



# National Institute of Justice

## Research in Brief

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### Issues and Findings

**Discussed in this Brief:** The Police Foundation's nationally representative telephone survey of 925 randomly selected American police officers from 121 departments explores the officers' views on the abuse of police authority. Officers also provided information on different forms of abuse they have observed, the frequency of abuse in their departments, and effective strategies for controlling abuse. General findings, as well as differing attitudes of black, white, and other minority officers, are presented and discussed in this Brief.

**Key issues:** Unlike previous studies on the abuse of police authority, this survey provides a nationwide portrait of how police officers view this critical issue. The 92-question survey assessed American police officers' views on a number of important issues relating to the abuse of police authority in the United States:

- Whether officers believe that the abuse of police authority is a necessary byproduct of efforts to reduce and control crime.
- What types of abuse and attitudes toward abuse officers observe in their departments. Within this broad issue, the survey explores officers' views on the code of silence, whistle blowing, and the extent to which a citizen's demeanor, race, or class affects the way that he or she is treated by police.
- What strategies or tactics (including first-line supervision, community policing, citizen review boards, and training) officers

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## Police Attitudes Toward Abuse of Authority: Findings From a National Study

By David Weisburd and Rosann Greenspan with Edwin E. Hamilton, Hubert Williams, and Kellie A. Bryant

Serious cases of abuse of police authority often stimulate intense public debate. For example, a videotape of Rodney King being beaten by Los Angeles police officers or reports of the torture of Abner Louima by New York City police capture the public's attention and raise troubling questions regarding the limits of legitimate police authority in a democratic society. Are such events isolated occurrences in particular police departments or extreme examples of a more general problem plaguing police departments across the United States? Does the fact that such abuses often involve minority victims reveal important disparities in the way that law enforcement officers treat members of certain racial, socioeconomic, or cultural groups? In turn, what measures can be taken to constrain police abuse, and which are likely to be most effective? Although such questions have been raised and debated in the media, by politicians, and by police scholars and administrators, little is known about how police officers themselves view these critical issues.

With the support of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, the Police

Foundation—a nonprofit organization in Washington, D.C., that seeks to improve policing in America through research—surveyed a representative national sample of American police officers to explore their attitudes on the abuse of authority by police (see “Study Methodology”). The survey sought to determine whether officers view abuse of authority as an inevitable byproduct of increased efforts to control crime and disorder. It also asked what forms of abuse exist, how common abuse of authority is, and what strategies and tactics would be most effective in preventing police from abusing authority. The survey also considered how community-oriented policing has affected officers' attitudes on abuse of authority and the rule of law. In particular, it explored whether community policing has led police to show greater respect for the rights of citizens or, conversely, has increased the potential for police abuse and encouraged police officers to expand the boundaries of acceptable use of police authority.

Relatively few surveys of police attitudes toward abuse of authority have been conducted, and these have focused primarily on specific police agencies or local or State jurisdictions.<sup>1</sup> Some of these studies

## Issues and Findings

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find to be effective means of preventing officers from abusing authority.

The survey also analyzed responses according to the participants' race, rank, and sex.

**Key findings:** The results of the survey indicate that the majority of American police officers believe that:

- It is unacceptable to use more force than legally allowable to control someone who physically assaults an officer.
- Extreme cases of police abuse of authority occur infrequently.
- Their departments take a “tough stand” on the issue of police abuse.
- At times their fellow officers use more force than necessary when making an arrest.
- It is not unusual for officers to ignore improper conduct by their fellow officers.
- Training and education are effective ways to reduce police abuse.
- A department’s chief and first-line supervisors can play an important role in preventing police from abusing authority.
- Community-oriented policing reduces or has no impact upon the potential for police abuse.

In addition, the survey finds race to be a divisive issue for American police. In particular, black and nonblack officers had significantly different views about the effect of a citizen’s race and socioeconomic status on the likelihood of police abuse of authority and about the effect of community policing on the potential for abuse.

**Target audience:** Legislators, policymakers, prosecutors, judges, police chiefs, police officers, and others interested in the critical issue of police officers’ abuse of police authority.

yield important insights regarding the problem of police abuse of authority. Studies conducted across two midwestern States (one in Illinois and one in Ohio), for example, suggest that a significant minority of police officers have observed police using “considerably” more force than necessary when apprehending a suspect. In the Illinois study, more than 20 percent of the officers surveyed reported having observed this type of abuse<sup>2</sup>; in the Ohio study, 13 percent of respondents had seen such abuse.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, both studies suggest that police harassment of minorities is not an isolated occurrence. More than 25 percent of officers surveyed in the Illinois study and 15 percent of those in the Ohio study stated that they had observed an officer harassing a citizen “most likely” because of his or her race.

Prior studies such as these provide suggestive findings on police officers’ attitudes toward the abuse of authority. Nonetheless, the conclusions that may be drawn from them are limited by the fact that they were conducted in specific

departments or regions of the country. Results of the Police Foundation’s study, by contrast, are based on a telephone survey of a representative national sample of more than 900 American police officers. Their responses provide the first national portrait of police attitudes toward the abuse of authority.

## General findings

**Overview of findings.** The use of force is a relatively rare occurrence in American policing,<sup>4</sup> but previous studies suggest that when it does occur, it may often escalate to the level of excessive force. For example, a 1996 reexamination of 5,688 cases in the 1977 Police Services Study data found that reasonable force was used in 37 cases (0.65 percent) and that improper force was used in 23 cases (0.40 percent).<sup>5</sup> Therefore, improper force was used in 38 percent of encounters that involved force. As the author of that study, Robert Worden, stated, “[I]ncidents in which improper force was used represent a substantial proportion of the incidents in which any force (reasonable or

**Exhibit 1. General attitudes toward the use of force (in percent)**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Police are not permitted to use as much force as is often necessary in making arrests. (n=912) <sup>a</sup>	6.2 <sup>b</sup>	24.9	60.5	8.4
It is sometimes acceptable to use more force than is legally allowable to control someone who physically assaults an officer. (n=912)	3.3	21.2	55.2	20.3
Always following the rules is not compatible with getting the job done. (n=919)	3.8	39.1	49.6	7.6

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 1.0 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

improper) was used.”<sup>6</sup> In his 1980 reanalysis of 1,565 cases in Albert Reiss’ 1967 data, Robert Friedrich similarly found that reasonable force had been used in 52 cases (3.3 percent) and that excessive force was used in 28 cases (1.8 percent).<sup>7</sup> Excessive force was thus used in 35 percent of encounters that involved force. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the same results would be found today, because police policies and training regarding use of force have changed since these data were collected. Moreover, given the difficulties of defining excessive force in studies based on systematic social observations, a general caveat regarding these reported statistics is in order.

