

RESEARCH REPORT

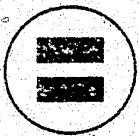
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FACTORS IN THE RETENTION OF MINORITY
AND MAJORITY POLICE OFFICERS

by

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ACQUISITIONS

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PREFACE

This report describes a study of retention of police officers conducted by the staff of the Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project of the National Urban League. The study was funded by a grant from the Office of Civil Rights Compliance, a division of the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics, Department of Justice.

This work reflects six years of experience of the National Urban League's Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project in the recruitment of minority persons for careers in the field of Criminal Justice, and placement of recruited personnel in Criminal Justice agencies in several cities and states in the nation. This study also represents an extension of the capabilities of the Administration of Justice Division and the Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project in particular, to gather and process information. This information can serve as a basis for action, which has been the hallmark of the National Urban League.

In particular, we have gathered information on how the experiences of the officers during the early pre-appointment selection stages of the recruitment process may later influence the officer's voluntary separation from the department. This information will be reflected in our continuing technical assistance to criminal justice agencies in the appointment of minority personnel. We have also gathered information on the officers' experiences and perceptions during the initial five years of

appointment which are critical to the making of a "good street cop." This information will also influence our technical assistance activities, as well as inform our assistance in the conduct of compliance reviews for the Office of Civil Rights Compliance.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the past two decades, there has been increasing concern and attention focused upon the underrepresentation of minority citizens in law enforcement careers of all types and at all levels. For the most part, however, this attention and concern has centered on minority underrepresentation among police officers. This reflects in part, we suspect, all the underlying factors which have resulted in the police officer becoming the general symbol of the entire criminal justice system--the frequency of contact for the average citizen, the high visibility of uniformed patrol officers, and their authority and legitimacy as the representative of society, communicated by badge, revolver, and night stick.

The sources of this concern and attention have been both internal and external to the police departments themselves. There has been recognition on the part of departments that the complex role and activities of the police officer vis a vis the service community frequently are better performed by minority officers. Whether this represents a cynical "public relations" approach, a sincere effort to diffuse the racial aspect of some police-community hostilities, or a technical decision based upon the officer's suitability for certain police functions, the result is the same: increased attention to the recruitment of minority officers.

At the same time, our society has placed more emphasis on equal employment opportunities in general, and, to a degree,

the concern about minority representation in police departments reflects this broader concern. Police departments as organizations have experienced their share of one critical aspect of this concern: they too have been defendants in law suits, and subjected to judicial scrutiny regarding their hiring and promotional practices.

Finally, the minority community has exerted pressure, both moral and political, upon local governments to increase the hiring of minority officers. As the minority community has increased its effective political power, of course, this pressure has become relatively more effective.

As police departments have begun to make affirmative action efforts in the appointment of minority officers, the selection procedures which have represented a block to such appointments in the past have increasingly come under scrutiny and review. Some movement has occurred in removing traditional, but nonrational, standards for selection. There has also been some movement in the review and monitoring of standards which, while rational, are subject to abuse and misuse in their application to minority candidates. Undoubtedly, these changes have improved the selection process for majority officers as well. Many of these standards operated against the selection of economically disadvantaged candidates. Thus, on the average, they resulted in lower selection rates for minority candidates. But they also operated against the selection of economically disadvantaged majority candidates.

To the extent that these affirmative action efforts at recruitment are successful, it becomes increasingly important to examine the career experiences of appointed minority officers. In particular, the continuation of their careers in law enforcement is critical. If the newly appointed minority officers leave police work, then two undesirable outcomes are inevitable. First, the underrepresentation of minority officers will simply continue, especially among the higher ranks. Second, the department's further affirmative action efforts will be increasingly met with hostility and cynicism by the minority community. This will lead to the exacerbation of all the problems which minority representation on the police force is thought to alleviate.

In view of these considerations, the National Urban League's Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project undertook this study of the retention of recently appointed minority officers. We surveyed majority and minority officers who had been appointed to seven different police departments during the years 1973-1978. This sample should yield information on their experiences and perceptions during their early years as police officers, years critical to retention.

Our objectives were to provide initial answers to these questions:

- 1) What is the relationship between an officer's minority/majority status and the officer's reports of their experiences in the police department?
- 2) What is the relationship between an officer's reported experiences and the likelihood the officer will leave the department?

- 3) Do the relationships between an officer's reported experiences and the officer's likelihood of leaving the department depend upon the officer's ethnic status?

II. RETENTION OF MINORITY POLICE OFFICERS

A. Background

During the past two decades there has been growing concern about the underrepresentation of minority citizens in law enforcement careers. This concern has particularly focused on the low representation of minority citizens in police organizations at all levels of government--from the town constable all the way to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. All parties to this concern, including members of minority communities and police officials, feel that there are a number of reasons why increased representation of minorities in these police organizations is desirable. They stress, to varying degrees, that such representation will increase the fairness, equitableness, efficiency, effectiveness, sensitivity and good will of necessary law enforcement activity. At the same time, police departments, as well as other organizations, have been faced with pressures, both legal and political, to provide equal employment opportunities to minority citizens.

As is all too frequently the case, police departments have approved, in principle, the idea of equal opportunity, but have found it difficult to implement it without, in their view, "lowering standards" or "practicing reverse discrimination." Nonetheless, there has been some progress in this area, and minority citizens are being appointed to police departments at an increasing rate, although typically still below their

representation in the department's service area. For example, one of our cooperating departments is reported to have been about 2 1/2 to 4% minority in 1967, and is currently 38% minority. The service community, however, is about 50% minority.

The staff of the National Urban League's Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project has participated in the effort to increase minority representation in criminal justice agencies since 1972. One of the major activity areas for LEMPP has been to provide technical assistance to criminal justice agencies, especially police departments, in the appointment of minority personnel. Project activities have been quite varied. We have supplied technical assistance in recruitment and appointment programs. We have also assessed selection procedures and materials for biases which needlessly select out qualified minority candidates. The problems in these areas have been increasingly recognized, although complete agreement on what they may be has not been reached. Nor have they by any stretch of the imagination been completely resolved.

However, it has become increasingly clear to the LEMPP staff that successful recruitment and appointment of minority officers is just the first stage in bringing about equitable representation of minority citizens on our nation's police departments. Once minority officers have been appointed, attention must be paid to ensuring that they have equal opportunity to fully pursue their careers in law enforcement--whether that involves promotional opportunities, or simply staying in the department. In particular, we are concerned that the (however

slightly) opening door to law enforcement careers for minority personnel does not simply turn into a revolving door, with a larger number of minority citizens temporarily "passing through" law enforcement careers. Recalcitrant organizations can be very effective in developing pressures upon the unwanted entrant which produce selective exiting from the organization. These mechanisms can range from the obvious--differential allocation of organizational rewards and punishments (promotions, choice assignments, charges, reprimands, etc.) to the more subtle--social isolation, insult, careful over-supervision. Both types can be very effective; whether one is forced out, or quits in disgust, frustration, anger, or hopelessness, the removal of the unwanted entrant is accomplished.

All these considerations have played a role in the National Urban League's Law Enforcement Minority Persons Project's undertaking this study designed to examine the retention of newly-appointed minority police officers. We hope to present information useful to concerned parties in attempting to improve the situation and law enforcement career possibilities of these officers.

We should make it clear at the outset that the factors whose role in retention we examine are largely drawn from LEMPP's experience with a wide range of police agencies and officers. This is particularly the case with factors which we feel might play a role in differential retention of minority and majority police officers. We do not attempt to present an all-encompassing literature review. We have rather sought to

illustrate the scattered reflections in the literature of our experientially-based concerns in this area. In particular, we attempt to reflect here why we are concerned with certain aspects of police department organization and the general situation of the minority citizen in our society and how these might impact upon minority police officers.

B. The Selection Process

The typical police department in the United States uses any number of selection criteria in the appointment of its officers. These may include a written exam, an oral interview, a background investigation, a medical examination (possibly including a psychiatric examination), and a physical agility test. All of these components of the selection process may result in the needless elimination of qualified minority applicants.

Of course, the pool of applicants typically already reflects some other selection criteria, such as age and education level. The applicant pool may also reflect the operation of other, less often recognized, selection criteria. These may result from the content, style, or procedures of the department's recruitment efforts. The racial, gender, and social class composition of the applicant pool is undoubtedly influenced by these outreach efforts in the recruitment process.

Over the last 10-15 years, there has been a growing awareness of the role of these recruitment and selection procedures in the continuing underrepresentation of minority persons

in our nation's police departments. It is not our intention to review the studies bearing on these issues, nor to reflect the full range of LEMPP experience in these areas. We will, however, present some illustrative examples of these kinds of problems, since we think that these initial selection biases may have later impact on the retention of those who have survived them.

The initial attraction of candidates for police work and the retention of these applicants through the entire selection procedure constitute separate problems. Moreover, both of these stages in the selection procedure are important in the appointment of minority personnel. Even successful attempts to generate initial applications from minority persons may flounder as these applicants simply drop out of the application procedures. This may be a result of the procedures themselves, rather than through conscious rejection of the application by the department (Hunt and Cohen, 1971).

An examination of New York City officers with ten years experience found that 25.2% of the black officers had received, at the time of application, low background investigation ratings from their investigators. 15.5% of the white officers received such ratings. Only one category of negative characteristics underlying these ratings differed by more than 2% between black and white officers. This was "family probity," which was reflected in the reports on 13.2% of the black officers, and 2.2% of the white officers. The more objective negative characteristics--offenses and summonses; culpable omissions from

application information; medical and psychological information; disciplinary records and debt--showed little, if any, differences. For three of these four, in fact, the percent of mentions for white officers was higher than the percent of mentions for black officers. (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; especially pp. 40-42.)

The data presented in this study do not allow us to directly establish the impact of mention of this "negative characteristic" upon the summary rating of the background investigation. This is because the data are presented in separate tables. It is not unreasonable, however, to suspect that the ratings of the black officer's "family probity" had substantial impact on their higher likelihood of receiving low background ratings. This is especially the case in view of the rejection of alternative explanations allowed by the lack of difference on other characteristics. This kind of characteristic is, of course, open to a high degree of individual variation in interpretation and assessment. It is also quite likely subject to cultural, racial and ethnic differences in appraisal.

These data also do not allow us to directly assess the impact of these ratings upon the rejection of black applicants, since the sample included only appointed officers. We suspect that the impact at the selection stage may, in fact, be quite large indeed. That the authors of this report shared this concern is suggested by their recommendation that the number of minority background investigators be increased, and that they provide input when there is a possibility that the outcome of a

background investigation will result in the rejection of a minority candidate (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972, p. 156).

An earlier study of the same department discovered that black officers felt there was an "unwritten ratio" of white to black candidates who would reach the appointment stage. This unwritten ratio was maintained, it was felt, by the manipulation of vague standards, such as minor law violations, which also are reflected in the background investigation (Alex, 1969, pp. 104-105).

For our present concern--the retention of minority officers--the critical issue is that officers who are appointed have undergone this selection process. They may feel that these criteria have been applied in a discriminatory manner to themselves. They may feel that they have been so applied to other, rejected, minority candidates. To the extent that they perceive that these selection criteria are used in a discriminatory fashion, they may be more likely to ultimately leave the department. This may occur because the selection procedures set up a negative context for the interpretation of later experience. Or, perhaps, because in and of themselves they predispose the officers to eventually leave police work.

How does a department protect itself from charges of discriminatory application of vague standards? One way is to be fairly open and specific in feedback to the candidates. This may persuade the candidates that their ratings on the criterion is fair. Even if it does not fully accomplish this goal, it at least gives the candidate an understanding, and the opportunity

to challenge, the evaluation. We would expect that officers who receive feedback at critical stages of the selection process will more likely remain police officers. We think that this is especially true for minority officers because of the discriminatory practices to which they have been subjected.

C. Selective Exit Pressures

1. Department

Once the minority candidates have survived the selection procedures and been appointed officers, they may still face a wide number of departmental pressures, consciously and unconsciously applied, upon them to resign. Groups and organizations are very effective in pressuring unwanted members into leaving. They can be forced or pushed out through a wide range of mechanisms, and it is to some of these we now turn.

It must be recognized at the outset that there will be many majority officers who will resent the increasing appointment of minority officers. For some of them this resentment will simply reflect the attitudes of their social background. For some it will spring from the more racist views fostered by the police experience (Levy, 1968; Marx, 1968; Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1967, inter alia). For others, it will reflect an honest, if misplaced, concern about the quality and reliability of minority officers. Still others will see in changing recruitment and appointment patterns an implicit criticism of the system which brought them into police work, much as Bittner (1970)

observes with regard to resistance to changing educational requirements. For some, the outside pressure resulting in such appointments will be viewed as "unwarranted interference" with the cherished autonomy of the department (e.g. Ruchelman, 1973 and Wilson, 1968). Undoubtedly there are more sources of such resistance. The key point is that all of these sources may result in attitudes and behaviors towards the newly appointed minority officers which will lessen the likelihood that these officers will remain in the department.

Police officers are a very tight-knit social group. Observers have argued that there are positive and negative factors which account for this pattern. First, there are the positive feelings police generally feel for their colleagues, coupled with the shared plight of dissatisfaction with pay, benefits, etc. (National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, 1968). Second, there is the esprit de corps of a paramilitary organization whose members face uncertainty and danger in their job (Bittner, 1970). Third there is the overpowering attitudinal similarity among officers on major issues concerning the department and the role of the police officer (for example, Lohman and Mismar, 1966). Fourth, there is wide spread agreement among police officers that they are neither valued nor respected by the citizens they serve (National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, 1968). In a very real sense, the police form an "occupational community"--more than most other occupations, the members form a social group with community characteristics.

All this suggests that other police officers are powerful sources of social rewards and punishments for an individual police officer. This means that social tactics such as isolation, disapproval, disrespect (as well as their positive converses), can powerfully affect the behavior of the individual police officer. The minority police officer may be even more dependent upon the occupational group for social approval because, as will be discussed below, they are likely to experience tension in their relationship with the minority community because they are police officers. At the same time, since they are minority, they are less likely to be accepted by other police (c.f. Alex, 1969 on the "double marginality" of the black police officer). This suggests that for minority police officers, their relationship with other departmental personnel will be even more critical for retention than it is for majority officers.

Organizations can also pressure members into leaving through the manner in which organizational rewards and punishments are distributed. It is quite clear, and not surprising in view of our discussion of the application of selection criteria above, that minority officers have been subjected to more punishments and fewer rewards than their majority colleagues. Alex (1969) reviews such practices in the assignments to precincts, to special units, to general duties, and promotional opportunities. Cohen and Chaiken (1972) find that qualified black officers were more often made detectives than promoted, compared to white officers. They also find that departmental charges were more often levelled against black officers, although there were no

differences for either criminal charges or civilian complaints. It seems clear that if minority officers see their career mobility and success blocked in this fashion, they are less likely to remain officers.

2. Department-Community

The issue of who shall control the police continues to be the source of many a heated debate--both within police departments and in the community at large. Wilson (1968) and Ruchelman (1973) lay out the general issues underlying the debate, as well as highlighting the racial context in which it currently typically occurs. Minority communities over the last 20 years have become increasingly vocal and assertive about what they view as police abuses of authority--verbal abuse, harrassment, unwarranted physical force, underenforcement of some laws, overenforcement of other laws, and underservice to minority citizens and communities (Campbell and Schuman, 1968). The police, on the other hand, are quite likely to view the minority community as a major source of their problems--both crime and public relations. They resist the implicit and explicit attempts to limit police autonomy. The police reactions to civilian review boards are an example of this (see Ruchelman, 1973, and Alex, 1969).

Undoubtedly, this debate has intensified the difficulty of simultaneously filling the role of minority citizen and police officer, and doing it to the satisfaction of both constituencies, since Alex (1969) highlighted this situation. The increasing number of minority police officer associations may suggest that

a resolution of this "double marginality" is occurring. Nonetheless, it is still the case that the minority officers' ability to negotiate their dual roles is critical to their survival, both personal and as police officers. Consequently we feel that their attitudes about their ability to serve the minority community in their role of police officer will be an important factor in their retention as officers.

Underlying the tension of being a minority citizen and a police officer, in addition to the attitudes of majority police officers, is the attitude of many members of the minority community towards the police, and, in particular, towards a fellow minority citizen who is also a police officer. All the negative attitudes which may be experienced by majority officers are also likely to be experienced by minority officers. Additionally, they will be at least occasionally exposed to the extra disdain and resentment reserved for "traitors" as opposed to simple "enemies." This source of tension will only increase the importance of minority officers' feelings that they can serve the minority community as influences upon their likelihood of retention. The fact that these minority officers are likely to experience tension in their relationship with the majority community (Alex, 1969) will likely further emphasize their relationship to the minority community.

