

**RESULTS OF PATROL OFFICERS' OCCUPATIONAL PERCEPTIONS:  
THE MADISON POLICE DEPARTMENT**



**Conducted by:**

**Dr. Eugene A. Paoline III  
University of Central Florida  
Department of Criminal Justice  
December 2017**

## Executive Summary

This report contains the results of a survey questionnaire that was administered to patrol personnel, with street-level assignments, as part of OIR's review of the Madison Police Department (MPD). The survey measured several attitudinal dimensions, including officers' occupational perceptions of: crime and disorder in their primary work beat; Madisonians, and their treatment of (and from) them; policing philosophies and roles; the overall work climate; and, MPD's policies, procedures, and use of force de-escalation training. Of the 244 MPD personnel with a street-level patrol assignment (including both the patrol officer and sergeant rank), 202 responded to the three-wave online invitation to participate in the survey (82.8%), of which 36 minimally answered the survey. As such, 166 officers were included in the final dataset for analyses, constituting a response rate of 68 percent of the patrol population.

The results revealed several interesting occupational perceptions among MPD patrol personnel. Respondents expressed a high degree of job satisfaction, with a moderate amount of job stress. The external (street) environment assessments revealed a significant amount of disorder and crime in officers' assigned area. Officers also noted a high degree of danger and potential for injury in Madison. In terms of views of Madisonians, despite the high assessments of disorder, crime, and danger among officers, respondents expressed very little distrustful of citizens. Moreover, officers were rather optimistic about Madisonian's willingness to participate in public safety efforts (i.e., informal social control), and their need for police assistance. At the same time though, respondents questioned the trivial matters for which Madisonians call them to handle, and skepticism that Madisonians' view police as legitimate authority figures. The

majority of MPD patrol officers expressed positive attitudes toward the philosophy of community policing. In terms of their role, respondents were not bound to a strict crime fighting orientation, and embraced order maintenance and community policing functions.

Among the internal (organizational) dimension of the survey, we found that officers reported a very favorable assessment of their peers' ability to effectively control crime and disorder in Madison, as well as their fair treatment of Madisonians. Respondents' views of direct supervisors (and their support) was positive and more favorable than that of top managers. MPD policies and procedures regarding fair and consistent standards, cultural diversity, and equal access to merit recognition and promotional opportunities for women and minorities received very positive reviews from respondents, although some race-based patterns emerged among those with unfavorable assessments of MPD's policies and procedures. In a similar manner, officers expressed extremely positive evaluations of in-service use of force de-escalation trainers, although many conveyed concerns over the usefulness of de-escalation techniques for their day-to-day encounters with suspects.

When open-ended questions were posed regarding what officers liked best about their job, and that which they would change if they could, some theme emerged. Among the features of the occupation that we most like were: (1) helping and meeting people in the community; (2) working with MPD officers; and, (3) the lack of monotony and autonomy of patrol work. the aspects of the occupation that needed change, according to patrol personnel, were: (1) lack of resources and staffing; (2) public perception of police; (3) patrol hours/pay/schedule; (4) management; and, (5) city council and local government.

## Section I: Background and Overview

In November 2016, the OIR Group contracted with Dr. Eugene Paoline, an independent academic researcher, to be part of OIR's review of the Madison Police Department's (MPD) policies, procedures, and organizational climate. Dr. Paoline's role was to assess MPD's organizational climate. Relying on over 20 years of experience in surveying police, Dr. Paoline constructed a questionnaire to be administered to MPD's officers. The survey was designed to elicit officers' views of a variety of facets of their external (community) and internal (organization) work environments. The structured survey questions draw from the academic literature on police culture, procedural justice and police legitimacy, community policing, and training. Many of the questions were gleaned from prior research on police officers' attitudes, while some were developed specifically for this survey.

Given that the majority of police personnel are situated at the patrol assignment, and because patrol officers (and their supervisors) have daily contact with citizens as part of calls for service, the survey focused on front-line patrol officers. Dr. Paoline coordinated with MPD's patrol commander to obtain the population of patrol personnel (with street-level assignments) to be part of the survey. MPD's patrol rosters indicated that there were 244 officers (i.e., 210 patrol officers and 34 sergeants), assigned to each of the five patrol districts (i.e., South, North, East, Central, and West), which served as the population of officers to be surveyed.

The patrol officer survey was administered, via a web-based methodology, utilizing the *Qualtrics* software program. Officers were emailed directly, whereby they were given a brief overview of the OIR project, asked to voluntarily participate in the online survey, and provided

a link to the survey. As part of the introduction, assurances of confidentiality and anonymity were provided, as no one but the project staff would be viewing individual surveys; no identifying information (e.g., IBM work identification number, email address etc.) would be collected or distributed; and, results would be presented beyond an individual level so that respondents (and their attitudes) could not be uniquely identified. Dr. Paoline's email was provided in the event that respondents had questions or concerns regarding the survey.

The survey was officially launched on November 20, 2017. Dr. Paoline was assisted by MPD's patrol coordinator, who sent an email to MPD personnel to acknowledge that the survey had been officially underway. Dr. Paoline sent a follow-up email, on November 28, 2017, to request participation in the survey for the officers that had yet to fill out the survey, as well as a reminder for those that started the survey but failed to complete it. A similar, final reminder, was sent by Dr. Paoline on December 2, 2017. The survey officially closed on December 6, 2017.

### *Survey Response Rate*

Response rates were assessed in terms of those who took part in the survey (i.e., followed the electronic link and answered at least one question), as well as those who provided enough responses to be part of the overall analyses. Of the 244 officers that were part of the patrol population to be surveyed, 202 opened the link and started the survey, representing an initial response rate of 82.8 percent. Thirty-six respondents minimally filled out the survey questionnaire, failing to provide enough information to be part of our comprehensive analyses. As such, the final (useable) response rate was 68 percent of the patrol population (i.e., 166 of

the possible 244 officers).

Table 1 presents a detailed breakdown of survey respondents across each of the five MPD patrol districts, as well as by rank, compared to the overall population of patrol personnel with street-level assignments. In assessing response rate by MPD district and by rank, we relied on replies to our questionnaire items that ask individuals to identify their assigned district and current rank designation. Twelve survey respondents failed to identify their assigned district, and 16 officers did not respond to the rank question. As such, Table 1 provides information on 148 respondents that answered both survey questions. Comparisons are made, by rank and district, to the population of officers that are assigned to each rank and district.

