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IN THE MIDDLE: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE SERGEANT

The Ohio State University

Ph.D. 1984

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IN THE MIDDLE: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE SERGEANT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of the Ohio
State University
by
Roger Allen Collinsworth, B.S., M.S.

* * * * *
The Ohio State University
1984

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of the work and perceptions of first-line police supervisors. It specifically focuses on uniformed police sergeants in a medium sized midwestern city. The purpose of the dissertation is to describe and analyze employees who work "in the middle" between "street cops" and "management cops."

As a study of people who work in the middle, this dissertation seeks to extend and enrich the social science literature on police sergeants in particular and first-line supervisors in general. Additionally, this dissertation seeks to assess the adequacy of the law enforcement literature on the role of the uniformed police sergeant. Review of the existing research in each of these three areas, especially as that research directs attention to people who work in the middle, will help establish the boundaries of the analyses that follow.

POLICE SERGEANTS

Only a few social scientists have examined the work and world of the police sergeant. Despite relatively infrequent research, there exists general agreement that police sergeants occupy pivotal positions within their
organizations. There also exists general agreement that police sergeants are torn between their street subordinates and their management supervisors.

The Pivotal Position of the Police Sergeant

Modern police departments are commonweal organizations intended to serve the best interests of the public-at-large. In contrast with business organizations obligated to generate profit for owners, labor unions with a primary goal of advancing member interests and service organizations attentive to the best interests of clients, police departments are intended to protect and promote the interests of members of the general public.¹

In an effort to meet their commonweal obligations, most police organizations display a quasi-military structure. Egon Bittner notes: "The conception of the police as a quasi-military institution with a war-like mission plays an important part in the structuring of police work in modern American departments...(and)...there exists some apparent analogies between the military and the police ...
... Both institutions are instruments of force and for both institutions the occasions for using force are unpredictably distributed. Thus, the personnel in each must be kept in a highly disciplined state of alert preparedness."
The formalism that characterizes military organizations, the insistence on rules and regulations, on spit and polish, on obedience to supervisors...constitute a permanent rehearsal for the real thing. What sort of rules and regulations exist in such a setting are in some way less important than there be plenty of them and the personnel be continually aware that they can be harshly called into account for disobeying them."²

Reflective of this quasi-military structure, management personnel within police organizations carry titles and follow a chain of command directly analogous to those of the military. Sergeants are answerable to lieutenants under the control of captains who report to majors. Additionally, numerous rules and regulations exist within all police organizations. In New York City, for instance, the rule book is over a foot thick.³ Last, harsh punishments for rule violations are possible including suspension and dismissal.

Police sergeants occupy a pivotal position within the quasi-military structure characteristic of most modern police organizations. Unlike other members of a police department's management team, police sergeants directly supervise the patrol officers who provide services to citizens. Police sergeants meet with their subordinates
in roll call before the start of a shift. Additionally, police sergeants regularly "fall in" on calls assigned to their patrol officers to observe and assess their work. Last, the sergeant checks the paperwork of patrol officers at the end of the shift and it is the sergeant's approval that signals the end of the work day. Patrol officers may go several days or even several weeks without seeing, much less talking with, a captain or major but they know they will see and talk with their sergeant every day.

In addition to visibility, the position of the police sergeant is pivotal in other respects. One of the most important is selection and retention of subordinates. Political scientist William Muir observes that patrol officers refer to "this system of manpower allocation... (as)... 'the slave market'." The metaphor alluded to the power exercised by the sergeants - the buyers... "Sergeants who had vacancies on their squad bid against one another for the 'best' candidates in the available pool." Consequently, the sergeant is able to "shape his squad in his own image and perpetuate itself. Every choice of manpower allocation...permit(s)...the sovereignty of the sergeants to operate." Once a squad has been assembled, sergeants have still other prerogatives. Historian and sociologist Jonathan Rubinstein isolates one of the most important: "The
Sergeant rewards the men he trusts and likes by giving them a permanent sector assignment. A young patrolman who is given his first permanent assignment does not care whether it is considered a 'good' sector because he has been around long enough to know that his sergeant is offering him a secure place in the platoon and informing his colleagues that this is a man he trusts. The patrolman assumes a debt to his sergeant in exchange for his trust...(and)...If he does not 'produce' as expected, and if his relations with the sergeant deteriorate, he will find himself receiving special assignments or even bouncing about.6

Sergeants are important to patrol officers in other ways as well because they have: "the sole responsibility for making annual and even more frequent evaluations of the members of his squad... A bad set of evaluations meant purgatory: he lost his options, he earned a 'reputation' among any potential 'buyer' of his services, if his performance was rated poor...The sergeant had a decisive and sanctioned means of communicating his preferences to his men."7 Muir goes on to observe that "the patrol sergeant had at his disposal far more than threats with which to influence his men. He had a monopoly of rewards. He had resources which he effectively bartered in exchange for submission."8 These resources range from a "pat on
the back" to "the timing of his vacation" to "getting permission to take a second job on the outside to earn additional income."\textsuperscript{9}

Sergeants are equally important to citizens. Sociologist Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni observes: "The patrol sergeant is responsible for street level supervision of all patrol activity. This involved assuring that all officers are on their assigned foot posts, and monitoring and occasionally checking on how assignments or jobs are handled by the radio car team."\textsuperscript{10} The sergeant's ability to supervise and control his subordinates' activities dictate in large portion the service rendered and protection provided to the citizens within his "district" or "zone."

Melnicoe and Menning have also noted the importance of the urban police sergeant to citizens: "The public image of a police agency is determined largely by the nature of the contacts between its officers and the citizens... Good supervision then, is essential in all agencies concerned with the administration of justice and is, in fact, their obligation to the public."\textsuperscript{11} Since police agencies, like most public service agencies, are dependent upon community support to be effective, the image of the agency is crucial to achieving organizational goals and objectives.
Last and, perhaps most important, sergeants serve as moderators between patrol officers and citizens. As O.W. Wilson has observed: "Patrol is an indispensable service that plays a leading role in the accomplishment of the police purpose... (and)... He (the patrolman) serves as the eyes and ears of the police department by gathering information useful to the administration, to the special branches of police services, and to other city departments... By giving assistance, advice, and sympathy to those in distress, patrolmen help prevent wasted lives and also win friendship and cooperation for the department."\(^{12}\) Consequently, "The supervising officer should follow up on the work being done by his subordinates... (and)... exercise his influence to obtain the active cooperation of the subordinate... In order to satisfy himself that subordinates are following department procedures and are not slipping into lax operating methods."\(^{13}\)

The uniform patrol sergeant's position is then pivotal in at least three respects. First, subordinate's professional and personal lives are strongly influenced by sergeants. Secondly, sergeants influence the type of services and protection afforded citizens by patrol officers. Third, the supervision provided by the uniformed police sergeant is crucial to the organization in terms of
accomplishing goals by helping link responding officers with citizens.

In the Middle: Street Subordinates and Management Supervisors

Until recently most researchers assumed that the goals of all police personnel - patrol officers, police supervisors and police administrators - were unified. Recently, however, there has been increasing awareness of two existing cultures of policing which further portray the uniformed sergeant as "in the middle."

Social scientists who have studied police organizations have traditionally reported the existence of a single organizational ethos. It is generally argued that because all officers start as patrol officers and promotion is almost exclusively internal, persons at all levels of police organizations share essentially similar values and attitudes. Richard J. Lundman, for example, has observed: "This common street experience...produces a sense of defensiveness, which exists at all levels of the organization...(t)he defensive feeling motivates officers of all levels to turn inward, thereby creating common ties between supervisors and patrol officers. This...further reduces the impersonality of relations within police organizations."
Recently, however, research has revealed that what was once assumed to be mechanically solidary is, in fact organically structured. Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni has observed that social and political forces have severely weakened police culture. Factors such as "changing political structure," "competition for scarce resources," and "political leadership (which) has become increasingly management oriented," along with the entrance of Black and female officers and allegations of police corruption, have combined to divide contemporary police officers into at least two groups, "street cops and management cops." 15

According to Reuss-Ianni "these forces have contributed to the development of a new headquarters management cop culture which is bureaucratically juxtaposed to the precinct cop culture...(and) the cops maintain, their bosses have forgotten about being cops and are now professional managers. 'They would give us up in a moment, if necessary, in order to save their own careers and they think we'll put up with anything because of our pension!' 16 She states her study "pointed to the Knapp Commission investigation into allegations of police corruption and its aftermath...as a kind of watershed or line of demarcation between the present reality of the policeman's job and the 'good old days' of what the job used to be like." 17
The existence of these two cultures of policing is retrospectively apparent in previous work as well. Jonathan Rubinstein has previously noted: "He (the captain) balances his obligations by aligning himself with his men ... and requiring their adherence to changes only after indicating that he is helpless to do otherwise in the face of superior authority." The basic characteristic described here by Rubinstein is conformity to administrative wishes. There is no reason to believe that this characteristic is peculiar to law enforcement organizations. As Kanter, discussing corporate existence, states: "Managers tend to carefully guard power and prestige for those who fit in, for those they see as 'their kind.'" If a captain did anything less than follow the directions of his superiors, his career would be seriously jeopardized and opportunity for any further upward mobility would probably be non-existent.

Conflict between labor and management within police organizations has a long and rich history and probably is the most important factor in the recent recognition and documentation of two distinct cultures of policing. In 1919 Boston police officers struck after long and largely unsuccessful negotiations with department administrators. Striking police were fired and replaced. The example set in Boston had a chilling effect on the police
union movement. For nearly forty years police officers were restricted by law and custom to fraternal orders and "collective begging" as opposed to union representation.20 Across the past twenty years, however, police unions, primarily in the form of fraternal orders and benevolent associations, have grown stronger and bolder. Collective bargaining is now commonplace and, when that fails, work actions including strikes are routinely used by police unions to raise issues and force management choices.

There are other reasons for the emergence of two distinct cultures within police organizations, with three of prime importance. Police officers are occasionally faced with difficult situations that require immediate decisions. It is only natural that they, like the quarterback in a football game, experience some anxiety about "Monday morning quarterbacking." Given the severity of the consequences of some of their decisions, from use of physical force up to and including use of deadly force, and the possible repercussions which might emanate from a "bad" decision, it appears that the potential for conflict and feelings of distrust toward higher administrators could be expected.

Another factor that accounts for the existence of street cops and management cops is the introduction of black and female officers into law enforcement work.
Anthropologist Patricia W. Remmington observes: "They (white police officers) no longer feel support from superior officers...(and)...officers are well aware that their superior officers must placate the ruling hierarchy if they wish to remain sergeants and lieutenants."21

Last, the existence of police corruption has been well documented over the past decade. As Lundman has observed: "Police work is exceptionally rich in opportunities for corruption. Because most officers work alone or with another officer of the same rank, supervision is minimal. Coupled with minimal supervision is citizen willingness to corrupt the police. Many citizens prefer to avoid the inconvenience of a traffic citation or the loss of time and money involved in going to court by offering a bribe. Other citizens want to be in good graces with the police because their businesses are partially dependent upon police referrals (towing companies). Still others can function only if the police ignore their actions (organized gambling). Consequently, large numbers of citizens are willing to provide money, goods, or services to police officers in exchange for police favors."22

Stoddard, Reiss, Sherman and the Knapp Commission Report have also presented findings to support the notion that corruption is widespread and occurs
frequently within law enforcement agencies.23

FIRST LINE SUPERVISORS

Making the transition from worker to first line supervisor is a difficult and complicated process. In many instances the supervisor has more technical expertise and work experience than subordinates. Often, the supervisor may be tempted to perform a task assigned to a subordinate rather than train the subordinate to perform the task. This situation is further complicated by organizational demands placed upon the supervisor's loyalty and time.

This issue has been addressed by role theory. This rich conceptual and research tradition directs attention to the nature of positions within organizations, especially to role conflict and incongruence. It also directs attention to the ways in which individuals who work in the middle make adjustments with peers, subordinates, and higher-level administrators.
The Nature of Role Theory

Role theory directs attention to the different positions held by a person in society, situated role performance, and how others perceive and react to that performance. Biddle and Thomas have noted: "Individuals in society occupy positions, and the role performance in these positions is determined by social norms, demands, and rules; by the role performance of others in their respective positions; by those who observe and react to their performance; and by the individual's particular capabilities and personality...the behavior of the individual is examined in terms of how it is shaped by demands and rules of others, by their sanctions for his conforming and non-conforming behavior and by the individual's own understanding and conception of what his behavior should be."  

Role activity may be viewed as a movement toward achieving a balance between a person's perceived role performance and preferred role performance. When an incongruence exists between an individual's perceived versus preferred role activity, effort is made to balance the two. External factors - such as employees, peers, and subordinates - influence adaptation and role fit (congruence). When these or other factors lead
to role conflict, the person must adjustments and negotiate toward achieving some balance. Should the person be unable to achieve this balance, stress increases, the conflict damages personal and occupational relationships, reduces productivity and may have an adverse impact upon job performance. Research findings have consistently supported the proposition that a person's productivity is related to satisfaction and perceived role congruence.

Role Conflict

Role conflict occurs naturally among supervisors working in organizations as they move up through the bureaucracy. Concomitant with this is a demand that supervisors make decisions about whether their loyalties will be to the organization or to the personnel they supervise. When the supervisor is confronted with both organizational and personnel demands for loyalty and commitment in conflictual situations, the natural result is role conflict.

In most organizations promotion is based, at least partially, upon the individual's ability and technical competence in terms of performing line level tasks. Mangrum has observed: "Unfortunately, those same companies usually do a rather poor job of preparing and training their line workers for advancement...(and)...
promotions cause problems, strains and conflicts of many kinds that only serve to increase the difficulties of transitions. Mangrum contends this situation is further complicated by organizational expectations that the supervisor should be able to function effectively and efficiently immediately without benefit of the opportunity to grow into the position.

Dr. Joseph Nevotti, an industrial psychologist, is critical of this type situation. He states that the individual who receives a promotion "requires the acquisition of new skills and major reprogramming of his perspective as well as his method of operation." He compares the transition from line worker to supervisor with the transition from a quarterback to a coach in football. In doing so, he cites examples of individuals who were excellent individual contributors but failed as supervisors. He expresses the view that these failures are "the result of poor management; that is, someone made a poor promotion decision and/or failed to adequately train and support the person in his or her new position."

Based on the viewpoints of Mangrum and Nevotti, as well as on other research previously cited, it appears that organizations fail to train, support, and provide the opportunity for new supervisors to develop necessary supervisory skills, at least in some instances. There is
little doubt that an organization may fail in these areas, however, it is equally possible that some problems are caused by the individual's inability to make the transition from line worker to supervisor. That is, some individuals may experience difficulty in making these transitions because of their inability to develop a supervisory perspective and assume the responsibilities of this new role.

Making the Transition to Supervision

The line worker in an organization is generally concerned with accomplishing assigned tasks. If successful in the performance of these tasks, there is usually little or no reason for the line worker to be concerned with other workers' performance or their contributions toward organizational goals and objectives. Conversely, supervisors must be concerned about the performance of all the personnel they supervise and, in order to be viewed as successful, motivate them to achieve the goals and objectives of the organization.

Nevotti compares these different functions with the differences in the role of the quarterback and the coach on a football team. He describes the quarterback (line worker) as an individual who views "technical excellence of utmost importance...(and)...who frequently has a stronger identification with his profession than with his
organization; hence his guidelines regarding what constitutes a job well done derive more from his professional identity than from his organization's mission...(and)... he tends to view the world in black and white." 33

On the other hand, the coach (supervisor) views "the most important concern as achievement of planned results... and... in short, he is a 'big picture man' who has a broad perspective of what he is doing and how it dovetails with organizational realities." 34 Nevotti views the issue of perspective as critical for the new supervisor because it involves matters of defining success, accomplishment of tasks in a cost-effective manner and has impact upon subordinates' job performance. 35

Industrial psychologist Elton Reeves also addresses the issue of changing perspectives during the transition from line worker to supervisor. 36 He advises the new supervisor to move cautiously during the probationary period and to concentrate upon adapting to the new role. He feels new supervisors will be closely scrutinized during this period, not only by their immediate supervisor but by several higher echelons of management as well as subordinates. How well the supervisor is able to deal with this transition period and "performance in the first few months on the job will govern whether you make it at all, whether you will be judged as a solid first-line
supervisor but no more, or whether you are found to have the potential for several promotions during your career." 37

Reeves states that the first line supervisor experiences some conflict because of the adjustments which must be made in relationships with subordinates, new peers and supervisors. He contends that the very process of becoming a supervisor will create stress for old friendships with former co-workers and new supervisors will be required to change their perspective of new peers and supervisors. He further states that new supervisors should be cognizant of the fact that others within the organization will change their perspective of them and their role within the organization. 38

New supervisors are viewed as neophytes and other supervisors as well as subordinates will be judging their performance and making private appraisal of their chances of survival. Adjustments in relationships with subordinates, peers and supervisors will be required. Others will be required to make adjustments in their relationships with the new supervisor as well. For example, if an informal, first-name basis relationship existed with a new boss prior to promotion, it may be necessary for him to change to a more formal relationship "to avoid any appearance of favoritism or special privilege. Casual social contacts previously enjoyed will be curtailed if
your boss is one who subscribes to the 'no fraternization' school.\textsuperscript{39}

It seems apparent that making these types of changes in perspective and relationships would create some frustration and uncertainty for the newly promoted supervisor. There is sometimes an expectation on the new supervisor's part to make changes in the existing organizational structure and relationships rather than making the necessary adjustments in their own perspective. There is some evidence in the literature that suggests this approach by the new supervisor may result in further frustration and uncertainty.

Mangrum views adjustments in the supervisor's perspective as critical and states "most companies have set expectations for supervisors that will probably not change according to an individual's abilities. The new supervisor is the one who must make the initial adjustments because he is the one assuming the new role...(and)... while the organization may need to change its attitudes about helping people adjust to promotions, it is ultimately the supervisor who must make the adjustments on his own."\textsuperscript{40}

This viewpoint is supported by the position held by Nevotti in terms of development of a "management outlook" by the new supervisor. He contends that "the new supervisor's outlook needs to be much broader than the line
worker who is concerned only with completion of assigned tasks. The supervisory role requires adoption of a management outlook that takes in the large scope of the entire organization...(and)...the new supervisor should further recognize the importance of showing loyalty to the organization that perhaps he did not feel as a line worker. Nevotti is adamant on the issue of loyalty to the company which he feels "is important in order to commit oneself to working toward the company's goals. And the broader scope of the supervisor's new responsibilities demands this outlook."

These adjustments which supervisors must make in perspective of their role and relationship with others in the work setting is further complicated by another dilemma - acceptance of a "go-between role." In most organizations, there are at least two distinguishable groups of individuals - management and labor - with labor viewed as "us" and management viewed as "them." However, it is generally conceded the first-line supervisors fall into a gray area between management and labor. Mangrum summarizes this dilemma by stating "a new supervisor is likely to find himself a part of neither group...(and)...in reality, the new
supervisor will never be a full part of either group again - at least, not as long as he remains at the supervisory level - for this is a middle or in-between position."43

Sociologist James Polcznski describes the process of becoming a part of the management team as "an exciting as well as an anxious time for the newly appointed supervisor. The path to success, however, has many pitfalls and each can make what looked like a brighter tomorrow a stream of dreary todays."44 One of the major pitfalls he discusses is the inability to accept and adjust to this "in-between" role.45

LAW ENFORCEMENT LITERATURE

A review of publications, articles, studies, and materials which address the role of the uniformed police sergeants revealed that the existing literature largely restricts itself to lists of personal characteristics and skills which the sergeant should possess to perform his functions. Occasionally, however, attention is also given to the role of the police sergeant, with Robert Trojanowicz an important example.46 He devotes considerable space to the discussion of role conflict and incongruence experienced by first line police supervisors.
Qualities and Characteristics of Police Supervisors:
"Laundry Lists."47

Broadwell has prepared a list of personal characteristics which he states "isn't exhaustive but it offers a good target for all of us."48 This list contains only six items: "willingness to work, willingness to take risks, enthusiasm; empathetic; ability to motivate; and ability to communicate."49

Melnicke and Peper also have their list. They report conducting several conferences with highly rated supervisors within police agencies in an effort to identify the characteristics of successful supervisors. These conferences produced ten characteristics ranging from "on-the-job-appearance" to "firmness," "technical knowledge," "teaching ability and enthusiasm," "tact, emotional stability, moral courage and a sense of humor" and "fairness, friendliness, and understanding."50

The existing literature on the functions and tasks of the police supervisor approaches that topic in much the same manner. Bouton, for example, provides a descriptive list of some twenty-one tasks performed by a "typical" city supervisor, which includes "personnel deployment," "attendance control," "maintaining morale," "training
workers," "encouraging teamwork," and "maintaining good housekeeping on the job."\textsuperscript{51} He states these tasks are typical of the responsibilities and duties common to most city supervisors.