Finally, police officers' retention will be influenced by what they perceive to be their available opportunities. If they see few, they are likely to remain police officers no matter how stressful or unpleasant they may find the role. Perhaps

this is one source of what Niederhoffer (1967) describes as a major police adaptation to the problems of their role: cynicism.

We are unsure what the available opportunities are for minority and majority officers, or to what extent they vary from locale to locale. It may be that minority officers are more locked into police work: their available options may be limited to low paying service occupations. Cohen and Chaiken (1972) use this type of argument to explain differences in the retention of certain black and white officers in their study. On the other hand, minority citizens who have "made it" all the way through the department's selection procedures may find broader opportunities. This might occur because an official institution of our society has stamped them "acceptable."

Alex (1969) argued that black police officers were largely attracted by the civil service aspects of police work rather than the nature of the work itself. He suggested that the supposed universality and performance emphasis of civil service work presented black officers with more perceived opportunity for advancement and security than other types of employment. On the other hand, Niederhoffer (1967) argues that security is the major motivation for all police candidates. Similarly, Cohen and Chaiken (1972) report that nearly 38 percent of the 1957 recruit cohort who had left the police department by 1968 had joined the fire department. They also report that community service, not security, was the major attraction for black officers. This leaves us unsure whether the appeal of civil service security really is higher for minority officers than white officers.

Hence, we are unsure what the differences in perceived opportunities for alternative employment for majority and minority police officers may be. We do feel, however, that it merits at least exploratory consideration.

D. Summary

There are a number of factors which influence the retention of minority police officers. Many of these factors are quite likely to have different impact for majority and minority officers, either because the experiences are different, or because the context of the experiences are different. The critical factors probably include experiences of the departmental selection procedures, relationships with fellow officers, and relationships with the minority community.

Minority officers may well perceive discriminatory selection practices, which may influence their likelihood of remaining officers even though they themselves have survived these practices. The relationship of minority officers to their departmental colleagues is likely to be especially important because of the more tenuous relationship they will have with their ethnic community because they are officers. Minority officers' perceptions of discriminatory departmental practices will be critical for this same reason. At the same time, the feeling that they can serve their ethnic community will be important, again because being police officers makes these relationships more problematic.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

In order to answer questions about the impact of a variety of factors upon the retention of minority officers, we conducted a survey of officers in seven departments. This chapter will describe these sites, as well as the procedures and methods utilized in our study.

A. Site Selection

We initially proposed selecting six departments for study. We wanted these sites to be geographically dispersed, urban departments, reflecting variations in the minority percentage of the service population as well as the police department. With such a small sample we clearly did not intend to analyze the impacts of these variations. We were more interested in simply assuring that our results would be applicable across a range of departments and communities.

An initial list of 18 possible sites was submitted to the Office of Civil Rights Compliance (OCRC). We did this to discover whether any of the sites were involved in litigation likely to interfere with, or complicate, our proposed study. We also needed to determine whether an Equal Employment Opportunity Plan (EEO) had been filed, and if the information it contained suggested that the site met the needs of our proposed research. This process resulted in identifying nine sites, seven of whom were selected. (We added a seventh site to provide a higher number of eligible minority respondents.) All nine sites agreed

to cooperate with us in this research. One of the sites was eliminated because the initial training and experiences of newly-appointed officers is structured quite differently than is the case in most departments. This would have resulted in a fair portion of our respondents for that department not yet having been assigned any kind of patrol duty. The other site initially agreed to cooperate, but failed to respond to a few subsequent contacts. The cooperation of all these departments was secured by members of the LEMPP staff meeting with, and explaining the study to, the necessary department officials. We promised all these departments that we would not identify them, which is why we have not done so in this report.

B. Descriptive Data Collection

We attempted to collect as much organizational-level data as we could on the actual experiences of majority and minority candidates and officers over the years 1973-1978, the period in which the respondents to our survey were hired. We were interested in ethnic rates of application and appointment, as well as the rates of success at whatever preappointment stages the departments utilized. Similarly, we were interested in gathering information on the rates of academy completion, as well as such post-appointment experiences as separation, termination, departmental changes, and civilian complaints. The instruments used for recording these data are contained in Appendix I.

Our attempts to collect these data required us to secure records and aggregate counts from a variety of offices of local government. We sought assistance from Personnel, Internal Affairs, Affirmative Action, Academy, and Special Projects units within the police departments, as well as Civil Service Commissions and Planning Offices of the municipal governments. In spite of these efforts, much of the desired information could not be collected. Frequently the information was simply unavailable in any kind of summary fashion, and time and budgetary constraints prevented us from completely collecting the data from individual officer's files. Often the information was thought to be available, but we were unable to identify exactly where it was located. This more often than not appeared to be honest uncertainty on the part of the officials, rather than individual lack of cooperation with the study. Of the information we were able to locate and collect, much of it was of a sporadic and inconsistent nature. For these reasons, we have not performed any elaborate analyses of these descriptive data.

C. Descriptive Data Preparation

Descriptive data, as indicated, were collected onsite from a number of organizations within the local government structure of our selected cities. The information was entered onto a series of summary sheets covering our major areas of interest. These data have been checked for internal consistency, and, where irresolvable inconsistencies have been found, the

data has been deleted from this presentation. Since most of our descriptive questions deal with simple percentage differences, and are limited to seven cities, the necessary calculations were performed with a desk calculator. These calculations were performed independently by two members of the LEMPP staff, and any inconsistencies resolved.

D. Site Descriptions

Table 3.1 displays some general characteristics of our seven research sites. These sites do vary in service area size, departmental size, and ethnic composition of both service area and department. The final column of the table displays the extent to which minorities are underrepresented on the police force. We assume that, everything being equal, we will find minority citizens represented on the police force to about the same degree that they are represented in the service population. We recognize that this measure of underrepresentation sums up a large number of factors which have not been equal, as well as shifts in service area populations which cannot quickly be reflected in the department composition because of Civil Service regulations and a number of other reasons. Nonetheless, it is a useful measure of the extent to which the ethnic composition of the police force is different from the ethnic composition of the service area population, whatever the sources of this difference may be. Again, these sites show substantial variations in the degree to which the police department's ethnic composition

TABLE 3.1

SERVICE AREA AND DEPARTMENT
ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Site	Population	Population Percent Minority	Depart- ment	Department Percent Minority	Minority Underrepre- sentation
1	362,000	50.8	481	38.0	-12.8
2	1,290,000	57.4	4394	40.4	-17.0
3	516,000	18.7	1380	18.4	- 0.3
4	123,000	30.0	407	7.8	-22.2
5	593,000	45.5	1244	12.8*	-32.7
6	173,000	40.6	509	20.4**	-20.2
7	74,000	97.0	94	60.6	-36.4

*For Site 5 this figure was not available; we have taken the estimate from another project's draft final report supplied by OCRC.

**For Site 6, this figure was not available; this is the estimate provided for the municipal work force in toto.

departs from the ethnic composition of the service area. Site 3, for example, shows a negligible underrepresentation, while Sites 5 and 7 show extreme degrees of underrepresentation.

Table 3.2 displays the ethnic composition of the most recently hired officers for these seven sites. Again we used the population of the service area to form the basis of our expectations and present under and overrepresentation measures. It should be noted, however, that hiring minorities proportional to their presence in the service area population requires a long time to produce a representative department. This is because it essentially requires waiting until death, retirement, or resignation to completely eliminate the original imbalanced composition of the department.

Nevertheless, we note that three of these departments are hiring minority officers at a higher rate than minorities are present in the service area. These departments, then, are acting to more quickly reduce ethnic imbalance between the department and community. Site 4 is hiring at about the ethnic composition of the service area, which may bring improvement, although it will require a long time. The remaining three sites are hiring minorities at less than their representation in the population. These departments may lessen the current underrepresentation of minorities (compare these hires with the current departmental composition in Table 3.1), but their current practices will never result in these departments reflecting the ethnic composition of the service area.

TABLE 3.2

SERVICE AREA AND DEPARTMENTAL ETHNIC
COMPOSITION: 1973-1978

Site	Population Percent Minority	Departmental Hires Percent Minority	Over and under representation in hires 73-78
1	50.8	60.7	+9.9
2	57.4	63.2	+5.8
3	18.7	44.8	+26.1
4	30.0	28.0	-2.0
5	45.5	35.7	-9.8
6	40.6	30.4	-10.2
7	97.0	61.5	-35.5

Tables 3.3 to 3.5 present the data we were able to collect on the failure rates for majority and minority candidates on two important pre-appointment selection stages, the oral interview and the background investigation, as well as for the academy. These data are important but are too frequently missing, or based on very small reported numbers, or inconsistently reported by the majority of our sites. We have chosen to present here only those figures about which we feel relatively confident as to their accuracy and consistency.

For all of these tables, we would expect the rate of minority candidate failure to equal the rate of majority candidate failure, everything being equal. Again, we recognize there are many possible sources of differences, but feel it is critical to assess the extent of these differences even when we cannot unambiguously attribute them to a specific cause.

These tables present both the difference in the failure rates, and the ratios of the two failure rates. These are both useful numbers. The ratio gives us a degree of difference measure which controls out the overall frequency of failure. Thus it allows us to compare differences in failure for minority and majority candidates across departments with different absolute frequencies of failure. The difference score, on the other hand, reflects the overall frequency of failure, and hence gives a clearer sense of the total impact of the procedure in the rejection of minority candidates. We expect the ratios to be about 1.0, and the differences to be about 0.

Table 3.3 presents the data from Sites 1-4 on the failure rate for oral examinations or interviews. Site 1 reveals little difference in the ratios or the difference scores, while at the same time being characterized by a very high failure rate for both majority and minority candidates. Sites 2 and 3 are both characterized by high ratios of the minority failure rate to the majority failure rate, although its impact is somewhat greater in Site 3, as revealed by the difference scores. Site 4 has a high ratio, although the net impact is small, reflecting the low overall rate of failure.

Table 3.4 displays the data on the failure rates for the background investigation. Here we find Site 2 with a somewhat surprising reversal--majority officers experiencing a higher failure rate. Most of this is the result of one year's very high failure rate for majority officers, and it is not the pattern for each of the years. Sites 1 and 3 are both characterized by higher failure rates for minority officers. It should be noted that if we compare the ratios of the failure rates from Table 3.4 and Table 3.3 for Site 3, we find them to be little different: 1.56 and 1.77. The associated difference scores, however, tell us that the oral interview results in the rejection of far more minority candidates than does the background investigation in this department: +.157 versus +.023.

Table 3.5 presents the data for failure rates in the Academy. Unfortunately, only Sites 1 and 5 are available for this examination. By either measure we observe substantially higher failure for minority candidates in both these sites.

TABLE 3.3

FAILURE RATES FOR MINORITY AND MAJORITY
CANDIDATES IN THE ORAL INTERVIEW:
1973-1978

Site	Ethnicity		Excess Minority Failures	Ratio of minor- ity failure rate to majority
	Minority	Majority		
1	.587	.618	-.031	.95
2	.291	.163	+.128	1.79
3	.376	.219	+.157	1.72
4	.191	.143	+.048	1.34
5-7	NA	NA	NA	

TABLE 3.4

FAILURE RATES FOR MINORITY AND MAJORITY
CANDIDATES IN THE BACKGROUND
INVESTIGATION: 1973-1978

Site	Ethnicity		Excess Minority Failure	Ratio of Minor- ity failure to majority failure
	Minority	Majority		
1	.260	.183	+.077	1.42
2	.087	.146	-.059	.60
3	.064	.041	+.023	1.56
4-7	NA	NA	NA	

TABLE 3.5

FAILURE RATES OF MAJORITY AND MINORITY
CANDIDATES IN THE ACADEMY:
1973-1978

Site	Ethnicity		Excess Minority Failure	Ratio of minor- ity failure rate to majority failure rate
	Minority	Majority		
1	.281	.105	+.176	2.68
5	.167	.046	+.121	3.63
2-4; 6-7	NA	NA	NA	

The data available from our sites, then, suggest that the selection stages and academy completion rates for minority and majority candidates are different. The departments providing data on the background investigation show a bit less of a difference than we might expect. This partially reflects the low overall failure rates for the background investigation compared to the oral interview and the academy stages.

We have no idea how "typical" these results are, but we have no specific reason for thinking that they are atypical. They certainly reveal variations among the departments in terms of failure rates for these stages as well as in the differential failure rates for minority and majority candidates. These variations of course would partially reflect application and appointment rates, although these do not fully explain differences. Police departments do put varying emphasis on these stages.

These descriptive data have been presented to give the reader some background information on the departments who agreed to cooperate with us. As such, they are presented to provide a context for the interpretation and generalization of the results of the survey instrument responded to by officers from these seven sites.

E. Survey Instrument

The LEMPP survey (see Appendix II for a copy of the actual questionnaire) is designed to provide information concerning the differential retention of minority and majority police officers.

This interest is predicated on the possibility that even after the initial screening processes and training procedures of the Department, the appointed minority officer might be more likely to leave the Department, whether voluntarily or due to Departmental action. If this is the case, then serious attempts to rectify the ethnic imbalance of police departments must address the sources of this pattern. If these issues are not addressed, then the most successful affirmative action efforts at recruitment will not have the direct impact on the department's ethnic balance that they are designed to have. The department's efforts at the pre-appointment and appointment stages may well be subverted, as the newly-appointed minority officers leave through the "revolving door" of differential retention.

In order to explore what factors might lead to differential retention, LEMPP designed a survey questionnaire focusing on the experiences and perceptions of sworn officers. We were interested in a number of aspects of their experiences which might influence the likelihood of retention: job assignments, reactions to departmental pre-appointment selection procedures, feelings about the way in which they are treated, as well as some individual characteristics of the officers themselves. We hoped to be able to administer this questionnaire to currently appointed officers, as well as individuals who had already resigned their appointments. This would allow us to identify differences in the experiences of majority and minority officers and explore the impact of these differences upon retention. Unfortunately, the time and costs associated with locating

resigned officers proved prohibitive, and we were forced to fall back on indirect indicators of likelihood of leaving, rather than actually comparing officers who had resigned with those who had not. Our measure does allow us to identify some critical differences in the experiences of minority and majority officers which relate to the likelihood that they will leave the police department.

F. Sample

We initially focused our attention on officers hired between the years 1973-1978, the most recently appointed officers. There were a number of reasons for this. First, these years would provide us with larger proportions of minority officers, due to the recruitment and appointment practices and patterns of our cooperating departments. Second, we feel that the initial few years' experiences are the most critical vis a vis retention. This group's reports of these experiences are less likely to be distorted through memory decay or through interpretation of these experiences in light of subsequent experiences than reports of veteran officers would be. Third, locating officers who had resigned more than a few years earlier would be virtually impossible. Finally, the rapid changes in police personnel with regard to what we might loosely term "professionalization," would likely complicate our analysis and progressively limit the applicability of our results over the next few years, if we included more veteran officers in our sample.

As to the limitations this approach may place upon us, we clearly address these issues in the context of recently appointed officers and our results may have less applicability to officers with earlier appointment. This "limitation," as we have indicated, may in fact be a strength; we are dealing with current practices and procedures and the "new" police officers, however, they may be different from "old" officers. This means our results do not reflect practices and procedures, and the associated experiences of the officers, which may have been substantially modified, altered, or dropped. We are interested in the current state of these issues, not in an historical review.

Our original assumption was that we would likely have to census minority officers to obtain sufficient cases for analysis, but sample majority officers because of constraints of time and financial costs. We intended to randomly sample majority respondents. In fact, the procedures followed in obtaining respondents, as well as the actual distribution of officers hired during the appropriate time period, led to alteration of this design. Our actual sample is probably technically closest to a "quota" sample. The instruments were delivered as the officers became available until the supply of instruments was exhausted. This procedure produced a census in some departments, and quota samples in others.

Our resulting sample is subject to a variety of possible biases, although the only one we can identify is an apparent bias towards overrepresentation of white officers among our respondents. Considering only black and white officers, our

best estimate based upon data provided for the departments, is that about 45% of the hires during 1973-1978 were white, and 55% were black. Our respondents, however, were 54% white and 46% black. This difference may be due to any one or a combination of possible sources. It may be due to a lower response rate for black officers. It may also be due to "errors" in the departments' ethnic identification of hires. Similarly, it may be due to "errors" in respondent self-identification. It is possible that our questionnaires were distributed to more white officers than black officers. Finally, it may reflect an already operative differential retention rate. Whether one of these possibilities, or some other unidentified factor accounts for the difference in ethnic composition of our respondents and the reported hires, we cannot say.