**Table 1. Response Rate by Assigned District and Rank**

|          | Sergeant |               |  | Patrol Officer |               |  | Total<br>Assigned | Total<br>Responded (%) |
|----------|----------|---------------|--|----------------|---------------|--|-------------------|------------------------|
|          | Assigned | Responded (%) |  | Assigned       | Responded (%) |  |                   |                        |
| District |          |               |  |                |               |  |                   |                        |
| South    | 6        | 5 (83.3)      |  | 30             | 21 (70.0)     |  | 36                | 26 (72.2)              |
| North    | 6        | 3 (50.0)      |  | 34             | 21 (61.8)     |  | 40                | 24 (60.0)              |
| East     | 7        | 6 (85.7)      |  | 50             | 27 (54.0)     |  | 57                | 33 (57.9)              |
| Central  | 7        | 5 (71.4)      |  | 42             | 21 (50.0)     |  | 49                | 26 (53.1)              |
| West     | 8        | 5 (62.5)      |  | 54             | 34 (63.0)     |  | 62                | 39 (62.9)              |
|          |          |               |  |                |               |  |                   |                        |
| Total    | 34       | 24 (70.1)     |  | 210            | 124 (59.0)    |  | <b>244</b>        | <b>148 (60.1)</b>      |

In comparing respondents to the overall population of patrol officers, we find that 70.1 percent of MPD's patrol sergeants (i.e., 24 of 34) and 59 percent of MPD's patrol officers (i.e., 124 of 210) participated in the survey. Across the 70.1 percent of respondents that identified themselves as sergeants, we find variation across district, ranging from 50 percent in the North

to 85.7 percent in the East. The variation across patrol officer respondents was less pronounced, ranging from 50 percent in the Central District to 70 percent in the South District. Cumulatively, across all districts, the fewest percentage of respondents (compared to the patrol population), was found in the Central District (53.1%), while the highest was in the South District (72.2%).

We also examined the degree to which survey respondents' sex and race/ethnicity represented that of the overall patrol population. Across MPD's 244 patrol personnel (with street-level assignments), 75.4 percent were male and 24.6 were female. Survey respondents closely mirrored such representation. Specifically, of the 146 respondents that identified their sex, 76.7 percent were male and 23.3 percent were female. With respect to race/ethnicity, we also found congruence between the survey respondents and the overall population. Of the 145 officers that identified their race/ethnicity, 80 percent were White (compared to 76.6% of the population), 9 percent were Black/African American (compared to 11.5% of the population), 6.2 percent were Hispanic/Latino (compared to 7% of the population), 2.1 percent were Native American (compared to 1.6% of the population), and .7 percent were Asian/Island/Pacific (compared to 3.3% of the population). Three of the respondents noted their race/ethnicity to be "other."

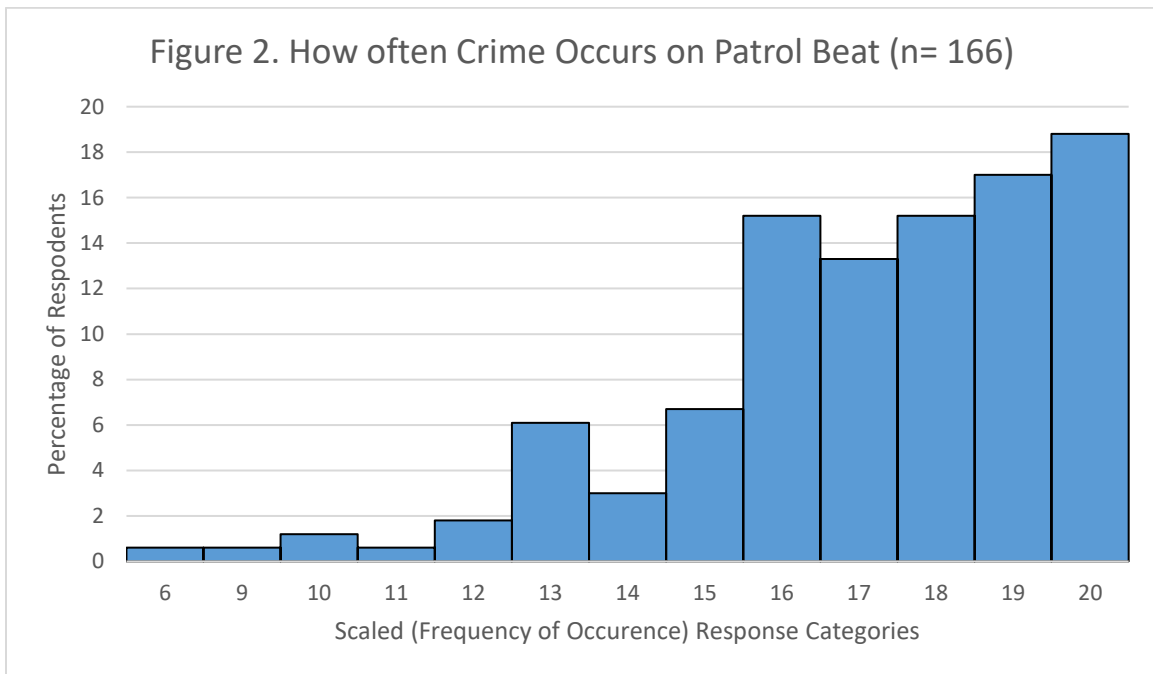
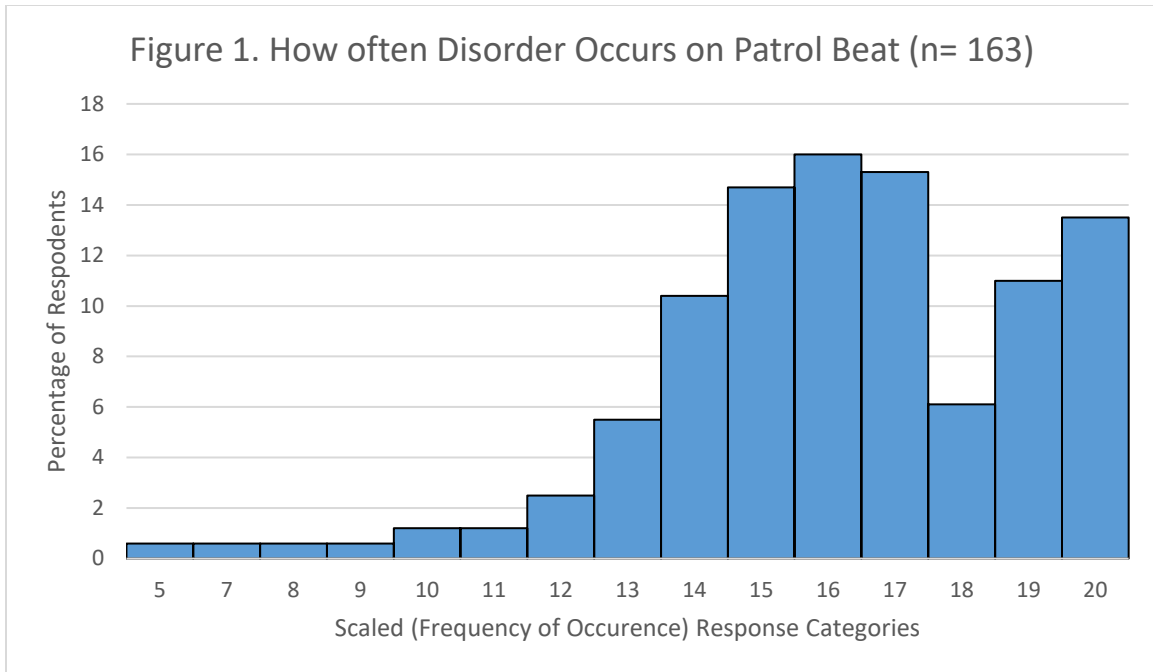
The report that follows summarizes the findings from the online survey that was administered to MPD patrol personnel with street-level assignments. To protect respondents' identities, we present aggregate results and avoid disaggregating information by identifiable characteristics.