O.W. Wilson has addressed the functions and tasks of the police supervisor by describing these activities as "planning, directing, and controlling,"\textsuperscript{52} while Knech, et.al., state the supervisor is "concerned with specifying ways and means for accomplishing the goals of the group and coordinating the activities of group members."\textsuperscript{53}

As the foregoing discussion demonstrates, there are obviously some personal characteristics and job skills believed necessary to perform the functions of the uniformed police sergeant. However, most of the law enforcement literature is deficient in documenting and demonstrating how these characteristics and skills are or should be employed by the police supervisor.

The Uniformed Patrol Sergeant's Role

Nearly everyone agrees the sergeant's role differs significantly from the patrol officer's role. Broadwell has observed,"The thing that makes the supervisor's job different from anybody else's in the organization is that the supervisor must get work done through other people."\textsuperscript{54}
Most authors agree with the basic tenets of Broadwell's statement concerning the responsibility of the supervisor to accomplish work through others. Bouton states "as a supervisor, you are now responsible for the output of others. You seldom perform the actual work yourself. You must come up with ways of getting a good day's work done through other workers."^55

Perhaps, a more complete and accurate description of the police sergeant's supervisory role is provided by Whisenand, who says: "Supervision is an adaptive and relative human transactional process used by one member of the organization on others of a subordinate level to direct their behavior toward the organizational goals and the fulfillment of personal needs."^56 He continues his discussion of this role by stating that "The ability of a police supervisor to act as a leader is determined by both his personality (to a limited extent) and by his formally assigned work role (to a larger extent)."^57

Melnicoe and Mennig hold a similar view of the police sergeant's role. They view supervision thus: "Pure supervision involves directing, inspecting, follow-up and control...(and)...the broader responsibilities of supervision are: the handling of matters that pertains to the welfare, the interests, and the inter-relationships of the subordinates."^58
Trojanowicz, while holding similar views of police supervision, has refrained from attempting to identify the personal characteristics and job skills necessary to be an effective police supervisor. He says the police supervisor's "responsibilities range from thorough knowledge of the technicalities of his job to the role of trainer and 'coach' to his subordinates." He describes police work as an occupation with "ambiguous role expectations" and cautions against comparing the police sergeant's function with that of a foreman in a manufacturing plant. This observation is based upon the advantages the plant foreman has in terms of geographical control of his subordinates, the foreman's ability to measure more effectively the quality and quantity of subordinates' work product, and the police sergeant's concern with the personal appearance of officers.

Trojanowicz describes the role of the police sergeant as one which has unique problems, and "no matter how hard the sergeant tries, superiors and subordinates will never be totally satisfied. This is the 'middleman' dilemma..." The sergeant of the past had a more clearly defined role and in many respects an easier time of it, because the police department was even more classically oriented than it is today...
sergeant, as the first-line supervisor, is expected to adjust and adapt."\(^{61}\)

Trojanowicz attributes some of the difficulties encountered by sergeants in their supervisory role to contemporary social changes, the union movement, and "pressures from young supervisors (who) are more intense, so the sergeant ends up caught in a vise between department administrators who want to operate as in 'the good old days' and younger supervisors who 'want to do their own thing' and achieve personal and organizational rewards as soon as possible."\(^{62}\)

Apparently, some supervisors have difficulty with assuming this role, preferring to continue to think of themselves as "one of the boys" after promotion. Melnicoe and Mennig have observed that "the supervisor really must wear two hats because he represents department administration to his subordinates and at the same time, represents his men to the administration...(However)... Too many new supervisors think of themselves as one of the boys in their relationships with subordinates... (and)... The supervisor must learn to think in terms of management if he is to be a good supervisor."\(^{63}\)

The transition to supervision and attendant problems have also been addressed by Trojanowicz in his study involving interviews of some 300 police officers of all
ranks. His survey revealed that "being...'in the middle' was the most often identified problem area" by supervisors and subordinates and was followed closely by "the lack of a well-defined role" within the organization. He continues to say that most police organizations place too much emphasis on ability to perform line-officer functions as a criteria for promotion. He states, "promoting an officer to a supervisory position just to reward him for having been a good line-officer when his interest is not in supervision is, as one sergeant stated, like 'taking a 30-game winning pitcher and making him the manager.' The department loses a good line-officer and may gain an inadequate sergeant."

The promotional process which exists in most police agencies has been a long recognized problem area and has been addressed by a large number of researchers and authors. Perhaps this dilemma is best summarized by Dr. Kenneth E. Christian and Dr. Steven M. Edwards, members of the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University: "The overwhelming majority of departments use selection criteria that are dimensions of the patrol officer position rather than of the supervisory positions. Those responsible for supervisor selection may be more concerned with avoiding failures than with selecting successes, a procedure which results in emphasizing
functional knowledge and police experience at the expense of supervisory abilities...(and)...The area of police personnel development has been studied by national commissions since the 1930's, but it is still characterized more by platitudes than by constructive practices."66

These observations call into question not only the promotional practices of many police agencies but the first-line police supervisor's ability and skills to function effectively in what appears to be a complex and often ambiguous role. The issues of role conflict, ambiguity, and being "in the middle" may have been best summed up by Professor Albert D. Hamann: "The role of the sergeant or first-line supervisor is one of the most important roles in our police departments. Traditionally, the role has been relegated to a position of inferiority without a clear definition of duties, responsibilities, and authority...It can be an integral part of management, assisting top management in getting the job done, or it can be a meaningless chore lacking prestige."67

IN THE MIDDLE: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE SERGEANT

Review of the existing literature in three areas - police sergeants, first-line supervisors, and law enforcement literature - reveals general agreement that the
The police sergeant's role is "in the middle." The same literature, however, fails to inform us of how widespread these feelings are among police sergeants or how the sergeant deals with these dilemmas. It also fails to describe and document what tasks the uniformed patrol sergeant routinely performs, how these tasks are performed and, perhaps more importantly, how the delicate balance is achieved between maintaining individual beliefs/values while accommodating the demands of subordinates and the departmental administrators.

Additionally, the existing literature fails to address how uniformed police sergeants view these dilemmas and how they may impact upon their job performance. It would appear that these dilemmas could create problems in terms of maintaining individual identity as well as maintaining a proper perspective on individual and organizational values and commitments.

The Present Research

The present research therefore addresses the following questions:

1) After attaining the rank of sergeant, how congruent is the "fit" between the expectations of the sergeant's role within the organization and the sergeant's actual role performance?
2) What tasks are performed by the uniformed police sergeant in a medium-sized police agency?

3) After attaining the rank of sergeant in a medium-sized police agency, does the sergeant subscribe to organizational or personal values, beliefs, and commitments? Which of these sets of values take precedence in conflict situations or does the sergeant attempt to accommodate both?

4) How does the uniformed police sergeant view his role within the organization and how does he adapt to this "new" organizational role?

Significance of the Research

Police officers normally begin their careers in the uniformed patrol division in most law enforcement agencies. In order to attain greater status and power within the quasi-military organizational structure, they must achieve rank much the same as the individual serving in military service. When the rank of sergeant is attained, individuals promoted move into a "new" organizational setting, i.e., they are no longer expected to perform the functions of a patrol officer, rather they are expected
to supervise the work performed by other patrol officers.

Because attaining rank is necessary to achieve greater status and power within the organization, as well as to become eligible for upward mobility within the organizational hierarchy, further research on the issue of role congruence is needed. The documentation provided by this research will better enable educators to train individuals to function within larger police organizations. This study will provide insight and documentation to the four research questions previously stated concerning role congruence, supervisory perspectives, as well as to issues surrounding the organizational socialization process.

This lack of knowledge and/or documentation is significant in both its global and specific implications. If law enforcement administrators are not cognizant of these issues and their impact upon the uniformed police sergeant's job performance, they cannot logically devise a methodology to assure that the organization is promoting the individuals best suited for supervisory roles. Nor can they be expected to plan work and learning experiences to enable the sergeant to deal effectively with the conflicts which arise naturally from these situations. It is crucial that studies such as this one be conducted to provide the necessary data to assist in designing
effective work and learning experiences for supervisory personnel.

Finally, this study is important because the results add to the existing literature which addresses these supervisory issues. It provides further documentation to the existing role-theory literature and provides further insight into the process of organizational socialization.

Structure of the Dissertation

The research methodology utilized in gathering the data is presented in Chapter Two along with a detailed description of the research setting. Data collection procedures were qualitative in nature as were data analysis techniques. A discussion of the techniques used to gain and maintain research access are also detailed.

Information relating to the social and demographic characteristics of the research participants is presented in Chapter Three. Information provided by the participants describing factors which motivated them to become police officers is presented.

Chapter four describes the Scioto Police Department's promotional process and provides the reasons which the participants in this study gave for electing to seek promotion. Their perceptions of the positive and negative
aspects of their role are also presented.

A typical workday, the paperwork function, and "on the street" activities of police sergeants are described in Chapter Five. Information on how sergeants work through and motivate subordinates is also presented. In Chapter Six, "In the Middle," data describing how sergeants perceive the "middleman" role, the transitional problems encountered in moving from a patrol officer to a sergeant, and the frustrations experienced by the sergeant are discussed.

Finally, Chapter Seven presents the summary and conclusions which may be drawn from this study.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 1


5 Ibid., p. 238.


8 Ibid., p. 239.

9 Ibid., p. 239.


13 Ibid., p. 331.

15. Reuss-Ianni, Two Cultures of Policing, pp. 2-3

16. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

17. Ibid., p. 3


25Ibid., p. 8.

26Ibid., p. 8-9.

27Ibid., p. 9. Ratliff provides an in-depth discussion and review of the factors which influence job satisfaction and role congruence in view of organizational versus professional commitments.

28Ibid., pp. 7-9.


30Ibid., p. 12


32Ibid., p. 28.

33Ibid., p. 27.

34Ibid., p. 27

35Ibid., p. 28.


37Ibid. p. 127.

38Ibid., p. 127.

39Ibid., p. 128.


41Nevotti, "Quarterback or Coach," p. 28.

42Ibid., p. 28.


47 The term "laundry list" was adopted for lists of qualities and characteristics found in publications which fail to explain their relevance or applicability to the functions of the police supervisor. There is no implication intended that these attributes might not be desirable or even beneficial to the supervisor.


49 Ibid., pp. 3-4.


52 Wilson and McLaren, Police Administration, p. 53.


54 Broadwell, Moving up to Supervision, p. 2.

55 Bouton, The Supervisor Looks at His Job, p.2.

57 Ibid., p. 1.


60 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

61 Ibid., pp. 44-45.

62 Ibid., p. 45.


65 Ibid., p. 46.


CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

In order to gather data descriptive of the work and attitudes of uniformed patrol sergeants, research access was gained and maintained in a medium sized urban police department across an eight-month period ending in November, 1983. Data collection procedures included structured interviews, unstructured interviews, and observation of uniformed patrol sergeants during eight-hour tours of duty.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

The Scioto Police Department is located within a mid-western city with a population of approximately a quarter million citizens. The surrounding metropolitan population, comprised of several smaller cities, towns, and townships, numbers approximately seven hundred fifty thousand. Much as in other mid-western cities, the citizens of Scioto range from the very poor to the very rich; some from established families, some recent arrivals primarily from the southeastern portion of the U.S. The majority of the population is white and lives in the eastern and southern sections of the city. There is also a substantially increasing black population, concentrated in the western and northern half of the city.
By no means are all the people in the western and northern half of the city poor and minority. As one moves to the suburban area to the north of the central business district, stylish commercial and upper class residential areas may be found. However, a substantial portion of the neighborhoods in these areas consist of bleak housing projects; most residences are rental properties, with few citizen home owners; and the most typical family is broken, on welfare, and exposed to the city's highest crime rates. This is particularly true as one moves toward the central business district. Many of the business and mercantile establishments located in the west and north inner city have fallen prey to hard times, and a very substantial number have gone out of business. Many of these establishments exhibit plywood or heavy metal wire over their doors and windows, evidence of a business failure.

In sharp contrast, the new subdivisions located to the east and south of the central business district are occupied by white, middle-class and upper-middle-class families. Suburban luxuries such as shopping malls, open spaces, and privacy are prevalent in these sections of the city. Not atypically, Scioto is a city of contrasts.

The city functions under the City Manager form of government. It was never suggested by any Scioto police sergeant that work assignments and/or promotions were influenced
or affected by political pressure outside the department. The police chief had been promoted a few months prior to this study being conducted and was the first black man to occupy that position. There were some inferences by the uniformed sergeants that work assignments might be influenced by race and sex.\textsuperscript{2}

Generally speaking, there was no evidence of corruption within the department. In the late 1950's there had been a serious scandal in which a few policemen had gone to prison for operating a burglary ring. One result of this incident was the formation of an internal affairs unit that reports directly to the Chief of Police. This unit investigates all complaints, both informal and formal, of police misconduct. Police officers found guilty of any serious offense, whether it be criminal law violations or violation of departmental procedures, are dealt with harshly and severly.

 Apparently there are no embarrassing skeletons hidden away and no necessity to keep things secret from outsiders. The department's policy is to allow citizens and researchers ready access to the department's operation. The only restriction to this "open observation" policy is where there is concern for officer and citizen safety. This policy has been in effect so long that uniformed personnel have become accustomed to "recurrent outside observation".\textsuperscript{3}
The department is comprised of 525 sworn personnel and 200 civilian personnel. All administrative functions are centralized in a single building, known as "Down-town." The city is divided into five districts with each having its own district headquarters. Each of these district headquarters is commanded by a District Commander who holds the rank of lieutenant. Uniformed patrol sergeants and officers report for work at their district headquarters, attend roll call, and then drive to their beats in marked cars. Thereafter, uniformed patrol officers respond to citizens' calls through the central dispatch center located downtown and at the conclusion of their shift return to district headquarters to turn in their activity. After their sergeant checks their work for accuracy, the uniformed patrol officer's workday is completed.

Assigned to each of the district headquarters are four uniformed patrol sergeants and varying numbers of uniformed patrol officers. Patrol officers and sergeants are organized into three reliefs or shifts. Each relief works eight hours a day, with a new relief coming on at 7:00 A.M. (Second Relief), 3:00 P.M. (Third Relief), and 11:00 P.M. (First Relief). Uniformed patrol officers and sergeants work permanent reliefs with the exception of the relief sergeant who is assigned to three different reliefs each week. Each district is sub-divided into
four to six beats, depending upon the geographical size of the district. Individual patrol officers, working alone or in pairs, are assigned to particular beats within the district.

There are approximately 300 uniformed patrol officers assigned to the five districts. The remaining 225 sworn personnel are assigned to specialized details such as the Detective Bureau, Juvenile Bureau, Vice Unit, Organized Crime Unit, Crime Prevention Bureau, Training Academy and Internal Affairs Unit. These bureaus and units are located Downtown and are primarily concerned with followup investigation on the felony crimes reported by the uniformed patrol officers.  

The Scioto police department enjoys an excellent reputation within the law enforcement community, partially because of the work it performs and its reputation as a progressive department, and partially because of the quality of training received by its officers. Each recruit is required to attend a twenty-six week basic training program at the Scioto Police Training Academy during which the role of the police officer is discussed, the criminal code is learned, and the recruit is taught proper report writing skills. Recruits also take part in simulations of critical street situations and complete an extensive firearms training program. Upon graduation from the Academy, each recruit is assigned to an experienced field
training officer who chaperons and evaluates his performance in the field for an additional six months. The department has a mandatory in-service training program which requires each officer to complete forty hours of in-service training annually. Courses of instruction are offered, ranging from highly specialized training sessions on topics such as narcotics investigation and first aid techniques, to human relations subjects. The uniformed sergeant assigns the patrol officer to some courses and the officer may choose some training sessions of particular interest. My discussions on this topic indicated the sergeant assigns about one-half of the training for officers each year and the officer selects the other half on an "elective" basis.¹⁰

Each recruit is subjected to a stringent selection process instituted several years ago. Each must pass a battery of written intelligence exams as well as medical and physical agility evaluations. Each must also pass a battery of psychological tests designed principally to identify "schizophrenia" symptoms. A thorough background investigation is conducted by police personnel for any pattern of debt, violence, criminal behavior, or non-achievement. Recruits are also required to submit to a one-hour interview by a panel of police supervisors; only after negotiating each of these obstacles do they become police officer recruits.
For every successful candidate, twenty-two candidates fail.

A final significant factor which affected the Scioto Police Department was its Chief of Police, who had occupied his position for less than six months when this study was started. The Chief, articulate and well-educated, was the first black Chief in the history of the department. He had entered the department as a civilian, received a promotion to the rank of Captain within a short time and had progressed to his current position in a period of thirteen years. This factor alone had created some resentment because some individuals felt he had not served his time "in the trenches" as a uniformed patrol officer. In spite of this resentment, these same individuals viewed his philosophy as progressive.

His policies, especially in the area of work assignments, had aroused the emotions of uniformed patrol officers and sergeants. Many felt black and female officers were receiving preferential treatment, especially assignments to the more prestigious positions in specialized units. At the same time, some of these individuals respectfully spoke of his leadership ability and admired his general police philosophy. For example, his policy on use of firearms was discussed by several of the sergeants, each stating they were fully supportive of the policy even though it was more stringent than existing State law.
GAINING AND MAINTAINING RESEARCH ACCESS

Gaining access to the Scioto Police Department was a simple and straight-forward process because of the well established "open" policy which had been in effect for several years. Initially, a letter (See Appendix A) explaining the nature and scope of the research project was sent to the Chief of Police in July, 1982. A meeting with the Chief followed approximately one week later to discuss the possibility of conducting the research within the department. The Chief, who had occupied the position for ten years, was receptive to the idea and placed only one restriction upon the project - that he be provided with a copy of the results of the completed study. The Chief was informed that the actual research effort would begin in the early part of 1983.12

This Chief resigned on December 31, 1982 which created the need to establish contact with the new Chief and attempt to gain access to the department a second time. In March, 1983, a letter (See Appendix B) was sent to the new Chief explaining the nature and scope of the research project and requesting permission to conduct the research within the department. A telephone conversation followed and a date for a meeting was set.

In mid-March I met with the Chief in his office. During this meeting the general nature of this research
project was explained and permission was granted to conduct the project within the department. The Chief was very receptive and cordial, stating that I would receive the cooperation necessary to complete the project.

It is important to note that the necessity for protecting the anonymity of the participants and their contributions was thoroughly explained during this meeting. This presented no problem. However, the Chief did place two restrictions upon me. First, he requested that he be furnished a copy of the results of the study. Secondly, the Chief required that a Waiver of Liability form be signed prior to riding with any uniformed police sergeants. This form was signed and returned to his office.

The Chief introduced me to the Assistant Chief and the Major in Charge of Operations. Both of these individuals were cordial and receptive to the research effort when the general nature of the project was explained to them. The Major assigned his administrative aid, Sergeant Brown, the task of assisting me with scheduling interviews and observation periods and providing internal support in terms of familiarizing the uniformed patrol sergeants with the research project.\textsuperscript{13}

Maintaining research access within the Scioto police department was not difficult nor was it difficult to establish with departmental personnel. I would attribute this primarily to the "open" policy which had been in
existence for several years as well as my former membership in the organization.

In spite of the apparent ease with which a positive research atmosphere developed, one small barrier had to be overcome during the course of the study. Because of my former affiliation with the department and my current position in training, many of the uniformed patrol sergeants appeared to assume that I knew exactly what information I needed to complete this project. This became apparent during the initial interviews when the interviewee's simply responded to questions asked and did not elaborate on the issue at hand. This obstacle was overcome by informing the subsequent interviewee's that I was interested in their commentary on the various issues which we would be discussing during the interview session and, occasionally, by asking follow up questions and probing for further information when necessary.

