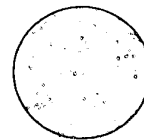


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**POLICE OFFICER ORIENTATION
AND RESISTANCE TO IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY
POLICING**

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ABSTRACT

Recent research indicates that implementing community policing programs has been largely unsuccessful and that implementation of such programs needs to be accompanied by changes in police attitudes, culture and organization. Understanding impediments to implementation requires a more careful analysis of police attitudes and behaviors. Previous studies suggest a single continuum of police officer orientation from service provision to crime control. The present study surveyed the Bethlehem Pa. Police Department using a hassles and uplifts scale (Hart, et al., 1993, 1994) and a police attitudes survey (Brooks, et al., 1993). Fifty-eight percent of the 130 officers responded. Eighty-four percent of the hassles and uplifts scales and 56% of the police attitudes scales were reliable ($\alpha > .60$). Results indicate police orientation toward service provision was related to orientation toward crime control, but there were clear discrepancies between specific behavioral measures and general attitude measures. This research develops distinct profiles of officers who were highly service-oriented, those who were highly crime-control-oriented, those who were high on both, and those who were low on both. Results suggest police change efforts need to lessen crime-control culture while simultaneously increasing positive attitudes toward police provision of services and distinguish officer attitude from behavior.



POLICE OFFICER ORIENTATION AND RESISTANCE TO IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING

by Paul McCold and Ben Wachtel

In a fundamental way, the daily activities of most U.S. police departments have been called into serious question. Research conducted on traditional policing methods during the last two decades has concluded that this method of policing fails to produce many useful outcomes (Goldstein, 1990). Randomized and directed motor patrol, increasing the number of police or improving police response time do not lower the crime rate or increase the proportion of solved crimes, nor do they reduce the fear of crime. Saturation patrol does not reduce crime but tends to displace it (Weisburd & Green, 1995; Hesselting, 1994). And crimes are generally not solved through criminal investigations conducted by the police (Skolnick & Bayley, 1986).

In spite of the lack of empirically demonstrated efficacy, every municipality of any size continues to budget significant amounts to their local police operations. No one questions the need for police to be available to respond to calls for service, but only a small proportion of police resources are devoted to this necessary provision of service. Daily police operations and budget allocations within departments have been substantially unchanged since the 1970s. The military model of patrolmen as foot soldiers — who are carefully supervised and controlled by sergeants, who are carefully supervised by lieutenants, captains, commanders, who in turn are controlled by a chief or commissioner — has a bureaucratic momentum that is very resistant to change.

The results of the empirical evaluation of policing demands reconsideration and reform of the basic nature and structure of policing in America. The 1990s have spawned a number of innovative efforts to make police work productive by engaging in cooperative strategies with the community to proactively prevent and reduce crime and disorder and to increase the quality of services police offer their communities. These efforts to develop a more socially constructive vision of policing have been included under the rubric of community

policing. The "tactical focus" of these efforts has been problem-oriented policing strategies (Bazemore & Cole, 1994). Community and problem-oriented policing programs have become more accepted, and police departments have increasingly attempted to adopt this philosophy over the past decade with limited success.

This paper will consider the current wave of police reform efforts underway in the United States and elsewhere, and discuss the role that police attitudes toward their governmental function plays in the lack of success of these efforts. It will report on the evaluation of police attitudes conducted among the Bethlehem Police Department in Pennsylvania, consider the relationships between attitude and behavior and discuss some of the requirements of a strategic plan to further the implementation of the vision of community policing.

While some have tried to clearly define community and problem-oriented policing (e.g., Goldstein, 1987, 1990), in practice community policing programs have taken on a variety of forms, goals and objectives. The implicit and explicit goals of community policing have included: reducing crime and disorder (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988; Normandeau, 1993); reducing fear of crime (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988; Normandeau, 1993); increasing clearance rates (Normandeau, 1993); increasing public satisfaction with the police (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Normandeau, 1993); decreasing complaints against police (Normandeau, 1993); increasing police job satisfaction (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988); engaging the community in police activities (Normandeau, 1993; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988); reducing calls for service (Normandeau, 1993); increasing police effectiveness (Taylor, 1992; Normandeau, 1993); and increasing service provision (Melekian, 1990).