## Section II: Survey Results

### *Perceptions of Crime, Disorder, and Informal Social Control*

The survey began with questions about officers' perceptions of disorder and crime in the area that they worked most often. In total, eight survey items queried respondents as to the frequency with which various problems occur, each of which had response options of "less than once a week;" "once a month;" "once a week;" "a few times a week;" and "daily." Four survey questions measured the *disorder* dimension of officers' assigned area, and included: (1) people drinking alcohol or drunk in public; (2) groups of teens or others harassing people; (3) physical disorder such as vandalism, graffiti, and litter; and (4) altercations between friends and neighbors. The four *crime* questions focused on: (1) drug sales and use; (2) serious violence (e.g., muggings, assaults, and robberies); (3) domestic violence; and (4) property crimes (e.g., burglaries and auto thefts). The four survey items for each dimension were combined to create a disorder scale and a crime scale. Figures 1 and 2 present the results, with the horizontal axis representing scaled response categories of frequency (i.e., higher values representing more often occurrence). Given that there were four survey questions for each dimension, with five possible response options, the potential range of each scale was 4 to 20.





The results indicate that officers reported a significant amount of disorder and crime in their assigned patrol area. The mean for the disorder scale was 16.3 (standard deviation [sd] =

2.8), indicating that (on average) officers reported that disorder occurred nearly a few times a week in their patrol beat. The mean for the crime scale was 17.1 (sd = 2.6), illustrating that officers reported more frequent occurrence of crime compared to disorder.

Next, we asked officers to provide information on the likelihood that citizens (i.e., local residents and business owners) were willing to participate in social control endeavors.

Collaborative strategies between the police and the public (e.g., community policing and problem solving) rely on citizens' willingness to be involved in their communities, and we assessed officers' views of such (in their assigned patrol area), with seven survey items. Table 2 presents the percentage distributions of responses to each questionnaire item.

**Table 2. Officer Perceptions of Residents' or Business Owners' Willingness to Take Action (percentages)**

| <i>How likely are residents or business owners to...</i>                   | <b>Very Unlikely</b> | <b>Somewhat Unlikely</b> | <b>Neither Likely or Unlikely</b> | <b>Somewhat Likely</b> | <b>Very Likely</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Attend a block watch meeting (n=165)</i>                                | 5.5                  | 20.0                     | 21.8                              | 40.6                   | 12.1               |
| <i>Keep an eye on the neighborhood (n=165)</i>                             | 2.4                  | 6.7                      | 18.2                              | 50.9                   | 21.8               |
| <i>Call the police to report suspicious activity (n=164)</i>               | 1.2                  | 7.3                      | 13.4                              | 47.6                   | 30.5               |
| <i>Call the police to report a neighborhood problem (n=164)</i>            | 6.1                  | 15.2                     | 16.5                              | 40.2                   | 22.0               |
| <i>Tell a rowdy group of teens to go home (n=165)</i>                      | 26.7                 | 35.8                     | 21.2                              | 13.9                   | 2.4                |
| <i>Attend a town hall meeting with the local police department (n=165)</i> | 8.5                  | 13.9                     | 33.3                              | 35.2                   | 9.1                |
| <i>Give police information about crimes (n=165)</i>                        | 7.3                  | 13.9                     | 25.5                              | 41.8                   | 11.5               |

Overall, officers were (for the most part) cautiously optimistic in their assessment of citizens' willingness to participate in public safety efforts. Officers were most confident that citizens would call the police if they saw a suspicious person or event (i.e., 78.1% reporting "somewhat likely" or "very likely"), keep an eye on the neighborhood (i.e., 72.7% reporting "somewhat likely" or "very likely"), call the police to report a neighborhood problem (i.e., 62.2% reporting "somewhat likely" or "very likely"), give police information about a crime (i.e., 53.3% reporting "somewhat likely" or "very likely"), and attend a local block or neighborhood

watch meeting (i.e., 52.7% reporting “somewhat likely” or “very likely”). Of note across each of these five favorable assessments of citizens’ willingness to engage in informal social control, was the vast majority of “likely” responses was found among the “somewhat” category and not the “very” option. Nevertheless, the respondents appeared to be relatively optimistic in citizens’ participation in these collaborative efforts to control crime and disorder in their assigned patrol areas. Less optimism was expressed for citizens’ willingness to tell a rowdy group of teens to quiet down or go home (i.e., 62.5% reporting “somewhat unlikely” or “very unlikely”) or attend a community or town hall meeting (i.e., only 44.3% reporting “somewhat likely” or “very likely,” and 33.3% reporting “neither likely or unlikely”).

The seven social control items were combined to form an additive scale, which ranged from 7 to 35, with a mean rating from officers of 23.7 (sd = 5.4). This suggests that, on average, officers responses were 3.4 (23.7 divided by 7), falling between “neither likely or unlikely” and “somewhat likely.” Cumulatively, officers’ assessments of citizens’ willingness to take ownership of their communities was more favorable than unfavorable, although not at the top end of optimism.

Of interest is the extent to which disorder and crime levels in one’s patrol area impact officers’ views of citizens’ willingness to be engaged in informal mechanisms of social control. Police scholars and practitioners alike have acknowledged that officers that work in more disorderly and crime-ridden areas can develop cynicism toward citizens. Table 3 depicts correlations between officers’ assessments of disorder, crime, and citizen engagement in their assigned patrol areas. Correlations range from -1.0 to 1.0., with values closer to zero indicating

weaker relationships, and values close to -1.0 and 1.0 indicating stronger associations.

**Table 3. Correlations between Disorder, Crime, and Informal Social Control**

|                                | <i>Disorder</i> | <i>Crime</i> | <i>Informal Social Control</i> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Disorder</i>                | -               |              |                                |
| <i>Crime</i>                   | .678*           | -            |                                |
| <i>Informal Social Control</i> | -.146           | -.139        | -                              |