In trying to understand why incidents involving force escalate to the level of excessive force, the authors asked officers in the sample a series of questions about their attitudes toward the use of force and the behavior of fellow officers. Responses show that most police officers in the United States disapprove of the use of excessive force. Nonetheless, a substantial minority believed that officers should be permitted to use more force than the law currently permits and found it acceptable to sometimes use more force than permitted by the laws that govern them.<sup>8</sup> The officers revealed these beliefs in responses to several questions (see exhibit 1). More than 30 percent of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that police officers are not permitted to use as much force as is often necessary when making arrests. Almost 25 percent agreed or strongly agreed that, to control a person who is physically assaulting an officer, it is sometimes acceptable for the officer to use more force than legally allowable. Moreover, more than 40 percent agreed or strongly agreed that always following the rules is incompatible with getting their job done.

Exhibit 2. Use of force behavior in officers’ departments (in percent)

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes, Often, or Always
Police officers in [your department] use more force than is necessary to make an arrest. (n=922) <sup>a</sup>	16.0 <sup>b</sup>	62.4	21.7
Police officers in your department respond to verbal abuse with physical force. (n=922)	31.8	53.5	14.7

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 1.0 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Although a substantial minority of officers in the sample expressed the view that the police should be permitted to use more force, the overwhelming majority did not believe that officers regularly engaged in the excessive use of force. A mere 4.1 percent thought that police officers regularly used more physical force than necessary when making arrests, and almost all of the officers (97.1 percent) agreed that serious cases of misconduct (like the Rodney King case in Los Angeles and the Abner Louima case in New York) were “extremely rare” in their departments.

Still, respondents did not give their fellow officers a completely clean report. Almost 22 percent agreed or strongly agreed that officers in their departments sometimes (or often or always) use more force than necessary, and only 16 percent reported that their fellow officers never do so (see exhibit 2). Although more than 90 percent found it inappropriate for officers to respond to verbal abuse with physical force, almost 15 percent indicated that officers in their departments engaged in such behavior at least sometimes.

**The code of silence.** Some of the strongest and most varied opinions expressed by respondents concerned the difficult question of whether officers should report other officers’ misconduct. Responses on this subject suggest the possibility of a large gap between attitudes and behavior. That is, even though officers do not believe in protecting wrongdoers, they often do not turn them in.

More than 80 percent of police surveyed reported that they do not accept the “code of silence” (i.e., keeping quiet in the face of misconduct by others) as an essential part of the mutual trust necessary to good policing (see exhibit 3). However, about one-quarter (24.9 percent) of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that whistle blowing is not worth it, more than two-thirds (67.4 percent) reported that police officers who report incidents of misconduct are likely to be given a “cold shoulder” by fellow officers, and a majority (52.4 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that it is not unusual for police officers to “turn a blind eye” to other officers’ improper conduct (exhibit 3). A surprising 6 in 10 (61 percent) indicated that police

## Survey Methodology

The telephone survey of a randomly selected national sample of police officers was administered by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., a research and analysis firm based in Princeton, NJ, under the direction of the Police Foundation.<sup>a</sup> Staff members of the Police Foundation developed the survey instrument after reviewing available prior studies and considering the results of a series of focus groups with police scholars and managers and police rank and file.<sup>b</sup> The survey took officers an average of 25 minutes to complete and was administered with careful concern for protecting participants' anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality.

**Sample selection.** To select a representative national sample of police officers, the authors used a multistage or "clustered" sampling method.<sup>c</sup> Selection of the sample began by defining the sampling frame (that is, the universe of relevant police departments throughout the country from which to select officers). For inclusion in the sampling frame, a department had to:

- Have primary responsibility for providing police services to a residential population.
- Have a minimum of 10 full-time sworn officers.
- Be either a municipal or a county police agency.

The sampling frame identified consisted of 5,042 police departments, which employed the great majority (between 91.6 and 94.1 percent) of all full-time sworn officers serving in local police agencies in the United States.<sup>d</sup> In 1997, the number of officers in these 5,042 departments was estimated at about 350,000.<sup>e</sup> From the 5,042 departments, the authors selected 121 representative departments (based on size and region),<sup>f</sup> and of these,

113 ultimately agreed to participate in the survey (for an overall departmental participation rate of 93.4 percent). Participating departments cooperated by submitting rosters of all full-time sworn personnel, with the rank, address, and telephone number of each officer.

From those lists, the authors took a weighted representative sample of 1,060 officers,<sup>g</sup> 925 of whom completed the survey (for a completion rate of 87.3 percent). Combining the departmental participation rate of 93.4 percent with the officer completion rate of 87.3 percent results in an overall response rate for the survey of 81.5 percent.<sup>h</sup>

**Sample characteristics.** Because of the stratified and clustered sampling procedures used in this study, the authors included a correction (based on weighting each department and police officer according to the proportion of the actual population of American police officers that they represented) when reporting survey responses.<sup>i</sup> In the weighted sample, 70 percent of the officers were drawn from the rank and file, with sergeants constituting about 15 percent and 13 percent holding the rank of lieutenant or above. More than 20 percent of the officers were under 30 years old, and more than 8 percent were over 50. Almost three-quarters of the officers were either married or living with someone as married.