I also maintained weekly contact, at the minimum, with Sergeant Brown, occasionally dropping by his office for coffee and idle conversation. On several occasions, I stopped by the higher administrators' offices and, if they were available, spoke with them in general terms about the progress of the study. If a particular administrator was unavailable, I left word with his secretary that the project was going well and asked that she inform him that I had stopped by to apprise him of my progress.
Over-all, gaining and maintaining research access to the Scioto Police Department was not difficult. No insurmountable problems were encountered during the data collection process.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Four types of data were collected: Structured interviews with uniformed patrol sergeants, personnel-file materials, observations of uniformed patrol sergeants' activities and unstructured observation/interviews.

Structured Interviews

All twenty-three sergeants assigned to the uniformed Patrol Division were interviewed using an interview guide to ensure consistency and gathering of appropriate data.\textsuperscript{14} (See Appendix C). Interviews were conducted at the District Headquarters where the sergeants reported for work.

Each interview session lasted approximately two hours and each session was tape-recorded.\textsuperscript{15} Generally, there are two concerns when using mechanical devices in research efforts. The first of these is the objection and/or refusal of the interviewee to have the interview tape-recorded. I did not encounter any objections to this procedure during the course of conducting the interviews for this study.
Perhaps this type of objection was overcome during the "warm-up" conversation prior to conducting the interviews.

During these "warm-up" conversations I informed each sergeant that their name would not appear in the final report. I had assigned each sergeant a four digit identification number and only I had access to these identification numbers. These numbers were placed on each tape after the interview session was completed and I had left the District Headquarters. The sergeants were not informed of their own identification numbers. Further, I informed each sergeant that the tapes would be transcribed and the typist would be able to identify the transcripts only by their identification number. Finally, after the tapes were transcribed, the tapes were erased to avoid the possibility of voice identification should a tape be lost or misplaced. The administrators were not afforded a copy of the transcribed interviews because certain background data could possibly be used to identify the participant. Apparently, these procedures and assurances alleviated any fear of identification or departmental reprisal as each of the twenty-three sergeants agreed to the interview sessions.

The second area of concern when using mechanical devices when conducting research is the fear of equipment malfunction. A good example of the justification for this concern occurred during the course of these interviews. One particular day I interviewed three uniformed patrol
sergeants and spent nine precious hours in the process. The tape recorder appeared to be operating properly at the beginning of the first interview and after nearly ten minutes of interviewing, I checked to assure this was actually the case. This procedure resulted in a very good quality recording. I proceeded through the remainder of the interviews with good faith that all was well.

Later in the evening, I decided to listen to some comments of the last interviewee. On starting the playback of the tape, I discovered that the equipment had indeed malfunctioned and I had nothing on the tape. I proceeded to play each of the tapes and discovered that all the data I had collected for the entire day was the first ten minutes of the first interview\(^{16}\). After that experience I made certain to check to ensure that the equipment was functioning properly. Perhaps this experience taught me a valuable lesson, however, the net result was the loss of an entire day's work.

Personnel Files

The departmental personnel files of each uniformed patrol sergeant was reviewed just prior to or shortly after the structured interview. This procedure allowed validation of some of the information provided during the interview session, especially that pertaining to age, education, and length of service with the Scioto Police.
Department. This validation process partially established the reliability of the sergeants' statements and viewpoints on issues which could not be observed or documented. 17

Observational Data

Twelve patrol sergeants were randomly selected for observation. Identification numbers of all uniformed patrol sergeants were placed on individual slips of paper and placed in a box. Twelve of these slips of paper were then withdrawn and these individuals became the subjects for observation.

This procedure was employed because I felt richer data could be collected by spending an entire tour of duty with each sergeant observed than could be accomplished by observing partial tours of duty with all twenty-three participants. It was also employed because of time constraints and difficulty in observing the large number of individuals involved who worked three different shifts. Finally, I felt that observing twelve randomly selected sergeants out of twenty-three participants would be sufficient to validate the data collection in the interview process.

This procedure resulted in observations occurring on five 3:00 P.M.-11:00 P.M. shifts, four 11:00 P.M. -
7:00 P.M. shifts and three 7:00 A.M.-3:00 P.M. shifts.

I assumed the role of an observer and reserved remarks or questions I might have concerning a particular incident until the sergeant and I were alone in the cruiser or at District Headquarters. I maintained detailed notes on the observation form prepared for this study, (See Appendix D)\textsuperscript{18}. After a tour of duty I returned to my home and dictated extensive notes, which were later transcribed. I included any explanations provided by the sergeant about incidents I did not fully understand.

The primary purpose of these observations was to observe and record precisely the tasks performed by the uniformed patrol sergeant during a tour of duty, how the sergeant performed those tasks, and why they were performed in that particular manner.

Generally, I felt the sergeants and their subordinates performed their duties in the same way as they normally would, even though I was present as an observer. I believe citizen behavior, situational factors, and departmental rules and regulations precluded acting other than normally. I also feel that by the time the observations occurred most of the individuals were well aware of my purpose and background. This awareness alleviated most constraints they might feel in the presence of a total "outsider."
Informal Interviews

Prior to observing a sergeant during a tour of duty, I reviewed the transcript of his earlier structured interview session. In cases where I felt the need for further clarification on a particular point or issue, I prepared a list of questions to ask during the observation period. During the course of the tour of duty I maintained rather detailed notes including comments and observations, especially those descriptive of the police sergeant's role within the organization. These observations were included in the notes dictated following the tour of duty.

I found the sergeants to be more explicit in their descriptions of their role, the problems they encounter, and the role conflict they experience during these sessions. They appeared more relaxed as they performed their duties than they were at their desks in District Headquarters.

DATA ANALYSIS

The procedures for analyzing this type of data are not as straightforward as quantitative procedures. Qualitative research methods yield vast quantities of materials such as notes, tapes, and documents which must be condensed and placed within some logical framework
without destroying the original richness of the data. After careful examination I felt the data collected during the course of this research project fell within three broad categories. The first category is why certain individuals are motivated to become police officers. The second broad category suggested by the data is the motivation to gain supervisory status within a police agency. The third category is the role conflict and incongruence experienced as a result of being "in the middle." Obviously, there are several sub-categories under these three broader categories of information.

The most difficult task in analyzing qualitative data is constructing a logical, coherent framework within which the data may be presented. The data must be condensed into a manageable form with sufficient illustrations and examples to allow the reader to draw similar conclusions as the researcher. However, too many illustrations and examples provide too much descriptive narrative with little analysis. Conversely, too few result in the work's appearing fabricated and uninformed. The balance between these extremes is a delicate and crucial matter.\textsuperscript{19}

The analysis of the qualitative data collected for this study followed the procedures outlined above. The analysis follows the development and movement of the individuals from the time they decided to become police
officers until they achieved the rank of sergeant. An attempt was made to identify factors which encourage the individual to become a police officer, factors which motivated the individual to expend the effort necessary to achieve the rank of sergeant and, finally, to determine the sergeant's perspective and feelings concerning this role once it had been attained. These factors will be described and supported by observations and examples taken from the interview and observational data.

SUMMARY

Twenty-three uniformed patrol sergeants were interviewed and observed over an eight-month period to gather data descriptive of the factors which motivated them to become police officers and seek promotion, and their perspective of the position once it had been attained. Techniques of qualitative data analysis were employed to present the research findings presented in subsequent chapters.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 2

1 The name of the city is fictitious and was employed to maintain the confidentiality of the participants.

2 Muir, Police: Streetcorner Politicians, provides the model and example for this material.

3 Ibid., p. 8.

4 Sworn personnel are those individuals who have been employed as police officers and completed a basic police training program. They may be assigned to the uniformed patrol division or any of the specialized units within the department. Civilians are those personnel who are employed to perform specific duties, i.e., secretaries, record clerks and dispatchers. Civilians have no police powers such as powers of arrest.

5 The Central Business District was headquartered in the "Downtown" building and officers reported there for work assignments and various other functions.

6 At the beginning of each shift the uniformed patrol sergeant conducted a roll call session. These sessions were typically conducted to ensure that all patrol officers were at work, to pass along any changes or new departmental operating procedures, address significant problems and, occasionally, inspect officers to ensure that dress codes and personal hygiene standards were being met.

7 Activity refers to the work performed by the officer, i.e., traffic citations, arrest reports, and various other report forms and paperwork.

8 It was necessary to have four sergeants assigned to each district in order to have a "relief sergeant." The "relief sergeant" was assigned to various shifts during the week to replace the regular shift sergeant on his days off work. The number of patrol officers
assigned to a shift varied according to the expected number of citizen calls and, to some extent, the crime rate within the district. For example, it was common practice to assign more personnel to the first relief in the third district than to the central business district during this time. This practice was predicated upon the fact that most businesses, which comprised most of the Central Business District, would be closed during these hours (11:00 P.M. - 7:00 A.M.). Therefore, there would be fewer calls for service.

These bureaus and units performed follow-up investigations on felony or "serious crimes" such as homicide, rape, burglary, robbery, arson, automobile theft. Uniformed patrol officers were expected to complete the investigation on misdemeanor or "minor" violations such as: traffic violations, service oriented calls, drunk and disorderly violations.

Muir, Police: Streetcorner Politicians, provides the model and example for this material.

State law allowed a police officer to use deadly force to apprehend a fleeing felon. The chief's policy allowed the use of deadly force only when the officer's safety or the safety of a citizen was at stake. Every uniformed patrol sergeant interviewed supported this policy enthusiastically.

It is important to note that I had served as a patrol officer within the Scioto Police Department eleven years prior to conducting this research project. Because of this service, I knew this chief personally. However, the new chief was virtually unknown by me as were nineteen of the twenty-three uniformed patrol sergeants who participated in the project.

This fictitious name was selected to protect the identity of the department. This sergeant did not participate in the research project; however, his patience and assistance were of utmost importance to completion of this project. Several times during the course of this research effort, last minute decisions had to be made, interviews re-scheduled, etc. Never did this sergeant complain, become gruff or anything less than understanding and patient. His assistance was very much appreciated.
This interview guide is attached as Appendix "C". Each sergeant was informed that his participation was strictly voluntary and he could decline to participate without fear of reprisal if he wished. All twenty-three sergeants agreed to the interview and the majority seemed pleased that someone was interested enough to interview them concerning their job.


I was later informed by a repairman that the recording "head" had been damaged, presumably when I played the tape back to ensure that it was functioning properly.

No attempt was made to copy any materials within these files. The only concern here was validation of certain facts provided during the interview to assure reliability of statements.

A sample of the observation form is attached as Appendix "D". This form closely approximates the Radio Card maintained by each uniformed patrol crew. However, their Radio Card has a section in which they list the activities they perform during a tour of duty. Activity refers to number and type of arrests made, warning tags issued, reports filed, etc.

Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings; Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research, provide an excellent discussion of qualitative research methodology.
CHAPTER 3. BACKGROUNDS OF POLICE SERGEANTS

This chapter describes the background of Scioto's uniformed police sergeants. It begins with the social and demographic characteristics of the twenty-three first line supervisors. Attention is then directed to the reasons these supervisors gave for becoming police officers. Examined last are their descriptions of how policing changed them as individuals.

SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Race and Gender

Until very recently, nearly all street-level police officers were white and male.\textsuperscript{1} Civil rights legislation enacted across the past two decades has had considerable impact on the characteristics of police patrol officers, with relatively large numbers of Black and female patrol officers added to nearly all urban police organizations.\textsuperscript{2} At least in Scioto, however, these recent and important changes have had little impact on the racial and gender characteristics of first-line supervisors (see Table 1). Nearly all (92 percent) of Scioto's police sergeants were white and male.
TABLE 1
RACE AND SEX OF UNIFORMED PATROL SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race &amp; Sex</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Males</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Females</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* It is recognized that with fewer than 50 subjects, percentage figures can be misleading. They are included merely to facilitate discussion. Primary attention should be directed to the number of cases rather than to the percent figures.
Class Origins

The class origins of Scioto's police sergeants were as generally depicted in the social science literature. Only six of the sergeants described their parents as middle class, while the remaining sergeants described their class origins as either lower-middle class or lower class (see Table 2).

Although sergeants were permitted to describe their class origins, there is little reason to dispute the accuracy of their descriptions. One sergeant, who described his background as middle class, provided the following observations: "Well, I suppose we were about the average middle class. My dad was an executive for a finance company. My mother didn't work. I attended a Catholic grade school and Catholic high school. A lot of church." He continued on to describe the neighborhood in which he had been reared as a traditional middle-class environment.

A sergeant who described his class origins as lower-middle-class stated: "I came from a small town of about 30,000. I suppose by standards, it was probably lower-middle class. We are by religious preference, Catholics. My father was a laborer. He was a factory worker. Typically, I didn't have time for sports. Because I went to a Catholic school, I was too busy working to help
### TABLE 2
CLASS ORIGINS OF UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Origins</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-Middle-Class</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-Class</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>101*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Does not total 100% because of rounding.
put me through school because my parents couldn't afford to put me through." 4

And, a sergeant who said his parents were lower-class asserted: "My father was a coal miner in Appalachia, Eastern Kentucky, in Floyd County Company owned high school, company owned town. My dad worked for the company, my mom was a housewife...I'm the first of 123 great grandchildren to graduate from college. I grew up in Eastern Kentucky, by the boot straps." 5

Given their primarily lower-middle class and lower-class origins, every one of the police sergeants interviewed classified their current social class position as middle or upper-middle class. Given salaries of between twenty-five and thirty thousand dollars annually and relatively high levels of education (see below), it would seem that their current assessment of class position also is essentially accurate.

Education

Along with their relatively high levels of compensation, Scioto's police sergeants also were relatively well educated (see Table 3). Only five of the sergeants had no formal education beyond high school. Nearly half had accumulated some college credits but had not completed their undergraduate degrees. Of the remaining sergeants,
### TABLE 3

**EDUCATION OF UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than Four Years Of College</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.S.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td><strong>98%</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Does not total 100% because of rounding.*
five had completed their undergraduate degrees and of those, four had completed graduate work leading to the receipt of a master's degree.

Age

There was a large variation in the ages of the uniformed patrol sergeants (see Table 4). The youngest sergeant was twenty-eight years of age and the oldest participant was forty-five.

Marital Status

The majority of the participants were married (see Table 5). Two of the sergeants were divorced and one had never been married. Although data were not collected on whether those participants who were currently married had ever been divorced, several of the participants did allude to the fact that this was not their first marriage. Policing has traditionally taken its toll on marriage and, based on informal comments during the observation period of this study, I left the research setting with the impression that Scioto's sergeants were no exception.
TABLE 4

AGE OF UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 &amp; Above</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5
MARITAL STATUS OF UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Length of Service and Time in Grade

As was the case in the range of the participants' ages, there was also a wide variation in length of service and "time in grade," (see Table 6). The youngest sergeant had been a police officer for only seven years, the last nine months at the rank of sergeant (see Table 7). At the other extreme, the oldest participant had been a police officer for twenty-one years and a sergeant for eleven years.

BECOMING A POLICE OFFICER

Attention is now directed to the reasons Scioto's sergeants became police officers. The reasons provided by the participants fell into five general categories: job security, to help others, because they thought the job would be exciting, for educational benefits, and because it was outside work (see Table 8).
TABLE 6
LENGTH OF POLICE CAREERS
OF UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Police Career</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE 7

NUMBER OF YEARS AS POLICE SERGEANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years As Police Sergeant</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 8

UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANT:

PRIMARY REASON FOR BECOMING POLICE OFFICER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Reason For Becoming Police Officer</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joined for Job Security</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined to Help Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought Job Would Be Exciting</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined For Educational Benefits</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because It Was Outside Work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Job Security

It is important to note that a significant number of the participants had become police officers because of the job security afforded by police work. In this study, eight of the twenty-three participants expressed their concern for job security and felt police work assured them of a job without much concern for continuous employment.

One sergeant described his reasons for joining the police department by saying: "I suppose it was probably the security package. Retirement was much better and nobody ever lays off municipal employees. They do, but it's a rarity, especially if you are police. So I suppose that was the primary attraction."  

Another sergeant made these observations: "Right after I got married, I got laid off from the job I was working...in a machine shop. I knew I would be called back; it wasn't a matter of being laid off for a long period of time. It just sort of upset me that I was laid off for any length of time. I started thinking I would like to have a job that would be a whole lot more secure than the one I was in. A lot of places, a couple of months of the year, you get laid off. That wasn't for me, so, it was a combination of those things that got me into police work."
Help People

While job security motivated several sergeants to become police officers, some individuals were motivated by their desire to work with and help people. As one sergeant stated: "After I got out of the service and even when I was in the service, I worked around hospitals with medics and I had the opinion that I was gonna' go out there and help people...The day that I found out that I had been accepted as a candidate on the police department, applications had come in from N.C.R., from Delco, and Chrysler Air...I had my choice of going to any one of the four. I chose the police department because I figured I would like working with people, for one thing, more than machines. And, as I said, I had the naive opinion that maybe I could do some good."10

Another sergeant provided a more succinct answer: "Probably, the main consideration was the ability to be of service to other people. And being outdoors is something I enjoy. Police work keeps me out of doors."11

Excitement

Still other sergeants said they became police officers because they believed it would be exciting. As one
sergeant asserted: "Well, I knew someone that was on... (the police department)... at the time and, from the way he talked, it sounded exciting. And I'm the restless type and it sounded just up my alley."12

Another sergeant explained his reason for becoming a police officer: "Well, I had two older brothers that were police officers and that had a lot of influence on it. Through my contacts with them, I found it was a very interesting type of job. It was exciting and it wasn't dull and repetitive type of work. It appealed to me."13

Educational Benefits and Outside Work

Other sergeants said they had joined the police department for the educational benefits. One participant stated: "Yeah, it was a secure type job but I was looking more at the education benefits. I didn't want to put my parents through a financial strain of having to put me through college. I could see a way to go to college and not have to have them pay for it."14 And another said: "A big consideration was that it would give me an opportunity to go to school which I always wanted to do - get higher education."15

Still others were motivated to become police officers because it afforded them the opportunity to work outside.
One sergeant offered the following observations: "Well, I always intended to go into some sort of law enforcement but my real drive when I finished high school was to go into wildlife, biology, and possibly go into some sort of law enforcement field in that regard...to be more apt to be out driving around looking for poachers and so forth."16

The participants in this study provided a variety of reasons for entering law enforcement work. However, the data generally supports the notion that the concern for job security is the single most important factor that attracts police applicants. How well satisfied the participants are after becoming police officers is examined next.

SATISFACTION WITH POLICE CAREER

There are several methods of probing to determine a sergeant's satisfaction with a police career. One is to ask whether they would enter police work if they had it to do over again. A second is to ask what they like and dislike about police work. A third is to probe for information on the impact of a police career.
Enter Police Work Again

Fifteen of the twenty-three sergeants indicated they would choose to enter police work if they had the opportunity to do it over again (see Table 9). Only eight stated they would not become police officers again.

One would have expected that, having achieved success in terms of moving up in the organizational hierarchy and enjoying a higher level of compensation, these individual would view police work favorably. Those sergeants who had become police officers for well-defined objectives supported that expectation.