In view of the initial stages of research in this area, we will follow standard practices and report these data and the accompanying statistical tests, even though, as with virtually every research of this type, we technically do not meet all the required statistical assumptions.

G. Administration of Survey

While the details of survey administration varied slightly from city to city, our basic procedure involved the delivery of the questionnaires to the department, with the actual administration by department personnel. However, we directly administered the questionnaire ourselves in some cities.

In most cases, the selected respondents were given the instruments and asked to complete and return them later. Occasionally, they were asked to fill them out at the time they were given them. Of the 700 questionnaires delivered to the departments for distribution, 381 were completed and returned. This response rate of 54.5% falls between what normally occurs with a mail questionnaire, on the one hand, and with a household survey with call-backs on the other. Unfortunately, the guarantee of anonymity to our respondents prevented us from identifying nonrespondents, rendering impractical follow-up attempts to secure their cooperation.

We have already indicated that we were unsuccessful in securing the cooperation of sufficient numbers of officers who had already resigned. Most of this difficulty was simply the inability to locate these people. We were able to locate 18, an insufficient number for any detailed analyses. Police departments, like most other organization, do not routinely update the addresses of former employees. We are a highly mobile population generally (about 20% of our population changes residence every year), and probably the odds of moving are increased when one leaves a job. Another major road block was the limited time we had to spend in our cooperating seven cities. Since the time required to collect archival and demographic data was so great, the available time for locating resigned officers in each community was severely constrained by our overall time and budget figures.

H. Survey Data Preparation

A codebook was developed, based upon review of a 10% random sample within each city's set of responding officers. Codes for open-ended items were developed at this stage. The developer of the codebook then trained two coders in its use, and checked their coding of approximately 20 questionnaires. At a later stage of the coding, the more experienced coder recoded 42 questionnaires originally coded by the other coder, as well as 10 questionnaires coded by herself. These were reviewed for reliability by the developer. The errors detected were few and nonsystematic, totaling less than 1% of possible, so the decision was made to not double code all questionnaires.

The codesheets were key-punched, verified, and a MIDAS (University of Michigan) data file constructed. All analyses performed upon the survey data were conducted with MIDAS routines.

I. Measures

The factor one wishes to explain (the dependent variable) is really of primary concern in studies such as this. For statistical reasons, as well as for understanding exactly what it is we are attempting to explain, careful attention must be paid to this measure. We are primarily interested in exploring what factors might lead to, or result in, differences in the rate of retention of police officers, depending on their minority/majority

ethnic status. For reasons already discussed, the data we have collected requires us to address a somewhat more restricted question: are there differences in the factors influencing the likelihood of retention of police officers, depending on whether the officers are black or white? Clearly, since we lack data from the officers who have already left the departments, we must be particularly careful in constructing our measure of "likelihood of retention," and it is to this problem we now turn our attention.

Questions 27 and 28 of our survey ask the respondent to indicate their level of interest in being a police officer. Question 27 asks them to indicate their interest level when they first applied to the department, and question 28 asks them to indicate their current level of interest. For both of these, three response options were presented: "little interested," "fairly interested," and "greatly interested." We assume that, in general, an individual's level of interest in being a police officer is related to the probability that they will remain one. We recognize that officers may be "greatly" interested and still leave because of circumstances beyond their control. It is also possible that other officers may have "little" interest, and remain officers because they cannot find another job which they are willing to accept. But these are exceptions. Typically, someone who is more interested in being a police officer is more likely to remain a police officer than someone with less interest. This measure, of course, really focuses upon likelihood of voluntary separation from the department.

We feel confident that, by and large, respondents who indicate currently being "greatly" interested are more likely to remain than those who currently describe themselves as having "little interest. To the extent that we make errors in so classifying respondents, we make it less likely that we will be able to establish statistically significant relationships between this measure and the measures of our other factors which are in line with an hypothesis.

About one-quarter of our currently employed officers responded that they were currently "fairly" interested in being police officers. For reasons of statistical efficiency we prefer not to simply treat these respondents as a third category. But that raises the tricky problem of whether to group them with the more- or less-likely to leave categories. Rather than arbitrarily assign them to one or the other group, we decided to make use of the respondent's rating of their interest when they first applied to the department. Quite simply, if someone answered "greatly" for interest level at application, and "fairly" for current interest level--that is, revealed a decrease over time in their level of interest--we categorized them with the "more likely to leave" groups who show "little" current interest. On the other hand, if they responded "little" or "fairly" for their initial interest, and "fairly" for their current interest--that is, showed a stable or even an increasing interest level--we categorized them with the "less likely to leave" group who show "great" current interest.

So our measure of likelihood of retention combines information from both questions. A stable low level of interest or a declining interest indicates low probability of retention (or high likelihood of leaving). While this measure is less direct than we might wish it to be, we are not uncomfortable in relying upon it, in view of the initial stage of research in this area. The exact construction of the factors whose impact upon retention we will be examining will be discussed in the presentation of each analysis.

J. Statistical Analysis

We have elected to use Chi-square as our test statistic for the existence of a relationship between the various predictive factors and likelihood of leaving. This decision reflects a number of considerations. First, the procedure underlying this test is easily understood by those who wish to pursue it. (The notion of comparing the frequencies we would expect to find with those we actually find is intuitively appealing.) Second, the tabular presentation accompanying Chi-square should be familiar to most readers, allowing them to more readily evaluate the practical significance of the results for themselves. Third, even though we treat our dependent variable as though it reflects a "higher" and "lower" probability of retention, Chi-square does not build this assumption into our analysis, allowing the analysis to be interpreted as strictly nominal by those who so prefer.

Chi-square has one negative property for an analysis such as this. It is influenced by both the number of cases in a given analysis and the strength of relationship between the two variables tested. While these are quite properly both reflected in the statistical test, their combined effects can be misleading if one wishes to assess the comparative strengths of two different relationships. Thus, if we wish to compare the impact for black officers of their prior occupations upon the likelihood that they will leave the department with its' impact upon retention for white officers, and the numbers of black and white officers are different, the direct comparison of the two Chi-squares will be misleading. This is because the difference in the Chi-squares will reflect the difference in the strength of the relationship for black and white officers (if any) and the difference in the number of black and white officers available for analysis.

Our primary focus is exactly upon the difference in the impact of a variety of factors upon retention, depending upon the officer's ethnicity. Consequently, we will need to supplement Chi-square with a direct measure of the strength of these associations. Of those available, we have selected Cramer's Phi. This measure corrects for the number of cases available for different analyses. At the same time, it is standardized so that it varies from "0" to "1." That is, if there is absolutely no relationship between the two variables, Cramer's Phi will be "0." If there is a perfect relationship between the variables, Cramer's Phi will be "1." We can thus

make comparative judgments about the relative strength of intermediate relationships ranging from ".01" to ".99." So, Chi-square tells us whether we can reject the assertion that there is no relationship, and Phi tells us the strength of the relationships we observe.

K. Analytic Sample

Our full data set contains 381 completed questionnaires. From these we have selected an analytic sample upon which we have performed the major analyses contained within this report. The cases eliminated from the analyses fall into a number of categories.

The first group of cases (numbering 23) were eliminated because of their employment status at the time they responded. Some of these indicated were no longer with the police department (18), while for the remainder (5), this information was simply not indicated. Since these officers who had already left the department were too few in number to treat as a separate category for our other analyses, we felt it was better to eliminate them completely, rather than risk obscuring analysis results for the still-employed officers.

Two respondents did not indicate their ethnic group membership, and hence could not be included in any of these analyses. An additional 53 officers reported ethnic memberships other than black and white. The majority (27 of 53) reported "Hispanic." Similarly, the majority of these respondents

(32 of the 53) were from one city. The confounding of a city effect with ethnicity thus represented a distinct possibility, and preliminary analysis indicates that this in fact occurs. Consequently, we decided to focus our attention upon black and white officers, since, again, the number of respondents of other ethnicity available for analysis as a separate category is too small. (The reader may note that, by and large, these respondents were more similar to white respondents than to black respondents in their answers to our questionnaire.)

The elimination of these cases leaves us with 303 black and white officers for our analytic sample. We feel that the limitations this introduces are less severe than the possible confounding of results and problems of interpretations we would encounter had these cases been retained for these analyses.

IV. RELATIONSHIPS OF PREDICTORS WITH RETENTION, FOR BLACK AND WHITE OFFICERS

One of the frustrations associated with data such as these is the limits placed upon the analyses by time and financial resources. These data lend themselves to addressing many questions concerning the complex relationships of officers' experiences and perceptions. These questions are of both theoretical and practical significance. However, in view of our constraints, we have attempted to restrict our analyses to our basic concern: are there differences between black and white officers in the experiences and perceptions which predict likelihood of voluntary separation from the department? Our overall strategy has been threefold. First, we identify differences by ethnicity in reported experiences and perceptions. Second, we identify perceptions and experiences which are related to interest. Third, we then combine the results of the analyses, and ask whether there is a difference between black and white officers in the impact of perceptions and experience upon likelihood of leaving. These last analyses are the ones we will present and discuss here. The tabular presentation of the results of the first two stages of analysis are contained in Appendix III.

These analyses will be presented in a relatively standard format. Each table will contain two subtables, one for blacks and another for whites. Each subtable will present the data for the impact of the variable under consideration upon likelihood

of leaving. The entrees are percents, with the actual number of officers in parentheses, below the percent.

Immediately under each subtable, we will present the statistical information relevant to that subtable. We will present the actual value of Chi-square, designated by its Greek letter (χ^2). We also present the associated probability that we would find a value of χ^2 this large or larger, under the hypothesis that the two variables in the table are not related. This value is designated by p , followed by "<", the mathematical symbol for "less than." The probability is expressed in decimals. Hence, " $p < .01$ " should be interpreted as "the probability is less than one in a hundred that we would find a Chi-square value this large or larger in our sample, if in fact these variables are not related in the population." At what level of probability we reject the hypothesis of no relationship is, to some extent, a matter of judgment. We present the information, so that our discussion may be modified by readers who would be more comfortable with a different level of probability. Next, we present Cramers' Phi, discussed earlier, designated by the Greek symbol " ϕ ." It is the difference between the ϕ s for the two subtables which indicates the difference in the strengths of the relationships for black and white officers. While we cannot directly test this difference, the size of the difference, and the associated Chi-square tests for the subtables will provide guidance. After this we present the "N," the total number of respondents for each question. Finally, we present the "degrees of freedom," a somewhat complex concept, but a necessary item of information

for determining the probability level for a specific value of Chi-square. Again, we present all the information, so that our discussion can be modified by those who would interpret the statistical information differently than we have.

A. Impact of Ethnicity Upon Likelihood of Voluntary Leaving

We find no difference in the likelihood that black and white officers, in our sample, will voluntarily leave their departments. 27.5% of the black officers and 28.2% of the white officers are likely to leave the department, by our measure (see Table 1, Appendix III for details). Before the reader responds "Well, that settles that issue" and puts the report down, we must call attention to a few necessary cautions.

First, this is the result for our sample. The reader will recall that our sample is 54% white, whereas the department reports of "hires" for this groups was 45% white. One possible explanation for the difference between our sample and the hire list is that differential retention has already occurred. That is, these departments may already have experienced a higher resignation rate for black officers. So these data cannot be used to assert that there is no difference in retention rates.

Second, the internal analysis of the impact of factors upon the likelihood of leaving for black and white officers reveals differences which suggest that this likelihood may become different by ethnicity in the future. We recognize the

danger in making cross-time inferences from data collected at one point in time. Nevertheless, the reader will want to consider the possibility that likelihood of leaving may be influenced in ways that suggest black or white officers will, over time, come to have different probabilities of retention.

With this overall result in mind, as well as the cautions as to what it may or may not indicate, let us turn to examine the differential impact of experiences and perceptions upon the retention probabilities of black and white officers. We will first consider a series of questions which deal with organizational factors; then we turn to the accounts of the officers themselves as to why their interest has changed, if it has, and why they might leave or stay with the department; and finally, we examine the differential impact of certain individual characteristics of the officers upon their likelihood of leaving.

B. Departmental Experiences and Perceptions

We will begin this portion of our presentation by examining the officers' responses to three questions addressing early experiences with the department. The first addresses the issue of the amount of feedback they received on their oral interview. The second similarly addresses the influence of the amount of feedback they report receiving on their background check. The third question concerns their feelings about the amount of support they received during their probationary period. We recognize that these measures are susceptible to distortion through current

interest. For example, officers who are currently highly likely to leave, may have distorted their recall of the actual experiences they have had in a negative manner, or those who are less likely to leave may have distorted their recall in a positive direction. We do not, however, feel that these possible effects as persuasively explain the patterns we observe as the reverse interpretation. That is, these early experiences, in fact, have influenced the officers' current likelihood of leaving.

We then turn our attention to aspects of the officers' experiences and perceptions which are not so time-anchored, but reflect more general experiences. The questions we focus on here address the feelings of the officers about how fairly they are treated, whether their requests for performance feedback are met by their supervisors, whether they feel their work is rewarded, and whether they understand departmental goals and methods. Here, as earlier, it is possible that current likelihood of leaving influences these responses, rather than being influenced by them. We would point out that we expect negative responses to be associated with high likelihood of leaving. The argument that high likelihood of leaving leads to negatively distorted responses would result in weaker relationships. This is because those officers whose interest in remaining with the department is low for any reason except negative attitudes toward the department--for example, the attractions of some other occupation--would not be likely to distort these experiences in a negative direction.

Finally, we will look at an aspect of the officers' self-perception connected with their departmental membership. This

is the report of their social class. This is an individual perception, but is closely related to this departmental membership.

1. Early Organization Experience

a. Oral interview feedback. Question 7 of the survey asked the officers to indicate, for each of 12 possible topics covered in the oral interview, whether or not that topic area was specified as an explanation of their interview rating by the department. A final item offered the officers the opportunity to indicate whether some other topic area was used in explaining their results to them. At this stage of analysis, we have simply summed the number of explanations given an officer, and then assigned the officer to one of three categories: high level of feedback, a low level of feedback, no feedback. There is no magic to these categories; we simply split the sample into as nearly equal groups as we could, given the high number of officers reporting "no feedback." This is standard procedure at this stage of research. Our expectation was that black officers would report less feedback, that feedback would influence likelihood of leaving, and that feedback would have stronger impact for black officers' likelihood of leaving than for white.

As Tables 2 and 3 of Appendix III indicate, in fact, black officers report receiving higher levels of feedback than white ($\phi=.21$), while an expectation that higher levels of feedback would lead to higher likelihood of staying an officer is not confirmed ($\chi^2=3.31$, $p<.20$). It may be that sensitivity about the selection procedures results in departments giving more feedback

to black candidates who successfully pass a selection stage than to similarly successful white candidates. With regard to the failure to confirm the second hypothesis, it may be that for many candidates just the fact that they have passed is the only feedback they are concerned about and the amount or details of it are less important.

However, Table 4.1 indicates that the amount of feedback received on the oral interview is predictive for black officers' likelihood of leaving ($\phi=.23$). While there is not much difference between the percentages of black officers who are high and low likelihood of leaving depending on whether they received "some" or "no" feedback, receiving a high level of feedback substantially reduces the percent who are highly likely to leave. The corresponding subtable for white officers reveals a much weaker relationship ($\phi=.09$), one in fact, quite likely to be observed by chance alone when no relationship exists ($\chi^2=1.34$, $p<.52$).

The reader must recognize that we now need to alter the statement that the feedback received on the oral interview is not related to likelihood of leaving. In fact, we find that the impact of feedback upon likelihood of leaving depends on whether we are speaking of black or white officers. For black officers, it appears that very high levels of feedback decrease the likelihood of leaving. For white officers, we do not find any statistically reliable impact of feedback upon likelihood of leaving.

TABLE 4.1

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED LEVEL OF ORAL FEEDBACK UPON
 LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING THE DEPARTMENT,
 BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black				White			
		Level of Feedback				Level of Feedback			
		None	Some	More	Total	None	Some	More	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	32.4% (24)	37.0% (10)	10.8% (4)	27.5% (38)	29.6% (34)	20.0% (6)	33.3% (6)	28.2% (46)
	Low	67.6% (50)	63.0% (17)	89.2% (33)	72.5% (100)	70.4% (81)	80.0% (24)	66.7% (12)	71.8% (117)
	Total	100.0% (74)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (115)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (163)

$\chi^2=7.30$, $p<.03$, $\phi=.23$,
 $N=138$, $DF=2$

$\chi^2=1.34$, $p<.52$, $\phi=.09$,
 $N=163$, $DF=2$

b. Background investigation feedback. We also asked the officers about the feedback they received on the background check or investigation that police departments routinely conduct on candidates for appointment. Question 11 of our survey addresses this issue. We again asked the officers to indicate which of nine topic areas typically included in such investigations constituted bases of explanation of their rating in this area. We also included a space for the officer to indicate any additional area which may have provided a basis of feedback. Here we also allowed the distribution to dictate our categorization of the amount of feedback received by the officers.