The stated objectives of community policing have included: community involvement in crime control (Taylor, 1992; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994; Stipak, Immer & Clavadetscher, 1994); a proactive approach to crime detection and prevention (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988); a decentralized command structure (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Stipak, Immer & Clavadetscher, 1994; Dent & Hackler, 1992); broad provision of non-emergency services (Kelling & Moore,

1988; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Stipak, Immer & Clavadetscher, 1994); foot patrol (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Dent & Hackler, 1992); an orientation toward problem solving (Kelling & Moore, 1988); permanent assignment of officers to beats (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988); increased accountability to the public; employing civilians on the police force (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988); and an ongoing evaluation of policing tactics (Dent & Hackler, 1992).

Reports are largely mixed regarding the impact of community policing programs. Several studies show a reduction in crime and disorder as a result of community policing efforts (Dent & Hackler, 1992; Davis & Daly, 1992; Eck & Spelman, 1987; Eck & Spelman, 1987b), while others show no significant effect (Normandeau, 1993; Bayley, 1989). Reductions in fear of crime have appeared successful in some cases (Normandeau, 1993; Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Davis & Daly, 1992; Peak, Bradshaw & Glensor, 1992; Hall, 1990; Pate & Annan, 1989; Eck & Spelman, 1987; Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Mande, 1993; Peak, Bradshaw & Glensor, 1992) and unsuccessful (Bradel & Witt, 1993; Bayley, 1989; Bennett, 1991) or ambiguous in others (Pate & Annan, 1989; Greene & Taylor, 1988). A review of several fear-reduction studies in Houston and Newark showed that community-oriented efforts appeared to reduce fear of crime, as well as improve citizens' views of crime and disorder problems in the community (Wycoff, 1988).

Several studies support the effect of community policing efforts in increasing public satisfaction with the police (Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Davis & Daly, 1992; Peak, Bradshaw, & Glensor, 1992; Hall, 1990; Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Hornick, et. al., 1991; Thurman, Bogen & Giacomazzi, 1993; Mande, 1993; Thurman, Giacomazzi & Bogen, 1993; Peak, Bradshaw & Glensor, 1992) while two other studies have unsupportive or ambiguous findings (Pate & Annan, 1989 and Greene & Taylor, 1988, respectively). A number of studies show an increase in police job satisfaction (Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Hall, 1990; Bennett, 1991; Davis & Daly, 1992; Wang, 1993; Hornick, et. al., 1991; Lurigio & Skogan, 1994; Thurman, Bogen & Giacomazzi, 1993; Mande, 1993), with one showing mixed results (Wilson & Bennett, 1994).

Several studies suggest that some community policing programs have been successful at engaging the community in police work

(Friedmann, 1992; Dent & Hackler, 1992; Mande, 1993; Peak, Bradshaw & Glensor, 1992; Sparrow, Moore & Kennedy, 1990), while other studies indicate mixed or insignificant results (Sadd & Grinc, 1994; Greene & Taylor, 1988; Bull & Stratta, 1994).

There is little conclusive research on changes in clearance rates, with the exception of one study which indicates no significant increase (Bayley, 1989). No studies show an increase or decrease in complaints against police. One study shows a reduction in calls for service (Hornick, et. al., 1991). Increases in service provision were noted in another study (Sparrow, Moore & Kennedy, 1990). Increasing police effectiveness was supported by one study (Pate & Annan, 1989) and unsupported by another (Gaines, 1994).

Perhaps the greatest area of discrepancy is in how well community policing efforts change the overall nature of police practices. Some research has indicated that change actually did occur (Friedmann, 1992; Couper & Lobitz, 1991; Wycoff & Skogan, 1993; Thurman, Bogen & Giacomazzi, 1993; Peak, Bradshaw & Glensor, 1992; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986) while a number of studies show little change in police practices (Bradel & Witt, 1993; Greene & Taylor, 1988; Gaines, 1994; Hunter & Barker, 1993; Zhao, Thurman & Lovrich, 1995; Klockars, 1988; Jones, Newburn & Smith, 1994; Stenson, 1993).

Despite broad-based support for the philosophy of community policing, translating theory into specific police programs has proven difficult. There has been an absence of a clear line of development as to how to put community policing ideas into practice (Jones, Newburn & Smith, 1994). While there have been isolated incidents of successes of community policing, attempts to implement community policing have been largely limited to specialized units of officers and have not permeated the command-and-control functions of everyday police work (Couper & Lobitz, 1991).