The weighted sample indicated that American policing reflects the racial and ethnic composition of the population of the United States. Approximately 80.8 percent of the officers in the sample, for example, are white (compared with 80.3 percent of the U.S. population), 10.7 percent are black (compared with 12 percent of the national population), and 9.6 percent are of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin (compared with 8.8 percent of the U.S. population).<sup>j</sup> However, American policing continues to be a predominantly male profession, with only

8.5 percent of the weighted sample being female.

### Notes

- a. The authors extend thanks to Rhoda Cohen, who served as project director for Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.
- b. In addition to the important contributions of the police scholars, chiefs, and officers who participated in the focus groups and the officers who participated in a pretest of the survey, the authors consulted several police researchers about the development of the survey instrument. The authors extend particular thanks to Professors Carl Klockars, Peter Manning, Steve Mastrofski, Albert Reiss, Jerome Skolnick, and Robert Worden.
- c. The sample was selected using probability proportional to size (PPS) methods. Each of the 5,042 departments was assigned a measure of size based on an estimate of the number of full-time sworn officers in the department (estimates were based on Maguire, Edward R., Jeffrey B. Snipes, Craig D. Uchida and Margaret Townsend. 1998. "Counting Cops: Estimating the Number of Police Departments and Police Officers in the USA." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 21(1): 97–120.) Departments were assigned to one of three groups, based on size. The first group included nine departments, each of which was so large that it was certain to be sampled using PPS methods. These departments were selected with probability 1.0 and called "certainty selections." The two other groups or strata were "the middle group" (departments with 25 or more full-time sworn officers) and "the smallest group" (departments with 10–24 officers). The authors then divided the strata into four geographic regions and identified a stratified sample of departments that included 9 certainty selections, 84 departments from the middle group, and 28 from the smallest stratum.
- d. The authors thank Ed Maguire for his assistance in developing the list of police agencies. Maguire developed the sampling frame by combining information contained in the Uniform Crime Reports, the 1992 Census

of Law Enforcement Agencies, and a list of police departments provided by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. (See also Maguire, Edward R., "The Police Foundation Use of Force Study: Sampling Frame Design Issues," memorandum prepared for the Police Foundation, October 20, 1997.)

e. Ibid.

f. See note c.

g. The authors based selection of officers on a final sample goal of between 925 and 950 completed surveys. For certainty departments, the number of officers selected was based on a proportion of the total number of officers in the department. For departments with 25 or more officers, 10 officers per department were included in the sample, and for departments with 10–24 officers, an average of 4.5 officers per department were included (a random half of the departments in this group was allocated for 5 selections, and the other half was allocated for 4).

h. The overall response rate is the product of the officer completion rate (87.3 percent) and the departmental participation rate (93.4 percent).

i. The weighting procedure was developed by John Hall of Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. For a full description of the weighting procedure, readers may contact the authors or refer to the full technical report: Weisburd, David, Rosann Greenspan, Kellie Bryant, Edwin E. Hamilton, Hubert Williams, and David Olson, *Abuse of Authority in the Age of Community Policing: A Preliminary Study of Issues and Attitudes, Final Report*, Washington, DC: Police Foundation. This report is forthcoming in 2000 from the Police Foundation, 1201 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036.

j. U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3*, Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1991.

Exhibit 3. Code of silence (in percent)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The code of silence is an essential part of the mutual trust necessary to good policing. (n=905) <sup>a</sup>	1.2 <sup>b</sup>	15.7	65.6	17.5
Whistle blowing is not worth it. (n=904)	3.1	21.8	63.5	11.7
An officer who reports another officer's misconduct is likely to be given the cold shoulder by his or her fellow officers. (n=908)	11.0	56.4	30.9	1.8
It is not unusual for a police officer to turn a blind eye to improper conduct by other officers. (n=908)	1.8	50.6	43.3	4.4
Police officers always report serious criminal violations involving abuse of authority by fellow officers. (n=899)	2.8	36.2	58.5	2.5

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 0.5 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

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officers do not always report even serious criminal violations that involve the abuse of authority by fellow officers.<sup>9</sup>

**The role of race, class, and demeanor.** The role of societal and other extralegal factors in law enforcement has long been a concern of criminologists.<sup>10</sup> Examining how demeanor affects police behavior, scholars have generally found that a citizen's disrespectful or hostile manner increases the likelihood of his or her arrest.<sup>11</sup> The Police Foundation's survey shows American police almost evenly divided on the issue of whether a police officer is more likely to arrest a person who displays what the officer considers to be a bad attitude. Almost half (48.8 percent) of the officers in the sample agreed or strongly agreed that a bad attitude would increase the likelihood of arrest, and just more than half

(51.2 percent) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (see exhibit 4).

Do other extralegal factors, such as whether a citizen is black or white, poor or middle class, make a difference in the type of treatment he or she is likely to receive from the police? The criminological literature is split on the extent to which race affects everyday policing,<sup>12</sup> the likelihood of being arrested,<sup>13</sup> and the use of excessive force.<sup>14</sup> Of the sample, about one in six (17 percent) believed that whites are treated better by police than blacks and other minorities, and about one in 10 (11.1 percent) believed that more police violence occurs against blacks than against whites (see exhibit 4). Fourteen percent of the sample believed that police officers use physical force against poor

people more often than they do against middle-class people in similar situations. These responses suggest that most American police do not believe that race and class are important in understanding police abuse of authority. However, findings presented later in this Research in Brief suggest that black officers and nonblack (white and other minority) police officers strongly disagree about the salience of race.

**Methods of controlling abuse of authority.** Officers in the sample were asked how their departments handle cases of abuse of authority. Officers overwhelmingly (92.6 percent) reported that their departments take a very tough stance on improper behavior by police and overwhelmingly (94.4 percent) disagreed with the suggestion that investigations of police misconduct are usually biased in favor of the police (see exhibit 5).