It is interesting to note that almost half of those individuals who said they would not become police officers again indicated they had originally joined the police department because they thought the job would be exciting. On the surface, it appears those individuals who joined the police force for excitement became disillusioned more easily than those who joined for more well-defined objectives. Perhaps those who seek excitement find the intermittent exciting activities of police work too infrequent when compared to the dull, routine work performed on a more regular basis. I feel this study is too narrow in scope to draw such a conclusion, however, the observation may provide some direction for future research.
TABLE 9
UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS' ANSWER TO THE QUESTION:
"WOULD YOU BECOME A POLICE OFFICER OVER AGAIN?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Become Police Officer Over Again?</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Positive Aspects of Police Work

When asked what they found most satisfying about their jobs, the participants provided four basic responses: security of the position, enjoyment in doing their work, self-satisfaction from helping others, and the feeling that it is worthwhile, interesting and challenging (see Table 10). For example, one sergeant observed: "Well, I think I have gotten out of it what I was hoping to get out of it. I got a secure position, there is still room for advancement and I like what I'm doing, I like the people...I can't say that every day is pleasurable but, for the most part, it is what I wanted." 17

Another sergeant observed: "I have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity, partly due to the fact that I was a policeman, to go to college, get an education. I think that since that time I have also had the opportunity to do some good in this world...Because this is basically where I want to be." 18 And one sergeant asserted: "Behind it all, I'm just in favor of law enforcement, whether it be in the police department or in the court system...I have no regrets about it whatsoever. In fact, probably when the time comes, I'll hate to see it end." 19

Finally, one sergeant observed: "I will say that if you come into this job expecting everybody to tell you what a good job you're doing, you're in for a big dis-
TABLE 10
POSITIVE ASPECTS OF WORK AMONG UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Aspects</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secure Position</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like What I Do</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Satisfaction from Helping People</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel it is worthwhile, Interesting and Challenging</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>*<em>25</em></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(N=23)*

*Some participants provided more than one positive aspect of their work which they found equally important.*
appointment. If you can't realize for yourself that what you're doing is worthwhile and that you're doing it to the best of your capabilities, then you're hurting."^0

Negative Aspects of Police Work

Police sergeants also directed attention to the negative aspects of police work (see Table 11). The large majority of the participants expressed concern about internal politics. When asked what he finds most negative about the job, one sergeant responded: "The politics, the gamesmanship, the buddy system. It's not really anything around based on ability. It's just who you know and who your buddy is and (if he) is in the right place to sponsor you to a position."^1

Another sergeant expressed this same sentiment, in a less direct way: "Well, there have been a lot of things through the years. The inner-workings of a police department can sometimes be discouraging."^2 While internal politics was the most frequently mentioned as a negative aspect, participants also expressed the view that police work places a strain on personal and family life as do irregular work hours. Others stated that the financial compensation was inadequate and it was a thankless job in terms of securing recognition.
# TABLE 11

NEUTRAL ASPECTS OF POLICE WORK AMONG UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Aspects of Work</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internal Politics</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strain on Personal and Family Life</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Work Hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Financial Compensation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thankless Job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>28*</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some participants provided more than one negative aspect.*
As one sergeant observed: "It's too hard on your family life. The hours are too irregular. I know its increased my irritability tremendously; I get put out with my wife and kids too much. I think it's hard on the family life."\textsuperscript{23} Another asserted: "It puts a strain on the family. I can't say that the job was totally to blame for my first marriage breakup. But I can honestly say that the job had seventy-five percent to do with it and connecting problems. Your personal life. You don't have any kind of personal life, it just tears it up."\textsuperscript{24}

Aside from the effects of the irregular work hours and strain on relationships, some individuals felt that they did not receive adequate financial compensation. As one sergeant observed: "Not to say that I don't look back fondly on the experience or that I haven't gained a lot from the experience. But, again the things that I view as important, my goals, are a little bit higher than what I can achieve financially working here."\textsuperscript{25}

Finally, some view the job as one from which it is difficult to receive personal gratification. One sergeant summarized this feeling: "It's kind of a thankless job and, well, the bureaucracy of the whole thing. You know, the people you work for. The job itself is fine but I think most departments are probably like this. The people we work for leave a lot to be desired."\textsuperscript{26}
The majority of the participants felt that the major effect police work had on them as individuals was to make them more suspicious and cynical and less sensitive to others (see Table 12). Others felt that they had become more realistic while others viewed themselves as more isolationist in their everyday life. A few felt that police work had not affected them, or, at least, not significantly.

Twelve of the participants expressed the belief that police work had made them more cynical and suspicious of other people. For example, one sergeant observed: "I would say probably in all honesty that I am probably a little bit more cynical now than I used to be...I joke a little bit less than I used to... Some things I take exception to that I didn't then. I look at people, first size them up more now than I did before I became a police-man. I look at people a lot more critically, worry about what they are after, and what they are trying to do; what they are trying to pull off. It gets back to cynicism, I think, a little bit."27

Another described his feelings as: "Oh, I think I'm more cynical. I don't like to be around people as much as
TABLE 12
IMPACT OF POLICE CAREER ON UNIFORMED POLICE SERGEANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact of Police Career</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More Suspicious, Cynical</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Realistic</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Isolated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Impact</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>*<em>27</em></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some participants felt their work had significant impact on more than one segment of their lives.
I used to...When I was younger, there was nothing I enjoyed more than going out all the time and, now, I just seem to stay home more...I just like being alone with the kids and spending a quiet evening. That's something that is quite different from when I came on." 28

Another observed: "I think I lack feelings toward things. You don't question your kid as to what happened, you interview him and don't believe people. Just a general police outlook that everybody is out to get your ass is the main thing." 29

Some participants felt that police work had made them view the world more realistically. One participant observed: "It probably broadened my scope of reality, you know, what's important and what's good and bad. I think I see things as they really are a lot more than probably someone who has not had the opportunity to be exposed to. If I had not been a police officer, I would be a lot more naive about a lot of aspects of life than I am now." 30

A small percentage of the participants expressed the belief that police work had not affected them, at least, not in their perception. As one sergeant asserted: "Well it didn't change me but it changed some of the people in my surroundings. It changed their attitudes and feelings about me. I am basically the same person, I know I have a job to do and I do it to the best of my ability and expectations." 31
While the participants expressed some disagreement about the effect police work had upon them, there was one other issue upon which they expressed general agreement. They agreed that there exists a small percentage, usually estimated between one and five percent of the total population, whom they would classify as "troublemakers" or "assholes." They generally expressed the viewpoint that the large majority of the population are decent people although situational factors can cause a decent person to act like a "troublemaker." One sergeant explained this phenomenon as follows: "Yeah, there are some idiots that are always gonna' be idiots no matter what the situation is and just part-time idiots. We can all fall into that part-time category, you know." 32

Another sergeant observed: "Yeah, I call some people career criminals. I don't think they can be rehabilitated and I think that they are just going to go into a life of crime. I deal with people like that right now. Same people day in and day out. People in downtown areas, just sitting there, looking for something or somebody to rob." 33

One participant, describing the type of citizens who live in the city, asserted: "I think there are three types. There are decent people and there are those that occasionally get involved with the law and there are the ones you are gonna' see all the time. There's ones that we know
because we run into them all the time. I ran into them when I first came on eight years ago, when they were twelve and thirteen years old. Here they are twenty-one and they are still doing the same things — just assholes, dirtbags."

Another stated: "You have got that two percent of the population that are just out and out assholes...you deal with them over and over again, no matter what. They are just assholes — that's all there is to it."
SUMMARY

Generally, the group of individuals involved in this study were white males, in their mid-thirties, primarily from lower middle-class socio-economic backgrounds. The majority had some formal education beyond high school, with most having more than two years of college. Twenty of the twenty-three participants were married and possessed an average of a little more than thirteen years of police experience, approximately five of those years at the sergeant level.

They had entered the law enforcement field for several different reasons. The most important reason for a significant number of the participants was job security. Others had become police officers because they wanted to help people or because they thought the job would be exciting. Last, some indicated they had joined the department because of the educational benefits and because it was outside work.

Finally, fifteen of the twenty-three participants expressed satisfaction with their careers and stated they would join the department if they had it to do over again. Eight participants said if they were afforded this opportunity, they would not join the department. The most positive aspect of police work expressed by the participants was job security and their preference
for this type of work. Internal politics and the strain police work places on their personal and family life were the two most frequently mentioned negative aspects of the job.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 3

1Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni, Two Cultures of Policing, p. 6. See also: Susan E. Martin, Breaking and Entering, pp. 59-62.

2Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, sex or national origin with regard to employment and compensation privileges. Also, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration which provided financial assistance to law enforcement agencies established a set of Equal Employment Opportunity Guidelines and required local agencies to demonstrate that an effort was being made to comply with these standards. If an agency failed to do so, withholding of funds could occur. Despite these measures, it is extremely difficult not to conclude that police agencies are still engaging in discriminating practices against minority groups and females. For a better feel of this situation, see Martin, pp. 43-49.

3Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 18, 1983.

4Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

5Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 15, 1983.

6"Time in grade" refers to the length of time an individual has spent at a particular rank. It is interesting to note that this same term is used in the military environment.

7When the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was established, one of its programs, the Law Enforcement Education Program, provided financial assistance to police officers who attended college. Basically, this assistance was free if the officer remained with his department for several years after completion of his courses and/or degree.

92.
8 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 15, 1983.

9 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 26, 1983.

10 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

11 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 12, 1983.

12 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

13 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 10, 1983.

14 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

15 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 26, 1983.

16 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

17 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 26, 1983.

18 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

19 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

20 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 27, 1983.

21 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 11, 1983.

22 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 10, 1983.
23 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

24 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

25 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 10, 1983.

26 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 11, 1983.

27 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

28 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

29 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, May 6, 1983.

30 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 30, 1983.

31 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, June 10, 1983.

32 Interview with a uniformed patrol sergeant, April 27, 1983.

33 Interview with uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

34 Interview with uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

35 Interview with uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.
CHAPTER 4: BECOMING A POLICE SERGEANT

Becoming a police sergeant within the Scioto police department is a difficult and complex process. To be eligible for promotion, police officers must have three years service with the department. A civil service examination, consisting of between one hundred-fifty and two hundred multiple choice questions, must be taken and passed. These questions are taken from a list of publications, generally eight to ten, that address general police topics, supervisory techniques, and management practices. Questions may also be taken from existing departmental policies and procedures.

Candidates who score high enough to be competitive for a sergeant's position, must then successfully negotiate an interview, generally one hour in duration. The interview board is comprised of two command level officers and one civilian.

The officer's final grade is determined by combining the civil service examination score, the grade received on the interview session and the average grade of the last two personnel evaluation scores the candidate has received. Each grade is weighted as determined by civil service and
results in a composite grade. Successful candidates' names are then placed on an eligibility list for promotion according to the rank order of their final grade.

However, there is no assurance that attaining the highest score will automatically result in promotion. The Scioto Police Department is governed by civil service including the "rule of three." This rule allows the Chief Executive of an organization to promote one of the top three persons on the eligibility list. Thus, it is conceivable that an individual could attain the highest score of all applicants and still not be promoted. I received no indication that this had ever occurred within the Scioto Police Department.¹

Previous research provides some insight into why individuals seek promotion to the rank of first-line supervisor. In his survey of 300 police officers, Trojanowicz found that "all ranks except command officers rated economic gain and prestige as the greatest advantages of becoming a sergeant."² John Reeder, an industrial psychologist, has observed "a person is motivated to become a supervisor because he or she wants to be in a position to make decisions that count, that make a difference in what happens. In organizational life, it is the way a person makes his mark in the world and assures himself of
the importance of his own existence. Furthermore, it is an added source of satisfaction that people recognize from whence the decisions spring; that people are aware of the fact that you are, indeed, making a mark.\(^\text{3}\)

Muir's descriptive analysis of the sovereignty and organizational influence of the police sergeant supports these observations. \(^\text{4}\)

Most previous research, however, has not directed attention to the reactions of people who are new first line supervisors. After considerable effort and time, is the person satisfied with their new position? If so, for what reasons? Equally important, what aspects of the work of the first line supervisor are disliked and for what reasons?

The present chapter traces Scioto's sergeants through the early stages of their supervisory careers. Attention is first directed to the reasons they elected to make the effort to become first-line supervisors. Examined next are their perceptions of the positive aspects of being a uniformed police sergeant. The chapter ends with the sergeants' perceptions of the negative aspects of their work.
Scioto's sergeants substantiated existing descriptions of the factors that motivate individuals to seek promotion to first line supervisory positions (see Table 13). More than half stated that promotion was a measure of success. But, there were other reasons as well.

Prestige and Success

The reasons given most frequently for seeking promotion was that making sergeant resulted in personal prestige and was a sign of success to others. As one sergeant responded: "Probably personal satisfaction. Probably the challenge of seeing if I could compete with other fellow officers. Probably personal pride. It didn't have anything to do with the increase in pay. Just my own personal satisfaction." 5

Another sergeant saw promotion as a method of improving his social status as well as occupational prestige: "Well, with my educational background and (being) from the Appalachian background, it was a way of pulling myself up. I guess it was the social status. It was a matter of prestige." 6

Perhaps one participant summed this reason up best when he stated: "I have always liked to excel or climb
### TABLE 13: REASONS FOR SEEKING PROMOTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Given</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prestige and Success</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Compensation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory Incompetency</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some participants gave more than one reason for seeking promotion.*
the ladder, so to speak. I think I can do more than what I was first hired on to do and I had just got to that point in my career where I felt that it was time to make the move. I felt like I had it; the ability and confidence at that point in my career to undertake the tasks and responsibilities of being a supervisor."

These individuals appeared to be expressing the generally accepted notion that success is measured in large part by one's ability to move upward within the organizational hierarchy. Further, some felt there was a certain amount of prestige attached to the rank of sergeant. Several of them became involved in the effort to become sergeants because they saw the promotional process as a challenge and wanted to compete with their colleagues.

Financial Compensation

Several of the participants considered the increased financial compensation as a significant factor in seeking promotion. These individuals also expressed the desire for further upward mobility within the organizational hierarchy. One participant answered rather bluntly when asked about the factors that encouraged him to make the effort to become a sergeant: "At the time it fit into my career objectives as well as the monetary aspect."
Another sergeant observed: "Well, I was tired of being stalemated and had been in one position for fifteen years. I wanted to make life better for myself economically. It has a status to it. I don't only want to be a sergeant but want to move on up the ladder. I just wasn't satisfied at being a police officer any longer. So, I just made up my mind one day that I was going to get ahead, make myself happy, and make my family, friends and co-workers proud of me."⁹

One participant viewed the most important reason as the monetary gain which would result in more time to spend with his family. In his words: "Probably, it was more monetary than any other reason. The best job in the department is probably a street officer. Working as a supervisor you do different things and you can have more impact, especially on the officers working for you. But, probably the most over-riding thing was that I could work and spend more time with my family and make more money. I could have made the same money as an officer, but I would have to put more time on the job."¹⁰
Five sergeants advanced a non-traditional reason: they were tired of working for supervisors who they felt were incompetent. One sergeant stated: "I got tired of working for incompetent people. I figured, they are incompetent, I might as well get promoted and be incompetent, too. And that's what I did." (It is important to note that follow-up inquiries indicated this sergeant was not incompetent nor did he really view himself as such.)

Another sergeant, who holds a Masters Degree, stated this proposition in the following manner: "In all honesty, the reason I became a sergeant was that I saw several other persons that are considerably less educated than I am (and) considerably less intelligent (promoted). They come to work occasionally under the influence of alcohol and to think that this could be my supervisor and that I would have to do what this person says just totally turned me off. We have some supervisors that I consider less than supervisors and it was gettin' to me. So I said the heck with it, I studied and became a sergeant."

A third sergeant was equally straightforward: "It was some of the other people I'd watched move up the ladder. It damn near embarrassed me. I'd look at them and say, 'you know, this idiot can't be a sergeant, he rode with me while (he was) in the academy. Ought to be rid of him!'..."
There's this guy, never did anything, all at once he's a sergeant making sixteen percent more money. It was almost a thing where it just aggravated me to see some of those people that were (promoted) and I didn't want them to walk up and tell me what to do.\(^{14}\)

It appears that the traditional ideas found in the literature concerning why people seek promotions are well founded. However, this research effort supports the notion that a significant number seek promotion because they do not wish to be supervised by persons they view as incompetent. It is equally obvious that there are other positive and negative aspects of performing in the role of the uniformed police sergeant. These aspects will be discussed in the next two sections of this chapter.

**POSITIVE ASPECTS OF BECOMING A SERGEANT**

When asked to describe the positive aspects of being a police sergeant, the majority of the first line supervisors interviewed cited ability and freedom to plan their work-day (see Table 14).
### TABLE 14: POSITIVE ASPECTS OF BEING A SERGEANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Aspects</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to Plan Workday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Prestige/Authority</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction from Working With Subordinates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upward Mobility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>37*</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some participants provided more than one response.*
Other participants cited more prestige and authority as positive aspects while others viewed the increase in financial compensation as the greatest advantage. Still others viewed the satisfaction derived from working with subordinates and watching them develop as their biggest reward. Two participants viewed the most positive aspect of being a sergeant as the opportunity to continue their upward mobility within the organizational hierarchy.

Freedom to Plan Workday

Eighteen of the twenty-three participants viewed the freedom to plan their workday as the most positive aspect of being a sergeant. As one sergeant observed: "I guess the good thing about being a sergeant is being able to dictate basically what you want to do. You have to be self-motivated and design your eight hours around what you feel is most beneficial to the men or to the department as a whole. Whereas, patrolling, the radio dictates what you do for the most part and you have very little time to be self-motivated."
Another participant expressed a similar view: "The one thing I enjoy is the freedom in my own work. I may not have the freedom to decide if an officer is wrong or right in a specific instance but I have the freedom to go where I want to go and do what I want to do." And another stated: "Well, the good thing is ... you don't have to go through the daily tedium of accident reports or four or five family trouble calls every night. The things that you see almost all the time that finally get to be so routine and so boring that you don't want to see them anymore ... You don't have to go on calls as much." 

These participants expressed the view that because they didn't respond to calls on a regular basis, they were able to direct their attention and efforts toward activities which they either enjoyed or which would have better results for their personnel and the department. However, some participants saw the advantage of not taking calls as a more personal reward. As one sergeant asserted: "What's good about being a sergeant? I don't stand out in the rain and direct traffic! I don't write up traffic accidents! You know, that sort of thing." 

Finally, some sergeants viewed their freedom to select their investigations as a positive aspect. One participant observed: "As an officer, you don't always get in on the important investigations. You may (or may not) be
involved in it... (as a sergeant) you know you are gonna' be there. You are not gonna' be stuck off somewhere on some paper call."^{19}

Prestige and Authority

... Others directed attention to the authority and prestige that accompanies the sergeant's position. In the words of one participant: "Well, there's some things like prestige. It's different to hear some of the guys you used to work with now call you 'sir' or 'sergeant' instead of by your first name. You're the boss, I guess, like you show up on the scene, there may be ten officers standing there and once you arrive with the stripes on, people are going to be talking to you. They are not going to ignore you."^{20}

Another sergeant observed: "One of the things is personal prestige. People do pay more attention to the police sergeant on the street. When you arrive on the scene of a situation, people pay attention to what you say. Much the same as when the lieutenant arrives on the scene. You seem to carry more credibility with the citizens because you have attained rank."^{21} Another participant stated: "you're looked at in a different relationship by people, the people who work for you and by people in the
department who are lower ranking than you are. It's kind of nice (although) it seems like they are under the false impression that if you become a sergeant, you have become something you really aren't...I guess it's the respectful feeling you get from people."^22

Working With Subordinates

Still other sergeants felt that working with subordinates was the most positive aspect of being a supervisor. As one participant stated: "I enjoy watching young officers develop. In fact, if I had a choice, I would take all young officers. I like to work with them, they're enthusiastic and want to do the job. Well, I really guide the officers, train the officers and I enjoy that."^23

Another participant observed: "I kind of enjoy taking care of the people who work for me. I don't know if it's a father figure or father attitude or what. But there's something satisfying about being able to have someone come to you and say 'This is what I've got and I don't know what to do.'...Usually they are pretty sure what they want but they want you to tell them. And I enjoy being able to make those decisions and make sure somebody does the right thing. I've heard it referred to as baby-sitting but I don't look at it that way."
I think you are just making sure that things run as smoothly as possible. And I enjoy that."24

Upward Mobility

Finally, two participants said the most positive aspect of being a sergeant was that it enhanced their ability to continue to move upward within the organization. One of them summed up this aspiration by stating: "My long term goal or plan is to end up being a chief, either here or someplace else. I became a police officer with the intention of moving up and beyond my present level. I have to have some kind of supervisory experience and this was the way to get it."25

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF BEING A POLICE SERGEANT

As is the case in most work environments, the participants in this study were not completely satisfied with their organizational roles. The two things they viewed most negatively were the feeling of being "in the middle" and being burdened with a preponderance of paperwork (see Table 15). They also felt that they did not enjoy the discretion and authority to perform as well as they should. They further expressed the view that their decisions were too frequently subjected to
second-guessing by administration. A few participants viewed the fact that they could no longer be "one of the boys" as a negative aspect of their job.