\*  $p < .01$

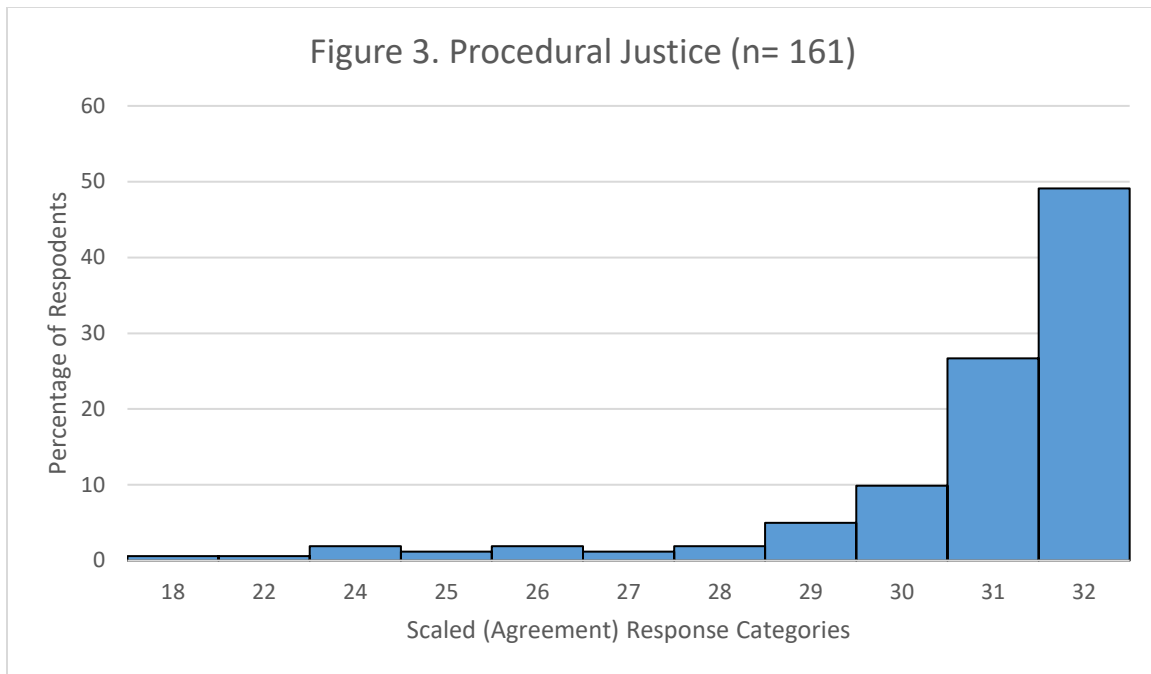
Table 3 shows that assessments of disorder and crime are strongly positively correlated (.678), and statistically significant at  $p < .01$ , suggesting that there is a less than 1% probability that this finding is inaccurate and not simply a function of chance alone. Perceptions of informal social control were negatively related to disorder and crime assessments, although both relationships were not statistically significant (i.e., this could have been a product of chance variation). As such, while areas that were more disorderly had more crime (and conversely, areas with less disorder were less crime-ridden), there were no statistical relationship between views of informal social control and disorder and crime levels within officers' assigned patrol areas.

### *Procedural Justice, Job Performance, and Police Legitimacy*

The concepts of procedural justice, job performance, and police legitimacy are interrelated. Recent police discussions regarding the process by which officers' handle their interactions with citizens (i.e., procedural justice) have stressed the overarching implications in terms of the legitimacy of the police. Moreover, the effectiveness of the police in performing

their job also has positive outcomes in terms of the legitimacy of the occupation in the eyes of the public. The benefits of police legitimacy, as a function of procedurally just approaches (e.g., treating people fairly with dignity and respect) and effective performance, result in positive outcomes such as increased participation from citizens (in assisting police), citizens conforming to societal laws, and citizens complying with police requests during face-to-face encounters.

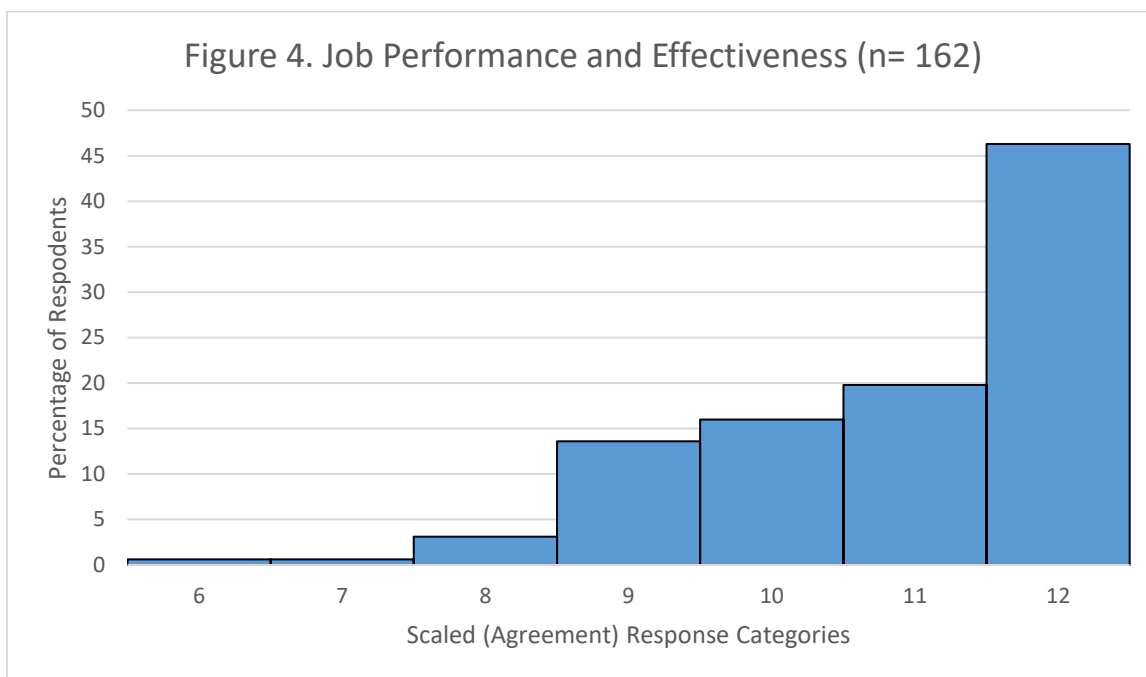
Respondents were asked to rate how well MPD officers, as a group, deliver procedurally just treatment to Madisonians. Specifically, officers were queried regarding their relative agreement (i.e., disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, agree somewhat, and agree strongly) with the following survey items: “Officers in my department; (1) Treat Madisonians with respect; (2) Treat Madisonians fairly; (3) Take the time to listen to Madisonians; (4) Make decisions based on facts and laws, not personal opinions; (5) Explain their decisions to Madisonians; (6) Are often rude or discourteous to Madisonians (reverse coded); (7) Protect Madisonians’ basic rights; and (8) Are honest.” The eight survey items were summed together to form an additive index (see Figure 3), with higher values reflecting more positive views of procedural justice.



MPD patrol officers reported a very high assessment of the ways in which their fellow officers treat Madisonians. Figure 3 illustrates a concentration of responses at the highest end of the scale. The summed scale ranged from 8 to 32, and had a mean of 30.8 (sd = 2.1), suggesting that officers overwhelmingly reported positive (procedurally just) treatment of Madisonians by their peers. In fact, nearly half of the responding officers indicated that they agreed strongly with all eight questionnaire items.

Job performance and effectiveness are also related to procedural justice and police legitimacy. While procedural justice focuses more on the *process* of police-citizen encounters, job performance is the *outcome* dimension of the equation. Respondents were asked to assess the extent to which MPD officers as a group (i.e., by responding, “disagree strongly,” “disagree somewhat,” “agree somewhat,” and “agree strongly”) keep the community safe from crime,

maintain order, and whether they do their jobs well. Figure 4 presents the results of this three-item additive index, with higher values reflecting more favorable opinions of job performance and effectiveness.