Factors working against the implementation of community policing are traditional police norms (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Weisburd, McElroy & Hardyman, 1988; Nelligan & Taylor, 1994) and police organizational and subcultural resistance (Rosenbaum & Lurigio, 1994; Gaines, 1994; Overman, Carey & Dolan, 1994; Walker, 1993; Goldstein, 1987), including traditional assumptions about patrol

strategies (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Walker, 1993; Redlinger, 1994), bureaucratic isolation of community programs within the police agency, the need for police to react to emergencies (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988), and the limits of police authority (Eck & Spelman, 1987). Resource limitations also were discussed as an obvious but significant obstacle to implementing community policing (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Bayley, 1989).

Lack of support from middle management has been targeted as a major obstacle (Zhao, Thurman & Lovrich, 1995; Overman, Carey & Dolan, 1994; Walker, 1993; Riechers & Roberg, 1990; Goldstein, 1987; Koch & Bennett, 1993; Redlinger, 1994), along with reactive management strategies (Hunter & Barker, 1993) and improper leadership (Goldstein, 1987; Riechers & Roberg, 1990; Koch & Bennett, 1993; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986). External factors, such as public expectations of the police role (Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Walker, 1993), lack of support of community residents (Zhao, Thurman & Lovrich, 1995; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986; Vaughn, 1992) and conservative governments (Moore, 1992), have also been noted.

Accompanying the search for evidence on the success of community policing is the underlying question of the utility of such empirical knowledge. Moore (1994) warns against a premature attempt by police researchers to provide a definitive answer on whether community policing works:

The findings from such studies would be accumulated as they became available, and used to influence judgments about the meaning, value, and feasibility of community policing. But these reports would reflect the understanding that definitive results on the success of community policing would probably take a decade—perhaps a generation—to produce (p.288).

Sparrow, Moore and Kennedy (1993) comment on the need to forge ahead with the community policing concept despite its current lack of scientific validation. Others warn against letting the rhetoric of community policing cloud its reality, such as Mastrofski (1988), who calls attention to the gulf between what is claimed and assumed by the movement's advocates and what is known or can reasonably be expected. Murphy (1988) comments that the community policing model appears to need further conceptualization and empirical elaboration, despite its apparent popularity.

The apparent failure of community policing programs partly lies in an overall absence of vision as to what community policing is. As Bazemore and Cole (1994) write:

From a research perspective, such failed or flawed implementation could make it impossible to design a true test of the "theory" of community policing; apparent failure of the approach to produce anticipated outcomes may be due instead to failure to implement the approach in a manner consistent with the values and strategies implied by this new paradigm (p.120).

Despite variation in findings, opinions and conclusions related to community policing, there appears to be a consensus among researchers that implementation must be accompanied by changes in police culture and organization (Eck & Spelman, 1987; Goldstein, 1987, 1990; Gaines, 1994; Hunter & Barker, 1993; Lurigio & Skogan, 1994; Nelligan & Taylor, 1994; Redlinger, 1994; Riechers & Roberg, 1990; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Weisburd, McElroy & Hardyman, 1988). The culture and organizational climate must be compatible for community policing to be successful Lurigio and Skogan (1994).

Changing police culture and organization means changing the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of police, both individually and collectively. In the history of the transition to the police professionalism model "particular types of police officer attitudes indicative of police professionalism became linked to the ideology of police reform and to the culture of the management cop" (Crank, Payn & Jackson, 1993, p.203). Similarly, particular beliefs and attitudes have been linked to ideology in the transition to community policing.

For these programs to make any kind of true impact, officers themselves must have a positive and optimistic attitude about community members:

A positive role orientation is related to other positive attitudes and a negative role orientation is related to other negative feelings. Officers who were service oriented were more likely to see the community and the system in favorable terms and less likely to support solidarity and force, while crime control oriented officers saw the community in a less favorable light and were more inclined toward force and protecting the violations of other officers (Brooks, Piquero & Cronin, 1993, p.132).

Studies suggest a single continuum of police officer orientation from service provision to crime control (Chen, 1988; Sundeen, 1974; also see Bar-On, 1995). Presumably, those officers who value their service role devalue their crime control role. This may be too

simplistic. The relationship between attitudes, beliefs and behaviors is murky (Wilt & Bannon, 1976). Crank (1993) points out that there appears to be a weak relationship between "who an officer is" and their behavior. Miller and Braswell (1992) emphasize the distinction between an officer's ideals and the actual decisions for ethical behavior. Frank and Brandl (1991) discuss the problems and inconsistencies resulting from overly simplistic analyses of the attitude-behavior relationship, which try to compare general attitudinal measures with specific behavioral measures. Thus, the relationship between police officer attitudes and behaviors has become a significant focus of calls for better police research (Riksheim & Chermak, 1993; Sherman, 1980).