In the Middle

The most frequently mentioned negative aspect of being a sergeant was the frustration of serving in a position of being "in the middle." This subject was perhaps best summarized by one sergeant who observed: "There are probably a whole lot of things I don't like (about being a sergeant). And you can sort of boil them down into about one thing: The sergeant is in the middle about all the time, between the line officer and upper management. That's the one position I don't like being in."26

This feeling was expressed almost universally by the participants in this study and is therefore examined in detail in Chapter Six, "In the Middle."

Paperwork

Another aspect of their jobs which the participants viewed in a negative way was the amount of paperwork required of sergeants. As one sergeant stated: "I guess
### TABLE 15: NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF BEING A SERGEANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Aspects</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Middle</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paperwork</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Discretion/Authority</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No longer &quot;One of the Boys&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>*<em>48</em></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Most participants gave more than one negative aspect of being a sergeant.*
the big difference at this point is a hell of a lot more paperwork than I expected. There is a lot of paperwork that I consider petty but paperwork goes with it. But I can see the need for documentation a whole lot, too."27

Lack of Discretion/Authority

Trojanowicz's study revealed that "one of the complaints most often heard from sergeants is that they do not have authority commensurate with their responsibilities."28 His study also revealed that this perception was supported by patrol officers and detectives, whereas lieutenants and above felt sergeants have sufficient authority but are reluctant to use their authority in many cases. Trojanowicz expresses the view that "in the final analysis it depends on the individual sergeant ...(and)... even though on the organizational chart the sergeant is listed as a part of management, he is often no more than a 'super patrol officer.'"29

It is interesting to note that the large majority of the participants in this research project cited lack of discretion, authority, and power as the third most negative aspect of their job. As one participant stated, "Well, I tend to have a great sense of rank structure drilled into us in the service. The rank structure here
is not that formal...I find I don't have the amount of authority I thought I would have to be able to get things done."30 Another expressed the same sentiment: "I thought that a sergeant had discretion in what he did or didn't do. But in our department we have no discretion. Everything is done by rules and regulations...So, really, we have become report writers and they have given us very little discretionary rights."31

Sergeants also complained about the amount of second-guessing that occurs with respect to the decisions they make on the street. During a discussion on the practice of second-guessing, one sergeant observed: "They tell you it's your responsibility to make them (decisions) and they don't always give you enough information...You make decisions based on the information you have and in your judgement, that's the best response...Everybody reaches decisions, different decisions, based on the same facts and then you get criticized because they assume you should have made a different decision...because in their opinion, that is the decision they would have made...so its kind of hindsight management."32 Another sergeant defined this dilemma by saying, "There are a lot of Monday morning quarterbacks around here. If you do make decisions and you do take things into your own hands, a lot of times you will pay the penalty."33
Several sergeant's expressed the belief that sergeants who had supervised them had much more power and authority than they possess. One of them described this by stating, "We aren't allowed to be the free soul that the sergeants were when I was an officer." Another had an even more vivid perception of the authority his sergeant had possessed: "Well, it just seems, you know when I first came on, when I was working midnights, I thought a sergeant was God...his policies were in his back pocket...It just seems that then everything, I think, ran better." Regardless of how accurate these perceptions were, most of the sergeants who participated in this research project expressed a sincere belief that the power, authority and discretion of the police sergeant has eroded and diminished over the past decade. This perception was probably best summed up by the sergeant who expressed the following view: "I'm probably a little disappointed in that the supervisor does not have the extent of authority or the ability to control his own destiny as much as I thought they used to have and I still think they used to have. I think that's been eroded to some degree because everybody is kind of locked into the same procedures...everything is a lot more cut and dried and a lot more preplanned for the supervisor than it used to
be. Just about everything is controlled by rules, regulations, and policies...instead of the sergeant having the authority to make his own decisions regarding the situation, he is controlled a lot more by the book."

Another prevalent complaint was the lack of trust and support from superior officers. One participant, while discussing this issue, observed that "growing up, you always thought of a police sergeant as being the older guy, wise and experienced and what he said went. That most certainly isn't the case. Every decision I make is scrutinized by someone else and if they don't like it, they will change it." Another stated he felt "the administration doesn't trust you...you're still considered at the officer's level...I have less problems with assuming the role of supervisor than management has accepting me into that role and that's upper management, the police executives. So in that way I felt, well, you'll be treated as a part of the team once you get promoted, but that's not true. I don't think they do." Others expressed this same general feeling through comments concerning their lack of input into organizational goals, objectives, and procedures. Some expressed the belief that any deviation from standard operating procedures would probably have to be justified to superiors. If such justification was not acceptable
to the superior officers, then harsh negative sanctions could be expected.

No Longer "One of the Boys"

Some participants expressed the view that upon promotion it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to be "one of the boys." Some sergeants viewed this change as a negative aspect of the job. As one participant explained: "Well, you are not one of the guys, anymore. The officers don't trust you. I can't feel that the upper command has a real feeling for you because they don't seem very aware of the problems that you face."\(^{39}\) Another observed: "When you're an officer, you're one in four hundred or one with four hundred...being a supervisor, you're then down to about one with sixty in this department. Some people just naturally turn-off any form of supervision, so I feel some degree of off-standishness from some of the people that would have normally shook my hand and said 'Hi.' As soon as they see me with stripes, they turn the other...I don't think I've changed."\(^{40}\)
SUMMARY

The participants in this research project expressed satisfaction with the social status, occupational prestige, monetary compensation, and success in terms of upward mobility within the organization. They also viewed having the opportunity to plan their own workday, a certain autonomy, and the ability to assist younger officers develop and grow as positive aspects of their positions. Roughly twenty-two percent sought promotions because they felt that some supervisor who had been promoted were incompetent and they did not want to work for these individuals.

The sergeants interviewed and observed in this study expressed displeasure because they felt they did not have the authority or the support of the administration to function effectively in their roles. They also viewed lack of discretion in decision-making and the practice of "second-guessing" their decisions as negative aspects of their jobs. They consistently expressed the belief that the power and authority granted them is somewhat less than their perceptions of the power and authority granted to sergeants who had supervised them as officers. Others also expressed the feeling that they were viewed by the administration in the same manner as the patrol officer. Some expressed the view that the sergeant is
It was an almost unanimous feeling that uniformed police sergeants are bogged down in too much paperwork, and working "in the middle" interferes with their ability to effectively supervise their personnel on the street. These last two perceptions are central topics of discussion in the next two chapters of this study.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 4

1 This topic was discussed with several of the participants during interviews and observation. All of the participants indicated that it was general practice to promote the individual with the highest composite score when a vacancy occurred. There was no suggestion that any promotions had been manipulated by using the Civil Service "rule of three."


5 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

6 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

7 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

8 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

9 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

10 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

119.
During this research project, I spent eight hours observing this sergeant at work and had frequent contact as I went about gathering data. I found that the sergeant was respected by lower-level employees as well as commanding officers. These observations lead me to believe that this was one of the most competent sergeants who participated in the study.

Note: In police work the term "paper call" refers to taking a report after a crime has occurred and there is little or no probability of taking any further action such as a followup investigation which might result in an arrest.
Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 15, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.


Ibid, pp. 53-54.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 11, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.
37 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

38 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

39 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

40 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.
CHAPTER 5: THE WORK OF THE POLICE SERGEANT

When I first entered the work setting of the uniformed police sergeant, I immediately sensed that the work performed by the sergeant is generally accompanied with a sense of urgency and importance. Decisions regarding beat assignments, assignment of partners, recurring community problems, and unpredictable street situations all appear to require quick resolutions. At times, I felt as though the uniformed police sergeant functions in a pressure-cooker atmosphere, at least a large portion of the time.

However, as I became more accustomed to the work setting, and perhaps grew more familiar with the pace, I began to realize that there is a good portion of the workday during which the demands on the sergeant are significantly reduced. These times tended to occur during the middle of the shift after roll call is over and before the patrol officers return to headquarters to turn in their "activity" for the day.

I observed that although the sergeants were generally able to plan their workday, they seemed always prepared for whatever task they were performing and respond to potentially critical or dangerous street situations. As situations developed that required their street presence,
I began to sense the uncertainty that accompanies their work. It was quite conceivable that at any given time during a tour of duty they might be required to stop working on an administrative report and, within a matter of minutes, assume supervisory responsibilities in a street situation which might result in arrest, injury to a citizen or an officer, or undesirable public relations for the department. I also sensed that the majority of the uniformed sergeants I observed making this transition actually felt more comfortable and derived more satisfaction from street situations with a potential for danger than they did performing paperwork tasks in the safety and seclusion of their offices.

As I observed the work of the uniformed police sergeants, I was able to divide it into five more or less distinct activities. The first is the manner in which they go about performing their duties on a typical day. It should be noted that, almost to a sergeant, every participant stated there was no such thing as a typical day in police work. I disagree. Many commonalities are apparent in the ways each sergeant approaches the work setting, the functions he performs, and the manner in which his workday is terminated.
The remainder of this chapter discusses five other functions the sergeant normally performed during a tour of duty. Normally, these functions are: paperwork, supervising on the street, working through other people, and motivational aspects of the first line supervisor. Also examined are sergeants' perception of the effects of the entrance of black and female officers into street-level police work.

A TYPICAL DAY

A typical workday for all the sergeants who participated in this study begins when they arrive at their respective district headquarters. Most of the sergeants arrive from fifteen to thirty minutes prior to their actual starting time. Typically, they use these few minutes to sort through their mail and discuss any significant events which may have occurred during the preceding shift with the sergeant they are relieving. The also check court subpoenas which they distribute to the individual officers during roll call as well as any reports which may have been return from "downtown" for correction.

One sergeant described those activities in the following way: "I'll get my material ready for roll call...It's usually over by a quarter after (fifteen minutes after the
shift has started)...I use the next fifteen minutes to check on equipment, let officers exchange defective radios, change their cars, or whatever...From then on, for about the next hour or so, it's a matter of kind of catching up on what's new for the day."^2

Another sergeant explained the roll call session a little differently: "You're a communicator from management, you just pass along the information (regarding) new executive orders, changes in executive orders, things that the guys on the street... need to better do their job... You get the officers on the air so they can start responding to calls."^3 A third sergeant added another dimension to the roll call session: "Every now and then I have an inspection and once in awhile I have to chew a little ass if they are not doing what I want them to do. If I feel they're sloughing off or something, just like kids, you got to get on them once in awhile."^4

Sergeants, then, begin by preparing for the roll call session. During these sessions, they inform their squad of significant events which have occurred since they last worked, advise them of potential problem areas or situations, distribute their mail and subpoenas, advise of any significant changes in organizational rules or procedures, make sure all members of the squad are present, and, occasionally, perform inspections and takes informal
disciplinary action if it is justified. During my observation, period, I found that the roll call sessions are generally routine, inspections are infrequent, and informal disciplinary sessions are nearly non-existent. The primary concern of the sergeants I observed seemed to be that the officers were at work on time and on the street responding to calls as close to starting time for the relief as possible.

After the roll call session it becomes more difficult to describe a typical workday for the uniformed patrol sergeant. As one participant observed: "For the most part, once roll call is over, that's where the typical day ends. I don't know whether I'm going to spend the remaining seven and a half hours running from one cutting to the other or to a homicide or whatever. I may sit in this office and do paperwork all night. But the typical part ends at roll call." This statement was substantiated during my observation of the participants during this research project. One of the most often mentioned factors, aside from the unpredictability of street situation occurrences and geographical disbursement of officers, which effects the amount of time a sergeant spends in direct supervision of his personnel was the amount of paperwork they must complete.
A large volume of paperwork is required of the uniformed police sergeant. When I made that observation to one of the participants, he stated: "I'm sure that 'downtown,' they think you come in, do five minutes of paperwork and then go out on the streets for direct supervision. In fact, if you get in an hour on the street a night, you're doing well." This statement, although not incorrect for this particular sergeant, may not be truly representative of all sergeants.

There are several factors which influence the time required to complete the necessary paperwork, with three of prime importance: the district to which the sergeant is assigned, the shift assignment, and the experience level of subordinates. Sergeants assigned to the Central Business District are required to generate the most paperwork. As
one of these sergeants stated: "There isn't quite the interesting of criminal stuff that you get in the out­lying districts...excluding those incidents that will happen eventually anywhere. A routine day for me would be administrative paperwork...contacting business people, explaining situations that caused them to file some kind of complaint about a service that they did or did not recieve; kind of a public relations role...I'd say eighty percent in the office, either doing paperwork or phone calls."7

Interviews and observations of the uniformed police sergeants assigned to the Central Business District revealed that they must plan and coordinate a wide variety of functions. These range from political campaign speeches and parades to special events conducted in the downtown area such as athletic events, demonstrations, and special sales of merchants in their attempt to bring shoppers downtown. Although these sergeants expressed concern about the time and effort put into planning for such events, they also acknowledged that these events provided them with the opportunity to meet politicians, businesspeople and other locally influential people. As one sergeant expressed his thoughts: "Particularly, where I work I tend to be in the lim-light a lot, all supervisors in this district do...politicians and influential people come to talk to you much more than they
would other sergeants (in other districts)...You tend to be very much visible."^8

Sergeants in the other four districts may not share the limelight the Central Business District sergeants enjoy. They expressed an even greater concern about the amount of time they are required to do paperwork. The overwhelming majority of these sergeants reported that they spend easily fifty percent of their day writing and checking reports. Many of them expressed the view that this amount of paperwork, at least to them, reduces their availability to the officers on the street and interferes with their ability to supervise subordinates.

One of the participants viewed the requirement to check every report filed by an officer as redundant and unnecessary. A better approach to this dilemma, in his view, would be to simply say: "This level of errors is acceptable. If you violate it, then we are going to take corrective action, in training or maybe discipline if that is what is necessary...They have a responsibility to do their job correctly...Mostly, it's doing repetitive type work that the sergeant shouldn't be doing and neglecting direct supervision which he should be doing."^9

Most of the participants in this research project stated that they try to do most of their required paperwork during the first and last two hours of their shift.
This leaves them some free time in the middle of the shift to perform other functions. It also serves to break up the monotony of sitting in an office for long, extended periods of time. One sergeant described this procedure: "I try to get everything done as soon as possible during the first part of the shift. Normally, I don't have the patience to stay in the office more than an hour and a half to two hours... And I come back in here around 5:30 or 6:00 (A.M.) so that an hour and a half or two hours on the front and tail of the eight hours is when I resign myself to the office work."10

Many of the participants seemed to have been unaware of the amount of paperwork required of the uniformed patrol sergeant prior to their promotion. Indeed, some appeared overwhelmed by this aspect of their work. In the words of one participant, "We may make fifty offense reports in a day. There is no way I can read them and make sure every line is correct; they've got a hundred lines on each form...(and)...I wind up not doing the direct supervision I should be doing."11 Other participants felt that they were ill-prepared to perform the paperwork function. As one sergeant stated: "With me, personally, all this paperwork is more difficult than it is for other people. I have to struggle with proper grammar, it's probably due to my education."12
Sergeants working day shift are required to spend more time in the office dealing with citizen complaints than are sergeants working the other two shifts. This was evident during the observation period and supported the comments I received during the interview phase of this study. This appears to be a natural and accepted occurrence because complaints generally result from two major areas - parking tickets and allegations of mistreatment by an officer or misconduct by the officers. In the first instance - parking ticket complaints - the majority of these citations are written between 8:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. when parking restrictions and violations are more stringently enforced to assist with traffic flow. Because of the District Headquarters office's being located in the near vicinity of where the ticket was issued, it appeared that citizens were expected to come and complain about receipt of a parking citation, regardless of whether the complaint was justified or not. The sergeants who dealt with these citizens were very skillful in assisting the citizen see the necessity for enforcement and were very reluctant to withdraw or cancel citations. In fact, I only observed one instance in which a citizen was successful in getting a parking ticket cancelled. This situation was one in which the citizen had parked illegally because of mechanical difficulty and the ticket was cancelled
after the sergeant inspected a repair bill and the citizen had already removed his vehicle from the restricted zone.

Allegations of mistreatment or misconduct were typically lodged against officers during day shift. The only tangible explanation I can offer for this occurrence is that perhaps the citizens wanted to air their grievances to someone with more authority than a sergeant. The lieutenant who acted as the District Commander normally worked day shift and was unavailable during evening and midnight shifts.

The sergeants working the afternoon shift, 3:00 P.M. - 11:00 P.M., handled more offense and traffic accident reports than either of the other two shift sergeants. This can be explained because this is the time when most of these activities occurred. These sergeants also handled some citizen complaints, generally at the beginning of the shift. However, they did not handle nearly the volume of the day shifts sergeants.

The sergeants working midnight shift normally processed more offense and traffic accident reports than day shift sergeants. However, they were seldom required to deal with citizen complaints unless the complaint was generated by the actions of a subordinate on that particular shift. The volume of paperwork required of these sergeants was roughly equal to that of the 3:00 P.M. - 11:00 P.M. shift sergeants. It appears accurate to say
that the demand for paperwork is roughly equal for all uniformed police sergeants, the major difference being the type of paperwork required rather than the quantity.

A third significant factor which effects the time spent on paperwork is the number and experience level of subordinates. As a general rule, the larger the number of patrol officers supervised, the larger the volume of paperwork. One participant pointed out that in his previous assignment he had only seven patrolmen working for him and he spent perhaps twenty percent of his time with paperwork tasks. At the time he was interviewed he had nineteen patrol officers working for him: "The problem I have now is that ninety-nine percent of everything I do is paperwork so it limits my time on the street...You've got to remember the more people you have, the more work they're gonna' generate." 13

The level of experience of subordinates has a significant impact upon paperwork. One of the participants indicated that his current assignment seemed to require less time for paperwork than his previous assignment, although he supervised approximately the same number of personnel on the same shift. He attributed this change to the experience level of the officers: "The officers here all have a lot of time on and they pretty well know how to handle their paper...(and in the previous assignment) was
constantly active with a lot younger officers which kept me busy with paperwork from the time I came on until the time I left for home." Several other sergeants observed that younger officers were more active and patrolled more aggressively, generating more reports. Obviously, the more reports the patrol officer generates, the more time the sergeant must spend evaluating and correcting them.

These three factors—district and shift assignment, number of personnel supervised, and the experience level of personnel—significantly influence the volume of paperwork and the time required of the sergeant to complete this function. Generally, the number of personnel and the experience level of officers seemed to have more impact than did district and shift assignment.

Administrative processes also impact upon the volume of paperwork required of supervisory personnel. The department had instituted a management-by-objective program immediately prior to this project's start. All sergeants were required to prepare the objectives they hoped to accomplish during the next six months. Although they were generally disgruntled with the new process, the major concern was with still more paperwork: "From the time you come into work until the time you get off, you have very little time to supervise your men, see to it
that they are performing their duties in the manner pre-
scribed by the department and that would best serve the
community. We don't have the time for that because of
the paperwork!"15

During this research project, it became apparent that
sergeants generally feel that the requirement for paperwork
is too great for the first line supervisor and interferes
with his ability to provide the proper supervision for his
personnel. Some view this requirement as duplication of
effort and feel that the responsibility for correctly
completing paperwork is the responsibility of the patrol
officer. Those who do not live up to this responsibility
should receive additional training or disciplinary action,
if necessary. Additionally, some sergeants feel that the
paperwork function may demand skills and abilities which
they do not possess, perhaps because of their lack of
education and training. All of the participants in this
study had at least one commonality: they would prefer to
be on the street supervising personnel rather than "shuffling"
paper in an office.

ON THE STREET

Away from their offices and endless paper, Scioto's
sergeants literally became different people. Quite clearly
they could now do some of the things they really enjoyed and which had attracted them to policing in the first place. While on the street, sergeants appeared more relaxed and more comfortable, and seemed to have a much better understanding of their role and its importance than when dealing with the paperwork function. A significant factor in this phenomenon is that these individuals had performed several years in the role of a uniformed patrol officer and had a clear understanding of their capacity and ability to enact that role. As one sergeant stated: "I still have a ball chasing burglars...(and it) is just as much fun for me today as when I started this job...I don't know where people get the idea that since they have become a sergeant, they're not a policeman. You are a policeman, no matter what rank you are, whether you are a patrolman to the chief, you are still a policeman...I will always be a street cop."¹⁶

Many sergeants place great emphasis on their own as well as higher level management personnel's ability to perform street-level functions effectively. Not only was it important in terms of functioning as a supervisor but also in terms of respect. As one sergeant observed: "I remember we had a lieutenant on our relief...he was the relief lieutenant and he found more stolen cars than any other policeman on the department, or at least, on
our relief. He was still a cop...and that particular individual, I respected him."