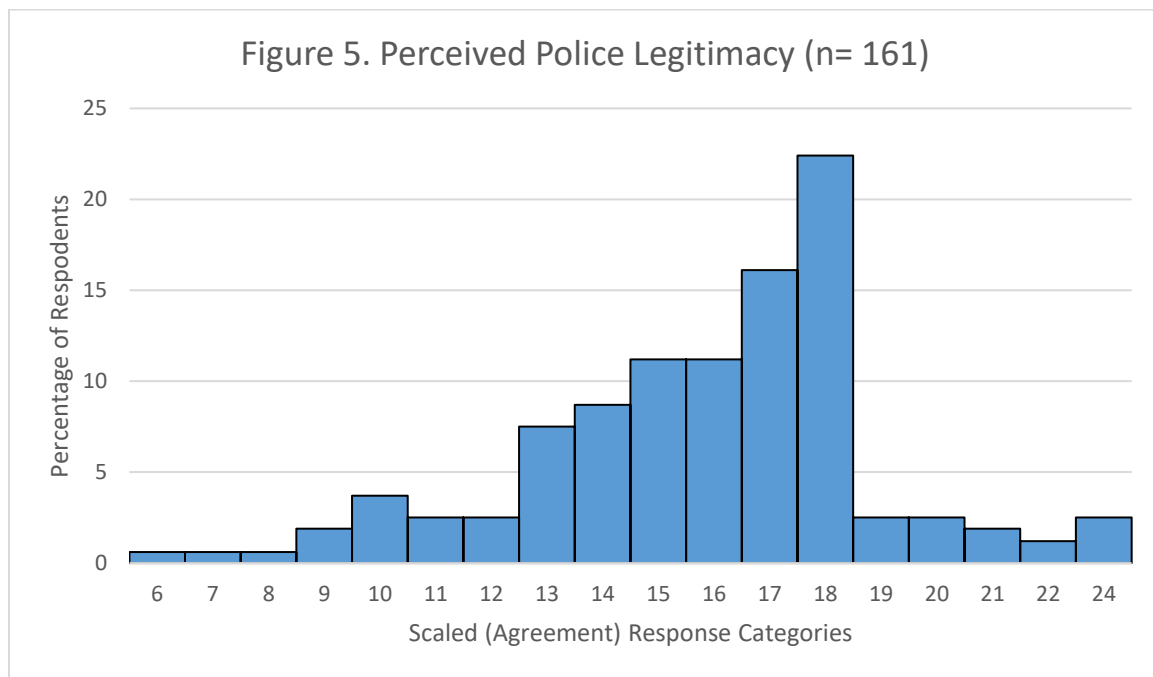


Similar to views of procedurally just treatment of Madisonians by MPD officers (from Figure 3), the ratings by respondents regarding MPD's ability to control crime and disorder, and do their job well, was very positive (mean = 10.9 [and sd = 1.3] on a scale of 3 to 12). Figure 4 indicates that there was a clustering of respondents on the very highest end of the continuum, as more than 45 percent of the officers agreed strongly with all three survey items.

MPD patrol officers were also asked about their perceptions of police legitimacy, via the way in which they believe Madisonians view and act toward the police. In doing so, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement (i.e., "disagree strongly," "disagree



somewhat,” “agree somewhat,” and “agree strongly”) with survey items that tapped the extent to which Madisonians comply with MPD officers’ orders, accept their decisions, treat them respectfully, and trust them. Figure 5 displays the distribution of response to the six-item scale, with higher values reflecting more positive assessments of police legitimacy.



An examination of Figure 5 reveals that officers were clustered toward the middle of the scale, with a good deal of variation in responses to these survey questions. The summed scale ranged from 6 to 24 and had a mean of 15.9 ( $sd = 3.2$ ), indicating more “middle of the road” (i.e., on average, respondents answered between “disagree somewhat” and “agree somewhat”) assessments of Madisonians’ deference to MPD officers and their willingness to follow their directions.

In examining the relationship between MPD officers’ perceptions of their treatment of

citizens, job performance, and Madisonians treatment of them, correlation analysis was performed between procedural justice, job performance, and police legitimacy (see Table 4). Correlations range from -1.0 to 1.0., with values closer to zero indication weaker relationships, and values close to -1.0 and 1.0 indicating stronger associations.

**Table 4. Correlations between Procedural Justice, Job Performance, and Police Legitimacy**

|                           | <i>Procedural Justice</i> | <i>Job Performance</i> | <i>Legitimacy</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Procedural Justice</i> | -                         |                        |                   |
| <i>Job Performance</i>    | .406*                     | -                      |                   |
| <i>Legitimacy</i>         | .071                      | .206*                  | -                 |

\*  $p < .01$

The results of Table 4 reveal a moderately strong positive correlation between MPD job performance and procedural justice (.406), which is significant at the  $p < .01$  level. That is, officer who rated their peers high on job performance also rate them high on procedural justice (and vice versa). Perceptions of job performance were also correlated (.206;  $p < .01$ ) with police legitimacy, suggesting that favorable assessments of MPD's ability to produce beneficial outcomes was positively related to perceptions of legitimacy from citizens (and vice versa). While the two outcome-based evaluations were positively (and statistically) related (i.e., job performance and legitimacy), procedural justice (a process-based assessment) was not statistically associated with perceived levels police legitimacy.

### *Views of Madisonians*

The next section of our survey queried officers regarding Madisonians and the issues they ask the police to deal with. In doing so, respondents were asked to report their relative

agreement (i.e., “disagree strongly,” “disagree somewhat,” “agree somewhat,” “agree strongly”) with respect to the problems for which individuals call the police, victims of crime blameworthiness, whether police are called too much for non-crime issues, and whether calls for service result in helping people. Table 5 presents the percentage distribution of responses to each questionnaire item measuring views of Madisonians.

**Table 5. Officer Perceptions of Madisonians and their Requests for Service (percentages)**

| <i>Survey Item</i>                                                                                                                       | <b>Disagree<br/>Strongly</b> | <b>Disagree<br/>Somewhat</b> | <b>Agree<br/>Somewhat</b> | <b>Agree<br/>Strongly</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Most of the individuals who call the police for help have real problems that need police attention (n=163)</i>                        | 4.9                          | 17.8                         | 62.6                      | 14.5                      |
| <i>Many individuals who are victims of crime bring it upon themselves (n=163)</i>                                                        | 27.6                         | 44.8                         | 22.1                      | 5.5                       |
| <i>Individuals call the police for too many non-crime matters that they should handle themselves instead of involving police (n=163)</i> | 8.0                          | 27.6                         | 49.7                      | 14.7                      |
| <i>In general, when I answer a call for service, I believe I am truly helping someone</i>                                                | 2.5                          | 9.8                          | 58.3                      | 29.4                      |