One key to successful implementation of community policing implementation could lie in a more in-depth understanding of police officer orientation. Failure to implement community policing may be rooted in an underlying (perhaps unspoken) assumption that strengthening police officer orientation toward service will weaken their orientation toward crime control. For example, this appears to be one conclusion reached by Crank (1993) in his study of legalistic and order-maintenance behavior among patrol officers in 8 Illinois municipal police departments.

The Bethlehem Police Survey

The City of Bethlehem is located in the southeastern section of Pennsylvania, in an area referred to as the Greater Lehigh Valley. The city is part of a three-city metropolitan area, consisting of Allentown, Bethlehem and Easton. The three-city area is surrounded by approximately 25 townships and boroughs of varying sizes. Bethlehem is a two-hour drive west of New York City and a one-and-a-half hour drive north of Philadelphia.

The City of Bethlehem is geographically located in the middle of the three-city metropolitan area and the second largest city in population after Allentown. The city has a population of approximately 72,000 and an area of slightly over 19 square miles. There are two colleges/universities located within the city limits with a student population of 7,300 living both on and off campus. The Bethlehem Area

School District has two high schools, four middle schools and seven elementary schools within the city limits.

The Bethlehem Police Department has 136 sworn police officers and is actively involved in addressing the needs of the city residents. The Department has ongoing Crime Prevention and Community Policing Programs as well as advanced technology improvements, which include four permanent substations, a mobile substation, bicycle patrols and four full-time officers assigned to the middle schools.

Surveys were distributed by the lieutenant responsible for training to all members of the Bethlehem Police Department during roll calls in October 1995. The forms requested identifying information in the form of badge number. The survey was signed by the Commissioner and the Director of Research promising that their responses would be kept confidential and would not be available to police administration. This satisfied the requirements of the local police union representatives.

In spite of the non-anonymous nature of the survey, fifty-eight percent of the 130 officers on the force responded. Analysis of response bias across years of experience, age, assignment, rank and education demonstrated that those who responded were generally representative of the force as a whole. The only difference between respondents and non-respondents was found among those patrol officers with less than five years of experience who were college-educated. This group was somewhat under-represented among respondents ($n = 28$, $p < .05$).

Survey	#Police	Responses	Response Rate
Bethlehem Police	128	74	58%
Hart, et al.	1,130	404	36%
Brooks, et al.	1,384	761	55%

TABLE 1

Feedback from some officers refusing to complete the survey was that they primarily objected to questions relating to police solidarity (e.g., "would you arrest fellow officers who . . ."). The overall response rate was deemed adequate, with a response rate exceeding those

reported in two other studies using anonymous versions of these questionnaires, as shown in Table 1.

The questionnaire developed for this project was a combination of two recently published studies which reported empirically reliable scales. The first set of items was the 112-item Police Daily Hassles Scale and the 82-item Police Uplift Scales as reported by Hart, Wearing and Headey (1993, 1994). They created these scales to measure "the positive and negative work-related experiences common to police officers as part of an exploration into understanding how a person's well-being is determined by the multivariate relationships that operate among the component parts of the person-environment encounter." (Hart, et al., 1993, p.557). These scales were developed from a systematic sample of 330 officers drawn from all ranks and work sections within the Victoria (Australia) Police Department. The construct validity of the scales was supported by a series of factor analyses and cross-validated on a second sample of 404 police officers. Each of these scales was divided into operational and organizational items, hassles and uplifts subscales of each, and specific item subscales.

Overall hassle and uplift scales were found to be somewhat more reliable among the Bethlehem police than reported in either study by Hart, et al. This held true for overall operational hassles and uplifts scales and organizational hassles and uplifts scales. Only individual item subscales measuring hassles from equipment and promotions, and subscales measuring uplifts from administration, family, and rosters failed to maintain an adequate reliability rating ($\alpha < .60$), as shown in Table 2.