Some of the sergeants were highly critical of their subordinates' inability to perform common street tasks. One sergeant stated that since becoming a supervisor he looks at the work of subordinates "in a whole different light...I'm probably a little bit more cynical about the quote professionalism unquote of police officers." Another addressed the situation less delicately: "You sit out there and hold roll call and they all look at you with their blank expressions...When they wreck a car, you gotta' be there, then they beat somebody over the head, you gotta' be there and when citizens complain, you gotta' talk to them." The majority, however, emphasized that mistakes, especially by younger officers, were inevitable. They enjoyed helping younger officers become better at policing. Two sergeants in particular summarized this more frequent attitude. One said: "I have the freedom to go where I want to go and train the officers well, really guide the officers. I enjoy that. I enjoy watching young officers develop; in fact, if I had my choice, I would take all young officers. I like to work around them, they're enthusiastic and want to do the job." The other sergeant observed: "I kind of enjoy taking care of the people who work for me."
I don't know if it's a father figure or a father attitude or what. But there's something satisfying about being able to come up to you and say, 'you know, this is what I've got and I don't know what to do...' I enjoy being able to make those decisions and make sure somebody does the right thing...I've heard it referred to as babysitting but I don't look at it that way; I think you are just making sure that things run as smoothly as possible; and I enjoy that."\(^21\)

WORKING THROUGH PEOPLE

From an organizational standpoint, the uniformed patrol sergeant has the responsibility to assure that the citizens within the district are afforded police protection and receive necessary police services. In a practical sense, the sergeant cannot perform these functions alone because of the number of incidents which occur within the district. Therefore, sergeants must rely upon uniformed patrol officers to perform the routine duties required and expected by both the department and citizens. In a very real sense, the sergeant delegates authority to the uniformed patrol officer. Retained, however, is inescapable responsibility and accountability for how well these duties are performed, as well as the general conduct of subordinates.
In order to assure that these duties are being performed within departmental guidelines and that the officers are conducting themselves in accordance with proper procedures and regulations, sergeants "fall in" on routine calls on a somewhat irregular basis. Excluding those situations in which the departmental regulations requires his presence, the sergeant is normally not required to respond to calls for service. Occasionally, a sergeant will respond to a radio dispatch if his patrol officers are busy with other calls and if the situation is urgent or has emergency statue.

Twenty-one of the twenty-three participants in this study held the general attitude that the practice of falling-in on routine calls should be done primarily in order to observe the subordinate's performance. They expressed the viewpoint that as long as the officers were handling the situation properly, there was no reason to interfere. Generally, they viewed their role in these situations as that of an observer and, perhaps, a provider of moral support. They agreed unanimously that they would intervene if the officer was doing something improperly or appeared to be having difficulty with a situation. This attitude is summarized by the following sergeant's statement: "If it's just a routine call the officer should be able to handle or if they handle it on
a regular basis, then I would just act as an observer
to see how they handle themselves and the call."23

Another sergeant describes the conditions under which
he would take charge of the situation: "If it is a routine
kind of thing, I don't get involved in his investigation
at all. I only get involved if I'm observing and I see
it is getting out of hand or I see it is being handled
improperly."24

The frequency with which sergeants fall in on calls
is a function of two factors. Some sergeants fall in when
calls are being handled by a young, inexperienced officer
or an officer newly assigned to them. They are generally
more interested in assessing the patrol officer's ability
to handle situations than in taking over the investigation.
A second factor is the sergeant's own curiosity, or as one
sergeant put it when asked why he falls in on calls,
"Curiosity and just the same drives that drove me to become
a police officer."25

The two sergeants mentioned earlier in this study who
had some doubts about the technical expertise and abilities
of their subordinates stated that when they fall in at the
scene of a call, they generally take charge immediately.
As one of them stated, "Yeah, if I go, it's mine. If the
lieutenant goes, it's his."26 The other sergeant was
more explicit about taking charge when he falls in on calls.
In his view: "You are more conscious of the old syndrome C.Y.A., cover your ass and through the vicarious liability you encounter because of one of your policemen. Because the administration will sure stick it in you."27

My observation of the other sergeants on the street supported their general comments toward their role when they fell in on calls. They were content to allow the officers assigned by the dispatcher to handle the calls and act as observers. On a few occasions, I observed sergeants discussing the way a particular call had been resolved or approached with the officer involved. I never saw a sergeant take over an investigation. Any comments or suggestions were reserved until the officer had completed the investigation and the citizen was no longer present.

I also found that the sergeants who had younger police officers assigned to them fell in on more calls than sergeants who had older, more experienced officers. My observations also revealed that those sergeants who stated they fell in on calls because of their curiosity were likely to respond to calls along with their officers much more frequently than the other sergeants. They also made a more concerted effort to complete their paperwork and spend more time on the street. All sergeants were more likely to fall in on exciting or dangerous calls such as bar room fights, calls involving injury, and domestic
disputes than they were on more routine calls. The general consensus among the sergeants was that an officer who could deal effectively with those types of calls could handle the routine calls without difficulty. Further, it appeared that sergeants felt that the patrol officers who handled these situations well were "good" officers who required little, if any, external motivation to perform well in all aspects of police work. It also appeared that sergeants have the tendency to equate aggressive behavior and lack of fear with being a "good" officer.

There was also some evidence to support the contention that a sergeant's perception of the officers who work for him is influenced by the "activity" they produce. Several sergeants stated that activity is important to them and their subordinates to justify their existence and in terms of being transferred to a more desirable patrol assignment or selected for a more desirable and prestigious position. As one participant said: "You can look at an officer that makes a lot of arrests and know he is initiating the activity. He's not just going out and being a reporter and taking complaints. If he wants to go somewhere, that bottom half of the monthly report, which is criminal arrests, is going to have some numbers on it." Another sergeant agreed with this observation but also felt quality of work is important: "If he does sloppy reports of arrest or
investigations, he has very little chance of becoming a detective. And sooner or later, he will want to go to another section. They will look back at his written work and look on it unfavorably if the activity is low and the quality of the reports are poor."29

Most sergeants agreed that activity was important, more so for the officer than for themselves, in terms of getting transfers and better positions. They also agreed that activity was not important in terms of promotions within the department.

Other sergeants felt that activity was unimportant in seeking transfers and assignments with more prestige. These sergeants felt most choice assignment were given to those officers with the right connections with higher level administrators. As one sergeant said: "It (activity) is important to me and my officers. But as far as command, it's not important at all. It does not matter one bit around here what the officer does, if he goes out and works his ass off or if he does't. When they fill the elite positions, they fill them with exactly who they want to fill them with...and that is usually somebody who is scratching their back or is over in their corner...Everybody has a loyalty and if you happen to be on the team that is in power, then you get the job."30
This was a consistent theme during the course of this study and many of the sergeants expressed concern about the situation. The existence of internal politics within police agencies is well documented in the law enforcement literature as well as in the literature dealing with the corporate setting. The participants in this study generally felt that the existence of internal politics had a negative impact upon morale and made their job of motivating personnel more difficult. As one participant explained: "The thing that pisses me off most is that it (work assignments) tends to be a popularity contest...If there is an inside position, a nice safe job, the only way you are gonna' get it is if you know someone." From the sergeants' point of view, it is difficult to motivate personnel to perform well or to exert extra effort to do a good job when they know transfer to a better or more prestigious position is dependent upon whom you know rather than upon the quality of work you perform.

MOTIVATING EMPLOYEES

Scioto's sergeants were confident and in agreement that four factors were important in motivating their subordinates: positive discipline, respect, fairness, and setting a good example. They were almost evenly split
as to the effect of the formal evaluation process.

Positive Discipline

The participants were unanimous in their opinion that positive discipline is more likely to motivate officers than is negative discipline. In terms of negative discipline, reprimands, suspensions, and terminations, the sergeants in this study expressed the willingness to recommend such sanctions for consistent improper behavior, abuse of citizens (generally, more so in physical abuse situations) and involvement in any type of criminal activity. As one sergeant put it: "The kinds of things that I wouldn't take official action on are the types of things where the officer has not followed the guidelines of the department but no one has been injured, physically or monetarily...not wearing his hat in public, perhaps, using profanity toward a citizen,...minor stuff...A major violation or maybe where I have counselled the officer on that type of situation in the past, then negative discipline would have to come into play...Physical abuse of a citizen? Yes, I'd take official action without exception." Another sergeant stated he probably wouldn't take official action for an officer "not wearing his hat," "minor things...where they will bungle something-a report-if they normally
do a good job" or "minor procedural violations." He went on: "obviously, if I give a guy a direct order and he fails to follow it, I'll give him a disciplinary action...I don't tolerate slipping a call...I would not want them out bullying people and pushing them around like a goon squad. I don't expect them to use force unless it is a have-to situation. If it is something they could have avoided and they went out and started this problem by being overbearing, pushing people around, then I wouldn't tolerate that either...If I catch him in any type of criminal activity, that's it."35

Uniformed police sergeants in this study expressed the notion that some minor violations which are of no consequence may be ignored. They were very strongly oriented to the employment of negative sanctions for major violations of departmental procedures, acts which might be considered insubordination and intolerant of an officer involved in any type of criminal activity. When queried about why they made such a clear-cut distinction between what they called minor and major procedural violations, they cited the fact that everyone should be allowed to make small, human errors. They appeared to be prepared to deal with minor infractions and imperfections informally. This was not the case for major infractions or involvement in criminal activity. As one sergeant succinctly stated: "It's all
a matter of common sense, of what's right. You are sworn to be a legal representative in your community for one thing - a protector of it, not a violator of it. So, when you are violating things that effect your community or effect other officers, then you are not a good representative. You are no better than what you are sworn to protect against. So, you have to make some distinctions and it comes from common sense - what things will be accepted and what things will not.36

Every sergeant involved in this study expressed the feeling that use of negative sanctions creates hostility between the employee and the supervisor. Although they viewed these situations as personally distasteful and recognized that such actions often have a negative impact in the work environment, they also appeared to have reconciled themselves to the necessity of such actions in some situations. They unanimously expressed willingness to utilize negative sanctions; however, they expressed a preference for using positive discipline procedures. One of the consistent observations they made was that sergeants are limited in the actions and tools available to them in order to reward good performance.

One participant stated: "Many times the smaller rewards mean the most, it seems like... Sometimes the things they ask for are the most simple... like a shift preference
that's compatible with their life style, their home life... And that can be the biggest motivator that you've ever had...you don't have to give them a Congressional Medal of Honor to motivate them. You can give them something little and that can be the biggest motivator ever."^37

Another, discussing the benefits of positive discipline techniques, stated: "Commendations; in fact, I have written four of them in the last week. I definitely believe in them."^38

One sergeant summed up this topic by asserting: "I'll give them a certain beat assignment they want and allow them to do a particular activity if I can allow that and justify it. If they want certain times off, I will give it to them if I can afford to. And I convey to them that I am doing this because they are working for me and I appreciate it."^39

Respect

Scioto's sergeants were adamant in their belief that respect from subordinates was crucial to their ability to be effective as supervisors. As one sergeant asserted: "It's important that I be respected. I don't really care so much if they like me, just about respect. I think respect is shown when they do what they understand you
want them to do in the way you want them to do it. As long as they are doing that, if they do what I tell them to do, then to me, that is a show of respect."^40

Another sergeant observed: "I think it...(respect)...is important. It can greatly effect what you can get done. They can certainly break you if they want to. If you can gain their respect you will get a lot better job done."41 Another stated: "it is very important to me. If they don't respect, I don't think they are gonna' work for me...If I have the respect of the troops, they will have my best interest in mind...And as respect mounts, you get fewer and fewer shoddy reports."42

A final participant stated, "It is very important to me. If they have no respect for you, then they go around behind your back making jokes about you. I don't think you have control or discipline if they don't respect you. They're gonna' do what they have to do but they won't do the little extra they would do otherwise."43

Fairness

With reference to fairness, one participant said "It is important if I want to be accepted by the officers as their supervisor. I want them to be able to come to me with their personal problems and/or work problems. I
want them to know if there is something I can do for them I will." Another sergeant explained that he felt setting a good example, gaining and maintaining respect and fair treatment of all employees are essential to motivate personnel. He explained the importance of fairness: "Most of the time when I ask them for anything, they'll go ahead and do it without giving me a hassle. I think that's because I try to be as fair with them as I can be and not get myself in a jam...I just don't go out and follow them around and try to figure out something to screw them with...If I think they're right, I'll be happy to stand up and argue with the lieutenant." Setting a Good Example

Sergeants were in agreement that setting a good example was important in motivating subordinates. As one sergeant observed: "I try and be neat and clean at all times. I keep my equipment in good shape. I respect people and talk to them in a respectable way in the community. I do a lot of this in the presence of my officers and hope that they will follow the path I take." Another stated: "Setting the right example is extremely important. The preponderance of officers are going to react to the way you act. If you set a bad example then they are going to be tempted to act that way.
There are a good number of people who will go the the outer-most line that you draw and if you are setting the right example, they're gonna' be right there with you. It is important that you set the right kind of guidelines.\textsuperscript{47}

One sergeant stated: "I hope my example motivates them. If it doesn't motivate them it at least challenges them to measure up to standards. I try to look as well as I can to make them look as well as they can. And, there are a lot of things I do out on the street which are done as an example of how I want them to react and the things I want them to look for."\textsuperscript{48} Another sergeant stated: "Absolutely imperative. You can not go out and say drink and whore and raise hell and be one of the boys and expect them to respect you...You have to be an example for them. The younger officers, it is even more important, maybe not to the older guys...you should try to set an example for them because I think that is one of the most important things a supervisor does."\textsuperscript{49}

Formal Evaluations

The Scioto Police Department employs an evaluation form which is comparable to most civil service organizations. Each officer is evaluated by his immediate
supervisor every six months. Ten of the sergeants felt that the evaluation procedure can have a positive effect upon the work performance of most officers. As one sergeant said: "To the great majority of officers efficiencies are important because they're like everybody else, they want to be liked; especially by the boss...it is a reflection of what the boss thinks of them. So to a few it doesn't matter, but to the great majority, it's very important."50

For this group of sergeants the evaluation process included a discussion with each officer during which his strengths and weaknesses were discussed. They also supported the idea that these discussions should begin and end on a positive note; weaknesses and suggestions for improving the efficiency rating should be made during the middle of the discussions.

Nine of the sergeants felt that the evaluation process is viewed by patrol officers as a popularity contest, had no effect on financial compensation or promotions, and generally was just one more piece of paperwork they were required to complete. Consequently, they placed little, if any, value on the evaluation system in terms of motivating their personnel. In the words of one sergeant, "I don't think evaluations have anything to do with getting somebody to work harder. They don't care about their evaluations as long as they
Several sergeants expressed the feeling that the evaluation process did more to reinforce good behavior than to motivate poor performance as to perform at higher levels. In some instances they felt giving an officer a low efficiency rating could be detrimental. As one sergeant observed, "I think a positive evaluation will help a good officer do even more. I don't know about the benefits of a negative evaluation. Most officers who aren't going to do the job don't want to be told that they aren't doing the job...If they are told, I think it is just creating hostility between them and you. You aren't going to be able to get them to do anything more, they'll probably do less."52

ENTRANCE OF BLACKS AND FEMALES

One final area into which this research project sought to gain insight was the effect that the entrance of blacks and females might have had upon the sergeants work. The Scioto Police Department is viewed as a progressive organization and has actively sought minority and female officers. It has been relatively successful in this endeavor, with approximately twenty percent of the organization being comprised of blacks and females.
When asked if the entrance of blacks and females had
effected their work or if they were harder to supervise,
all twenty-three participants stated that they saw no
difference in supervising them than their white male
counterparts. A few of the sergeants expressed the be­
lief that females were easier to supervise than males,
although these sergeants contended that females are
generally less aggressive in terms of generating activity.
One sergeant summed up the general consensus of the
participants when he said: "No, I've had both. I have both,
(females and blacks) working for me, not just the same
people. I've had a pretty good view of that and I haven't
noticed a bit of difference."53 Another said: "As a
sergeant I have had several black officers work for me
and I have

had several females work for me. I'd say probably per­
centage wise, I have had as much problems out of the white
male officer, proportionately as I do from any of the
others."54

Nineteen of the twenty-three participants expressed
the belief that females can do the tasks of the uniformed
patrol officer although they expressed some concern about
the safety of females. One sergeant observed: "I think
they belong on patrol the same as a man ought to be on
patrol. You have a few that are square pegs in the round
hole kind of things but you have men who are the same way...we have a lot of women that can do the job as well as a lot of the men...I say in proportion to the number of men that we have and those who can't seem to do the job properly, the men and the women are about equal, on a one-to-one ratio."55 Another said: "I see no problem why women can't be on patrol. Ninety-five percent of the job is nothing other than paperwork and service. Women are able to perform many of the functions far better than the men - especially with family troubles and mentals. The physical attributes where they have to fight, they are just so few and far between, most women I have seen are well able to handle themselves."56

These nineteen sergeants recognized that in particularly dangerous situations where physical confrontations might occur, women might encounter difficulty. However, they also felt if the female was "street-wise" she would ask for assistance in those situations as would her male counterpart. They also stated that whether a female should be on patrol was an individual decision based on each person's capabilities, however, they felt this was equally true for her male counterparts. All of the participants expressed the belief that there were some females, blacks, and white males currently filling positions as patrolmen who were ill-suited for the role.
The remaining four sergeants expressed the belief that females could not do the job of a uniformed patrol officer. Their position was based on what might be termed lack of the physical stature and perceptions that female officers lacked. As one of these sergeants stated: "No, I don't think they can do the job. Most of it is physical incapacities. Secondly, is their emotional incapacities. I just don't feel they have what it takes ...They're not rational when it comes down to an excitable or an emotional event." The other three sergeants in this group expressed similar sentiments.

SUMMARY

In this chapter information gathered during this research project was presented regarding the work of the police sergeant. The material presented addressed five topic areas; a typical day, paperwork functions, supervising on the street, how the sergeant works through other people, and the motivational aspects of the sergeants' job. It became apparent that there are different demands placed on the sergeant depending upon shift and district. It also became apparent that not all sergeants perform their functions the same way nor do they share the same perspective about some of the functions they perform.
They have concerns about the internal politics within the department and they view the evaluation procedure differently in terms of value and effect. They expressed a distaste for the negative-discipline process although they recognize the necessity for it if they are to maintain control and respect from their personnel. Finally, they appear to have accepted blacks and females into their work environment, although all sergeants are not yet convinced that females can do the job properly.

Obviously, this research project revealed that there exists considerable ambiguity within the work environment and among the perspectives of the uniformed police sergeants who participated in this research project. However, there is one aspect of their organizational role which perplexes and frustrates them individually, as well as collectively; they feel as though they are caught in the middle, between their personnel and top-level administrators. This issue and how they try to resolve it is the focus of the next chapter.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 5

"Activity" is the term commonly used by police officers and sergeants to describe written reports, arrests, etc., made during a tour of duty.

2Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983

3Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

4Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

5Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

6Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

7Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

8Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

9Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

10Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

11Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

12Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

159.
The term "fall in on calls," as used here, refers to the sergeants responding to a call rather than being sent by the dispatcher.
27 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.

28 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

29 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

30 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

31 See Ruess-Ianni, pp. 57-58; Martin, pp. 15, 48-57. Kanter, pp. 181-184, describes sponsorship as it exists in the corporate setting.

32 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

33 Positive discipline is generally viewed as acts which recognize and reward desired behavior whereas negative discipline seeks to punish people for poor or undesirable behavior. For example, see Paul M. Whisenand, Police Supervision: Theory and Practice (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 158-207. Trojanowicz, The Environment of the First-Line Police Supervisor, pp. 55-61; 129-135, provides an excellent discussion on positive and negative discipline techniques and how they may be best utilized. He also provides some insight into these techniques from the supervisor's viewpoint.