Can leadership within a department make a difference in preventing police officers from abusing authority? Policing scholars have often recognized the importance of a police chief’s role. Jerome Skolnick and James Fyfe, for example, have argued that “[T]he chief is the main architect of police officers’ street behavior. This is so because the strength and direction of street-level police peer pressures ultimately are determined by administrative definitions of good and bad policing and by the general tone that comes down from the top.”<sup>15</sup> Almost 85 percent of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that a police chief’s strong position against the abuse of authority can make a big difference in deterring officers from abusing their authority (see exhibit 5).

As important as the officers in the sample viewed the role of the chief in preventing abuse, an even greater

majority (almost 90 percent) believed that good first-line supervisors were effective in preventing police officers from abusing their authority (see exhibit 5). In focus-group sessions, police supervisors indicated that supervisors serving as role models was a critical aspect in good first-line leadership.<sup>16</sup> Although 90 percent of the survey sample stressed the importance of good supervisors in preventing abuse, only 55 percent agreed or strongly agreed that most abuse could be stopped with more effective methods of supervision (see exhibit 5).

The survey also examined the extent to which specialized training helps control the abuse of authority. Contrary to the traditional view that most important policing lessons are obtained through experience in the field rather than in the academy,<sup>17</sup> police scholars

and professionals have recently emphasized the importance of changing models of police training, renewing departments’ commitments to training, and exploring vastly different training curriculums.<sup>18</sup> As reflected in exhibit 5, the majority of police officers in the sample who had received training in ethics, interpersonal skills, or cultural sensitivity believed that such training could play a role in controlling abuse of police authority. A substantial majority (82.2 percent) of officers who had received training in law enforcement ethics (in the academy or after becoming an officer) agreed that such training was effective in preventing the abuse of authority. A similar majority (80.3 percent) of those who had received police training in interpersonal skills or relations believed that the training prevented the abuse of authority, and almost 75 percent of officers who had

**Exhibit 4. The impact of demeanor, race, and socioeconomic status on police behavior (in percent)**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A police officer is more likely to arrest a person who displays what he or she considers to be a bad attitude. (n=917) <sup>a</sup>	2.1 <sup>b</sup>	46.7	45.1	6.1
Police officers often treat whites better than they do blacks and other minorities. (n=914)	1.2	15.8	57.8	25.2
Police officers are more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations. (n=916)	1.7	9.4	55.6	33.3
Police officers are more likely to use physical force against poor people than against middle-class people in similar situations. (n=918)	1.9	12.3	57.9	27.9

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 0.5 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

received training in human diversity, cultural differences, cultural awareness, or ethnic sensitivity reported that the training prevented the abuse of authority.

When asked about the effectiveness of different institutional procedures for addressing abuses of authority, most considered internal affairs units effective (78.6 percent). A much smaller percentage (37.8 percent) considered

citizen review boards an effective way to prevent police misconduct.

**Effects of community-oriented policing.** Some scholars have suggested that community-oriented policing decreases the likelihood that officers will engage in gross forms of corruption (such as extortion) but increases the chance that they will engage in softer or less serious forms of corruption (such as accepting a free

lunch, professional discount, or gift of appreciation).<sup>19</sup> Others maintain that community policing has no discernible impact on corrupt behavior.<sup>20</sup> As discussed below, officers surveyed in the study generally believed that a close relationship with the community, such as that resulting from community-oriented policing, did not increase the risk of police corruption.

The study examined officers' attitudes toward police corruption in two ways. First, researchers asked officers whether they agreed with the following statement (which includes no reference to community policing): "Frequent friendly contact with local residents and merchants increases the likelihood that police officers will accept free lunches, discounts, or gifts of appreciation for effective service." Although approximately 20 percent of the officers agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, almost 80 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with it. Second, because almost all the officers in the sample (98.4 percent) claimed to be familiar with the concept of community-oriented policing, the survey asked whether officers thought that community policing increased, decreased, or had no impact on the risk of corrupt behavior. Only 7.1 percent thought that community policing increased the risk of corruption (see exhibit 6). More than one-third (35.8 percent) of the officers thought it decreased the risk of corruption, and more than one-half (57.1 percent) believed that it had no impact (see exhibit 6).

Do officers see any relationship between community policing and excessive force? Almost none believed that community policing increased the number (2.0 percent) or seriousness (3.4 percent) of incidents involving

Exhibit 5. Controlling abuses of authority (in percent)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Your police department takes a very tough stance on improper behavior by police. (n=921) <sup>a</sup>	35.2 <sup>b</sup>	57.4	6.6	0.9
Investigations of police misconduct are usually biased in favor of the police. (n=914)	0.4	5.1	72.4	22.0
If a police chief takes a strong position against abuses of authority, he or she can make a big difference in preventing officers from abusing their authority. (n=920)	24.5	60.3	13.8	1.4
Good first-line supervisors can help prevent police officers from abusing their authority. (n=921)	22.9	66.9	9.3	0.9
Most police abuse of force could be stopped by more effective methods of supervision. (n=913)	7.3	48.0	39.5	5.2

(Questions below are applicable only to officers who have received training in the area specified)	Yes	No
Do you think training in ethics is effective at preventing abuse of authority? (n=576)	82.2	17.8
Do you think training in interpersonal skills or relations is effective at preventing abuse of authority? (n=674)	80.3	19.7
Do you think training in human diversity or cultural awareness is effective at preventing abuse of authority? (n=807)	74.9	25.1

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 0.5 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Exhibit 6. *The role of community policing (in percent)*

	Increases	Decreases	Has No Impact
Do you think that community policing increases, decreases, or has no impact on the risk of corrupt behavior? (n=883) <sup>a</sup>	7.1 <sup>b</sup>	35.8	57.1
Do you think that community policing increases, decreases, or has no impact on the number of incidents involving excessive force? (n=885)	2.0	50.9	47.1
Do you think that community policing increases, decreases, or has no impact on the seriousness of incidents involving excessive force? (n=884)	3.4	42.2	54.4

a. Numbers in parentheses represent valid responses.

b. The frequencies are weighted to reflect the population parameters. The 95-percent confidence intervals for responses in this exhibit range between plus or minus 0.5 percent and 4.0 percent for the frequencies reported. Such confidence intervals are commonly noted as the margin of error or sampling error of the survey findings.

excessive force (see exhibit 6). One-half of the officers surveyed (50.9 percent) said that community policing reduced the number of incidents involving excessive force, and 42.2 percent thought that it decreased the seriousness of incidents. Approximately one-half of the officers reported that community policing had no impact on either the number of incidents of excessive force (47.1 percent) or the seriousness of those incidents (54.4 percent) (see exhibit 6).