ATTITUDE RELIABILITY SCALES	Bethlehem		Hart '90	Hart '88	
	Alpha	Means	Alpha	Alpha	Means
Hassles	0.97	2.4	0.87	0.91	1.7
Organizational Hassles	0.96	2.5	0.81	0.87	1.7
Communication	0.82	2.4	0.83	0.88	1.5
Morale	0.69	2.2	0.83	0.83	1.4
Co-workers	0.88	2.8	0.93	0.93	1.7
Ratings	0.91	2.7	0.86	0.79	1.8
Supervision	0.64	2.1	0.72	0.80	1.3
Administration	0.87	2.9	0.90	0.93	2.0
Individual	0.78	2.3	0.86	0.88	1.7
Amenities	0.63	2.1	0.89	0.87	1.9
Equipment	0.56	2.4	0.81	0.86	2.2
Promotions	0.52	1.8	0.89	0.93	1.7
Operational Hassles	0.94	2.3	0.78	0.83	1.6
Danger	0.84	1.9	0.90	0.81	1.0
Victims	0.84	2.2	0.90	0.89	1.3
Frustration	0.79	2.6	0.85	0.86	1.6
External	0.77	2.6	0.86	0.90	1.8
Activity	0.83	2.3	0.88	0.88	1.6
Complaints	0.55	2.6	0.82	0.80	1.7
People	0.62	2.4	0.85	0.77	1.8
Workload	0.86	2.4	0.88	0.82	1.7
Driving	0.70	2.5	0.77	0.82	2.2
Uplifts	0.95	3.3	0.80	0.77	2.7
Organizational Uplifts	0.95	3.4	0.83	0.81	2.8
Amenities	0.72	2.9	0.90	0.79	2.8
Co-workers	0.90	3.7	0.91	0.92	3.1
Administration	0.44	3.1	0.86	0.85	2.1
Decision-making	0.73	3.6	0.82	0.88	3.0
Supervision	0.81	3.5	0.83	0.77	2.8
Workload	0.81	3.7	0.81	0.79	3.0
Equipment	0.92	3.4	0.93	0.92	2.6
Family	0.49	3.1	0.67	0.52	2.8
Promotions	0.72	3.0	0.88	0.87	2.6
Operational Uplifts	0.88	3.2	0.73	0.65	2.3
Offenders	0.84	3.0	0.94	0.92	1.9
Victims	0.84	3.5	0.94	0.90	2.3
Rosters	0.49	3.3	0.83	0.67	2.8

TABLE 2

The BPD scored somewhat higher on all of these scales than their Australian counterparts, although tests of the significance of these differences were not possible. The scores for the BPD were below the neutral value of 3.0 for hassles and above for uplifts, indicating that there is general satisfaction with the working environment. On average,

the Australian police rated neither hassles or uplifts as particularly applicable to themselves.

The second questionnaire included in the present report was taken from a study examining factors influencing the attitudes of police officers toward their roles and communities, and was based upon results from 761 officers employed by two large police departments in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area (Brooks, Piquero & Cronin, 1993). While the Brooks study did not report reliability coefficients, five of the nine scales produced adequate coefficients in the Bethlehem study, three items were found to be weakly reliable, and only officer orientation toward use of force was found to be unreliable, as shown in Table 3.

ATTITUDE RELIABILITY SCALES	Bethlehem		Brooks
	Alpha	Means	Means
Orientation Toward Police Solidarity	0.86	3.0	3.3
Crime Control Orientation	0.71	2.9	2.9
Perception of Community Cooperation	0.69	64%	64%
Service Orientation	0.68	3.3	3.2
Perception of CJ System Support	0.67	3.6	3.0
Perception of Community Support	0.58	2.8	2.7
Perception of Quality of Police Services	0.57	3.8	3.5
Belief in Police Discretion	0.55	3.5	3.6
Orientation Toward Force	0.40	2.9	3.1

TABLE 3

Thus, among the questionnaire items used in the present study, 84% of the hassles and uplifts scales and 56% of the police attitudes scales were reliable ($\alpha > .60$). The BPD perceived the local criminal justice system as more supportive, the quality of police services as more positive, and the community support slightly higher than reported by Brooks. They also were somewhat more service oriented and less oriented toward police solidarity than their Washington, D.C. counterparts.