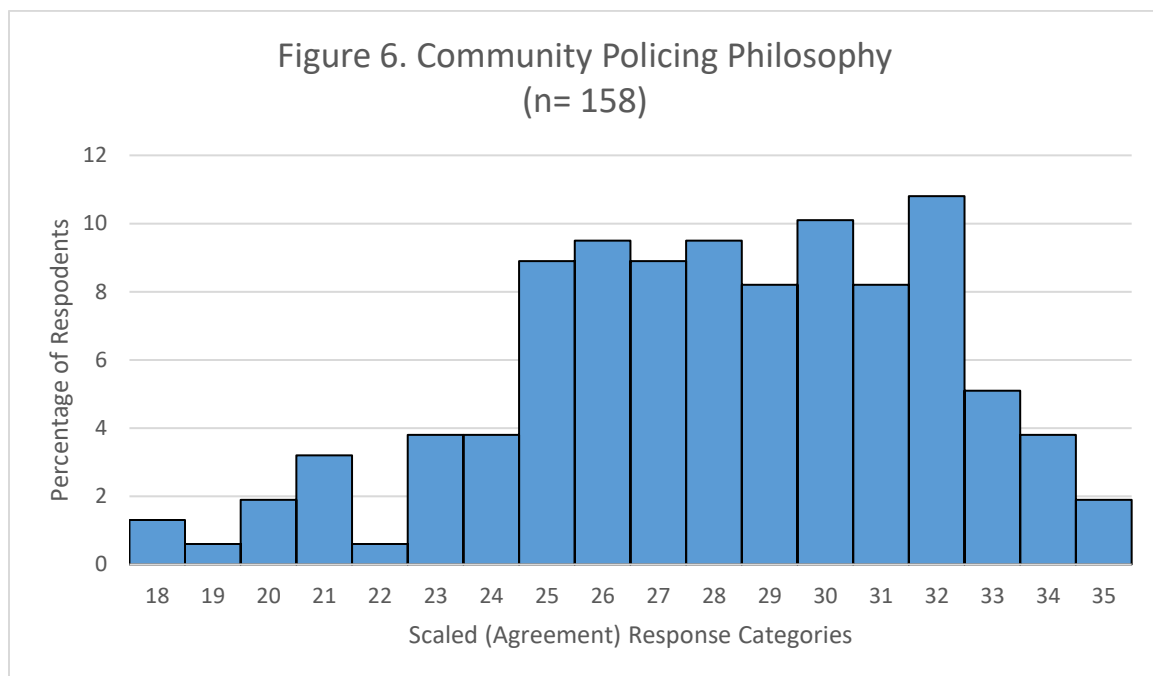
Overall, MPD officers reported rather favorable orientations toward Madisonians, although they expressed some concerns over the calls for which they are requested to handle by the public. Specifically, MPD officers believed that those who call the police have real

problems (i.e., 77.3% responded with “agree somewhat” or “agree strongly”); did not think that victims of crime bring it upon themselves (i.e., 72.4% responded with “disagree somewhat” or “disagree strongly”); and, believed that when they answered a call for service they were truly helping someone (i.e., 87.7% responded with “agree somewhat” or “agree strongly”). At the same time, MPD officers were more divided regarding the matters for which they are called to by Madisonians, with 64.4 percent agreeing (i.e., either “somewhat” or “strongly”) that police are called for too many non-crime issues that should not involve them.

### *Views of Community Policing*

As a guiding operational philosophy that gained prominence during the 1980s and 1990s, community policing asked police and their external constituents to collaborate in their efforts to combat crime and disorder in American neighborhoods. Current reformers, in questioning the aggressive crime fighting approaches that have come at the cost of deteriorated police-community relations, have called for a re-visitation to the principles and ideals of community policing. To measure officers’ views of community policing, we presented nine survey items. In doing so, respondents were asked to rate their relative agreement (i.e., “disagree strongly,” “disagree somewhat,” “agree somewhat,” and “agree strongly”) with the following statements: (1) Community policing reduces the rate of serious crime; (2) Community policing increases the workload of the beat officer (reverse coded); (3) Community policing makes residents more satisfied with the department; (4) Community policing reduces the rate of minor crimes and disorders; (5) Community policing is not successful in low income, high

crime neighborhoods (reverse coded); (6) To advance in this department an officer needs to support community policing; (7) I agree with the philosophy of community policing; (8) Community policing is supported by most of the people who live or work in the area that I patrol; (9) Community policing is best left to MPD’s community policing team and other specialized units (reverse coded). The nine survey items were summed together to form an additive index (see Figure 6), with higher values reflecting more positive views of community policing.



While we find some variation, MPD patrol officers, were generally favorable oriented toward community policing. Figure 6 illustrates a concentration of responses near the higher end of the scale. The summed scale ranged from 18 to 36 and had a mean of 28.1 (sd = 3.8), suggesting that officers averaged a response of 3.12 (i.e., just past “agree somewhat”) to each

of the nine survey items. Of note though, and indicative of variation in community policing attitudes, is that fact that one-third of the respondents (i.e., 33.5%) reported an average response of less than at least “somewhat” agreement.

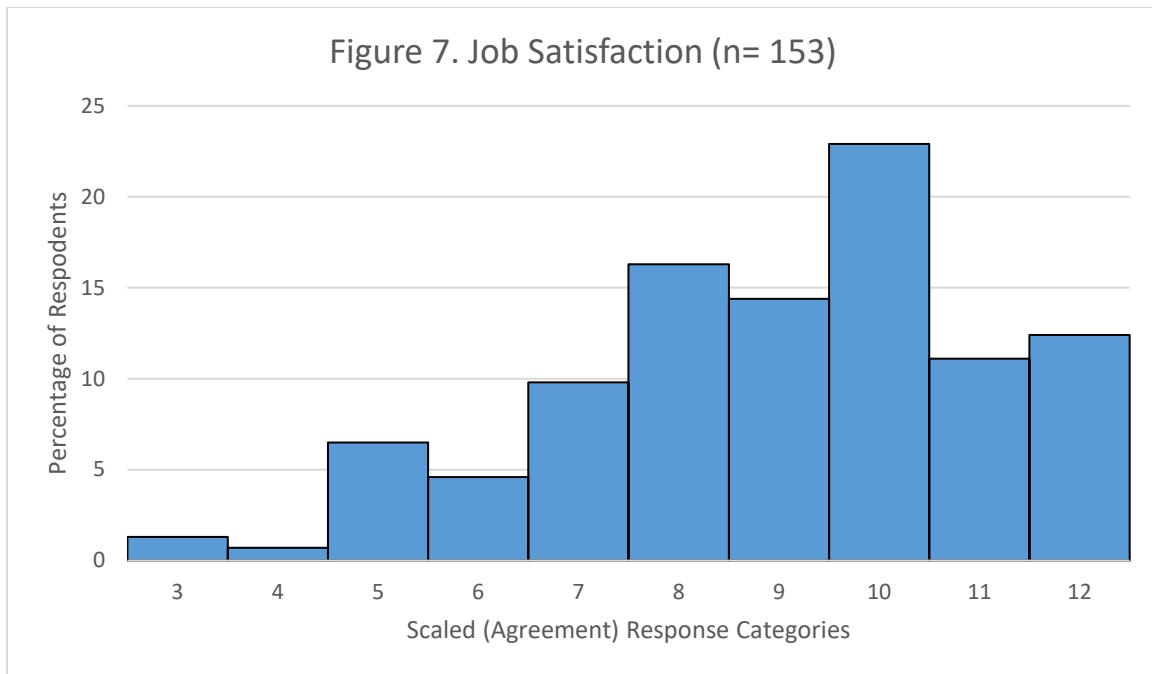
### *Perceptions of the Work Climate*

The survey of patrol officers also examined perceptions of the work climate. In this section, we measure several facets of the external (i.e., the streets) and internal (i.e., the organization) environments, which researchers have identified as potential sources of pressures and at the core for understanding police occupational culture. Although variation exists across police officers, many occupational members have been described as exhibiting high levels of stress and citizen distrust, in dealing with a dangerous external environment. Similarly, feelings of a lack of support from supervisors and direct managers can lead to both job stress and dissatisfaction. Cumulatively, such negative orientations make officers at risk for cynicism, burnout, and turnover.