The community policing partnership is often a complicated one. Almost all officers in the sample (96.9 percent) indicated that police officers sometimes have to explain to individuals and groups of citizens that the police are prohibited by law from using certain tactics that citizens may encourage them to use. Approximately 2 out of 10 officers (21.4 percent), however, felt that they could use more aggressive tactics than they otherwise would if the community asked them to do so. The question of whether requests from the community sometimes lead officers

to “cross the line” and use tactics prohibited by law remains unanswered.

### Additional findings by race, rank, and sex

The general findings described above reflect how officers in the sample (as a group) view a number of issues relating to the abuse of authority. But the data also reveal important findings regarding how different subgroups in the sample view these issues. To identify and explore these differences, this section breaks down the officers’ responses to selected questions according to the responding officers’ race, rank, and sex.

**Impact of race: White, black, and other minority officers.** By far, the most striking differences among subgroups of officers in the sample were among police officers of different races. The sample was originally divided into two racial categories: white and nonwhite. (Officers were grouped in this manner to ensure that a sufficiently large number of officers would

be included in each category.) However, after detecting strong differences in the responses of white and nonwhite officers, the authors divided the nonwhite category into two subcategories (black officers and other minority officers) and reexamined the data. The reexamination revealed that black officers’ opinions on abuse of authority differed significantly from those of white and other minority officers.

The survey revealed that the attitudes of “other minority” officers were more similar to those of white police officers than to those of black officers. Although the survey may not be generalizable beyond police officers, its findings seem to corroborate the view that there is a racial divide between whites and blacks in American society—a divide so pronounced that even the apparently strong culture of policing does not transcend it.

Differences among black, white, and other minority officers did not emerge on every issue addressed by the survey. When different opinions (based on race) did occur, however, the disparity was strong, and the types of questions that officers answered differently (based on their race) could be grouped into meaningful configurations. As reported earlier, 17 percent of all officers in the weighted sample agreed or strongly agreed that police officers often treat whites better than they treat blacks and other minorities. Yet more than half (51.3 percent) of the black officers agreed or strongly agreed that whites receive better treatment. By contrast, less than one-fourth of the other minority officers (23.4 percent) and less than one-eighth of white officers (11.9 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement (see exhibit 7).

The divergence between the views of black officers and those of other officers was even more pronounced on the question of whether police officers are more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations. Although only 1 in 20 (5.1 percent) white officers in the sample believed that blacks and other minorities received such unequal treatment, well over half of the black officers surveyed (57.1 percent) thought that police officers were more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations. The opinion of other minority officers (12.4 percent of whom agreed or strongly agreed with the statement) was much closer to that of the white officers (see exhibit 7).

Black officers were also more likely than whites and other minorities to report unequal treatment by police on the basis of socioeconomic status. Although less than one-tenth of white officers in the sample (8.8 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that police officers were more likely to use physical force against poor people than against middle-class people in similar situations, more than one-half of the black officers (54.4 percent) felt that way. Again, the position of other minority officers (17.2 percent of whom agreed or strongly agreed with the statement) fell between that of the white and the black officers but closer to that of the white officers (see exhibit 7).

Although the survey suggests that black officers are more likely than other officers to believe that minority and poor citizens are treated unfairly by police, it also indicates that black officers have greater faith in the

communities they serve.<sup>21</sup> Approximately 65 percent of black officers (compared with 49.2 percent of white officers) believed that community-oriented policing was capable of reducing the number of incidents involving excessive force, and 63 percent of black officers (compared with 39 percent of white officers) believed that community policing could decrease the seriousness of incidents involving excessive force. Black officers' responses regarding citizen review

boards further demonstrate their faith in the community—with slightly less than 70 percent of black officers in the sample agreeing or strongly agreeing that citizen review boards are effective at preventing police misconduct, compared with one-third (33.3 percent) of white officers who found the boards effective (exhibit 8).

**Impact of rank: Supervisors versus nonsupervisors.** Although the majority of officers in the sample—

*Exhibit 7. Impact of officers' race on attitudes toward treatment of minority and poor citizens (in percent)*

Police officers often treat whites better than blacks and other minorities.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
White officers	0.7	11.2	60.5	27.7
Black officers	4.6	46.7	39.8	8.9
Other minority officers	2.4	21.0	53.8	22.9

*Chi-square=41.78, df=6, and p<0.001*

Police officers are more likely to use physical force against blacks and other minorities than against whites in similar situations.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
White officers	0.6	4.5	58.0	37.0
Black officers	9.4	47.7	42.1	0.9
Other minority officers	2.4	10.0	50.7	36.9

*Chi-square=86.80, df=6, and p<0.001*

Police officers are more likely to use physical force against poor people than against middle-class people in similar situations.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
White officers	0.8	8.0	60.1	31.1
Black officers	9.1	45.3	43.6	2.0
Other minority officers	4.2	13.0	52.9	30.0

*Chi-square=85.42, df=6, and p<0.001*

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

supervisors and nonsupervisors alike—agreed that supervision plays an important role in controlling abuse of authority (see exhibit 5), this belief is particularly strong among supervisors themselves. For instance, 87 percent of nonsupervisors (primarily patrol officers) and 97 percent of supervisors indicated that good first-line supervisors could help prevent police officers from abusing their authority (see exhibit 9). Similarly, 50 percent of nonsupervisors and 68 percent of supervisors believed that most police abuse of force could be stopped by developing more effective methods of supervision.