Tables 4 and 5 of Appendix III present the initial analysis of the level of feedback on the background investigation. Table 4 indicates that there is a statistically reliable relationship between the officer's ethnicity and the level of feedback reportedly received on the background investigation. Again we find black officers reporting higher levels of feedback than their white colleagues. Here the relationship ($\phi=.14$) is not quite as strong as the one we observed between ethnicity and feedback on the oral interview. At the same time, the reader should note that 40% of the officers, report no feedback on the background check, whereas 63% reported no feedback on the oral interview. This might well result from the need for investigators to obtain information and clarification from the candidate during the course of the investigation.

Table 5 of Appendix III indicates that there is a moderate relationship between feedback on the background investigation

and the likelihood an officer will leave the department ($\phi=.16$). Recall that we did not find a statistically reliable impact of oral interview feedback upon likelihood of leaving.

Table 4.2 presents the analysis of the impact of background investigation feedback upon the likelihood of leaving, separately for black and white officers. For black officers, the impact of background feedback upon likelihood of leaving is about as strong as was the impact of oral interview feedback ($\phi=.21$). For white officers, the impact is a bit stronger ($\phi=.12$) than was the impact of the oral interview, although statistical reliability of the impact is still lacking ($\chi^2=2.52$, $p<.30$).

Again, we need to qualify our preliminary assessment of the impact of background investigation feedback on likelihood of leaving. However, the analysis suggests that the impact of higher levels of feedback upon decreasing the likelihood of leaving is especially the case for black officers, with a possible impact for white officers. That is, we are not so sure here that the relationship is present for black officers, while absent for white officers. It may be more appropriately cautious to simply assert that for black officers this analysis suggests that it is more of a factor than it is for white officers in influencing the likelihood of leaving.

c. Probationary support. For probably any occupation, the feeling that one is supported by one's supervisors is an initial factor in one's attitudes about "the job." Feelings of being encouraged and supported at the initial stages can be

TABLE 4.2

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED LEVEL OF BACKGROUND
INVESTIGATION FEEDBACK UPON LIKELIHOOD
OF LEAVING, BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black				White			
		Level of Feedback				Level of Feedback			
		None	Some	More	Total	None	Some	More	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	34.9% (15)	32.7% (17)	14.0% (6)	27.5% (38)	33.8% (24)	26.8% (15)	19.4% (7)	28.2% (46)
	Low	65.1% (28)	67.3% (35)	86.0% (37)	72.5% (100)	66.2% (47)	73.2% (41)	80.6% (29)	71.8% (117)
	Total	100.0% (43)	100.0% (52)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (71)	100.0% (56)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (163)

$\chi^2=5.83$, $p<.06$, $\phi=.21$,
N=138, DF=2

$\chi^2=2.52$, $p<.30$, $\phi=.12$,
N=163, DF=2

critical in determining an individual's initial attitudes and expectations, and thus influence one's reactions to subsequent experiences and, ultimately, the likelihood of one's leaving the occupation. For a number of reasons, we would speculate that this relationship would be especially strong in police work. First, the police officers' job involves facing many uncertainties, both in terms of possible dangers and in terms of confronting unusual situations whose resolution requires the experience or the specific training the new officer may lack. Second, the police are an "occupational community"--officers tend to form friendships with other officers rather than civilians, and they tend to define themselves, both in positive and negative ways, as a "special" group. Both these factors are likely to increase the impact of their initial experiences with their supervisors upon their subsequent attitudes and feelings about their job. We would expect, then, that the officers' feelings about the support they receive from their supervisors during their initial (probationary) appointment phase will influence their subsequent likelihood of remaining police officers. Question 18 of our survey directly asks the officers whether or not they received sufficient support from their supervisors during their probationary period.

We would also expect fewer black officers to report sufficient support, partially because of the increased hiring of black officers the last few years. We suspect that this sets up a dynamic of some resentment on the part of older, supervising officers, who are likely to resist change generally, and the

implicit criticism of past recruitment procedures associated with these changes specifically. In this atmosphere, it is also possible that the newly appointed black officer will be more sensitive about the support received from supervisors and anticipate receiving less. Both these factors would, of course, make for a less comfortable relationship.

Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix III present the relevant data. Table 6 reveals that black officers are less likely to give an unqualified "yes" to this question than white officers (68% versus 79%). Moreover, these feelings are related to likelihood of leaving--officers who respond "yes" are less likely to leave than those who respond "no" or "unsure" ($\phi=.14$).

For this factor, we find less difference in its impact, depending upon the ethnicity of the officer. As Table 4.3 indicates, for black officers, feelings of support during the probationary period has a slightly stronger impact upon likelihood of leaving ($\phi=.17$) than it does for white officers ($\phi=.11$). So while fewer black officers report sufficient support, and feelings of sufficient support are related to likelihood of leaving, the difference in its impact upon black and white officers' likelihood of leaving is less than we observed for feedback on the two pre-appointment selection processes. But since it does impact on likelihood of leaving, and since fewer black officers report sufficient support, we might speculate that it's impact for these officers in the future will be that the black officers will come to have a higher likelihood of leaving.

TABLE 4.3

INFLUENCE OF RECEIVING SUFFICIENT SUPPORT
DURING THE PROBATIONARY PERIOD UPON THE
LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black			White		
		Sufficient Support?			Sufficient Support?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	22.6% (21)	38.6% (17)	27.7% (38)	26.0% (33)	38.2% (13)	28.6% (46)
	Low	77.4% (72)	61.4% (27)	72.3% (99)	74.0% (94)	61.8% (21)	71.4% (115)
	Total	100.0% (93)	100.0% (44)	100.0% (137)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (34)	100.0% (161)

$\chi^2=3.84$, $p<.05$, $\phi=.17$,
N=137, DF=1

$\chi^2=1.97$, $p<.12$, $\phi=.11$,
N=161, DF=1

d. Summary of early organizational experiences. For two of the three early experiences, then, we find statistically reliable effects upon the current likelihood that officers will leave the department. The more feedback they received on the background check and the more they report support from their supervisors during the probationary period, the less likely they are to leave the department. For black officers, but not white officers, a high level of feedback on the oral interview was associated with a low likelihood of leaving the department. The impacts upon likelihood of leaving of both background investigation feedback and feelings of sufficient support during the probationary period were stronger for black officers than for white officers.

In sum, then, we find evidence that these early organizational experiences do influence the likelihood that an officer will leave the department, and that they are more critical for black officers than for white. The reader should bear in mind that these tests may underestimate the impact of these factors in general, as well as the differences in impact depending on the officer's ethnicity. This is because some officers have already resigned, and it is possible that more blacks have left than whites. Our sample may reflect the impacts of these factors on officers who have already "survived" their initial impacts and have remained with the department.

2. Continuing Organizational Experiences

In this section, we will examine the officer's response to four questions which apply either to their overall experiences and perceptions throughout their careers as police officers, or were more likely responded to in terms of their current feelings. They differ from the set of questions just discussed because they are not so specifically anchored in time.

a. Treatment. The first question (question 20) addresses the issue of whether the officers are satisfied with their treatment compared to other officers--specifically, whether they are treated in a "fair and ethical manner." We anticipate, as with most of these factors, an impact of the officer's ethnicity upon these feelings, as well as an impact of these feelings upon an officer's likelihood of leaving.

We suspect that black officers are not as likely as white officers to feel that they are treated in a fair and ethical manner because we suspect that they are in fact, not as likely to be so treated. It would be surprising if the general problems of race and racism prevalent in our society were not reflected in police departments. We might realistically expect racism to be more prevalent in police work than many other occupations for at least two reasons. First, the differential police contacts with minority citizens are likely to confirm and exaggerate ethnic stereotypes held by many, if not most, majority citizens. This may result from the plight of minority citizens as well as differential policing, but the officers are less likely to ask why

a situation exists than to simply observe that it does exist. Second, there has been appropriate and legitimate concern with increasing minority participation in police work, for improving the quality of policing as well as ensuring equal opportunity. But, we suspect many majority officers are resentful and defensive about these efforts. Again, as we argued with regard to the officers probationary experiences, we would be surprised if these factors did not affect the relationship of the minority officers with the department and departmental supervisors.

We also suspect that feelings of being treated fairly are important determinants of one's overall evaluation of a job situation. Hence, they should be related to the likelihood that one will leave the job.

Tables 8 and 9 in Appendix III present the data relevant to these two questions. Table 8 indicates that there is a strong impact of the officer's ethnicity upon their feelings of being treated fairly ($\phi=.24$). Whereas 78% of white officers answer this question "yes," 55% of black officers do. Table 9 indicates that these feelings are related to likelihood of leaving ($\phi=.14$): 24% of officers who answer "yes" are likely to leave, but 37% of those who do not answer "yes" are likely to leave.

There is still the question of whether these feelings about being treated fairly influence likelihood of leaving differently for black and white officers. We would expect them to be for a number of reasons. First, for black officers, feelings of being treated unfairly will have greater importance if ethnicity is felt to be part of the reason for unfair treatment. The

higher likelihood of black officers feeling unfairly treated suggests this is likely to occur. That is, the black officer is likely to experience unfair treatment based upon his race, and is likely to resent it. This is more likely to influence likelihood of leaving than a white officer's feelings about unfair treatment, which are likely to be attributed to more vague and more individualistic reasons. Second, the identity conflict for black officers, who are aware that many members of their ethnic community view the police officer as an hostile enemy, is likely to be intensified if they observe behavior in the department which verifies and intensifies the posited incompatibility of being a "real" black and a "real" police officer at the same time. Since this kind of conflict is painful, and since leaving the department is a more readily available option for the officer than ceasing to be black, we expect these feelings of unfair treatment to be especially related to likelihood of leaving for the black officer.

As Table 4.4 indicates our expectations are confirmed. For black officers, feelings of being treated fairly decrease the likelihood of leaving ($\phi=.23$), while there is virtually no impact of these feelings upon likelihood of leaving for white officers ($\phi=.06$).

b. Performance feedback. We also asked the officers to indicate the kind of feedback they receive when they ask how they are performing their job. This is question 22 in our survey. This item taps a more specific dimension of the officer's

TABLE 4.4

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED FAIRNESS OF TREATMENT
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

Likelihood of Leaving		Black			White		
		Treatment Fair?			Treatment Fair?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
	High	18.4% (14)	38.7% (24)	27.5% (38)	27.0% (34)	33.3% (12)	28.4% (46)
	Low	81.6% (62)	61.3% (38)	72.5% (100)	73.0% (92)	66.7% (24)	71.6% (116)
	Total	100.0% (76)	100.0% (62)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (126)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (162)
		$\chi^2 = 7.04$, $p < .01$, $\phi = .23$, N=138, DF=1			$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .30$, $\phi = .06$, N=162, DF=1		

relationship with their supervisors, and our general expectations are similar to the ones we discussed for earlier questions. That is, we anticipate that fewer black officers than white officers will report this direct feedback; that this kind of feedback influences the likelihood that officers will leave the department; and that it is a more important influence for black officers than it is for white officers.

Tables 10 and 11 of Appendix III present the data relevant to the first two questions. Here we find virtually no impact of the officers' ethnicity upon their reporting receiving satisfactory responses when they ask how they are performing their job (Table 10). Similarly, we find that their responses in this item do not predict their likelihood of leaving (Table 11). Perhaps this question describes a situation which is just too specific or too infrequent to reveal these kinds of impacts.

However, when we examine the relationship of this type of feedback of leaving separately for black and white officers, we again find a difference. Table 4.5 indicates that, for black officers, those who report receiving this feedback from their supervisors, may be a bit less likely to leave ($\phi=.11$). We say "may be," because the chances that this is merely a random finding are a bit high--we'd find this much of a relationship 15 times in a hundred draws from a population in which no relationship really existed. On the other hand, there is virtually no relationship of this feedback to likelihood of leaving for white officers ($\phi=.01$). The consistency of this difference

TABLE 4.5

INFLUENCE OF RECEIVING ANSWERS FROM SUPERVISORS
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

Likelihood of Leaving		Black			White		
		Receive Answers?			Receive Answers?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
	High	23.8% (19)	33.3% (19)	27.7% (38)	28.0% (26)	29.0% (20)	28.4% (46)
	Low	76.3% (61)	66.7% (38)	72.3% (99)	72.0% (67)	71.0% (49)	71.6% (116)
	Total	100.0% (80)	100.0% (57)	100.0% (137)	100.0% (93)	100.0% (69)	100.0% (162)

$\chi^2=1.53$, $p<.15$, $\phi=.11$,
N=137, DF=1

$\chi^2<1$, $p<.52$, $\phi=.01$,
N=162, DF=1

between black and white officers with previous differences we have observed makes us some what more comfortable in tentatively treating this factor as having more impact on black officers' likelihood of leaving.

c. Work rewarded. Our next question deals with another more general level of feedback from one's supervisor. Question 24 of our survey simply asks whether or not the officers feel that the quality of their work is rewarded by their supervisors. For all the by now familiar arguments, we expect that black officers will less frequently respond "yes" to this item than will white officers; that reporting "yes" will be associated with a lower likelihood of leaving; and that this will be particularly the case for black officers.

Tables 12 and 13 in Appendix III display the data bearing on the first two questions. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Table 12 is the low overall percentage of officers willing to respond that their work is rewarded by their supervisors (51%) rather than the differences, if any, between white and black officers. While it would be no surprise to find police officers feeling that their work is unappreciated by the community at large, these responses suggest that officers also feel unrewarded by their own supervisors within the police department itself.

Table 13 does indicate that officers who report that the quality of their work is rewarded by their supervisors are less likely to leave than those who report that it is not ($\phi=.12$).

Table 4.6 indicates that for black officers there may be a slightly stronger impact of feeling rewarded for the quality of their work ($\phi=.15$) than exists for white officers ($\phi=.09$). Again, this difference, although smaller than others we have observed, is in the same direction as we have previously discovered.

d. Understanding of department goals. Question 19 of our survey asks the officers whether they clearly understand the goals of the department and the methods used to accomplish them. For this item, we really had less clear expectations than for the questions we've already discussed, so the results we present here are less tied to our other findings at this point. We will, however, come back to them for further discussion.

Tables 14 and 15 in Appendix III present the data bearing in the questions of whether officers' understanding of departmental goals and methods differ by ethnicity, and whether this understanding in turn, influences their likelihood of leaving. First, there is no reliable evidence of an impact of the officers' ethnicity upon their response to this question (Table 14). There is, however, a tenuous impact of their understanding of the department's goals and methods upon their likelihood of leaving ($\chi^2=3.07$, $p<.08$). As one would expect, officers who report understanding their department's goals and methods may be somewhat less likely to leave the department.

Again, however, we must qualify these initial results when we examine black and white officers separately. Table 4.7 suggests that understanding of departmental goals and methods

TABLE 4.6

INFLUENCE OF REPORT OF WORK BEING REWARDED
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
ETHNICITY OF OFFICER

		Black			White		
		Work Rewarded?			Work Rewarded?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	21.4% (12)	35.4% (23)	28.9% (35)	24.7% (19)	32.9% (25)	28.8% (44)
	Low	78.6% (44)	64.6% (42)	71.1% (86)	75.3% (58)	67.1% (51)	71.2% (109)
	Total	100.0% (56)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (121)	100.0% (77)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (153)

$\chi^2=2.85$, $p<.07$, $\phi=.15$,
N=121, DF=1

$\chi^2=1.26$, $p<.18$, $\phi=.09$,
N=153, DF=1

TABLE 4.7

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED UNDERSTANDING OF DEPARTMENTAL
GOALS AND METHODS UPON LIKELIHOOD OF
LEAVING, BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black			White		
		Understand Goals?			Understand Goals?		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	26.6% (25)	30.2% (13)	27.7% (38)	23.0% (23)	37.1% (23)	28.4% (46)
	Low	73.4% (69)	69.8% (30)	72.3% (99)	77.0% (77)	62.9% (39)	71.6% (116)
	Total	100.0% (94)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (137)	100.0% (100)	100.0% (62)	100.0% (162)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .66$, $\phi = .04$,
N=137, DF=1

$\chi^2 = 3.74$, $p < .05$, $\phi = .15$,
N=162, DF=1

decreases the likelihood of leaving more for white officers ($\phi=.15$) than it does for black officers ($\phi=.04$). This is somewhat puzzling, as we did not really expect a difference by ethnicity for this factor. However, we shall discuss it later in the context of some results yet to be reported.

e. Summary of continuing organizational experiences.