34 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

35 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

36 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

37 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.
Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 15, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.
53 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

54 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

55 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

56 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

57 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.
CHAPTER 6: IN THE MIDDLE

The uniformed patrol sergeants who participated in this research were universally of the opinion that they worked in the middle. Just as they had unanimously agreed that prestige, social status, and the desire to be successful had prompted them to seek the rank of sergeant, they felt trapped between the desires and wishes of top level administrators and their subordinates. Because they felt trapped, they searched for ways of resolving the conflicts associated with work in the middle.

THE NATURE OF WORK IN THE MIDDLE

One way to determine the nature of work in the middle is to ask those who work in those positions to describe their work. Another is to inquire about the loyalties of the participants. This research effort used both of these approaches by asking sergeants to describe the advantages and disadvantages of being a sergeant (see Chapter 5), as well as inquiring about their loyalties. Scioto's sergeants were almost evenly split as to where their strongest commitments were. However, the largest number

164.
of participants felt their primary loyalty was to themselves (see Table 16).

Loyalty to Self

The largest number of the participants felt that they must be loyal to their own beliefs and convictions to be effective supervisors. As one sergeant stated: "I work under the theory that I serve best when I serve myself first. The real conflict I have is how far I go to protect an officer and still look out for the best interests of the department." Another asserted: "As far as your first loyalty, that is to yourself. You have to do what you have to do. Now my job, as I see it, is to run that relief as smoothly as possible and get the job done... Now, if someone else doesn't think I'm running the relief right, my boss, he is perfectly justified and within his power to remove me from that
TABLE 16

THE NATURE OF WORK IN THE MIDDLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Loyalty</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty to Self</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty to Department</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty to Subordinates</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>
relief. My troops don't have that power and, you know, they can raise Hell or whatever. I have a loyalty to them because they work for me and do a good job... But, still the first loyalty is to me."²

One sergeant said his primary loyalty was to himself and his subordinates with no real sense of loyalty to the organization: "If you want to be specific and say 'to this organization,' I personally don't have a lot of respect for the people who are at the top of our management organization and, therefore, my loyalties have been placed to myself and to the people I supervise and not to the organization. As long as those loyalties don't go against the law or are not immoral or whatever."³ Another sergeant held a similar view: "Well, first to myself. Secondly, I'm loyal to the people who work for me and, thirdly, I'm loyal to the department. I feel that if I do the first two, the third happens by itself."⁴

One participant probably best summed up this position when he stated: "You've got to take your position and stand up for it and see what happens. Because I have always been of the impression that I was going to do what I felt was right, regardless. That usually gets me through the situation; you don't have too many problems. There are times when you are going to make someone upset no matter what you do and you've just got to do it."⁵
Loyalty to the Department

Other sergeants felt their primary loyalty was toward the city and the department. As one participant observed: "The city pays me for eight hours. I happen to like the city and the job I'm doing for the city. And, even more, I happen to like where I'm working. When they came up with objectives, and they're tying in merit pay, I had two, actually three objectives written out for myself...As it turned out, when the areas of concern came down from higher up in the department, what I had was very compatible with what the department had. In fact, I didn't have to change a thing; I only had to add one. So, that says that my objectives personally and what the department expected wasn't very far apart...I have a responsibility at this point to supervise twelve officers and they have a responsibility to me to do an eight hour job; to be police officers as best they can. The department dictates by policies, procedures and rules and regulations...The manual of procedure how they are going to do it. And any deviation from that, I look at critically."
One sergeant was adamant about his loyalty:
"My loyalty has shifted to the lieutenant because he has to survive. If he don't survive, I don't survive. So he has to survive so I have to make him look good. Then, myself again, because I have to survive. Then my men and I'll make them survive...It has come down sometimes that I feel that the officers may be right. I voice my concerns but the ultimate thing is to do as you are told...The ultimate thing is he's the boss." Another sergeant held a similar view: "If you make a conscious effort to try to be a good supervisor, I think you always have that conflict. You're between the old rock and the hard place all the time; between the department you work for and the people you supervise. Then, again as you said, you have your own conscience to deal with. As an individual, I almost always try to put the organization's goals first and then cause the actions of the officers to fit into what those goals are."*

Other sergeants felt that their loyalty belongs to the organization even though they may disagree with the wishes of higher level administrators. For example, one participant stated: "I don't think there is any doubt that we have to straddle the fence. I think a sergeant is kind of a laison between the upper echelon and the street officer. When I read something off that
they (patrol officers) don't agree with they start bitching and complaining. If I don't agree with it, I'll tell them I don't like it either but it looks like something we are gonna' have to do so we may as well make the best of it.9 Another observed: "I am a firm believer in rules and regulations. So if I experience an internal conflict, I usually deal with it through procedural guidelines."10

Loyalty to Subordinates

Some sergeants felt that their primary loyalty must be to their subordinates. One participant, expressing this view, stated: "Well, I have found that definitely you want to be loyal to your officers because you expect them to be a little bit loyal to you...I'd like to be loyal to the department but, somehow, I don't think the department has been loyal to us. They have left us standing out in the cold. I'm becoming more loyal to myself...I'm looking out more for number one,...the old cover your rear end more than anything else...In order to get our objectives done, we have to rely on the officers...We are totally reliant on the officers...We had no input into our uniform change, we don't have any input (into administrative type decisions)."11
One sergeant stated: "I try to make the subordinate the happy person. If I please him or her and get the task done, then I'll do that. I try to let them make their own decisions unless it requires that I do so. I like my officers to have input into everything that is done in our community and I rely on it." Another sergeant asserted: "You know you gotta' depend on the guy that works for you. I mean, I really identify, personally identify, more with the guy I work with, the patrolmen, than I do management...I feel more comfortable with that group because I feel they're more honest. The people that are above me are more politicians, and from my own personal experience, I think that those people are more interested in their own personal goals than they are in the efficiency of the department. And a lot of their decisions are made in response to that personal feeling...The patrolmen I work with everyday; people in administration I only work with infrequently and then you never see them, they're somewhere else and all you see is the paperwork coming out. I think you identify more with the people that you associate with everyday as opposed to the people you see infrequently."
THE FRUSTRATIONS OF BEING IN THE MIDDLE

Just as Scioto's sergeants had differing viewpoints as to where their loyalties belong, so did they have differing views of the aspects of the job which they found frustrating. When confronted with this latter question, the largest number of participants described transitional problems as the most frustrating aspect of their jobs followed closely by lack of authority, administrative second-guessing, and internal politics (see Table 17).

Transitional Problems

My review of the law enforcement literature supported the idea that some patrol officers encounter difficulty making the transition to supervisory roles. The sergeants in this study support this notion. For example, one participant observed: "You are kind of forced to see things from another perspective. You know, from management's perspective, if you will, and from the citizen's perspective. That's because you are functioning as a kind of department and citizen advocate in their contacts with police officers."
TABLE 17
THE FRUSTRATIONS OF BEING IN THE MIDDLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Problems</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Authority</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Second-guessing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Politics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>*<em>32</em></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some sergeants found more than one aspect of the job equally frustrating.*
Another sergeant said: "One of my biggest adjustments was anchoring myself to the desk instead of going out and trying to locate stolen cars and suspect vehicles." Another sergeant observed: "You don't get out on the street as much as you thought you would when you first got the stripes. I love it out there. Several of the lieutenants have said, 'Boy, you stay out on the street a lot;' and I do...I'd prefer to be out on the street eight hours a day but I can't do it." It is significant to note that even though this sergeant's supervisors had, on different occasions, mentioned that perhaps he spent too much time on the street and not enough time performing other activities they felt were equally as important; such as paperwork, dealing with citizen complaints and working on objectives; he still maintained: "I will always be a street cop - no matter how high up I go."17

Most sergeants were less adamant about working the street, however, they generally viewed working the street as more desirable than performing administrative tasks. The difficulties they had experienced, and continued to experience, in the transition from line worker to supervisor were expressed more subtly by the majority of the participants. For example, one sergeant said: "It's nice to be involved in major investigations...You know that
if it is going on during your shift, you are going to be there."18 Perhaps, one sergeant summed up the general attitudes of the participants when he stated: "If you enjoy being a policeman, it's not a very good job. They (the administration) don't want you making arrests or getting involved in any physical confrontations...It all falls back to not being close to the guys."19

The majority of the participants said they were aware that a promotion would terminate the socialization process which exists among the patrol officers. Most sergeants expressed the belief that a sergeant should not socialize with subordiantes, at least, not on a close, intimate basis. In the words of one sergeant: "There is a lot of soul searching at times...You spend so much time with these guys...It's kind of difficult to look at a guy who is your friend and say he did wrong, I'm gonna' reprimand you or put a bad mark on his card or give him a day off. It's like balancing one ball bearing on top of another one."20

These comments and my observation of uniformed patrol sergeants strongly suggest that they do, in fact, have difficulty in making the transition from line worker to supervisor. They appeared more comfortable in their role on the street, they expressed a dislike for performing necessary administrative paperwork and an even
stronger distaste for invoking negative sanctions against subordinates. Even though they perform these functions when necessary, they do so with a "lot of soul searching" which leads to frustration for some of them. As one participant stated: "It was a lot more fun with the patrolmen or the 'police officers,' as they call them now."

Lack of Authority

Another aspect of the job which several participants found frustrating was their perception that they did not have the authority to do their job well. As one sergeant observed: "I'm probably a little disappointed in that the supervisor does not have the extent of authority or the ability to control his own destiny as much as I thought they used to have and I still think they used to have. I think that's been eroded to some degree because everybody is kind of backed into the same procedures or the same kind of way you do things. Everything is a lot more cut and dried and a lot more pre-planned as a supervisor than it used to be. Just about everything today is controlled by rules and regulations and policies. You have to follow those, so, instead of the sergeant having the authority to make his own decision regarding the situation, he is controlled
Another sergeant stated: "What I'm disenchanted with is the sergeants don't have, I feel, the authority to make decisions involving their men the way they used to have. Used to be the sergeant was God, or at least, I felt that was the way the sergeants operated then but we don't have that power no more. It's dictated from above what we should do or what we shouldn't do." One sergeant asserted: "Well, I thought that a sergeant had the discretion in what he did or didn't do. But, in our department, we have no discretion. Everything is done by rules and regulations...So, really, we have become report writers and they have given us very little discretionary rights and very slim discretion rights in management."

Another participant, expressing concern and frustration about this perceived loss of authority, stated: "Well, it just seems, you know when I first came on, when I was working midnights, I thought a sergeant was God. There was a lieutenant above him or something - you didn't see him, didn't want to see him, you didn't bother him no matter what happened. And the sergeant was about the same way. Seemed like his policies was in his back pocket, he was the sergeant from the old school...It just seems that then everything ran, I think, better."
Second-Guessing

A third aspect of their job which the sergeants found frustrating was the practice of administrative second-guessing. Some participants were more subtle in their approach to describing this practice: "One incongruity that I really see is when, you know, there's a little heat on the situation that you don't always get the support of the administration even though that you're supposed to be part of the management team."26

Another sergeant described this situation: "What it didn't live up to my expectations was the fact that the administration doesn't trust you. They don't, really, you're still considered at an officers' level. You know, I have less problems with assuming the role of a supervisor than management accepting me into that role and that's upper management - the police executives. So, in that way I felt, well, you'll be treated as part of the team once you get promoted. But that's not true, I don't think they do."27

Some sergeants were less subtle in describing this situation: "Every decision that I make is scrutinized by someone else and if they don't like it, they will change it. Every decision that a police officer makes, or that I would have to eventually make, is scrutinized
on Monday morning behind some desk with not all the ramifications and the whole total situation just isn't there in front of you and someone's making a decision. There is a lot of second-guessing about the decisions that I make. And I would say that applies to everybody in this department. "28 One sergeant addressed this practice very bluntly: "There are a lot of Monday morning quarterbacks around here and if you do make decisions and you do take things into your own hand's a lot of times you will pay the penalty at the end of the line."29

Internal Politics

A final aspect of their jobs about which sergeants expressed frustration was the existence of internal politics. As one sergeant stated: "What is extremely bad is the department is extremely political from the patrol end—basically the patrolman and sergeants to the division downtown. Any position is determined by who you know not what you know."30 Another stated: "The biggest drawback, I guess the thing that pisses me off most, is that it tends to be a popularity contest a lot. If there is an inside position, a nice safe job, the only way you are gonna' get that is if you know someone because I've seen it happen around here. We don't
have any seniority rights, that's the biggest problem. I think the biggest drawback is that you have to know someone if you are gonna' get any kind of a decent position."31

Another participant felt that internal politics were more important in securing a desirable position than was job performance: "It does not matter one bit around here what the officer does - if he goes out and works his ass off or if he doesn't. When they fill the elite positions, the fill them with exactly who they want to fill them with. And that is usually somebody that is scratching their back or over in their corner. This department is split about five different ways and everybody has a loyalty. If you happen to be on the team that is in power then you get the job and that shit is going on...And that is the real innovation that came in January. A lot of the officers that did absolutely nothing ended up in these elite positions on the inside by who they knew or what race they were and that was it."32

WORKING IN THE MIDDLE

To gain a better sense and understanding of working in a middle position the participants were asked about the most difficult situation they had encountered as supervisors.
They were then asked how they had resolved those situations. Scioto's sergeants experienced the most difficulty with administrative conflicts followed closely by personnel issues (see Table 18). Four participants indicated technical aspects comprised the most difficult tasks for them while two participants were unable to isolate any aspect of the job which they viewed as most difficult.

Administrative Conflict

One area of administrative conflict which sergeants described was making the initial transition from patrol officer to supervisor: "I would say that when I first came to trying to deal with the administrative side of being a young sergeant, I couldn't grasp that...Taking disciplinary action on minor infractions where I thought it could be handled differently by just talking instead of putting it on paper and I had some trouble with that...That's the way I'd like to handle it but if he... (the lieutenant)...felt differently about it, we'd handle it his way...However, hopefully, it wouldn't have to go that far." Another said: "Probably getting used to being able to decipher the truth from the non-truth from what officers tell you...Probably when first becoming a supervisor, you know, are they coming and asking you or
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Conflict</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personnel Issues</td>
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<td>Personal Emotions</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
telling you this to try and benefit themselves... I felt I had to make the decision to say yes for the mere fact that they stroked me when I was working with them... Now, I'd go through the normal things that you do to buy yourself some time to make a rational decision. And I've gotten less afraid to say no... And I'm just less apt to have a phobia about saying no and then thinking later about what they think of me."

One sergeant described a situation in which "the lieutenant and I didn't get along at all... We went around and around for several weeks and I finally asked the major for a transfer." The sergeant found this situation difficult because he was fearful that upper level administrators would view him as disloyal and might feel he was "running out" on his assignment.

Another area in which administrative conflict occurs is when higher ranking officers interfere with an investigation. In one instance, a sergeant described a situation where several officers were involved in a shooting incident and several other supervisors and administrators came to the scene. In the sergeant's words, "I'm trying to control a situation where I have got a suspect hit and several officers involved in a shooting... then I have lieutenants and above and they are kicking evidence around like rookies... and I got mass
chaos and it created total frustration for me." In this situation, the investigation was turned over to internal affairs even though the sergeant felt there was not time to satisfactorily complete his investigation. The only thing the sergeant could do was submit a report in which: "I did not cover-up someone else's incompetency or neglect, I placed in the report factually what I did and observed." 

Although this sergeant had suffered no repercussions from the actions taken, the sergeant still felt that the interference of high-level administrators had resulted in a poor investigation in this instance. In another instance, a sergeant who experienced a similar situation reported he took a different approach.

This sergeant described being confronted with a situation in which an escape artist was going to jump from a bridge for publicity reasons. The sergeant felt that there was a good chance the individual would be injured or that a member of the rescue squad might be injured if something went wrong and the individual had to be rescued. The district lieutenant and the law department of the city felt that the police department should not take any action to prevent this occurrence.

As the sergeant explained, "That placed me in a quandary as to whether to go against what they had to
say...(and)...allow this guy to take the chance that he might drown or a fireman might be injured if he couldn't get out...Following common sense, I just had them (his patrolmen) jerk him off the bridge...but I had a little conflict in my mind for awhile."38

In this instance, the sergeant felt the situation was a judgement call and safety reasons dictated going against the orders of the supervisor. The sergeant recognized that such an action could have serious implications for career aspirations; however, "common sense" dictated the response. The sergeant had suffered no undesirable consequences in this instance and felt on safe ground because taking the action was justified to insure not only the safety of the escape artist but the safety of rescue workers as well. Sergeants, then, sometimes experience conflict because of a difference of opinion with their supervisors in terms of judgement calls where existing departmental policy and procedure do not prescribe a particular method for dealing with a situation.

A final area where sergeants may experience conflict is if they had themselves in situations involving other police officers and relatives of police personnel. In one instance, a sergeant described a situation in which a police official's son was involved in a shooting
incident. To complicate matters further, the individual involved was a police officer on the department. According to this sergeant, this situation "involved possible violation of three or four departmental guidelines and the way I handled that was to do nothing. I waited until the internal affairs (investigators) came...Anything I would have done would have been wrong...So, I decided not to decide."^9

Obviously, the potential for being second-guessed in this situation was very real. Any decisions or actions the sergeant might have taken could have resulted in animosity from a higher level police official, from other police officers or allegations of partiality from citizens who witnessed or heard of the incident. Several other sergeants also indicated they had, in situations involving police officers, simply decided to dump the investigation, along with the consequences into the laps of the Internal Affairs Division personnel.

Personnel Issues

Sergeants sometimes experience conflict when dealing with their subordinates and their actions. As one sergeant stated: "There are times when you feel like you're serving two masters. A supervisor, of course, has an
obligation to the officers. The personal conflict comes in when you have to make a judgement call between what you feel is the welfare of the officer and the goals of your organization...where the officer honestly is trying to do the right thing but he does it in a manner which is in conflict with the goals of the organization...You have to make a call on which side you support."40 This sergeant went on to say he would overlook minor infractions as long as there was no emotional or physical harm done to a citizen or another officer. As was the case in earlier discussions with the sergeants, he expressed the view that in any activity which resulted in harm to a citizen or officer which involved criminal behavior, he would invoke the disciplinary process and recommend negative sanctions, the severity of which would depend on the type of violation.

Another sergeant described the following situation: "I had a use of force situation and the guy got beat up bad but two officers alleged that two other officers had done it. It turned out that the two that allegedly did it, didn't and the guys that squealed had to have been the ones that did it...They were the ones that bit the bullet on that one. They made some serious mistakes...If I had it to do over, I would dump it off to internal affairs...The point is to remain neutral and try to get
the facts. Once you have the facts, make whatever recommendation you have to make. If you do that, they are going to know you did right."41

Sometimes an officer's personal life creates problems for the sergeant, especially if it effects the subordinate's work. One sergeant explained: "The worst situation I have ever been in was handling an officer's personal problems because it was affecting the officer's work, it was effecting his personality; the situation was affecting the people he was in contact with on the street. It was affecting his mental health and the situation was more or less dumped in my lap when there was a situation where something happened with him and the wife on duty... The ex-wife, the girlfriend and officer all there at the same time and you had to deal with it... Basically, just separating them, sending the ex-wife on her way, sending the girlfriend on home and getting the officer aside. And say, 'Hey, we just can't have this, you are gonna' have to get your stuff straightened out.' Pointed him to the direction where he needed to go and got him some counseling and some time off. Made him take some time off because he just wasn't good for anybody."42

Sometimes sergeants are involved in conflicts between subordinates or two factions within a group. One sergeant who had a conflict between what he called two factions,
describes this occurrence: "A lot of hostility comes back to me because I have tried to deal with it...They think I am favoring one group against the other...They just don't like each other, they don't respect each other...it could get somebody hurt on the street and it effects the quality of work that this relief does...I think the only alternative left is to move some people around. Like I said, I'm not getting any help from my superiors to handle it."