Still in keeping with their role as supervisors, but less predictable, were supervisors’ responses to a series of questions about the reporting of misbehavior. More than 80 percent of supervisors believed in the value of reporting or “blowing the whistle” on fellow officers who engaged in misbehavior, compared with slightly more than 70 percent of nonsupervisors. Similarly, supervising officers in the sample were less likely to subscribe to the code of silence, with only 7.6 percent of supervisors agreeing that the code of silence is an essential part of the mutual trust necessary to good policing (compared with 20.7 percent of nonsupervising officers). Supervisors also agreed to a lesser extent than nonsupervisors that it is sometimes acceptable to use more force than legally allowable to control someone who physically assaults an officer (16.4 percent of supervisors and 27.8 percent of nonsupervisors agreed or strongly agreed that such conduct was acceptable). Supervisors were also less likely to agree that departmental rules about the use of force should not be any stricter than those required by law

**Exhibit 8. Impact of officers’ race on attitudes toward community policing and citizen review boards (in percent)**

Community-oriented policing increases, decreases, or has no impact on the number of incidents involving excessive force.

	Increases	Decreases	Has No Impact
White officers	1.2	49.2	49.6
Black officers	6.6	65.4	28.1
Other minority officers	3.9	50.1	46.0

*Chi-square=20.92, df=4, and p<0.001*

Community-oriented policing increases, decreases, or has no impact on the seriousness of incidents involving excessive force.

	Increases	Decreases	Has No Impact
White officers	3.2	39.0	57.9
Black officers	7.2	63.4	29.3
Other minority officers	1.0	46.8	52.3

*Chi-square=27.13, df=4, and p<0.001*

Citizen review boards are an effective means of preventing police misconduct.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
White officers	2.5	30.8	52.2	14.6
Black officers	8.4	61.4	22.3	7.9
Other minority officers	2.4	38.9	43.6	15.1

*Chi-square=32.04, df=6, and p<0.001*

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

(54.5 percent versus 70.2 percent) (see exhibit 9).

**Impact of officers’ sex.** The survey revealed no meaningful differences based on the sex of the responding officers. Differences observed (between responses of male and female officers) were small in size, and no consistent theory or idea link them or suggest that they are meaningful.

The lack of meaningful difference based on sex arguably suggests that female officers have adapted to the predominantly male culture of policing, or that women who decide or

“self-select” to enter policing are more likely to adapt to the culture of policing from the outset. The authors, however, feel that these would be premature conclusions. As the National Center for Women and Policing reports, women police outperform their male counterparts at defusing potentially violent situations and become involved in the use of excessive force less often than male officers.<sup>22</sup> The survey may not have included questions that would reveal female officers’ strength in handling potentially explosive situations through strong verbal skills.

**Exhibit 9. Comparing supervisors with nonsupervisors (in percent)**

Good first-line supervision can help prevent police officers from abusing their authority.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	16.5	70.2	12.4	0.9
Supervisors	38.5	58.8	1.9	0.8

*Chi-square=76.12, df=3, and p<0.001*

Most police abuse could be stopped by developing more effective methods of supervision.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	6.3	43.7	44.7	5.4
Supervisors	9.9	58.5	26.7	4.9

*Chi-square=33.01, df=3, and p<0.001*

Whistle blowing is not worth it.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	3.9	24.4	61.4	10.3
Supervisors	1.1	15.6	68.4	15.0

*Chi-square=24.99, df=3, and p<0.001*

The code of silence is an essential part of the mutual trust necessary to good policing.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	1.5	19.2	64.2	15.1
Supervisors	0.3	7.3	68.8	23.5

*Chi-square=28.46, df=3, and p<0.001*

It is sometimes acceptable to use more force than legally allowable to control someone who physically assaults an officer.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	3.9	23.9	54.5	17.7
Supervisors	1.8	14.6	56.8	26.9

*Chi-square=21.09, df=3, and p<0.001*

Police department rules about the use of force should not be any stricter than required by law.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Nonsupervisors	7.4	62.8	28.6	1.2
Supervisors	4.9	49.6	41.4	4.1

*Chi-square=24.90, df=3, and p<0.001*

Note: Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

## Discussion

Results of the survey suggest that police officers have complex and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward the abuse of authority. On the one hand, the survey reveals positive evidence of American police officers' integrity. The majority of officers in the sample, for example, disagreed that it is acceptable to use more force than legally necessary—even to control someone who physically assaults an officer. In addition, the vast majority of responding officers described serious incidents of police abuse (such as the Rodney King and Abner Louima cases) as isolated and very rare occurrences and indicated that their departments take a tough stand on police abuse.

Notwithstanding its positive findings, the survey suggests that police abuse remains a problem that needs to be addressed by policymakers and police professionals. Even though most police officers disapprove of the use of excessive force, a substantial minority consider it acceptable to sometimes use more force than permitted by the laws that govern them. The code of silence also remains a troubling issue for American police, with approximately one-quarter of police officers surveyed stating that whistle blowing is not worth it, two-thirds reporting that police officers who report misconduct are likely to receive a “cold shoulder” from fellow officers, and more than one-half reporting that it is not unusual for police officers to turn a “blind eye” to improper conduct by other officers. These findings suggest that the culture of silence that has continually plagued the reform of American policing continues.

The survey also provides surprising and important lessons about police officers' views on ways to control the abuse of authority. Consistent with the suggestions of certain scholars and police professionals,<sup>23</sup> most officers believed that training and education are effective methods for reducing police abuse. A substantial majority of officers who had received training in interpersonal skills or taken courses in ethics or diversity believed that the education or training was effective in preventing misbehavior. These responses may not establish the effectiveness of such programs, but they do show that American police find them important and useful.

Officers in the sample also emphasized the importance of police management in preventing violence and other forms of police abuse. A substantial majority believed that when a chief of police takes a strong stand against police violence, rank and file officers will follow his or her lead. Similarly, officers identified strong first-line supervision as an effective way to prevent abuse and violence by police. These findings reinforce scholars' and police professionals' long-held view that developing effective methods of supervision and strong supervisors should be a first priority for police departments as they attempt to control and prevent abuse of authority.