In summary, the officers' reports of these organizational experiences do bear some relationship to the officers' likelihood of leaving the department, but the exact nature of that relationship is quite dependent upon the ethnicity of the officer. Feelings of being treated fairly and receiving satisfactory feedback from their supervisors when they ask about their job performance are both critical for black officers and of little importance for white officers in decreasing the likelihood that they will leave the department. Feelings that they are rewarded by their supervisors for the quality of their work decrease the likelihood that both black and white officers will leave, although the relationship is slightly stronger for black officers. On the other hand, the officers' reported understanding of the goals and methods of the department decreases the likelihood that they will leave for white officers, and has no such discernable relationship for black officers.

The reader should note, then, that the dynamics underlying the likelihood that officers will leave police work seem to be quite different for black and white officers, even for this sample. And this sample, it must be remembered, may already

reflect the operation of differential retention. Moreover, it is composed of officers who currently do not differ in the overall likelihood of leaving police work depending upon their ethnicity.

3. Perceptions of Social Class

The impact of individuals' occupations upon their attitudes, values and perceptions is clearly major. These effects are likely to be particularly strong in an occupational group such as the police which, due to a variety of factors, encapsulates its members in a relatively close-knit group or occupational community. At the same time, many observers have argued that in terms of social status or social class, police officers fall right at a critical point on such scales: at the point dividing "blue collar" and "white collar" jobs. Police work has changed over the last few decades, both in terms of the rewards the officers receive and the requirements for entrance into the occupation. However, it is still not a completely unambiguous job as far as its status or definition is concerned. Police officers are not clearly the "professionals" that doctors are, nor are they clearly the "blue collar" workers that factory hands are. Because of this lack of clarity, we asked the officers to indicate the social class category to which they feel they belong (question 32 in the survey). For purposes of analysis, we collapsed the responses into three categories: upper (1-3), middle (4), and lower (5-7) classes. We feel

that this self-perception to a degree reflects the officers' overall satisfaction with their work, as well as a comparative evaluation of police work. To the extent that this is the case, we would expect it to relate to interest in remaining a police officer.

We recognize that discriminatory practices effectively restrict the access of blacks and other minorities to many occupations as well as to many specific jobs. Because of this situation, we expected black officers to report a higher social class than whites. That is, we felt that black officers would see police work as a relatively higher social class occupation because many other occupations are simply not as open to them as they would be to white officers. Finally, we had some expectation that this factor would have more impact upon the likelihood of remaining a police officer for black officers, again because of the fewer opportunities available to them elsewhere in the job market.

Tables 16 and 17 in Appendix III present the data relevant to the first parts of our analysis. Although ethnicity is not reliably related to the officers' report of class ($\chi^2=3.81$, $p<.15$) the relationship is close to significance. However, contrary to our initial expectations, if a difference exists, it is that black officers are more likely to place themselves in the lower class, and white officers more likely to place themselves in the middle class. Upon reflection, this is not too surprising. We suspect that the officers respond to "social class" with more aspects of their life than simply their job in

mind. For black officers, the fact that they are black and that this is not a "valued status characteristic" in our society, probably accounts for their placing themselves in the lower categories more frequently than white officers did. Table 17 reveals a similar marginal impact of self-reported social class upon the likelihood of officers remaining in police work ($\chi^2=3.74$, $p<.16$). Here the relationship, if it exists, is that officers who describe themselves as middle class are less likely to leave police work than officers who describe themselves as either upper or lower class.

If we examine Table 4.8, we note that for both black and white officers, the impact of self-reported social class follow the same pattern: for both groups, officers who describe themselves as middle class are less likely to leave than those who describe themselves as either upper or lower class. However, the relationship is stronger for white officers ($\phi=.15$) than it is for black officers ($\phi=.06$). We should note that the χ^2 of 3.89 ($p<.15$) for white officers, while not significant by conventional standards, probably allows tentative confirmation of the results. This is because of the impact of the reduced number of officers available for analysis upon the test (as compared to Table 17, Appendix III, for example), as well as the exploratory stage of this research.

So, in summary, the data weakly suggests that black officers may be more likely than white officers to describe themselves as lower class, but that self-described social class

CONTINUED

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TABLE 4.8

INFLUENCE OF SELF-PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS UPON
LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

Likelihood of Leaving		Black				White			
		Self-Perceived Social Class				Self-Perceived Social Class			
		Lower	Middle	Upper	Total	Lower	Middle	Upper	Total
	High	31.0% (9)	25.0% (17)	30.0% (12)	27.7% (38)	37.8% (14)	22.3% (21)	34.4% (11)	28.2% (46)
	Low	69.0% (20)	75.0% (51)	70.0% (28)	72.3% (99)	62.2% (23)	77.7% (73)	65.6% (21)	71.8% (117)
	Total	100.0% (29)	100.0% (68)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (137)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (163)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .78$, $\phi = .06$,
N=137, DF=2

$\chi^2 = 3.89$, $p < .15$, $\phi = .15$,
N=163, DF=2

is probably a more important influence upon likelihood of leaving for white officers than it is for black officers.

C. Officers Reasons for Remaining or Leaving the Department

We now turn our attention to the officers' own accounts of why they might leave or stay with the police department. Three questions in the survey address this issue. Question 29 asks the officers to select reasons why their interest has changed, if it has changed. Question 30 asks them to select reasons which could influence them to leave the department, and question 31 asks them to indicate factors which would influence them to stay. Both of these later two questions asked the officers to select as many as three responses. For our analysis, we only focus upon the officers' first choices. Constraints of time prevented us from analyzing more complicated but useful combinations of choices, as well as the relationships between responses to these two questions.

1. Interest Change

The reader should note that many officers selected category 9, "my interest has not changed," for question 29. However, 156 officers did give reasons for some change, even though their responses to our measure of likelihood of leaving did not indicate change for 76 of these officers. We interpret this to indicate that their interest has shifted, but not

across the "little," "fairly," and "greatly" distinctions in those questions.

For analysis, we collapsed the reasons selected or volunteered by the officers into five categories: 1) rules and regulations, 2) the officer's relationships with other personnel, 3) personal outlook, 4) relationships with the community, and 5) reasons having to do with the role of the police officer.

In view of the results reported earlier on the stronger impact of organizational experiences upon the likelihood of leaving for black officers, we expect black officers to be more likely than white officers to select reasons in category two, relationships with other departmental personnel. We would also expect black officers to be more likely than white officers to select the category of community relationships. This reflects the often discussed tension between the black officer's roles as an officer and as a black.

In so far as these categories impact upon the likelihood that officers will leave, we expect that selecting the community category will produce less likelihood of leaving, simply because the kind of tension it may indicate is likely to be higher for officers who are more committed to their occupation and community. We feel that only in the most extreme cases or when it is supplemented by feelings of unfair treatment in the department, discussed above, is it likely to lead the officers to resign from the department.

Tables 18 and 19 in Appendix III display the data bearing upon these hypotheses. Although ethnicity does not reach

acceptable standards of reliability ($\chi^2=6.17$, $p<.16$), the smaller number of officers for this analysis as well as the high number of categories we were forced to use leads us to cautiously not reject our hypothesis. We note from Table 18 that a higher percentage of black (19.4%) than white (10.1%) officers selected relationships with other departmental personnel as reasons for changed interest; however, the percentages selecting relationship with community are not very different.

Table 19 does indicate that there is a reliable effect of the type of reasons selected by officers upon their likelihood of leaving the department ($\chi^2=12.68$, $p<.02$). As we anticipated, officers who selected community reasons for changed interest are less likely to leave. The category of reasons most likely to result in the officers leaving the department is rules and regulations. 72.21% of the officers who selected rules and regulations as the reason for changed interest are likely to leave as indicated by our measures.

The officers who responded to this question were too few in number to permit detailed separate statistical analyses of the impact of reason for changed interest upon likelihood of leaving for black and for white officers. It appears, however, that the patterns are the same for black and white officers.

2. Reasons for Possibly Leaving

Question 30 asked the officers to indicate what reasons might increase the likelihood that they would leave the department. Once again, we will only look at the officers' first

choices. These responses have been collapsed into four categories. The departmental category covers job conditions, as in the first three responses to the question presented, which focus on pay, fringe benefits, and job security. The second category has to do with the officers' attitudes about the nature of police work, as in responses 5 and 6. The third category covers "personal disappointments" associated with being a police officer, as in responses 4 and 7. The fourth category involves the community focus as expressed in response 8. Many responses were volunteered to this question, and we sorted them into the categories which they best fit.

The responses to question 30 which indicates a community-oriented reason is somewhat different in emphasis than in the prior question concerning reasons for changed interest in police work. For the prior question, two responses were so categorized. One of them would indicate a more positive attitude on the part of the officer toward the community (opportunity available to help the community), while the other would indicate a negative attitude (conflict with the community). For this question our response option included only one community oriented response: "limited choices in the ways I can serve my community." We expect the selection of this reason to increase the likelihood of leaving the department, for a number of reasons. First, it indicates a limitation placed upon the officer's service to the community by the department, a situation likely to produce negative feelings towards the department. Second, the selection

of this response as the first choice suggests that the service to the community orientation is strong.

Here we expect the officers' ethnicity to influence the reasons they might leave the department. Since we did not include responses dealing with relationship with fellow officers, we have less expectation that black officers will select departmental reasons. On the other hand, since we have argued that black officers have fewer alternative opportunities due to discriminatory practices in other occupations and jobs, we feel that in fact they may be less likely to select these departmental reasons. "Low pay," for example, is important in terms of what you may be payed elsewhere. We again expect to find black officers more likely to select community factors, especially here because of the attachment to the community presumed in the responses.

Finally, we expect these possible reasons for leaving to predict likelihood of leaving more strongly for black officers than for white officers. This partially reflects the assumption that the lower relevance of "departmental" reasons for black officers than white officers will make it less of an influence upon their likelihood of leaving for black officers. The higher emphasis we expect to find upon the "community" category among black officers compared to white officers should make it more likely to influence the likelihood of leaving for black officers. In other words, which reason for leaving officers select will tell us more about the likelihood of leaving for black officers than it will for white officers.

Table 20 in Appendix III presents the data on the impact of the officers' ethnicity upon the reasons they might leave the department. Although the overall results are not statistically significant ($\chi^2=5.32$, $p<.16$), there are slight differences in the categories in which we expected them. Black officers in this sample tend to choose departmental reasons less frequently, but community reasons more frequently than their white colleagues.

Table 21 in Appendix III presents data bearing upon whether the category of reasons which might lead officers to leave the department influences the likelihood that they will leave. Again, our expectations receive weak support ($\chi^2=6.12$, $p<.11$), although it is the case that officers selecting the community reason as their first choice are more likely to leave than officers selecting other categories.

Finally, Table 4.9 presents the impact of possible reasons for leaving upon likelihood of leaving, separately for white and black officers. The slight effects of ethnicity upon reason, and reason upon likelihood of leaving were products of an ethnic difference. For black officers, as we expected, selection of the community-oriented reason indicates high likelihood of leaving, while selection of departmental indicates low ($\phi=.26$). We should note, although we do not have a clear explanation for this pattern, that for black officers, attitude reasons have the same kind of impact as departmental, while personal reasons have the same kind of impact as community. For white officers, which category of possible reasons the officers select tell us virtually nothing about the likelihood that they will leave the department ($\phi=.06$).

TABLE 4.9

INFLUENCE OF FIRST-SELECTED POSSIBLE REASONS FOR
LEAVING POLICE WORK UPON LIKELIHOOD OF
LEAVING, BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black					White				
		Possible Reasons for Leaving					Possible Reasons for Leaving				
		Depart- mental	Atti- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total	Depart- mental	Atti- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	21.9% (16)	15.4% (2)	45.8% (11)	46.2% (6)	28.5% (35)	28.0% (26)	23.1% (3)	30.0% (9)	40.0% (2)	28.4% (40)
	Low	78.1% (57)	84.6% (11)	54.2% (13)	53.8% (7)	71.5% (88)	72.0% (67)	76.9% (10)	70.0% (21)	60.0% (3)	71.6% (101)
	Total	100.0% (73)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (123)	100.0% (93)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (141)

$\chi^2=8.18$, $p<.05$, $\phi=.26$,
N=123, DF=3

$\chi^2<1$, $p<.91$, $\phi=.06$,
N=141, DF=3

3. Reasons for Staying

The final question in this series is question 31. Here we look at the same basic issue--what might influence the officers' retention--from the other side of the coin. That is, we ask the officer to select reasons which have influenced them to remain in the department. We recognize that this question is less hypothetical than a question asking what reasons might influence the officers to leave. Nevertheless, we feel it does offer an interesting comparison with the question on leaving. The reader should note that the responses are meant to be the same as those for the question on leaving, although rewording for proper emphasis in the context of the question was necessary for a few options.

We expect to find that the officers' ethnicity will influence this first choice among possible reasons for having remained. We again expect that black officers will more likely select community reasons than will white officers. We expect some tendency for black officers to select the departmental category more than whites here, reflecting their lack of opportunity, compared to white officers, to secure pay, fringe benefits, etc. elsewhere. These factors we do feel will not influence them to leave, but will influence them to remain, for the very same reason: their available opportunities. For that reason, we would also expect white officers to more often select the attitudes category than would black officers. Given their more numerous alternatives, we expect that more of them have stayed with police work because of the variety and independence many feel it affords.

We would also expect that the reason one has remained a police officer to this point will influence the future likelihood of staying. Our clearest expectation is that those who select departmental or job benefits are more likely to leave by our measure. These are extrinsic rewards, and may be met in other occupations.

We expect a fairly complicated pattern of differences between black and white officers in how these reasons for having remained a police officer will influence the future likelihood of remaining. We expect that the tension the black officer experiences in his roles as a police officer and a member of the black community will lead to this reason being more predictive of leaving for black officers than it will be for white officers. Again, we don't think that this tension is massive and all encompassing, but it is an extra tension that the white officer does not encounter. We expect that the departmental category will produce a high likelihood of leaving for white officers. The higher number of options open to them will produce a higher likelihood of leaving for these white officers whose first reason for remaining a police officer are extrinsic benefits. For black officers whose major reason for staying are extrinsic benefits, the fewer options for leaving will be reflected in their lower rate of low or declining interest in police work, compared to their white colleagues.

Here, we expect to find differences between black and white officers in the impact of the officers' selected reason for remaining a police officer upon their likelihood that they

will leave the department. We do not, however, expect there to be so much a difference in the strength of the relationship as in the pattern of what reasons are predictive of likelihood of leaving.

Table 22 in Appendix III displays the data addressing the differences in first selected reason for having remained a police officer depending upon the ethnicity of the officer. This data reveals a strong relationship ($\phi=.32$). As expected, black officers were more likely than white officers to select community reasons, but less likely to select personal reactions to the work. On the other hand, there was not much of a difference between black and white officers in selecting departmental reasons.

Table 23 in Appendix III presents the data on the influences of these reasons upon likelihood of leaving police work. Although these results just miss significance at standard levels ($\chi^2=7.40$, $p<.07$), we do observe that officers selecting departmental extrinsic rewards are more likely to leave than those selecting other categories.

Table 4.10 presents the data on this question separately for black and white officers. Here we find that the reasons selected for remaining a police officer are much more predictive of likelihood of leaving for white officers ($\phi=.33$) than they are for black officers ($\phi=.11$). White officers who select the extrinsic benefits of the job as their first reason for having remained are most likely to leave, while those who select community reasons all are low likelihood of leaving. For black

TABLE 4.10

INFLUENCE OF FIRST-SELECTED REASONS FOR REMAINING
A POLICE OFFICER UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING,
BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black					White				
		Reason for Remaining					Reason for Remaining				
		Depart- mental	Atti- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total	Depart- mental	Atti- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	25.9% (21)	20.0% (2)	23.1% (3)	36.7% (11)	27.6% (37)	40.5% (34)	14.0% (6)	12.5% (1)	0% (0)	28.1% (41)
	Low	74.1% (60)	80.0% (8)	76.9% (10)	63.3% (19)	72.4% (97)	59.5% (50)	86.0% (37)	87.5% (7)	100.0% (11)	71.9% (105)
	Total	100.0% (81)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (134)	100.0% (84)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (146)

$\chi^2=1.77$, $p<.63$, $\phi=.11$,
N=134, DF=3

$\chi^2=15.90$, $p<.01$, $\phi=.33$,
N=146, DF=3

officers, those selecting community reasons are most likely to leave, and those selecting the extrinsic benefits are less likely to leave and not distinguishable from the other two categories. These patterns are in line with our expectations, although the difference in the strength of their impact on likelihood of leaving for black and white officers was not anticipated. (The reader should keep in mind that these sample findings for black officers are not even close to statistically reliable.)