CONSTRUCTED POLICE ATTITUDE SCALES			
	item mean	item SD	question
SERVICE SCALE	3.49	0.72	
NUISANCE	3.74	0.67	Police should handle public nuisance problems.
DISPUTES	3.56	0.90	Police should help settle family disputes.
SERVICE	3.23	1.09	Policing should be seen as a service organization.
AUTHORITY SCALE	2.65	0.84	
SUPREME	3.21	1.07	Many of the decisions by the Supreme Court interfere with the ability of police to fight crime.
PROBABLE	2.76	1.24	Officers would be more effective if they didn't have to worry about "probable cause" requirements for searching citizens
RESTRICT	2.47	1.10	If police officers in high crime areas had fewer restrictions on their use of force, many of the serious crime problems in those neighborhoods would be greatly reduced.
POWERS	2.03	0.96	Lack of police powers (hassle)
HELPING SCALE	3.54	1.02	
PUBLIC	3.79	1.08	Helping the public (uplift).
CHILDREN	3.66	1.27	Helping children (uplift).
COMPLAIN	3.50	1.18	Helping complainants (uplift).
MOTORIST	3.27	1.32	Helping motorists (uplift).
ARREST SCALE	2.98	1.00	
COURTS	3.38	1.29	Getting a good result at court (uplift).
PINCH	3.17	1.43	Getting a good "pinch" (uplift).
GOODCALL	3.06	1.34	Going to good calls (uplift).
CHARGING	2.94	1.24	Charging someone (uplift).
ADMISS	2.92	1.37	Obtaining an admission from a crook (uplift).
RAID	2.46	1.37	Going on a raid (uplift).

TABLE 4

Procedure

To explore the relationship between crime control orientation and community service provision, two scales measuring police orientation toward their roles (proxy for orientation) and two scales measuring police attitudes toward their work activities (proxy for behavior) were developed. The resultant scales allow for a comparison of officer orientation along the two dimensions of community service versus crime control, and the two dimensions of attitudes toward actual work activities related to service and crime control. The constructed scales are shown in Table 4.

Each item is a five-point Likert scale. Item values are additively combined to create the four scales. The two scales measuring orientation toward police roles generally were:

SERVICE (Alpha = .6861), measuring the degree to which officers felt that police generally should provide service assistance to citizens (3 items);

AUTHORITY (Alpha = .7479), measuring the degree to which officers felt that police generally require more formal authority (4 items).

The proxies for police behavior were the two scales measuring attitudes toward their specific tasks:

HELPING (Alpha = .8893), measuring positive attitudes toward helping citizens through actual provision of service activities (4 items);

ARREST (Alpha = .8423), measuring positive attitudes toward activities involved in exercising formal authority (6 items).

Results & Discussion

The Bethlehem police department is generally oriented to service provision, both as a general policing goal, and in the satisfaction derived from the provision of that service. On the five-point Likert scale, a value of 3.0 is exactly neutral. The BPD had an overall positive score for both the service scale (3.5) and the helping scale (3.5), a negative score on the authority scale (2.6), and a neutral score for the arrest scale (3.0).

SCALE CORRELATION MATRIX			
	AUTHORITY	SERVICE	ARREST
SERVICE	-0.37 (0.001)		
ARREST	0.22 (0.059)	-0.13 ns	
HELPING	-0.05 ns	0.02 ns	0.37 (0.001)

probability levels shown in parentheses

TABLE 5

There was a negative relationship between orientation toward police service provision and orientation toward police formal authority ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$), as shown in Table 5. Knowledge of an officer's attitude toward what police ought to do only explains 14% of the variation in their attitude toward how to do it, indicating that a large proportion of officers scored high on orientation toward both service and authority and/or low on both scales.

Yet when asked about their own activities regarding the exercising of formal authority or actual provision of services, there

was a statistically significant positive relationship between these scales ($r = .37$, $p < .001$). The magnitude of the positive relationship between these behavioral measures was nearly the same as the negative relationship between the attitudinal measures, indicating there are a large proportion of officers who get satisfaction from either arresting activities or helping activities, but not both.

There were clear discrepancies between specific behavioral measures and general attitude measures. The relationship between orientation to formal authority was weakly related to satisfaction derived from exercising that authority ($r = .22$, $p < .10$). The relationship between orientation to police provision of services was independent of satisfaction derived from the provision of that service ($r = .02$, ns).

While there is a large amount of unexplained variance, the results indicate that the Bethlehem police are generally oriented toward either crime control or service provision but they derive satisfaction from both activities (or neither).

The positive relationship between the crime control scales, arrest and authority, demonstrates consistency between attitude and behavior in the crime control domain. However, the positive relationship between the two behavior scales (helping and arrest), and the lack of a relationship between the two service provision scales (helping and service), is indicative of inconsistency between attitude and behavior as it relates to provision of assistance to the public.