The survey of MPD patrol officers asked them to report on five primary features of the occupational work environment: job satisfaction, job stress, danger, citizen distrust, supervisor support, and top management support. Similar to prior sections of this report, the items measuring perceptions of the work climate utilized a four-point response option of *disagree strongly*, *disagree somewhat*, *agree somewhat*, and *agree strongly*. In each of the figures that follow, the horizontal axis represents the scaled response category of agreement (with higher values indicating more job satisfaction, job stress, danger, citizen distrust, supervisor support,

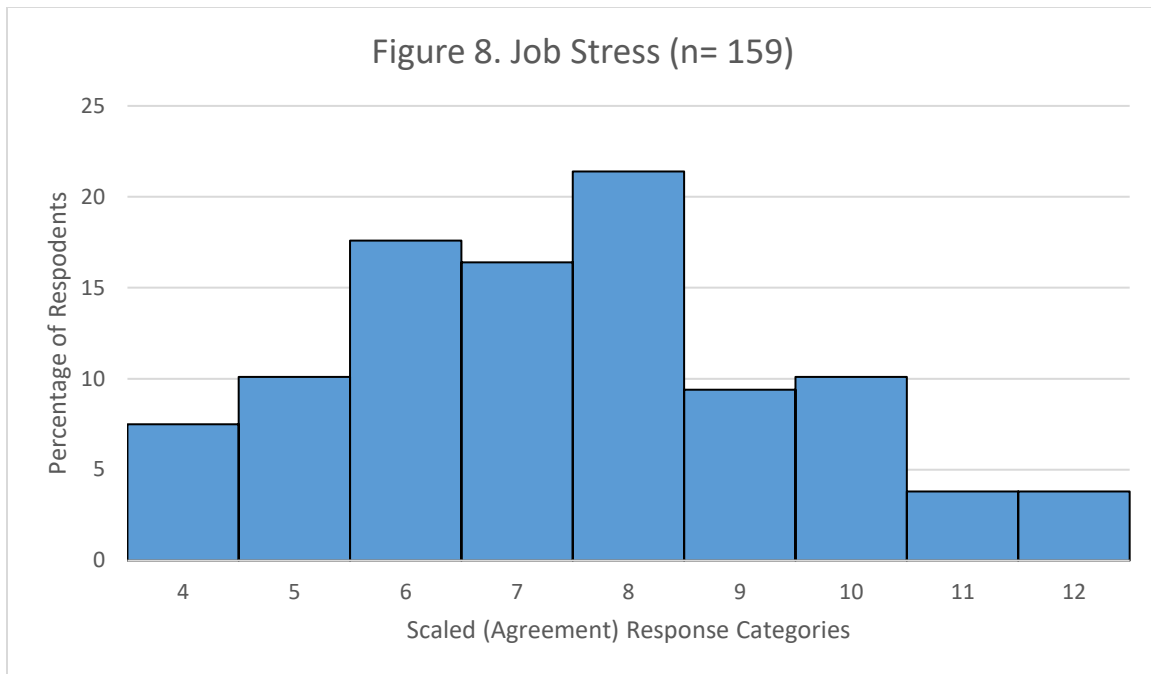
and top management support), while the vertical axis displays the percentage of responding officers.

Job satisfaction was measured with three survey items that focused on the extent to which officers enjoy and like their job. Specifically, respondents were queried regarding their relative agreement with the following statements: (1) “I feel real enjoyment in my job;” (2) “I like my job better than the average police officer does;” and (3) “I would not consider taking another job.” These items were combined to form an additive index which ranged from 3 to 12. As Figure 7 indicates, while there was variation in responses (with some at the lowest end of the job satisfaction continuum), the majority of officers held positive assessments of their job. In fact, the mean of 9.0 (sd = 2.1) and the distribution of responses indicates that officers averaged a value of three for each of the survey items, while 60.8 percent of the respondents scored a nine or better (which equates to a “somewhat agree” or higher). Moreover, 12.4 percent of MPD officers answered “agree strongly” to all of the job satisfaction questions.

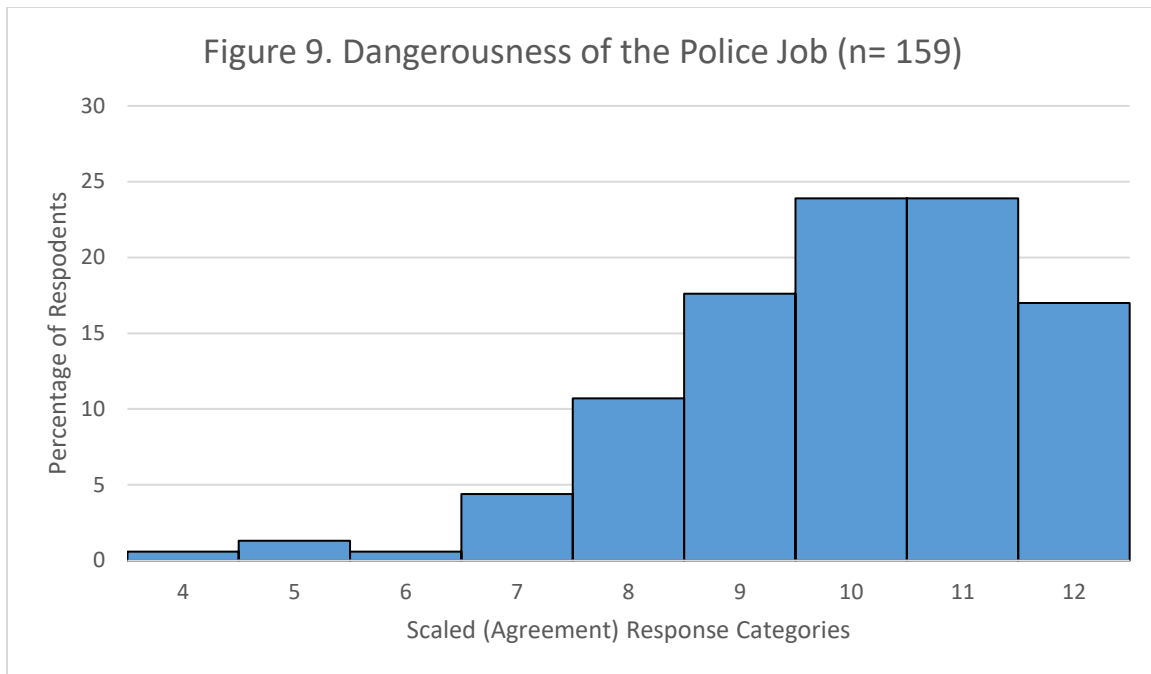


The three-item job stress scale examined the extent to which officers were frustrated, pressured, or uptight at work. Specifically, respondents were asked to report their level of agreement with the following statements: (1) “I am usually under a lot of pressure when I am at work;” (2) “A lot of time my job makes me very frustrated or angry;” and (3) “When I’m at work I often feel tense or uptight.” The mean of the job stress scale was 7.4 (sd = 2.0), with a range of 3-12. As the mean values and Figure 8 indicate, there was a moderate amount of stress expressed by officers, with some (but not many) on the extremes of the scale (i.e., high and low levels of job stress).