We recognize that some of these analyses are not as precisely targeted as they might be, nor do they exhaust the possibilities of the data. For example, it would be nice to pursue these last few analyses we have presented. We might, for example, where sufficient numbers of black and white officers are present, examine the influence of the officers' ethnicity upon likelihood of leaving within a specific category of response. Thus, this last analysis might well lead to examining the ethnic differences in likelihood of leaving for officers who select community-oriented reasons for having remained police officers. No doubt this would be statistically reliable, and it would certainly reinforce questions as to the source of the role tensions for the black officer which led us to expect this subset of the overall patterns we have presented. Unfortunately, we must again plead constraints of time. Many important specific questions for which these data allow examination have not been addressed in order to finish the broad overview presented here.

4. Summary of Officers' Reasons for Remaining or Leaving the Department

For those officers who were willing to give reasons for their change of interest in remaining a police officer, a marginally reliable impact of the officers' ethnicity was observed. Black officers were more likely to select reasons having to do with their relationships with other police personnel, while white officers were more likely to select personal reasons. Those officers who selected rules and regulations as their reason are most likely to leave, and those who select community-oriented reasons are least likely.

Black officers who selected community-oriented reasons as possible reasons for leaving police work are most likely to leave, while those selecting extrinsic benefits such as wages are less likely to leave. No impact of possible reason for leaving police work upon likelihood of leaving was observed for white officers.

For black officers, which reason was selected for having remained a police officer had little impact upon their current likelihood of leaving. For white officers, however, we find a strong impact: those selecting extrinsic benefits are most likely to leave, while those selecting community-oriented reasons are least likely to leave.

D. Demographic Characteristics of the Officers

We turn now to consider two individual characteristics of the officers in our sample. These are the occupation they report holding at the time they first applied to the department, and the sex of the officer. We have selected these characteristics, rather than others available in the data, because each shows a statistically significant relationship to the officers' ethnicity.

1. Prior Occupation

We have already discussed at some length the probability that black and white officers have, and perceive themselves to have, quite different "opportunity structures." That is, depending on whether the officer is white or black, the alternatives to police work realistically available to the officer are quite different, both in number and kind. This will influence how free the officer feels to leave police work, or, in other words, how locked into a police career they are. An indirect indicator of the officer's opportunity structure is the officer's prior occupation. Officers who have entered police work from comparable occupations are more likely to feel free to move out of police work than those who have entered from occupations which are not as attractive. At the same time, the relative "rewards" of police work are higher for those moving up the social ladder than those moving more laterally, or perhaps down.

Consequently, we asked the officers to indicate in question 2-b of the survey what their occupation was at the time they first applied to the department. We roughly coded these into "blue-collar" and "white-collar" categories with a third category covering those who were involved in police work of some sort.

In terms of ethnicity, we expected white officers to be more likely than black officers to have been employed in a police or law enforcement related job. This reflects the relative recency of larger numbers of blacks moving into this field. We also expect black officers to more likely have been "blue-collar" than white officers. This simply reflects the occupational distribution by ethnicity in the society at large.

In terms of the effect of prior occupation upon likelihood of leaving police work, we felt that officers whose prior occupation was in law enforcement would be less likely to leave. This is because their prior occupation should have given them a better idea of what police work is all about, and resulted in only those with the most interest in police work applying to these departments. At the same time, we expected those whose prior occupation was "blue-collar" to be less likely to leave because police work would represent a step up the social scale. Those in "white-collar" occupations, on the other hand, should be most likely to leave because they have neither the prior knowledge of the nature of the work, nor the extra rewards of upward mobility.

We expect that for white officers, those with prior police experience will have the lowest likelihood of leaving because of prior selection. On the other hand, for black officers, we expect "blue-collar" prior occupations to be associated with the lowest likelihood of leaving. This is because the authority and legitimacy conferred by police work is less available to them in other such occupations because of discriminatory recruitment into such occupations.

Table 24 in Appendix III displays the relationship between the officers' ethnicity and the type of occupation they held when they first applied to their departments. As expected, black officers were more likely to be recruited from "blue-collar" occupations and white officers more likely to be recruited from other law enforcement related jobs ($\chi^2=8.32$, $p<.02$). The relatively large proportion of both groups recruited from white collar type of jobs probably reflects the expansion of sales, clerical and service occupations in our economy.

Table 25 in Appendix III indicates that there is no overall relationship between the officers' type of job at application and their current likelihood of leaving. Again, our sample may already reflect differential retention resulting from this factor, as well as due to ethnicity. Still, it is somewhat surprising that the opportunity for prior information afforded those with law enforcement jobs in the past does not produce a lower likelihood of leaving for them than for the other groups.

Table 11 presents these data separately for black and white officers. Here we note that for black officers there may be a stronger impact of prior occupation upon likelihood of leaving ($\phi=.19$) than for white officers ($\phi=.04$). However, the relationship for black officers is not statistically reliable by usual standards ($\chi^2=3.76$, $p<.16$). Black officers whose prior occupation was "blue-collar" tend to be the least likely to leave the department. Somewhat puzzling is that the likelihood of leaving is highest for black officers with prior law enforcement experience. This lends credence to our assumption that departmental and community factors are critical for black officers. There is virtually no relationship for white officers between the occupation they held when they first applied to the department and their current likelihood of leaving.

2. Gender

The other individual characteristic of the officers we shall discuss here is their gender. We are interested in the differences in the experiences and perceptions of male and female officers, although time has not allowed the systematic analysis of these questions. Here we simply note that the officers' ethnicity and gender are related, and consequently we present the impact of the officers' gender upon their likelihood of leaving the department, and this relationship separately for black and white officers.

Table 26 in Appendix III displays the relationship between the officers' ethnicity and gender. White officers

TABLE 4.11

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S JOB AT TIME OF APPLICATION
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING, BY
OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black				White			
		Job				Job			
		Blue Collar	Law Enforcement	White Collar	Total	Blue Collar	Law Enforcement	White Collar	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	17.5% (7)	39.1% (9)	30.4% (14)	27.5% (30)	33.3% (10)	29.5% (13)	32.6% (15)	31.7% (38)
	Low	82.5% (33)	60.9% (14)	69.6% (32)	72.5% (79)	66.7% (20)	70.5% (31)	67.4% (31)	68.3% (82)
	Total	100.0% (40)	100.0% (23)	100.0% (46)	100.0% (109)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (44)	100.0% (46)	100.0% (120)

$\chi^2=3.76$, $p<.16$, $\phi=.19$,
N=109, DF=2

$\chi^2<1$, $p<.93$, $\phi=.04$,
N=120, DF=2

are more likely to be male than are black officers ($\chi^2=4.55$, $p<.03$). Recall that the officers in this sample are all relatively recent recruits. We suspect that police departments, under pressure to recruit more female officers as well as more minority officers, find black females useful appointments because they simultaneously improve the department's representation in both categories. We suspect that this practice is not in the best interest of either the department or the society at large. From the department's point of view, it may intensify internal conflicts, and from society's point of view, it still represents an exclusion of black males from positions of authority.

We find no evidence that the officers' gender influences the likelihood that they will leave police work, as displayed in Table 27 ($\chi^2<1$, $p<.56$). This may be of interest to some who have argued that the nature of police work is likely to lead female officers to resign, because of danger and discouragement.

Table 4.12 displays the impact of the officers' gender upon likelihood of leaving the department separately for black and white officers. We note no real differences between the relationship of gender and likelihood of leaving depending upon the ethnicity of the officer.

3. Summary of Individual Characteristics

White officers are more likely than black officers to have held a law enforcement job at the time they first applied to the police department, while black officers are more likely to have held blue-collar jobs. Among black officers, there may

TABLE 4.12

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S GENDER UPON LIKELIHOOD
OF LEAVING, BY OFFICER'S ETHNICITY

		Black			White		
		Gender			Gender		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	25.5% (26)	33.3% (12)	27.5% (38)	27.9% (38)	26.9% (7)	27.8% (45)
	Low	74.5% (76)	66.7% (24)	72.5% (100)	72.1% (98)	73.1% (19)	72.2% (117)
	Total	100.0% (102)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (136)	100.0% (26)	100.0% (162)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .37$, $\phi = .08$,
N=138, DF=1

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .92$, $\phi = .01$,
N=162, DF=1

be a tendency for those who held blue-collar jobs to be less likely to leave the department although this relationship is only marginally reliable. There is no impact of the type of job held at the time of application upon current likelihood of leaving for white officers.

Black officers are more likely to also be female than are white officers. Gender, however, does not impact upon likelihood of leaving the department for either black or white officers.

E. Summary of Survey Results

We have now reviewed the detailed results of the LEMPP survey concerning the retention of appointed minority and majority officers. Three major problems were encountered in this survey. First, we were unable to obtain sufficient responses for analysis from officers who have already left the police force. Second, the concentration of non-black minority officers in one department, as well as their small number, required us to focus on black and white officers. Third, our sample of officers may well already reflect differential retention. These problems limit what analyses we can perform and what conclusions we can draw, rather than limit the data analysis and/or conclusions we present in this report.

Our results shed some interesting light, we feel, upon the experiences, perceptions, and likelihood of retention of black and white officers. While black officers report higher

levels of feedback from the departments than do white officers at two selection stages, they report that they receive less supervisory support during their probationary period, and that they are less likely to receive fair treatment from the department. In terms of reasons why they have remained police officers, black officers are more likely than white officers to respond with a community service orientation, while white officers are more likely than black officers to select attributes of the job itself. In terms of retention, our results do not indicate that at the time the survey was administered, black and white officers were differentially likely to leave the department.

(We must remember that black officers may have already experienced a higher attrition rate.) At the same time, the factors which predicted likelihood of leaving appear to be quite different depending on whether we are speaking of black or white officers. Feedback on both oral interview and background investigation, reports of being treated fairly, as well as the first selected reasons which might result in leaving the department all predicted likelihood of leaving for black officers but not for white officers. Reports of support during the probationary period, that their work is rewarded, or receiving answers from supervisors when asking about their performance, as well as the occupation the officer held when first they applied to the department, all predict likelihood of leaving better for black officers than white officers. On the other hand, understanding the department's goals and methods, the officer's perception of their own social class, and the first selected reason for

remaining a police officer all predict likelihood of leaving better for white officers than for black officers.

We feel that these results, taken together, can be viewed as reflecting two basic points. First, white officers have more alternative opportunities for equivalently rewarding work than do black officers, and thus we find departmental experiences having less impact upon their likelihood of leaving, except for extrinsic benefits such as pay. Black officers have fewer alternative opportunities, and hence their departmental experiences have great impact upon the likelihood that they will leave. In a sense, the white officers may be drawn away by attractive alternatives, while the black officer may be pushed out because of negative experiences. Succinctly, the likelihood of leaving for black officers is more influenced by factors subject to the police department's control through policy, procedures, and practice. Second, these data suggest that the departments are doing a better job of implementing equal opportunity and experience in the more observable areas than in other less observable, but critical, areas. Thus feedback on selection procedures, however differential the processes may be, is in fact higher for successful black candidates who have remained in the department than for similar white candidates. Although we did not report them here, the results of the analysis of officers' reports of job assignments turned up no systematic differences for black and white officers. On the other hand, even for black officers who have successfully passed the various

departmental selection procedures, and have remained in police work from one to five years, there is clear evidence that their ethnicity influences how they are treated by their colleagues in the department.

V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Summary

The LEMPP study of the retention of minority police officers grew out of concern that affirmative action efforts to increase the appointment rates of minority candidates not be subverted by differential retention. We were particularly concerned that the minority officers' experiences in the departmental selection procedures and early in their police careers not result in them being forced out or pushed out of the department. Our focus upon their departmental experiences touched upon job assignments, relationships with their superiors and the department in general. We also examined the officers' own accounts as to why they had, or might, change their interest in police work, as well as reasons why they remained in police work. Finally, we examined the influence of the officers' gender and prior occupation upon their likelihood of leaving.

Our main findings can be summarized in two categories. First, there are the reports of differences in experiences and perceptions of black and white officers. Second, there are those experiences and perceptions which have different influences upon the officers' likelihood of retention, depending on whether the officer is white or black.

1. Reports of Different Experiences and Perceptions

- Black officers report receiving higher levels of feedback on both the oral interview and background investigation than white officers report.
- Black officers report receiving less supervisory support during their probation periods than white officers report.
- Black officers are less likely to report that they receive fair treatment than are white officers.
- Black officers are more likely to select community-based reasons for remaining a police officer; white officers were more likely to select aspects of the job itself.

2. Differential Influence Upon Retention

- Predictive for black officers; not for white:
 - Feedback on oral interview
 - Feedback on background investigation
 - Receiving fair treatment
 - Reasons why the officers might leave the department.
- More predictive for black officers:
 - Support during probation
 - Work being rewarded
 - Feedback from supervisors
 - Prior occupation
- More predictive for white officers:
 - Understanding department goals
 - Self-perceived social class
 - Reason for remaining a police officer

B. Recommendations

1. Criminal justice agencies must recognize the need to increase the level of appointment of minority and female officers.

This is critical for two reasons. First, the evidence of this study shows that most departments' current practices will only very slowly, if ever, result in minority representation in police departments proportionate to the service community. Second, many of the continuing problems addressed in our other recommendations are more likely to be alleviated as input into the selection and appointment process of already appointed minority and female officers is increased.

2. The entire selection process needs to be routinely monitored for disparate impact upon minority and female candidates.

Departments should revise the background investigation criteria to fairly and differentially evaluate minorities and women. Their life styles, cultures and "coping" skills by necessity do not fit the mold of the white male. A sensitized review plus inclusion of minority persons in the investigative staff should tend to lessen the disparate impact. While the criteria varied from site to site, in all but one the rejection rate for minorities was high and frequently based on reasons such as poor credit rating, employment history, immaturity, and poor concept of police work--all liable to biased evaluation.

Criminal records should be carefully weighed as to the nature of the violation, when it occurred, and evidence of conduct since the violation. Investigators must recognize that

minority applicants are more likely to have minor violations on their record than majority applicants. This may be a result of the very policing practices which have made minority representation in police departments such a critical issue. An automatic review by a panel including minority and female persons would add credibility to the process as well as balancing, yet effective community influence.

Some of these stages have been examined while others have not. We strongly recommend that routine monitoring of all these stages is necessary. Any of them may have disparate impact upon minority and female applicants. Departments need to be careful that disparate impact identified and eliminated in one stage does not shift into another stage.

Probation, the final filter in the selection system, like the training has escaped the review of the earlier selection steps (written exam, physical agility, background and oral). This may well be due to the fact that so few of the minorities and women survive to reach them. This situation argues that there is all the more reason to have training and probation face the test of job relatedness or job predictability.

For community credibility as well as fiscal reasons, appointing agencies should take every reasonable step to insure that candidate rejection or failure at these last steps be justifiable first, and that retraining, hold-over, etc. have been tried. By the time a candidate has reached probation, there has been a sizeable monetary investment by the agency,

usually in excess of ten thousand dollars. Retention techniques, both remedial and retraining, should not be ruled out.

3. The component stages of the selection process need to be evaluated for job-relatedness.

Many of the selection procedures used by departments have questionable relatedness to performance of actual police work. At the same time they are likely to have disparate impact upon minority and female candidates. Physical agility tests frequently have no regular relevancy to job performance. Moreover, the average presently employed officer probably cannot pass them. Academy training and testing are frequently of questionable relationship to actual police work. High level performance on paper and pencil tests may not be particularly important if a family dispute leads to an arrest or violence because of bad judgment or reaction.

Matters covered in oral interviews are frequently of questionable job-relatedness, and frequently disproportionately impact upon minority and female candidates. We did, however, note one department whose oral interview appears to be both job-related, and not disproportionate in minority failure rates.

This oral interview was an important part of the department's selection procedure, and an integral part of their screening process. We were allowed to observe this part of the process. The candidate was requested to respond to "situations" where their judgment rather than police-procedure knowledge was assessed. The questions were intended to determine the

candidate's knowledge of the city, ability to interface with a multi-ethnic population, and flexibility of reaction.

The oral board consisted of three persons--one a civilian personnel expert, employed by the city, and the other two (one a minority) sworn members of the police department.

We would recommend a similar model and concept with one or two additions. That would be to include a female and a community person on the panel as scoring participants. This site was one of the two highest in hires of minorities and women over the period surveyed.

4. The component stages of the selection process need to be standardized as to content and procedures, both within and across departments.

It is a truism that discretionary decisions are fertile breeding grounds of discriminatory outcomes. To the extent that content, procedures, and evaluation are all vague and left to the determination of individuals, disparate failure of minority and female candidates can be expected.

