immediately before I joined the force; I had this job for approximately ___ years ___ months.

86. Please list below the precincts that you have worked while on the force, the length of time that you worked in each, and your rank during each assignment. Please begin with your present assignment and work backwards.

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Time Worked</u>		<u>Rank</u>
	<u>Years</u>	<u>Months</u>	
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____
_____	___	___	_____

87. Where do you currently live"

___ a. Manhattan ___ b. Staten Island ___ c. Brooklyn
___ d. Bronx ___ e. Queens ___ d. Other

88. Do you: ___ a. Own own home; ___ b. rent;
___ c. Other (Please specify.)

89. Which of the following best describes your present work assignment?

___ a. Patrol ___ f. Traffic
___ b. Detective ___ g. Lockup/detention
___ c. Juvenile ___ h. Administration
___ d. Staff Training ___ i. Other (Please specify)
___ e. Communications

90. What is your present rank? _____

91. How long have you held this rank? ___ Years ___ Months

92. Are you now studying for, or do you plan to study for within the next year, any test for promotion?

___ a. I am not now, nor do I plan to study for any test for promotion within the year.
___ b. I am now studying for the _____ exam.
___ c. I plan within the next year to study for the _____ exam.
___ d. Other (Please specify.)

93. Are you a member of the Guardians? ☐ Yes; ☐ No
94. If you are a member of the Guardians, how long have you been a member? ☐ Years ☐ Months
95. Are you a member of the National Society of Afro-American Patrolmen? ☐ Yes; ☐ No
96. If you are a member of the National Society of Afro-Patrolmen, how long have you been a member?
☐ Years ☐ Months
97. If you are a member of either of the above organizations, how active are you in its affairs (or were you, if you are retired)? Please check all that apply.
- | | <u>Guardians</u> | <u>Afro-Americans</u> |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. I have held or do hold office. | ☐ | ☐ |
| b. I attend meetings regularly. | ☐ | ☐ |
| c. I attend meetings sometimes. | ☐ | ☐ |
| d. I attend social functions regularly. | ☐ | ☐ |
| e. I attend social functions sometimes. | ☐ | ☐ |
| f. I only pay dues. | ☐ | ☐ |
| g. I am inactive. | ☐ | ☐ |
98. Of your closest friends, would you say that:
☐ a. most; ☐ b. many; ☐ c. few; ☐ d. none,
are fellow black police?
99. Of your closest friends, would you say that:
☐ a. most; ☐ b. many; ☐ c. few; ☐ d. none,
are fellow white policeman?
100. Of the policemen with whom you have worked most closely during your time on the force, would you say that: ☐ a. most; ☐ b. many; ☐ c. few; ☐ d. none,
have been white policemen?
101. Do you associate socially with white policemen with whom you work?
- ☐ a. Yes, on a regular basis
- ☐ b. Yes, but not regularly
- ☐ c. I do not associate socially with any white police colleagues.
- ☐ d. Other (Please specify.)

102. How would you feel if one of your children were to join the NYCPD? (If you have no children, how would you feel if you did?)

- ☐ a. I would be completely happy with his decision.
- ☐ b. I would be happy with his decision, but with some reservations.
- ☐ c. I would have no feeling one way or the other about his decision.
- ☐ d. I would be somewhat unhappy about his decision.
- ☐ e. I would be completely unhappy with his decision.

103. Please explain briefly why you would feel as you do if one of your children were to join the force.

104. On the whole, would you say that you have been satisfied with your job as a New York City policeman?

- ☐ a. Yes. I have been very satisfied.
- ☐ b. Yes. I have been more satisfied than dissatisfied.
- ☐ c. I have no feelings one way or the other.
- ☐ d. No. I have been more dissatisfied than satisfied.
- ☐ e. No. I have been completely dissatisfied.

105. Were you contacted during the first part of this study to take part in an interview? ☐ Yes; ☐ No

106. If you were contacted to take part in an interview for this study, did you actually have an interview done? ☐ Yes; ☐ No

107. If you were contacted to take part in an interview for this study, but did not have an interview done, can you briefly explain your reasons?

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation in completing this questionnaire. Please feel free to make any comments about the questionnaire in general or specific parts of it below and on the reverse side of this page. Thank you again.

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