Over the past three decades, American policing has undergone dramatic changes in organization, tactics, and philosophy. At the forefront of these changes has been a transition from traditional military and professional models of policing to innovative models of community policing. The surveyed officers believed that community policing reduces the potential

for a wide range of police abuse—from petty corruption to acts of violence. The survey does not address whether community policing has, in fact, lowered the level of abuse in American policing, but it shows police officers' belief that it has.

The effect of an officer's race on his or her attitudes was particularly striking in the study. Comparing black officers' views about police abuse with those of white and other minority officers, the authors found significant and substantial differences. As discussed in detail earlier in this Research in Brief, a small minority of white officers in the sample believed that police treat white citizens better than they treat black or other minority citizens in similar situations, while a majority of black police officers held this view. Similar differences existed between black and other officers' views on the likelihood of police using force against minorities and poor citizens. In addition, the survey found that black officers had a more positive view of community policing's ability to control the abuse of police authority. The magnitude of these race-based differences in opinion suggests a large gap between black police officers and other officers in the sample. Such a deep divide was not predicted at the outset of the study and may reflect the salience of race as a central divide not only among American police officers but in American society more generally.

### Notes

1. Indeed, the authors were able to identify only one national survey of police, and that survey focused on police officers' attitudes concerning rape. LeDoux, John C., and Robert R. Hazelwood, "Police Attitudes and Beliefs Toward Rape," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 13(1985): 306–353.

2. Martin, Christine, *Illinois Municipal Officers' Perceptions of Police Ethics*, Chicago, IL: Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 1994.

3. Knowles, Jeffrey J., *The Ohio Police Behavior Study*, Columbus, OH: Office of Criminal Justice Services, 1996.

4. Worden, Robert E., and Robin L. Shephard, "Demeanor, Crime, and Police Behavior: A Reexamination of the Police Services Study Data," *Criminology* 34(1996): 83–105.

5. Worden, Robert E., "The 'Causes' of Police Brutality: Theory and Evidence on Police Use of Force," in *Police Violence: Understanding and Controlling Police Abuse of Force*, ed. William A. Geller and Hans Toch, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

6. *Ibid.*, 36.

7. Friedrich, Robert J., "Police Use of Force: Individuals, Situations, and Organizations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 452(1980): 82–97.

8. Questions were worded to encompass the varying laws and departmental policies that govern police officers in different jurisdictions.

9. Interpreting responses to this item is difficult, however, because respondents' disagreement with the statement, "Police officers **always** report serious criminal violations involving abuse of authority by fellow officers," does not indicate how often they believe such nonreporting occurs.

10. See, e.g., Westley, William A., "Violence and the Police," *American Journal of Sociology* 59(1953): 34–41.

11. Klinger, David A., "More on Demeanor and Arrest in Dade County," *Criminology* 34(1996): 61–82; Lundman, Richard J., "Demeanor and Arrest: Additional Evidence from Previously Unpublished Data," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 33(1996): 306–353; Worden, "The 'Causes'

of Police Brutality: Theory and Evidence on Police Use of Force” (see note 5).

12. Moreover, Stephen Mastrofski and colleagues argue that, “Despite the obvious salience of race as an issue in policing over the last 30 years, there has been remarkably little rigorous research in this area.” Mastrofski, Stephen D., Roger B. Parks, Christina DeJong, and Robert E. Worden, “Race and Every-Day Policing: A Research Perspective,” paper delivered at the Twelfth International Congress on Criminology, Seoul, Korea, August 24–28, 1998: 14.

13. Michael Tonry, for example, argues that “few or no reliable, systematic data are available that demonstrate systematic [racial] discrimination” in arrest practices. Tonry, Michael, *Malign Neglect—Race, Crime, and Punishment in America*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, 71. Although studies have found racial disparities in arrest practices, some attribute such disparities to causes other than race itself (see, e.g., Black, Donald, and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., “Police Control of Juveniles,” *American Sociological Review* 35[1970]: 63–77; Lundman, Richard, Richard E. Sykes, and John P. Clark, “Police Control of Juveniles: A Replication,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 33[1978]: 306–353). Others find an independent race effect (see, e.g., Smith, Douglas A. and Christy A. Visher. 1981. “Street-Level Justice: Situational Determinants of Police Arrest Decisions.” *Social Problems* 29[2]: 167–177; Smith, Douglas A., Christy A. Visher, and Laura A. Davidson. “Equity and Discretionary Justice: The Influence of Race on Police Arrest Decisions.” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 75[1]: 234–249; Worden, “The ‘Causes’ of Police Brutality: Theory and Evidence on Police Use of Force” [see note 5]; and Lundman, “Demeanor and Arrest: Additional Evidence from Previously Unpublished Data” [see note 11]).

14. Researchers are divided on whether racial differences in the excessive use of force exist and on whether such disparities are attributable to race itself. In his 1996 review, Kenneth Adams concludes that, “the available research on the question of whether the rate of excessive force is higher among minorities is far from determinative” (Adams, Kenneth, “Measuring the Prevalence of Police Abuse of Force,” in *Police Violence: Understanding and Controlling Police Abuse of Force*, ed. William A. Geller and Hans Toch, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996: 59). Worden (see note 5), for example, finds an independent race effect, while Albert Reiss does not (Reiss, Albert J., *The Police and the Public*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971). Others point out that “the use of physical force has special significance for racial minority communities” (Walker, Samuel, Cassia Spohn, and Miriam DeLone, *The Color of Justice: Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in America*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1996, 97. See also Ogletree, Charles, Jr., Mary Prosser, Abbe Smith, and William Talley, Jr., *Beyond the Rodney King Story: An Investigation of Police Misconduct in Minority Communities*, Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995).

15. Skolnick, Jerome H., and James J. Fyfe, *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*, New York, NY: The Free Press, 1993: 136; see also Skolnick, Jerome H., and David H. Bayley, *The New Blue Line: Police Innovation in Six American Cities*, New York, NY: The Free Press, 1986.