Among specific control variables (years of service, rank and education) only years of service was significantly related to any of these scales. The following correlation coefficients were observed:

	Authority	Helping	Service	Arrest
Years of	-.3546	-.1426	.1376	-.3865
Service	(73)	(73)	(69)	(71)
	P= .002	P= ns	P= ns	P= .001

Thus, the greater the years of experience, the less likely officers were to perceive a need for greater formal authority and the less likely they were to gain satisfaction from crime control activities. Length of service is related to neither the view that policing should be service oriented, nor to satisfaction derived from helping citizens.

Police Typologies

While there is an inverse relationship between service and authority orientation, there were a number of officers low and high on both scales. If we juxtapose these two scales and divide the Bethlehem officers by the mean of each scale, we create a typology long used in criminal justice policy analysis (Glasser 1969, Duffee, Hussey & Kramer 1978). This produces four profiles of officers: 1) those highly service-oriented, 2) those highly authority-oriented, 3) those who were high on both, and 4) those who were low on both.

		Authority		
		Low	High	
Service	High	27	11	38
	Low	13	21	34
		40	32	72
		56%	44%	
		38%	15%	53%
		18%	29%	47%

Figure 6

The majority of officers were either high on service orientation and low on authority orientation or high on authority orientation and low on service orientation (see Figure 6; Chi Squared = 36.65, $p < .001$). This is consistent with the negative correlation observed between service orientation and authority orientation and supports the service versus crime control continuum. Indicative of the skewed distribution of these two scales, the majority of Bethlehem officers were above average on the service scale and below average on the authority scale. The distribution of BPD officers among the four profiles were: 38% high service-low authority, 29% high authority-low service, 15% high-high and 11% low low.

Each of the four groups were then compared for differences on the variables years of experience, age, assignment, rank and education, and the Hart and Brooks scales using both interval and categorical authority-service scales.

A significant difference between the four profiles is years of experience ($F = 2.88$, $p < .05$). The high service-low authority group had a mean of 17.3 years experience. The low service-low authority group

had a mean of 15.8 years experience. The high service-high authority group had a mean of 8.8 years experience. The low service-high authority group had a mean of 11.0 years experience. The dramatic difference was between those with low authority orientation and those with high authority orientation. Generally speaking, officers with less experience tended to have a higher authority orientation while officers with more experience had a lower authority orientation. This may, in part, be due to the acclimatization of officers to the culture of the Bethlehem Police Department as they gain more experience. As officers gain more experience at handling conflict situations, they rely less on formal authority and more on "smoothing and soothing" techniques (Walter & Wagner, 1996). It is also consistent with other findings that length of service plays a significant role in determining beliefs and attitudes (Buzawa, Austin & Bannon, 1994; Crank, Payn & Jackson, 1993; Crank, 1993; Sherman, 1980).

While there were some differences among the profiles by police rank, this relationship disappeared when years of service was controlled. The only consistent differences between profiles by years of experience, age, assignment, rank and education, was years of experience/age. Since years of service and age are highly related ($r = .97$), it is possible that age rather than years of service account for the observed differences. It may be that as (mostly) male officers get older, they rely on less aggressive approaches as a function of maturation rather than experience. Since this study cannot rule out this possibility, a maturation explanation of police styles remains plausible.

Another significant difference observed between profiles was that the high service-low authority group had a lower degree of hassles, both organizational and operational, than the high authority-low service group. This supports the findings of Crank (1993) that police who have higher levels of job satisfaction (demonstrated here by fewer hassles) are more active in the production of both order-maintenance and legalistic activity (comparable to high authority orientation). This makes sense when one looks at the overall nature of the Bethlehem Police Department, which is itself high on service orientation and low on authority orientation. Thus, those officers who

are aligned with the nature of the police department are less hassled by their work environment than those who are not. In addition, the high service-low authority group perceived the criminal justice system (local courts and prosecutors) as more cooperative with the police department than the high authority-low service group.

Contrary to expectations, attitudes toward crime control and helping activities were unrelated to either service orientation or authority orientation in this sample. It did appear, however, that those in the low service-low authority group and those in the high service-high authority group had a higher positive attitude toward crime control activities. Perhaps a lack of relation between attitudes and behaviors should not be surprising. The unreliability of general beliefs in determining attitudes toward specific behaviors is consistent with previous findings about the attitude-behavior relationship (Crank, 1993; Frank & Brandl, 1991; Worden, 1989, 1995).