Personal Emotions

Despite earlier comments and indications that police work makes individuals more callous and cynical, four of Scioto's sergeants said dealing with their personal emotions was the most difficult aspect of their jobs. As one sergeant said: "I guess the thing that has the greatest effect upon me is the fact that any death scene or any suicide, especially the death of a child, the supervisor has to be there and that has a great effect on me... At the scene, I try to show as much compassion as I can... And try to show as little inward emotion that may be effecting me, not to display that...To make sure that my officers do all the necessary technicalities that they need to take care of and if there is an emotional
thing inside me, I'll release that some other time... I'm not afraid to say that there have been many times that when I've driven home that I've cried... because to see a small child's life wiped out is not pleasant."

Another related: "As a supervisor, I guess seeing one of the officers hurt, hurt bad, it's kind of hard to maintain your composure, that intellect that tells you to keep everything running smoothly and maintain control. And, at the same time, seeing somebody that you've known and worked with a long time laying there, bleeding or, worse yet, dead... You have to handle it just as you would any other incident, just like if it was somebody unrelated to the job... somebody you don't know... I don't think it is in the realm of anybody's personality to handle it any differently... As long as you can maintain your composure and do the best job you can do and do it well, I don't see anything which you could do differently."\(^45\)

Finally, one sergeant said the most difficult situation was: "Delivering death messages to widows of policemen who have been killed in the line of duty... You just have to go over there and hope you can do it in such a manner that, there is no easy way to do it that I know of, at least, I've never found it. You hope it don't happen very often. It's tough whether you are a
a supervisor or not to deliver that message. It's tougher to deliver it to somebody you know. If you deliver it to total strangers, it's not as difficult but if you deliver it to somebody you know, somebody that works around you. That's difficult.  

SUMMARY

This chapter began by discussing the nature of work in the middle. The data suggest that many of Scioto's sergeants feel their first loyalty must be to themselves to be effective in accomplishing their tasks. Others felt that their first loyalty must be to the department, while a smaller number believed their primary loyalty must be to subordinates. These differing opinions demonstrate the reality of working in the middle.

Sergeants expressed frustration at being in the middle; especially in the transition from worker to supervisor. The participants perceive themselves as lacking the authority to be effective supervisors. They also cited the practice of second-guessing and the existence of internal politics as sources of frustration.

Finally, when asked about the most difficult situations encountered as supervisor, the largest number of participants indicated various types of administrative
conflict were the most difficult to resolve. Several sergeants felt personnel issues were the most difficult to deal with effectively and some indicated they had the most difficulty dealing with injuries to children, officers, and, especially, delivery of death notifications.
NOTES ON CHAPTER 6

1 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

2 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

3 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

4 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.

5 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

6 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

7 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

8 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

9 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

10 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 15, 1983.

11 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

12 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

13 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983

193.
Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Ibid.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.
Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Ibid.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 11, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 30, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 26, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, May 6, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.

Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 12, 1983.
45 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, April 27, 1983

46 Interview with a uniformed police sergeant, June 10, 1983
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As a study of people who work in the middle, this dissertation sought to extend and enrich the social science literature on uniformed police sergeants in particular and first-line supervisors in general. Additionally, this study sought to assess the adequacy of the law-enforcement literature on the role of the uniformed police sergeant. Review of the literature in each of those three areas, especially as that research directed attention to people who work in the middle, helped establish the boundaries of this research effort.

In order to gather data descriptive of work in the middle, research access was gained and maintained in a medium-sized police agency over an eight-month period ending in November, 1983. Data collection procedures included structured interviews with twenty-three uniformed patrol sergeants and observations of sergeants as they performed their work. To a limited extent, personnel records also were examined to validate interview and observational data.
The social science literature on uniformed police sergeants suggests that modern police organizations are commonweal organizations intended to serve the best interests of the public at large. In an effort to meet their commonweal obligations, most police organizations display a quasi-military structure. Police sergeants are at the lowest level of management within these quasi-military organizations. Individuals seek these first-line supervisory positions to gain stature, enhance prestige and increase financial compensation.

Although they work at the lowest management level, the uniformed police sergeant's position is pivotal in at least three respects. Subordinates' personal and professional lives are strongly influenced by their sergeants. Additionally, sergeants influence the type of service and protection afforded citizens by patrol officers. Last, the supervision provided by the uniformed police sergeant is crucial to the organization in terms of accomplishing goals by helping link responding officers with citizens.

The social science literature has generally assumed that the goals of all police personnel - patrol officers, police supervisors and police administrators - were unified.
Recent research, however, has revealed that what was once assumed to be mechanically solidary is, in fact, organically structured. Social and political forces have combined to severely weaken traditional police culture and divide contemporary police officers into at least two groups, street cops and management cops. The existence of these two cultures has placed the uniformed police sergeant "in the middle."

The social science literature provides insight into other factors that have contributed to the emergence of these two distinct cultures. The consequences of their decisions, especially in use of force situations, the introduction of blacks and females into law enforcement, and the well-documented existence of police corruption together serve as the basis for potential conflict and feelings of distrust between street cops and management cops.

Major Findings

Scioto's sergeants sought promotion for familiar reasons. They cited personal prestige, improved social and occupational status, and increased financial compensation as the primary reasons for seeking promotions. However, a significant number - approximately twenty
percent - sought promotion because they viewed their supervisors and others receiving promotions as incompetent.

The pivotal nature of the sergeant's role were clearly evidenced in this research. Scioto's sergeants helped link responding officers with citizens by falling in on calls on an irregular basis. They do this to ensure subordinates perform their duties as prescribed by departmental policies and procedures. Most fell in on calls primarily to observe the officers' performance and, as long as the officers handled the situation properly, they did not interfere or take over the investigation. Sergeants were more likely to fall in on calls with younger, inexperienced officers or officers newly assigned to them.

Additionally, sergeants evaluate their subordinates on a semi-annual basis and Scioto's sergeants viewed this process differently. Most expressed the view that the evaluation process is basically a procedure for recognizing and reinforcing desirable behaviors while a few felt it was a waste of time. Those who viewed the process as a waste of time did so because they felt it necessary to link the process to something meaningful to the individual, such as promotions or increased financial compensation. Others suggested that subordinates viewed
the evaluation process as the sergeants' appraisal of their performance and, because they wish to be viewed favorably by the sergeant, the process is meaningful to subordinates.

The data suggest that sergeants are in the position to reward subordinates in a variety of ways ranging from an oral compliment to assignment of favorable days off work. It is also the sergeant, in many instances, who makes the decision to either invoke formal negative sanctions for minor violations or to handle these situations on an informal basis. These findings support existing descriptions of the pivotal nature of the first line supervisor's position.

The data collected also support the notion of two cultures within police organizations. Most uniformed police sergeants felt they needed to decide where their primary loyalty lay. Most felt their primary loyalty must be to their own beliefs and convictions if they are to be effective in their supervisory role. Others felt that their primary loyalty is to the organization while still others felt their first loyalty must be to their subordinates. The very fact that sergeants felt it was necessary to make such a decision further documents the existence of the street cop culture versus the management cop culture.
The data do not support the literature in terms of resistance to blacks and females entering law enforcement work. Scioto's sergeants said they experienced no significant differences in supervising black and female officers as compared to their white, male officers.

While the majority of Scioto's sergeants expressed the belief that females can perform the tasks of the uniformed patrol officers, they also expressed some concern about the safety of females in this type of work. In particularly dangerous situations, where physical confrontations might occur, most sergeants believed females might encounter difficulty. However, they felt that if the female was "street-wise," she would ask for assistance in those situations, as would her male counterparts. Additionally, Scioto's sergeants were of the opinion that whether a female should be on patrol was an individual decision based on each person's capabilities. They felt this was equally true for males. All participants expressed the view that there were some males as well as females who are ill-suited for the position.

FIRST LINE SUPERVISION LITERATURE

The role-theory literature that exists on first line supervision suggests that the transition from line
supervisor is a complicated and difficult process, primarily because of organizational demands on the supervisor's loyalty and time. This rich conceptual and research tradition directs attention to the nature of positions within organizations, especially to the existence of role conflict and incongruence. It also directs attention to the ways in which individuals who work in middle positions make adjustments in relationships with peers, subordinates, and higher-level administrators.

This literature views role activity as movement toward achieving a balance between a person's perceived role performance and preferred role performance. External factors such as employees, peers, and supervisors influence adaptation and role fit (congruence). When these or other factors lead to role conflict, the individual must make adjustments and negotiate toward achieving a homeostatic balance. Failure to attain this balance increases stress, has an adverse effect upon personal and occupational relationships, reduces productivity, and negatively impacts upon job performance.

This literature also suggests that role conflict occurs naturally as supervisors move up through the organizational hierarchy. One of the most significant factors inherent in this role conflict is the demand placed on supervisors concerning their loyalty to the organization and to the personnel they supervise. Some
individuals may experience difficulty in making this decision because of their inability to develop a supervisory perspective and assume the responsibilities of this new role. The literature suggests than an expectation on the new supervisor's part to make changes in the existing organizational structure and relationships rather than making the necessary adjustments in their own perspective may result in further frustration and uncertainty.

Finally, this body of literature portrays the supervisor's position as a go-between position between labor and management. It generally concedes that the first-line supervisor falls into a gray area between these two organizational factions. One of the major pitfalls which confronts the first-line supervisor is the inability to accept and adjust to this role.

Major Findings

The data gathered in this research project support the notion that uniformed police sergeants experience difficulty in making the transition from line worker to supervisor. Scioto's sergeants stated a preference for performing their street role functions rather than performing other supervisory functions. They appeared more relaxed and comfortable in their street role and
seemed to have a much better understanding of this role and its importance than when they were dealing with their paperwork functions. Many sergeants placed great emphasis on their own, as well as higher level management personnel's, ability to perform street-level functions effectively. Not only did they see this ability as important in terms of functioning as a supervisor but also in terms of gaining and maintaining the respect of subordinates. The data suggest that while uniformed police sergeants feel it would be nice to be liked and accepted as supervisors, it is crucial to be respected by subordinates.

Sergeants also expressed a distaste for invoking negative sanctions against subordinates. Even though they perform these functions when necessary, they do so with "a lot of soul searching" that leads to a great deal of frustration for some sergeants.

The data also support the notion that uniformed police sergeants feel universally and unequivocally that they serve in the middle. This was evidenced by their numerous comments concerning being caught between the desires and wishes of top-level administrators and their subordinates. Many of Scioto's sergeants expressed the feeling that this was the most frustrating aspect of their jobs.
The data further support the notion that sergeants do not feel they have the authority or administrative support to perform their duties effectively. Scioto's sergeants felt that the authority and discretion sergeants formerly possessed had eroded since they attained their positions. They expressed concern about the lack of administrative support they received and felt that every significant decision they make is second-guessed by their superiors. They also expressed frustration with the existence of internal politics which they viewed as more instrumental in securing a desirable position within the organization than was job performance. They expressed the belief that the existence of this practice interfered with their efforts to motivate subordinates.

LAW ENFORCEMENT LITERATURE

A review of this literature revealed that it largely restricts itself to preparing laundry lists of personal characteristics and skills a sergeant should possess to perform the functions of a first-line supervisor. Two notable exceptions to this practice are the publications of Robert Trojanowicz and Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni. Trojanowicz, in particular, discusses the role of the uniformed police sergeant and provides insight into the
role conflict and incongruence experienced by first-line supervisors. However, most of the law enforcement literature is deficient in documenting and demonstrating how these skills and characteristics are or should be employed by the police supervisor.

Nearly everyone agrees the sergeant's role differs significantly from the patrol officers role because the sergeant is responsible for accomplishing work through others. The law enforcement literature also reveals general agreement that the sergeant's role is in the middle. The same literature, however, fails to indicate how widespread these feelings are among police sergeants or how the sergeant deals with these problems. It also fails to describe and document what tasks the uniformed police sergeant routinely performs, how these tasks are performed, and, perhaps more importantly, how the sergeant achieves the delicate balance between maintaining individual beliefs and values while accommodating the demands of subordinates and departmental administrators. Finally, the literature fails to address how uniformed police sergeants view these dilemmas or how they effect job performance.

Major Findings

Scioto's uniformed police sergeants process large
volumes of paperwork. Contrary to the generally held belief that uniformed police sergeants spend the majority of their time in direct supervision of subordinates, the data suggest that as much as fifty percent of the sergeant's time is spent working paper. Scioto's sergeants felt that the amount of paperwork required of them was too great and interfered with their ability to provide the direct supervision needed by subordinates. Additionally, some sergeants felt that the paperwork function demanded skills and abilities which they did not possess, perhaps because of their lack of education and training.

Working in the middle requires confronting and learning to deal with administrative conflict, personnel issues, and personal emotions. The way sergeants deal with these situations is relatively simple and straightforward.

The data suggest that sergeants may deal with minor infractions either formally or informally. Whether these infractions are processed through formal or informal channels depends upon how frequently a particular officer is involved in a certain type of behavior and the officer's attitude. Most participants expressed a preference for overlooking the incident or taking informal action for minor violations. This was especially true if the ser-
George felt the officer was honestly trying to do a good job and the infraction was caused by oversight or forgetfulness.

The data suggest that sergeants are much less flexible on major violations of departmental policy and procedures. This was especially the case if an incident involved physical harm to a citizen or another officer, verbal abuse of citizens, or actions they viewed as signaling insubordination. Sergeants saw no choice but to invoke the formal disciplinary process and allow top level administrators to decide the proper discipline. If the situation was extremely serious, they expressed a preference for filing a factual report and "dumping it off" to the Internal Affairs Division.

During an informal conversation with one of the participants, I observed that sergeants seemed concerned that they were not allowed the authority and discretion necessary to perform their jobs. However, it seemed as though they, at the same time, preferred not to get involved in investigations where their subordinates were alleged to have been involved in wrongful or inappropriate behavior. The sergeant's response was: "I'm not here to cover-up someone else's mistakes even though citizens seem to think so. If an officer does something wrong on purpose, then he must be prepared to pay for it if he
gets caught...Hell, I ain't going to get into a trick bag because of somebody else's stupidity. I got a family to feed, bills to pay, just like you and everyone else."

In the final analysis, when confronted with internal conflicts between members of the organization or in situations involving major infractions of departmental policy and procedure, sergeants employ the same rules and regulations they otherwise feel have taken away their authority and discretion. As contradictory as it may seem, it may be the only way they can continue working in the middle.
Roger A. Collinsworth  
P.O. Box 309  
London, Ohio, 43140  

July 14, 1982

Dear Chief:

I am currently enrolled at Ohio State University as a Ph.D. candidate in sociology. My course work leading to the degree has been completed and I am now preparing to work on my dissertation.

After some consideration I have decided to conduct field research on the role of the police first-line supervisor, including their relationships with subordinates and superior officers, within a police department. Accomplishment of this project will require that I assume the role of an observer and conduct interviews with first line supervisors. I feel, as a former member of your department, this research project may be best accomplished within the Scioto Police Department. Therefore, I am requesting your permission to conduct this research within your department.

Basically, the functions which I would expect to perform would involve riding with sergeants as they perform their duties and interviewing sergeants, patrolmen, and, possibly, lieutenants. I would expect to function strictly as an observer and remain in the background as sergeants perform their duties. I would expect to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants, however, a copy of the completed dissertation would be made available for your perusal. Of course, I am prepared to sign a waiver relieving the city and police department of responsibility or liability for my safety while engaged in the project.

I would be most pleased to discuss this request with you at your convenience. If you require further information or elaboration on the research project, please contact me at 614-852-4848 or write to me at the above address.
I take this opportunity to thank you for your time and consideration of this request.

Very Truly,

Roger A. Collinsworth

Roger A. Collinsworth
Dear Director:

I am currently a Ph.D. candidate at Ohio State University. As a former Scioto Police Officer, (1966-1972) I would appreciate the opportunity to conduct my doctoral research within a department with which I am familiar.

On July 14, 1983, I met with then Chief (name deleted). The general nature of our meeting was to discuss the possibility of my conducting research with the department for a doctoral dissertation in conjunction with my educational program at Ohio State University. This research effort was discussed in terms of beginning in late winter, 1982 or early in 1983.

Basically, the research I was interested in doing deals with the duties and functions of uniformed police sergeants. More particularly, I am interested in studying their decision-making process, identification of necessary supervisory skills, the problems encountered by the uniformed police sergeant, and how the sergeant deals with them. In addition, I am interested in the "leadership styles" that may exist within the uniform patrol division supervisory staff.

In order to gather the necessary information for this project, I would like to observe twenty to twenty-five uniformed patrol sergeants during an eight hour tour of duty. In addition I plan to interview each sergeant to obtain his/her personal view of the duties, functions and skills necessary to be an effective uniformed police sergeant. Finally, I would like to interview some upper level administrators as well as uniformed patrolmen to obtain their personal views on the duties, functions and skills necessary to be an effective uniformed sergeant.
I would appreciate your permission to conduct this research project within your department. I spoke briefly with the Major who indicated he would be willing to assist me in this endeavor, pending your approval, of course. I would be pleased to discuss this request with you at your convenience.

Thank you for your time and consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Roger A. Collinsworth

RAC/pb
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FORM
INTERVIEW GUIDE

A) BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I.D. #
1. Age
2. Race
3. Gender
4. Marital Status
5. Highest level of education
6. How long have you been a police officer?
7. How long have you been a member of this department?
8. How long have you been a police sergeant?
9. Tell me about your parents and home life when you were growing up. What was it like when you were growing up?
10. Tell me about yourself now - what kind of person are you?

B) BECOMING AND BEING A POLICE OFFICER

11. Why did you become a police officer?
12. Would you become a police officer over again?
13. In what ways did becoming a police officer change you as a person?
Police work brings you into contact with many people. Are there different kinds of people or are they all pretty much the same - for example, are there two kinds of people, "decent people" and "troublemakers" or does it just depend upon the situation?

I am aware of your department's policies and guidelines regarding use of force. Tell me about your own guidelines for use of force. When would you feel justified in using force? Is there a situation in which you would not use force even though it would be legal and within the departmental guidelines to do so?

Are there some people that only understand force - or at least a willingness to use force - if necessary?

C) BECOMING AND BEING A POLICE SERGEANT

Why did you make the effort to become a police sergeant?

If you were to do it over again, would you still make the effort to become a police sergeant?

In what ways has becoming a police sergeant changed you as a person?

Tell me the ways the role of police sergeant has lived up to your expectations of what it would be like before you were a sergeant. How is being a sergeant different from what you expected?

What is it like to be a police sergeant in this department, that is, what's good about it and what's bad about it?

What is your work like - what is a typical work day like?

What effect, if any, has the entrance of Black and female officers had upon your work?

It seems to me that the police sergeant is trapped between three potentially conflicting loyalties -
the first is to the department, the second to the patrol officers who work for you and the third to yourself. Have you experienced these conflicting loyalties?

25. One way of describing the work of the sergeant is that he gets work done by working through others. How important is activity to you, your career and your officers?

26. To get others to work a supervisor may use a number of motivational techniques. What techniques do you use to get your subordinates to produce activity for you?

27. How important are the following motivational techniques to you in getting patrol officers to work for you?

A. Trading personnel
   1. What effect, if any, has the entrance of black and female officers had upon trading personnel?

B. Evaluations

C. Threats of Negative Discipline

D. Rewards

E. Setting a good example

28. How important is it that you be respected by your patrol officers?

29. How important is it that you be accepted by your patrol officers?

30. How important is it that you be liked by your patrol officers?

31. How do you feel about sergeants socializing with their subordinates?

32. What is the most difficult situation you have faced as a police supervisor?

33. How did you handle that situation?
34. If you were confronted with a similar situation today, would you handle it the same way?

35. All employees make mistakes and their supervisors have to decide what to do about the mistake. What kind of action can you take to deal with mistakes and/or misconduct?

36. Have you ever covered for the mistakes of one of your patrol officers? Would you describe those incidents?

37. For what type of mistake or action would you not take official action?

38. For what type of mistake or action would you take official action?

39. Why have you made a distinction between the types of mistakes and/or misconduct for which you would take official action?

40. When you go on calls with your patrol officers - what prompts you to show up?

41. When you do go on a call, what do you usually do?

42. From what you have heard and observed, do women belong on patrol? Can they do the job?

43. Are there other aspects of being a police sergeant that you think important and that you have not had a chance to tell me about?
APPENDIX D: OBSERVATION FORM
## OBSERVATION FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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