The use of the polygraph by many departments has been a significant factor in eliminating both minority and majority candidates. The use varies from questions to clear up factors where there is a conflict in information, to the extreme of "have you ever committed an act for which you could have been arrested." There should be guidelines developed to insure all candidates are asked the same basic pertinent questions. The questions should be given to the candidates prior to the examination, and opportunity provided to amplify unclear or misunderstood answers.

Some agencies have training models that are state directed, conducted by area colleges/universities or cooperatively on an area basis. It has been our observation that training is frequently conducted by agencies separated from the recruiting agency. This practice is a risky one. The recruiting agency must monitor, and suggest curriculum content that is valid first, job related, and critically scrutinize items or events that have disparate impact on women and minorities.

Training models, and other procedures in the selection process, which are effective and eliminate disproportionate failure rates of minority and female candidates should be shared across criminal justice agencies. There should be an exchange of ideas and results. Each department should not have to reinvent the wheel. Change or innovation seems to be accomplished in a closet with results, no matter how positive, shrouded in secrecy. Clinics, seminars, forums on a regional basis would be a productive alternative to mystery, litigation and community polarization that comes from failure or non-action in affirmative action hiring.

5. Departments need to be sensitive to the situation of appointed minority and female officers, or they risk loss of these officers through resignation.

Two issues are of primary concern in this area. First, departments must recognize that department actions may well put minority officers in conflict with their ethnic community. These conflicts hopefully can be eventually eliminated. But until they are, the department needs to be sensitive to the conflict these

occurrences may produce for the minority officer. Second, we note that relationships with fellow officers and supervisors are important for minority officer's retention. The entire department needs to be sensitized to equal employment opportunity issues and concerns, so that these relationships within the department become a source of support rather than tension for newly-appointed minority officers.

We highly recommend that departments be mindful of the impact of feedback on oral and background investigations upon the likelihood of retention of minority officers. We would suggest that these results show that departmental actions can be positive rather than negative forces in influencing minority officer retention.

APPENDIX I
SITE DATA COLLECTION FORMS

DATE:

[illegible]

DATA SHEET: DEPARTMENT

CITY:

DATE: / /

OFFICERS STATISTICS	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	TOTAL
#Civilian Complaints							
1) vs Police							
# Complaints vs Majority							
2) Police							
# Complaints vs Minority							
3) Police							
4) Complaints 1) White							
vs Police							
(Ethnic) 2) Black							
3) Hispanic							
4) Asian							
5) Filipino							
American							
6) Indian							
Other							
7) Non-White							
# Criminal Majority							
5) Charges Minority							
# Dept. Majority							
6) Violations Minority							
7) DISPOSI- Complaint							
TIONS: 1) Dismissed							
2) Oral							
3) Reprimand							
Written							
3) Reprimand							
4) Suspension							
5) Dismissal							
8) ETHNIC DISPOSITIONS:							
Complaint Majority							
a) Dismissed: Minority							
Oral Majority							
b) Reprimand: Minority							
Written Majority							
c) Reprimand: Minority							
Majority							
d) Suspension: Minority							
Majority							
e) Dismissed: Minority							
COHORT INFORMATION							
Complaint Majority							
1) Dismissed: Minority							
Oral Majority							
2) Reprimand: Minority							
Written Majority							
3) Reprimand Minority							
Majority							
4) Suspension: Minority							
Majority							
5) Dismissed: Minority							

DATA SHEET: ORAL INTERVIEW

DATE: / /

CITY:

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	Total	
1) # of Applicants Interviewed								
2) # of Majority Interviewees								
3) # of Minority Interviewees								
4) Ethnic Background of Interviewees								
1) White								
2) Black								
3) Hispanic								
4) Asian								
5) Filipino								
6) American Indian								
7) Other								
Non-White								
5) # of Successful Interviewees								
6) # of Majority Successes								
7) # of Majority Unsuccessfulls								
8) # of Minority Successes								
9) # of Minority Unsuccessfulls								
10) Ethnic Background of Successes								
1) White								
2) Black								
3) Hispanic								
4) Asian								
5) Filipino								
6) American Indian								
7) Other								
Non-White								
11) Most Dominant Characteristics of Successful Interviewees*								
First								
Second								
Third								
12) Most Dominant Characteristics of Unsuccessful Interviewees*								
First								
Second								
Third								

*Place number of three (3) most dominant characteristics for each year in space provided.

- (1) Communication Skills
- (2) Problem Solving Ability
- (3) Learning Ability
- (4) Judgement Under Pressure
- (5) Observational Skills
- (6) Willingness to Confront Problems

- (7) Interest in People
- (8) Interpersonal Sensitivity
- (9) Desire for Self-Improvement
- (10) Appearance and Presence
- (11) Dependability
- (12) Credibility as a Witness in a Court of Law
- (13) Other: _____

DATA SHEET: BACKGROUND INVESTIGATION

DATE: / /

CITY:

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	TOTAL	%
1) # Persons Investigated								
2) # Majority Candidates								
3) # Minority Candidates								
4) Ethnic Background of Candidates								
1) White								
2) Black								
3) Hispanic								
4) Asian								
5) Filipino								
American								
6) Indian								
Other								
7) Non-White								
5) # Successful Candidates								
6) # Majority Successes								
7) # Majority Unsuccessfulls								
8) # Minority Successes								
9) # Minority Unsuccessfulls								
10) Ethnic Background of Successfulls								
1) White								
2) Black								
3) Hispanic								
4) Asian								
5) Filipino								
American								
6) Indian								
Other								
7) Non-White								
1) Most Dominant Characteristics of Successfulls*								
First								
Second								
Third								
2) Most Dominant Reasons for Disqualification of Unsuccessfulls*								
First								
Second								
Third								

*Place number of three (3) most dominant characteristics for each year in space provided.

- (1) Credit Rating
- (2) Personal - Medical Records
- (3) References - Relatives, Friends, Acquaintances
- (4) Education
- (5) Residences (Interview with spouse or mother)

- (6) Employment Experience
- (7) Criminal Record Search
- (8) Motor Vehicle Operation
- (9) Neighborhood Survey
- (10) Other:

— **1994** —

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DATA SHEET: ACADEMY		DATE: / /	CITY:							
		1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	TOTAL
1) # Starting Academy										
2) # Majority Candidates										
3) # Minority Candidates										
4) Ethnic Background of Candidates	1) White									
	2) Black									
	3) Hispanic									
	4) Asian									
	5) Filipino									
	American									
	6) Indian									
Other										
7) Non-White										
5) # Graduates of Academy										
6) # Majority Graduates										
7) # Majority Non-Graduates										
8) # Minority Graduates										
9) # Majority Non-Graduates										
10) Ethnic Background of Graduates	1) White									
	2) Black									
	3) Hispanic									
	4) Asian									
	5) Filipino									
	American									
	6) Indian									
Other										
7) Non-White										
11) Most Dominant Characteristics of Graduates*	First									
	Second									
	Third									
12) Most Dominant Characteristics of Non-Graduates*	First									
	Second									
	Third									

*Place number of three (3) most dominant characteristics for each year in space provided.

- (1) Academic Ability
- (2) Social Skills
- (3) Appropriate Attitude
- (4) Better Opportunity
- (5) Conflict with Staff

- (6) Mental Illness
- (7) Physical Illness/Disability
- (8) Career Dedication
- (9) Career Disenchantment
- (10) Pay

DATA SHEET: PROBATION		DATE: / /		CITY:			
		1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
1) # Starting Probationary Period							
2) # Majority Probationers							
3) # Minority Probationers							
4) Ethnic Background of Probationers	1) White						
	2) Black						
	3) Hispanic						
	4) Asian						
	5) Filipino						
	American						
	6) Indian						
	Other						
	7) Non-White						
5) # Completing Probation							
6) # Majority Successful							
7) # Majority Unsuccessful							
8) # Minority Successful							
9) # Minority Unsuccessful							
10) Ethnic Background of Successful Probationers	1) White						
	2) Black						
	3) Hispanic						
	4) Asian						
	5) Filipino						
	American						
	6) Indian						
	Other						
	7) Non-White						
11) Most Dominant Orientations of Successful Probationers*	First						
	Second						
	Third						
12) Most Dominant Concerns of Unsuccessful Probationers*	First						
	Second						
	Third						

*Place number of three (3) most dominant characteristics for each year in space provided.

- (1) Pay
- (2) Lack of or reduced job security
- (3) Reduced fringe benefits
- (4) Less prestige and respect of being a policeman than expected
- (5) Little chance to make my own decisions

- (6) Not much variety of work
- (7) Little opportunity to help maintain law and order
- (8) Limited choices in ways of serving my community
- (9) Other:

[illegible]

APPENDIX II
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

LAW ENFORCEMENT MINORITY PERSONS PROJECT

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION AND INSTRUCTIONS

The Department of Justice is interested in determining which factors affect the retention of police officers in municipal police departments around the country. This questionnaire is designed to help provide needed information. The questionnaire is divided into two major sections: the first asks about your experience with the police recruitment process and within the department itself; the second asks about you.

All information will be kept confidential. To ensure that you cannot be identified from any other person answering this questionnaire, we ask that you do not place your name on any form.

The information we seek is very important. When all data are collected, conclusions will be drawn which could help improve the policies of departments and of the Administration of Justice System.

For each question, please place the number which corresponds to your answer in the box to the right of the page. We especially want your comments where indicated.

Results from this survey will be available to you through your department.

Thank you!

SECTION I

1	2	3	4	5
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

FOR HEADQUARTERS USE ONLY

Experience

1. Are you presently employed by the police department?

- 1) Yes
2) No

☐

2. a) Were you employed when you first filed an application form with the department?

- 1) Yes
2) No (If *no*, skip to Question #3)
3) Can't remember

☐

- b) If *yes*, please give the following information concerning that employment:

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Employer</u>	<u>Years Employed</u>	<u>Weekly Salary</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

- c) The job was:

- 1) Full-time
2) Part-time

☐

- d) Are you currently employed at the *same* job?

- 1) Yes
2) No

☐

3. Were you given an oral interview when you were recruited for the department?

- 1) Yes
2) No (If *no*, skip to Question #8)

☐

4. How many persons were interviewed in the same meeting with you? (Include yourself)

1) 1
2) 2
3) 3
4) More

☐

5. How many interviewers were there?

1) 1
2) 2
3) 3
4) More

☐

6. Do you think you were rated favorably or unfavorably by the interviewers?

1) Favorably
2) Unfavorably
3) Don't know

☐

Please Comment: _____

7. Which of the following explanations was given by the department for your interview rating?

a) Communication skills

1) Yes
2) No
3) Don't Know

☐

b) Problem-solving ability

1) Yes
2) No
3) Don't Know

☐

c) Learning ability

1) Yes
2) No
3) Don't Know

☐

d) Judgment under pressure

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

e) Observational skills

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

f) Willingness to confront problems

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

g) Interest in people

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

h) Interpersonal sensitivity

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

i) Desire for self-improvement

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

j) Appearance and presence

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

k) Dependability

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

l) Credibility as a witness in a Court of Law

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

m) Other, please specify _____

☐

8. Were you given a background investigation when you were recruited?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (If no, skip to Question #12)
- 3) Don't Know

☐

9. Was your investigator black or white?

- 1) Black
- 2) White
- 3) Other
- 4) Don't Know

☐

10. Was your background rated favorably or unfavorably?

- 1) Favorably
- 2) Unfavorably
- 3) Don't Know

☐

11. Which of the following explanations was given by the department for your background rating?

a) Credit rating

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

b) Personal--medical records

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

c) References--relatives, friends, acquaintances

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

d) Education

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

e) Residence (interview with spouse or mother)

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

f) Employment experience

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

g) Criminal record search

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

h) Motor vehicle operation

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

i) Neighborhood survey

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't Know

☐

j) Other, please specify _____

☐

12. When, if ever, were you first separated from the department?

- 1) I have never separated from the department
- 2) After the oral interview
- 3) After the background interview
- 4) During the Academy
- 5) During the period of one year after the Academy
- 6) 1-2 years after the Academy
- 7) More than 2 years after the Academy

☐

13. If you had Academy training, how long did your training last?

- 1) 1-3 months
- 2) 4-6 months
- 3) 7-9 months
- 4) 10-12 months
- 5) More than 12 months
- 6) I had no Academy training (skip to Question #17)

☐

14. Was your Academy training continual or intermittent?

- 1) Continual (one special period)
- 2) Intermittent (several periods with breaks in between)

☐

15. Why did you leave the Academy?

- 1) Completed program
- 2) Resigned (voluntary)
- 3) Terminated (fired)
- 4) Asked to resign
- 5) Threatened with termination, so resigned
- 6) Other, please specify _____

☐

16. What primary explanation was given for your leaving the Academy? (Select one)

- 1) Program completion
- 2) Attendance
- 3) Tardiness (lateness)
- 4) Inappropriate attitude
- 5) Loss of interest
- 6) Could not cope with academic work
- 7) Could not "get along" with instructors
- 8) Other _____

☐

17. How long were you employed by the department?

- 1) Less than 6 months
- 2) 6-11 months
- 3) 1-2 years
- 4) 3-4 years
- 5) 5-6 years
- 6) More than 6 years

☐

18. Do you feel you were given sufficient support by your supervisors during your probationary period?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Not sure

☐

19. Do you clearly understand the specific goals of your department and the method used to accomplish them?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Not sure

☐

20. Are you satisfied with the treatment you receive in relation to your peers in your department (are you treated in a fair and ethical manner)?

1) Yes
2) No
3) Not sure

☐

21. Does your department constantly seek different methods for solving some of its major problems?

1) Yes
2) No
3) Not sure

☐

22. Do you get satisfactory answers from your supervisor when you ask "How am I performing my job?"

1) Yes
2) No
3) I don't ask

☐

23. What would you estimate to be the turnover rate in your department?

1) Less than 10 percent
2) 10-20 percent
3) More than 20 percent
4) Can't estimate my department's turnover rate

☐

24. Is the quality of your work rewarded by your supervisor?

1) Yes
2) No
3) Please comment _____

☐

25. In what categories were most of your assignments? (Please indicate the top three categories by selecting the appropriate number for the first category, the second category, and the third category.)

1) Patrol a designated area of the city by foot
2) Patrol designated area by motorcycle
3) Patrol designated area by patrol car
4) Investigate narcotic violations
5) Investigate homicides
6) Investigate gambling violations
7) Investigate subversive groups
8) Other, please specify _____

FIRST CATEGORY

☐

SECOND CATEGORY

☐

THIRD CATEGORY

☐

26. Did your spouse, or someone close to you, feel strongly that being a police officer is a good job or not a good job?

- 1) That it is a good job
 - 2) That it is not a good job
 - 3) No strong feelings either way
 - 4) Other, please specify _____
- ☐

27. How interested were you in *becoming* a police officer when you first applied to the department?

- 1) Little interested
 - 2) Fairly interested
 - 3) Greatly interested
- ☐

28. How interested are you in *being* a police officer now?

- 1) Little interested
 - 2) Fairly interested
 - 3) Greatly interested
- ☐

29. If your interest has changed, what is the primary reason?
(Select one)

- 1) Rules and regulations
 - 2) The way rules and regulations are implemented
 - 3) Relationship with fellow officers
 - 4) Relationship with supervisor/officers
 - 5) My personal outlook on life
 - 6) Opportunities available to help the community
 - 7) Conflicts within myself in dealing with the community I serve
 - 8) Conflicts with the community I serve
 - 9) My interest has not changed
 - 10) Other, please specify _____
- ☐

30. Which of the following reasons was or could be responsible for your leaving the police force? *(Please indicate the top three choices by selecting the appropriate number for your first choice, your second choice, and your third choice.)*

- 1) Low pay
- 2) Reduced job security
- 3) Reduced fringe benefits
- 4) Less prestige and respect for being a policeman than I expected
- 5) Little chance to make my own decisions

- 6) Lack of variety in the work
- 7) Lack of opportunity to help maintain law and order
- 8) Limited choices in ways I can serve my community
- 9) Other, please specify _____

FIRST CHOICE

☐

SECOND CHOICE

☐

THIRD CHOICE

☐

31.

If you are *still* a member of the department, indicate which of the following influenced you to stay. (Please indicate your top three choices by selecting the appropriate number for your first choice, your second choice, and your third choice.)

- 1) Adequate pay
- 2) Job security
- 3) Fringe benefits
- 4) Prestige and respect that comes from being a policeman
- 5) The chance to make my own decisions
- 6) The variety of the work
- 7) The opportunity to help maintain law and order
- 8) The feeling that comes from helping community people
- 9) Other, please specify _____
- 10) I am *not* still a member of the department

FIRST CHOICE

☐

SECOND CHOICE

☐

THIRD CHOICE

☐

32.