16. Weisburd, David, Rosann Greenspan, Kellie Bryant, Edwin E. Hamilton, Hubert Williams, and David Olson, *Abuse of Authority in the Age of Community Policing: A Preliminary Study of Issues and Attitudes*, Final Report to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1998, appendix D.

17. Bayley, David H., and Egon Bittner, “Learning the Skills of Policing,” *Law & Society Review* 30(3)(1984): 586–606.

18. See, e.g., Goldstein, Herman, “Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach,” *Crime and Delinquency* 25(1979): 236–258; see also Trojanowicz, Robert, and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: How to Get Started*, Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing, 1994.

19. Weisburd, David, Jerome McElroy, and Patricia Hardyman, “Maintaining Order in Community-Oriented Policing,” in *Police and Policing*, ed. Dennis J. Kenney, New York, NY: Praeger, 1989.

20. McElroy, Jerome, Colleen A. Cosgrove, and Susan Sadd, *CPOP: The Research, An Evaluative Study of the New York City Community Patrol Officer Program*. New York, NY: The Vera Institute of Justice, 1990.

21. Findings regarding black officers’ more optimistic view of community-oriented policing, and other minorities being closer in attitudes to whites than to blacks, are consistent with the 1997 finding of Wesley Skogan and Susan Hartnett. Skogan, Wesley G., and Susan M. Hartnett, *Community Policing: Chicago Style*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997.

22. National Center for Women and Policing, retrieved April 13, 1998, from National Center for Women and Policing, on the World Wide Web: [www.feminist.org/police/ncwpAbout.html](http://www.feminist.org/police/ncwpAbout.html).

23. Grant, J. Douglas, and Joan Grant, “Officer Selection and the Prevention of Abuse of Force,” in *Police Violence: Understanding and Controlling Police Abuse of Force*, ed. William A. Geller and Hans Toch, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996; Scrivner, Ellen M., *The Role of Police Psychology in Controlling Excessive Force*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

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Listed below are other National Institute of Justice publications and products related to police discretion, use of force, and community policing. Where indicated, these documents can be obtained on the World Wide Web. Otherwise, printed copies can be ordered from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service by calling 800-851-3420, or writing to NCJRS, Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20849.

Please note that when printed copies are out of stock, they are available as photocopies or through interlibrary loan.

Adams, Kenneth, Geoffrey P. Alpert, Roger G. Dunham, Joel H. Garner, Lawrence A. Greenfield, Mark A. Henriquez, Patrick A. Langan, Christopher D. Maxwell, and Steven K. Smith. *Use of Force by Police: Overview of National and Local Data*, Research Report, 1999, NCJ 176330. Presents findings on the extent and nature of police use of force on both a local and national scale with particular attention to establishing accurate measurement guidelines. Also available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/pubs-sum/176330.htm>.

Brady, Thomas V. *Measuring What Matters; Part One: Measures of Crime, Fear, and Disorder*, Research in Action, 1996, NCJ 162205. Discusses police performance and the need to establish measurements of crime to improve police accountability.

Brady, Thomas V. *Measuring What Matters; Part Two: Developing Measures of What the Police Do*, Research in Action, 1997, NCJ 167255. Summarizes seven papers prepared for a meeting with NIJ and the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services that focused on expectations of the police by the general public, the media, community organizations, local government, and other police constituencies.

Gaffigan, Stephen J. and Phyllis P. McDonald. *Police Integrity: Public Service With Honor*, 1997, NCJ 163811. Analyzes how police integrity has broadened from a narrow focus on police officer behavior and internal corruption investiga-

tions to an understanding of the importance of several other factors including leadership, command behavior, supervision, discipline, and the police subculture.

Garner, Joel, John Buchanan, Tom Schade, and John Hepburn. *Understanding the Use of Force by and Against the Police*, Research in Brief, 1996, NCJ 158614. Examines 1,585 adult custody arrests in Phoenix, Arizona, to determine the use of force both by and against the police.

Kelling, George L. *"Broken Windows" and Police Discretion*, Research Report, 1999, NCJ 178259. Details how a police officer's role in order maintenance and crime prevention extends beyond arresting violators of the law and contends that police officers should exercise discretion in every situation. Also available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/pubs-sum/178259.htm>.

Kelling, George L. *Crime Control, the Police and Culture Wars: Broken Windows and Cultural Pluralism*, NIJ Perspectives on Crime and Justice Lecture Series, 1997, NCJ 168103 (videotape) and NCJ 169608 (audiotape). Explains the "broken windows" metaphor and concludes that multiple actions by citizens, community groups, and the police are effective in crime prevention.

Kennedy, Randall. *Race, the Police and "Reasonable Suspicion"*, NIJ Perspectives on Crime and Justice Lecture Series, 1998, NCJ 168967 (videotape) and NCJ 169609 (audiotape). Discusses

issues related to race as a risk factor for criminality and argues that such practices are unwise and counterproductive even if they are legal.

Langworthy, Robert H., ed. *Measuring What Matters: Proceedings From the Policing Research Institute Meetings*, Research Report, 1999, NCJ 170610. Presents a compilation of papers presented at three meetings convened to focus on how to measure crime, disorder, and fear; public attitudes and expectations; and the performance of police in the expanding goals of community policing. Also available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/pubs-sum/170610.htm>.

Mastrofski, Stephen, Roger B. Parks, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Robert E. Worden. *Community Policing in Action: Lessons Learned from an Observational Study*, NIJ Research in Progress Seminar, 1997, NCJ 167028 (videotape). Observes the various aspects of community policing in Indianapolis, Indiana, particularly police behavior and interaction with various citizens and types of neighborhoods and management styles of police supervisors.

Pinizzotto, Anthony J., Edward F. Davis, Charles E. Miller. *In the Line of Fire: A Study of Selected Felonious Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers*, 1997, NCJ 168972. Addresses forty distinct cases of serious assaults on law enforcement officers.