This typology is loosely analagous to Wilson's (1968) varieties of police styles — watchman, legalistic and service — especially as discussed by Brooks, Shoemaker & Winsor (1979). The legalistic style is most closely related to the high authority-low service group, viewing strict law enforcement as the primary police role, with little regard for service to the community. The service style is most closely related to the high service-low authority group, with great emphasis placed on listening to and serving the community, making arrests only as a last resort. The watchman style, with its emphasis on protecting the community, rather than serving it, by enforcing largely the most serious crimes, does not readily fall into any of the four groups described here. These approaches distinguished high and low formalism (roughly analogous to the authority orientation scale) with high and low activity levels (not analogous to the service orientation scale).

This typology is somewhat more analagous to that developed by Worden (1995), based on the typologies of White (1972), Brown (1981), Muir (1977) and Broderick (1977). It distinguishes five styles of police officers: professionals, tough cops, clean-beat crime-fighters, problem-solvers and avoiders. Professionals correspond to the high service-high authority group. They believe crime control to be the most important but are not bothered by performing their service role as well.

Tough cops are those officers in the high authority-low service group. They are primarily concerned with the crime control function of police, regarding service oriented tasks as getting in the way of "real" police work. In addition, they tend to be the most dissatisfied with their jobs (high hassles). Clean-beat crime-fighters may also fall into the high authority-low service group. They also see crime-fighting as their primary role (though they are more concerned with uniform enforcement than the tough cop). They also tend to be disillusioned with the courts, the police organization and other police officers (high hassles - organizational and operational, perception of lack of support from the criminal justice system). Problem-solvers are the high service-low authority group. They see the public as their clientele and prefer informal approaches over law enforcement and coercive measures. Lastly, avoiders may correspond to the low service-low authority group, generally preferring to do as little as possible (also see Frank, 1984).

Conclusion

What may seem obvious to students of human behavior, but not so obvious to those who tend to view police in a stereotypical fashion, is that police attitudes and behaviors are complex and varied. Fielding & Fielding (1991) claim that police attitudes toward crime and punishment are usually seen as harsh and conservative; however, they point out that social representation theory shows that belief systems often contain contrary themes which are important when looking at attitudes toward behaviors.

Analysis of this and other typologies of policing styles exemplifies this. Factors that affect policing styles include general beliefs about policing, attitudes toward police work, years of experience, various personality traits (see Lorr & Strack, 1994), job satisfaction (Dantzker, 1993a, 1993b, 1994) and job stress (Violanti & Aron, 1995), the nature of situations (Cox & Frank, 1992), first-line supervision style (Talarico & Swanson, 1980), the police organizational and cultural climate, perceived support of the criminal justice system, and the character of the community or neighborhood being served (see Shingles & Shoemaker, 1979 and Slovak, 1986). What then, can this tell us about the successful implementation of community policing?

First, there is a wide variety of police styles, even within a progressive mid-sized department. The range in orientations appears to explain much of the satisfaction with police work and likely affects which activities are seen as "real police work." While high authority officers downplay their role as service providers, they also find a sense of satisfaction in "helping" citizens. The fact is that both crime control activities and helping activities were unrelated to service or authority orientation among the BPD. This is indicative that there is an inability to translate general policing concepts (e.g. community policing) into specific helping activities. It may also indicate that crime control activities are not distinguished from helping activities in the police culture.

Contrary to popular perceptions, this research suggests that it is not the "old guard" officer who is likely to be most resistant to community-oriented policing approaches. Perhaps newly hired police

officers are not provided sufficient training in smoothing and soothing tactics to rely on these techniques. Perhaps there is too much emphasis in police training in formal authority approaches to situations. Perhaps peacemaking practices can only be learned from years of experience in police work. This research suggests that younger officers would be more satisfied in their work environment if they had a more realistic view of the police role in progressive departments, and that all officers would benefit from training in people skills.

Community policing advocates need to find specific police practices to translate the desire of police to help citizens into ways of engaging the community in the process. To the degree that authoritarian approaches are inconsistent with such a vision, police officers should be taught specific interpersonal skills early in their careers, rather than relying solely on experience to teach them. The results of this research suggest police change efforts need to lessen crime control culture while simultaneously increasing positive attitudes toward police provision of services and distinguish officer attitude from behavior. There is, however, a limit on how much police can be expected to change their authoritarian value structure within a paramilitary organization that is inherently authoritarian.

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