In which of the following social class categories do you place yourself in regard to your present lifestyle?

- 1) Upper class
- 2) Lower-upper class
- 3) Upper-middle class
- 4) Middle Class
- 5) Lower-middle class
- 6) Upper-lower class
- 7) Lower class

☐

33.

Do you have a relative in the department?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

34. In which of the following social class categories do you place most of your colleagues?

- 1) Upper class
- 2) Lower-upper class
- 3) Upper-middle class
- 4) Middle class
- 5) Lower-middle class
- 6) Upper-lower class
- 7) Lower class

☐

35. What do you feel are the *three* major differences between you and your supervisors? (*Please indicate your top three choices by placing the appropriate number in most important, second importance and third importance.*)

- 1) Social class
- 2) Ethnic background
- 3) View of life
- 4) View of people different from themselves
- 5) Age
- 6) Money
- 7) Power
- 8) Education
- 9) Other, please specify _____

MOST IMPORTANT

☐

SECOND IMPORTANCE

☐

THIRD IMPORTANCE

☐

SECTION II

Demographics

36. How old are you?

- 1) Under 35 years
- 2) 35-54 years
- 3) 55-64 years
- 4) 65 years and over

☐

37. To which of the following groups do you belong?

- 1) White
- 2) Black
- 3) Hispanic origin
- 4) Asian origin
- 5) Filipino
- 6) American
- 7) Other--Non-White

☐

38. You are:

- 1) Male
- 2) Female

☐

39. Marital status?

a) When you applied to the department:

- 1) Single
- 2) Married
- 3) Separated
- 4) Divorced
- 5) Widowed

☐

b) Now or when you left the department:

- 1) Single
- 2) Married
- 3) Separated
- 4) Divorced
- 5) Widowed

☐

40. How many years of school completed?

a) High School:

- 1) 1
- 2) 2
- 3) 3
- 4) 4
- 5) Graduated
- 6) Did not complete any years of high school

WHEN YOU
FIRST
APPLIED
TO THE
DEPARTMENT

NOW OR WHEN
YOU LEFT THE
DEPARTMENT

☐☐

b) College:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1) 1 | 4) 4 |
| 2) 2 | 5) Graduated |
| 3) 3 | 6) Did not complete any
years of college |

WHEN YOU
FIRST
APPLIED
TO THE
DEPARTMENT

NOW OR WHEN
YOU LEFT THE
DEPARTMENT

☐☐

c) Post-Graduate:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1) 1 | 4) Graduated with Master's
Degree |
| 2) 2 | 5) Graduated with
Doctorate's Degree |
| 3) 3 | 6) Did not complete any
years of post-graduate |

☐☐

41. If you are a high school graduate, please indicate the type of diploma you received:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 1) Academic | 5) Vocational |
| 2) Commercial | 6) High School Equivalency (GED) |
| 3) General | 7) Does not apply, I am not a
high school graduate |
| 4) Technical | |

☐

Please comment on any other schooling or special skills you have:

42. a) Have you had *active duty* experiences in the armed forces?

- 1) Yes
2) No

☐

b) Type of discharge?

- 1) Was never in armed forces?
2) Honorable
3) Dishonorable
4) Other, please specify _____

☐

c) Have you served in:

1) Reserve

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

2) National Guard

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

3) R.O.T.C.

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

☐

Thank you!

APPENDIX III
SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE 1
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON LIKELIHOOD
OF LEAVING THE DEPARTMENT

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	27.5% (38)	28.2% (46)	27.9% (84)
	Low	72.5% (100)	71.8% (117)	72.1% (217)
	Total	100.0% (138)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (301)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .90$, $\phi = .01$,
N=301, DF=1

TABLE 2
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REPORTED LEVEL OF ORAL
INTERVIEW FEEDBACK

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Level of Feedback	Some More	26.6% (37)	11.0% (18)	18.2% (55)
	Some	19.4% (27)	18.3% (30)	18.8% (57)
	None	54.0% (75)	70.7% (116)	63.0% (191)
	Total	100.0% (139)	100.0% (164)	100.0% (303)

$\chi^2=13.55$, $p<.01$, $\phi=.21$,
N=303, DF=2

TABLE 3
INFLUENCE OF REPORTED LEVEL OF ORAL
INTERVIEW FEEDBACK UPON
LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Level of Feedback			
		None	Some	More	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	30.7% (58)	28.1% (16)	18.2% (10)	27.9% (84)
	Low	69.3% (131)	71.9% (41)	81.8% (45)	72.1% (217)
	Total	100.0% (189)	100.0% (57)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (301)

$\chi^2=3.31$, $p<.20$, $\phi=.10$,
 $N=301$, $DF=2$

TABLE 4
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REPORTED LEVEL OF BACKGROUND
INVESTIGATION FEEDBACK

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Level of Feedback	More	31.7% (44)	22.0% (36)	26.4% (80)
	Some	37.4% (52)	34.1% (56)	35.6% (108)
	None	30.9% (43)	43.9% (72)	38.0% (115)
	Total	100.0% (139)	100.0% (164)	100.0% (303)

$\chi^2=6.24$, $p<.05$, $\phi=.14$,
 $N=303$, $DF=2$

TABLE 5

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED BACKGROUND INVESTIGATION
FEEDBACK UPON THE LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Level of Feedback on Background Investigation			
		None	Some	More	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	34.2% (39)	29.6% (32)	16.5% (13)	27.9% (84)
	Low	65.8% (75)	70.4% (76)	83.5% (66)	72.1% (217)
	Total	100.0% (114)	100.0% (108)	100.0% (79)	100.0% (301)

$\chi^2=7.56$, $p<.03$, $\phi=.16$,
N=301, DF=2

TABLE 6

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
SUFFICIENCY OF SUPERVISOR'S
SUPPORT DURING PROBATIONARY
PERIOD

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Sufficient Support?	Yes	68.1% (94)	79.0% (128)	74.0% (222)
	No	31.9% (44)	21.0% (34)	26.0% (78)
	Total	100.0% (138)	100.0% (162)	100.0% (300)

$\chi^2=4.60$, $p<.03$, $\phi=.12$,
 $N=300$, $DF=1$

TABLE 7

INFLUENCE OF SUFFICIENCY OF SUPPORT
DURING PROBATIONARY PERIOD UPON
LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Sufficient Support?		
		Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	24.5% (54)	38.5% (30)	28.2% (84)
	Low	75.5% (166)	61.5% (48)	71.8% (214)
	Total	100.0% (220)	100.0% (78)	100.0% (298)

$\chi^2=5.51$, $p<.02$, $\phi=.14$,
N=298, DF=1

TABLE 8
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REPORT OF RECEIVING FAIR TREATMENT

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Receive Fair Treatment?	Yes	55.4% (77)	77.9% (127)	67.5% (204)
	No	44.6% (62)	22.1% (36)	32.5% (98)
	Total	100.0% (139)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (302)

$\chi^2=17.35$, $p<.01$, $\phi=.24$,
N=302, DF=1

TABLE 9
INFLUENCE OF REPORTED FAIRNESS OF
TREATMENT UPON LIKELIHOOD
OF LEAVING

Likelihood of Leaving		Receive Fair Treatment?		
		Yes	No	Total
	High	23.8% (48)	36.7% (36)	28.0% (84)
	Low	76.2% (154)	63.3% (62)	72.0% (216)
	Total	100.0% (202)	100.0% (98)	100.0% (300)

$\chi^2=5.51$, $p<.02$, $\phi=.14$,
N=300, DF=1

TABLE 10
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REPORT OF RECEIVING ANSWERS
FROM SUPERVISORS

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Receive Answers?	Yes	58.7% (81)	57.1% (93)	57.8% (174)
	No	41.3% (57)	42.9% (70)	42.2% (127)
	Total	100.0% (138)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (301)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .78$, $\phi = .02$,
N=301, DF=1

TABLE 11
INFLUENCE OF RECEIVING ANSWERS FROM
SUPERVISORS UPON LIKELIHOOD
OF LEAVING

		Receive Answers?		
		Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	26.0% (45)	31.0% (39)	28.1% (84)
	Low	74.0% (128)	69.0% (87)	71.9% (215)
	Total	100.0% (173)	100.0% (126)	100.0% (299)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .35$, $\phi = .05$,
N=299, DF=1

TABLE 12

INFLUENCE OF THE OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REPORTS OF WORK BEING REWARDED

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Work Rewarded?	Yes	46.7% (57)	50.3% (77)	48.7% (134)
	No	53.5% (65)	49.7% (76)	51.3% (141)
	Total	100.0% (134)	100.0% (153)	100.0% (275)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .56$, $\phi = .04$,
N=275, DF=1

TABLE 13

INFLUENCE OF REPORTS OF WORK BEING REWARDED
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Work Rewarded?		
		Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	23.3% (31)	34.0% (48)	28.8% (79)
	Low	76.7% (102)	66.0% (93)	71.2% (195)
	Total	100.0% (133)	100.0% (151)	100.0% (274)

$\chi^2=3.84$, $p<.05$, $\phi=.12$,
 $N=274$, $DF=1$

TABLE 14
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY ON
REPORTED UNDERSTANDING OF
DEPARTMENTAL GOALS
AND METHODS

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Understand Goals?	Yes	68.1% (94)	61.3% (100)	64.5% (194)
	No	31.9% (44)	38.7% (63)	35.5% (107)
	Total	100.0% (138)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (301)

$\chi^2=1.49$, $p<.14$, $\phi=.07$,
N=301, DF=1

TABLE 15

INFLUENCE OF REPORTED UNDERSTANDING OF
DEPARTMENTAL GOALS AND METHODS UPON
LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Understand Goals?		
		Yes	No	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	24.7% (48)	34.3% (36)	28.1% (84)
	Low	75.3% (146)	65.7% (69)	71.9% (215)
	Total	100.0% (194)	100.0% (105)	100.0% (299)

$\chi^2=3.07$, $p<.06$, $\phi=.10$,
N=299, DF=1

CONTINUED

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TABLE 16
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
SELF-PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Social Class	Upper	21.2% (29)	22.7% (37)	22.0% (66)
	Middle	49.6% (68)	57.7% (94)	54.0% (62)
	Low	29.2% (40)	19.6% (32)	24.0% (72)
	Total	100.0% (137)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (300)

$\chi^2=3.81$, $p<.15$, $\phi=.11$,
N=300, DF=2

TABLE 17
INFLUENCE OF SELF-PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

Likelihood of Leaving		Social Class			
		Lower	Middle	Upper	Total
	High	31.9% (23)	23.5% (38)	34.8% (23)	28.0% (84)
	Low	68.1% (49)	76.5% (124)	65.2% (43)	72.0% (216)
	Total	100.0% (72)	100.0% (162)	100.0% (66)	100.0% (300)

$\chi^2=3.75$, $p<.16$, $\phi=.11$,
N=300, DF=2

TABLE 18
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
REASON GIVEN FOR CHANGED INTEREST

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Reason for Changed Interest	Rules and Regulations	29.9% (20)	25.8% (23)	27.6% (43)
	Relationship with other Personnel	19.4% (13)	9.0% (8)	13.5% (21)
	Personal	17.9% (12)	31.5% (28)	25.6% (40)
	Relationship with Community	13.4% (9)	10.1% (9)	11.5% (18)
	Role of Police Officer	19.4% (13)	23.6% (21)	21.8% (34)
	Total	100.0% (67)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (156)

$\chi^2=6.71$, $p<.16$, $\phi=.21$,
 $N=156$, $DF=4$

TABLE 19

INFLUENCE OF REASON FOR CHANGED INTEREST
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Reason for Changed Interest					
Likelihood of Leaving		Rules and Regula- tions	Relation- ship with Other Personnel	Personal	Relation- ship with Community	Role of Police Officer	Total
	High	72.1% (31)	42.9% (9)	45.0% (18)	27.8% (5)	50.0% (17)	51.3% (80)
	Low	27.9% (12)	57.1% (12)	55.0% (22)	72.2% (13)	50.0% (17)	48.7% (76)
	Total	100.0% (43)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (34)	100.0% (156)

$\chi^2=12.68$, $p<.02$, $\phi=.29$,
N=156, DF=4

TABLE 20

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
FIRST-SELECTED POSSIBLE REASONS FOR
WHY THEY MIGHT LEAVE POLICE WORK

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Possible Reasons for Staying	Depart- mental	59.7% (74)	66.0% (93)	63.0% (167)
	Attit- tude	10.5% (13)	9.2% (13)	9.8% (26)
	Pers- onal	19.4% (24)	21.3% (30)	20.4% (54)
	Comm- unity	10.5% (13)	3.5% (5)	6.8% (18)
	Total	100.1% (124)	100.0% (141)	100.0% (265)

$\chi^2=5.32$, $p<.16$, $\phi=.14$,
N=265, DF=3

TABLE 21

INFLUENCE OF FIRST-SELECTED REASONS FOR
POSSIBLY LEAVING THE DEPARTMENT UPON
THE LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Possible Reasons for Staying				
		Depart- mental	Atti- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	25.3% (42)	19.2% (5)	37.0% (20)	44.4% (8)	28.4% (75)
	Low	74.7% (124)	80.8% (21)	63.0% (34)	55.6% (10)	71.6% (189)
	Total	100.0% (166)	100.0% (26)	100.0% (54)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (264)

$\chi^2=6.12$, $p<.11$, $\phi=.15$,
N=264, df=3

TABLE 22

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
FIRST-SELECTED REASONS FOR HAVING
REMAINED A POLICE OFFICER

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Reason for Remaining	Depart- mental	60.0% (81)	57.5% (84)	58.7% (165)
	Atti- tude	8.1% (11)	29.5% (43)	19.2% (54)
	Pers- onal	9.6% (13)	5.5% (8)	7.5% (21)
	Comm- unity	22.2% (30)	7.5% (11)	14.6% (41)
	Total	99.9% (135)	100.0% (146)	100.0% (281)

$\chi^2=28.63$, $p<.01$, $\phi=.32$,
N=281, DF=3

TABLE 23

INFLUENCE OF FIRST-SELECTED REASONS FOR
REMAINING A POLICE OFFICER
UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Reasons for Remaining				
		Depart- mental	Attit- tude	Pers- onal	Comm- unity	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	33.3% (55)	18.6% (8)	19.0% (4)	26.8% (11)	27.9% (78)
	Low	66.7% (110)	81.4% (45)	81.0% (17)	73.2% (30)	72.1% (202)
	Total	100.0% (165)	100.0% (53)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (41)	100.0% (280)

$\chi^2=7.40$, $p<.07$, $\phi=.16$,
N=280, DF=3

TABLE 24

INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY UPON
THEIR JOB AT TIME OF FIRST
APPLICATION TO THE
DEPARTMENT

		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Occupation at Application	Blue Collar	37.3% (41)	24.8% (30)	30.7% (71)
	Law Enforce- ment	20.9% (23)	37.2% (45)	29.4% (68)
	White Collar	41.8% (46)	38.0% (46)	39.8% (92)
	Total	100.0% (110)	100.0% (121)	100.0% (231)

$\chi^2=8.32$, $p<.02$, $\phi=.19$,
N=231, DF=2

TABLE 25

INFLUENCE OF OCCUPATION AT FIRST APPLICATION
TO DEPARTMENT UPON LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Occupation at Application			
		Blue Collar	Law Enforcement	White Collar	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	24.3% (17)	32.8% (22)	31.5% (29)	29.7% (68)
	Low	75.7% (53)	67.2% (45)	68.5% (63)	70.3% (161)
	Total	100.0% (70)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (92)	100.0% (229)

$\chi^2=1.44$, $p<.49$, $\phi=.08$,
N=229, DF=2

TABLE 26
ASSOCIATION OF OFFICER'S ETHNICITY
WITH OFFICER'S GENDER

Gender		Ethnicity		
		Black	White	Total
Total	Male	74.1% (103)	84.0% (137)	79.5% (240)
	Female	25.9% (36)	16.0% (26)	20.5% (62)
	Total	100.0% (139)	100.0% (163)	100.0% (302)

$\chi^2=4.55$, $p<.03$, $\phi=.12$,
N=302, DF=1

TABLE 27
INFLUENCE OF OFFICER'S GENDER UPON
THE LIKELIHOOD OF LEAVING

		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Likelihood of Leaving	High	26.9% (64)	30.6% (19)	27.7% (83)
	Low	73.1% (174)	69.4% (43)	72.3% (217)
	Total	100.0% (238)	100.0% (62)	100.0% (300)

$\chi^2 < 1$, $p < .56$, $\phi = .03$,
N=300, DF=1

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