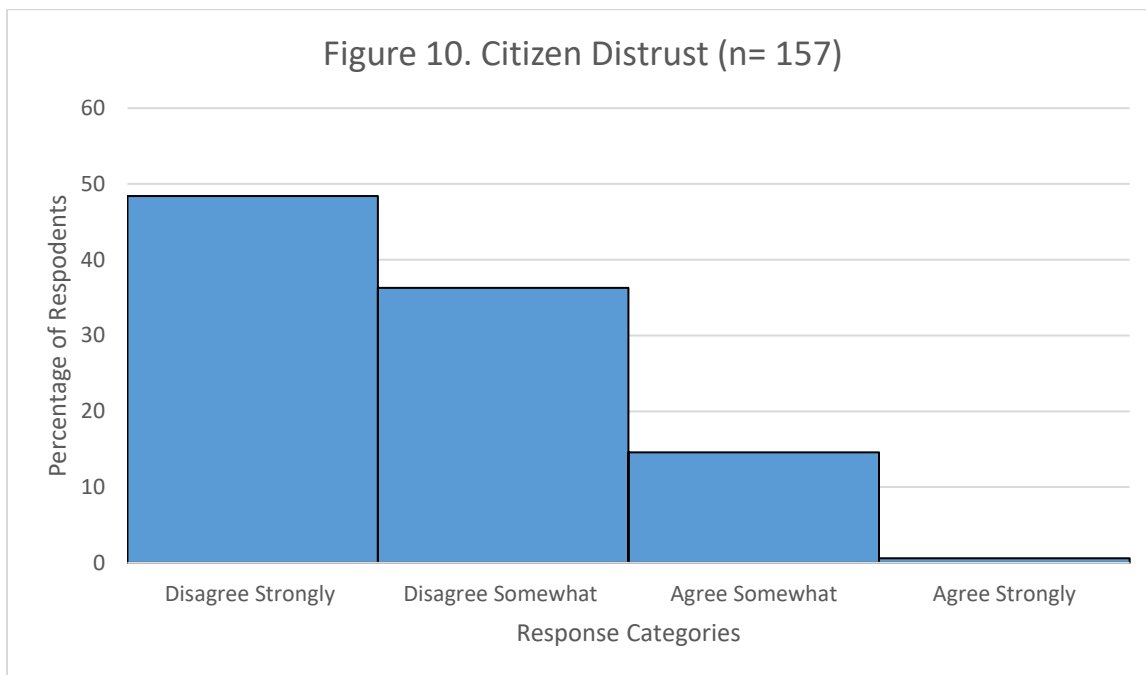


Next, our work climate section, measured the amount of danger officers' perceived by asking them respond to the following three statements: (1) "My job is a lot more dangerous than other kinds of jobs;" (2) "In my job, a person stands a good chance of getting hurt;" and (3) "A lot of people I work with get physically injured in the line of duty." The three-item danger scale ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean on 9.9 (sd = 1.6), indicating that MPD perceived a high potential for danger in their job. In fact, 82.4 percent of respondents reported a 9 or better on the 12-point scale (i.e., averaging a response of "agree somewhat" to "agree strongly"). As the histogram in Figure 9 indicates, there was a pronounced skewing of officers on the high end of the danger continuum. In comparison to job stress (see Figure 8), MPD officers were far less stressed about their jobs compared to perceptions of danger and injury in the line of duty.



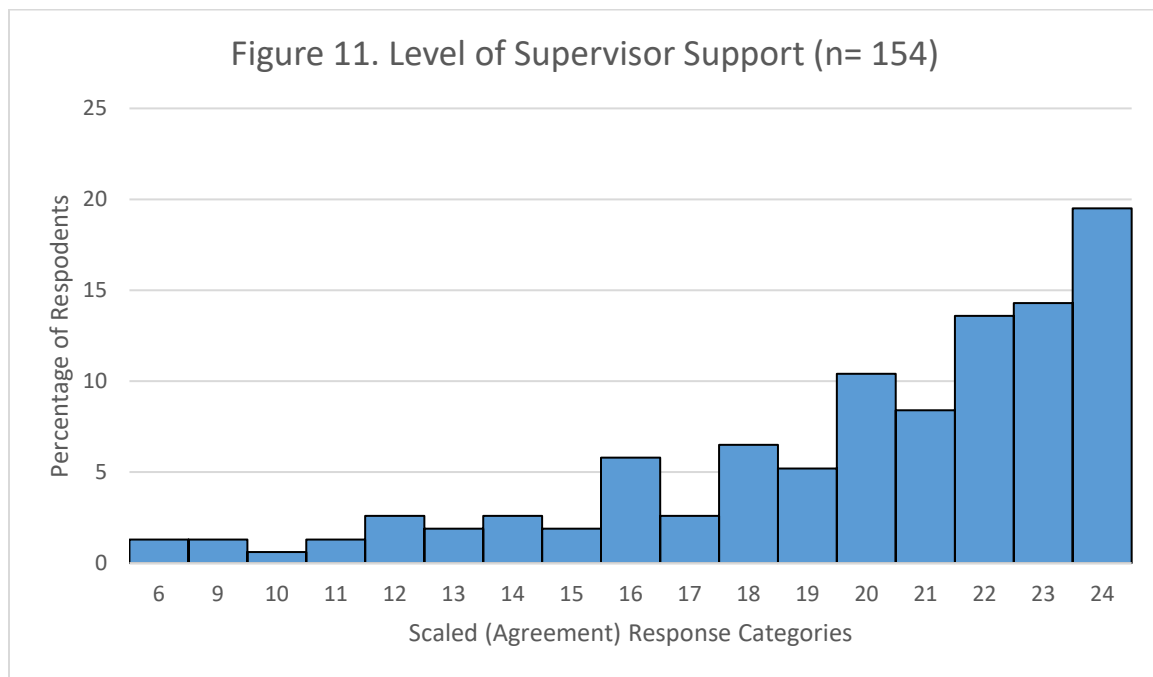
We also examined another prominent attitudinal feature of officers' external (street) environment – distrust of citizens. Occupational accounts of police culture have noted the cynicism that officers develop toward citizens, based largely on the dangerousness of the job. While variation in orientations exist, departments that are characterized by high levels of suspicion and distrust of citizens will certainly face obstacles in collaborating with these external constituents in disorder and crime reduction initiatives. Our single-item citizen distrust measure asked officers the extent to which they agreed with the statement: "Police officers have good reason to be distrustful of most Madisonians." On a scale of 1 to 4, the distrust mean was 1.7 (sd = .77), and Figure 10 indicates extremely low levels of distrust of Madisonians. Of the 157 survey respondents, 84.7 percent disagreed (48.4% strongly disagreed) that police officers should be distrustful of most Madisonians. These findings suggest that while MPD officers

report high levels of occupational danger (see Figure 9), as a group, they do not appear to be overly distrustful of the public.



As part of a primary feature of officers' internal work environment, we examined perceptions of supervisors. The support of one's supervisor is important for police officers as they navigate the various strains of the job. Supportive superiors can assist in the occupational functioning of patrol officers, while unsupportive supervisors can have negative consequences for police officers (e.g., isolation, laying low, c.y.a., avoiding work, burnout, etc.). We asked officers to respond (with their relative agreement) to the following six statements about their supervisors: (1) "My supervisor looks out for the personal welfare of his/her subordinates;" (2) "My supervisor's approach tends to discourage me from giving extra effort (reverse coded);" (3) "My supervisor will support me when I am right, even if it makes things difficult for him or her;"

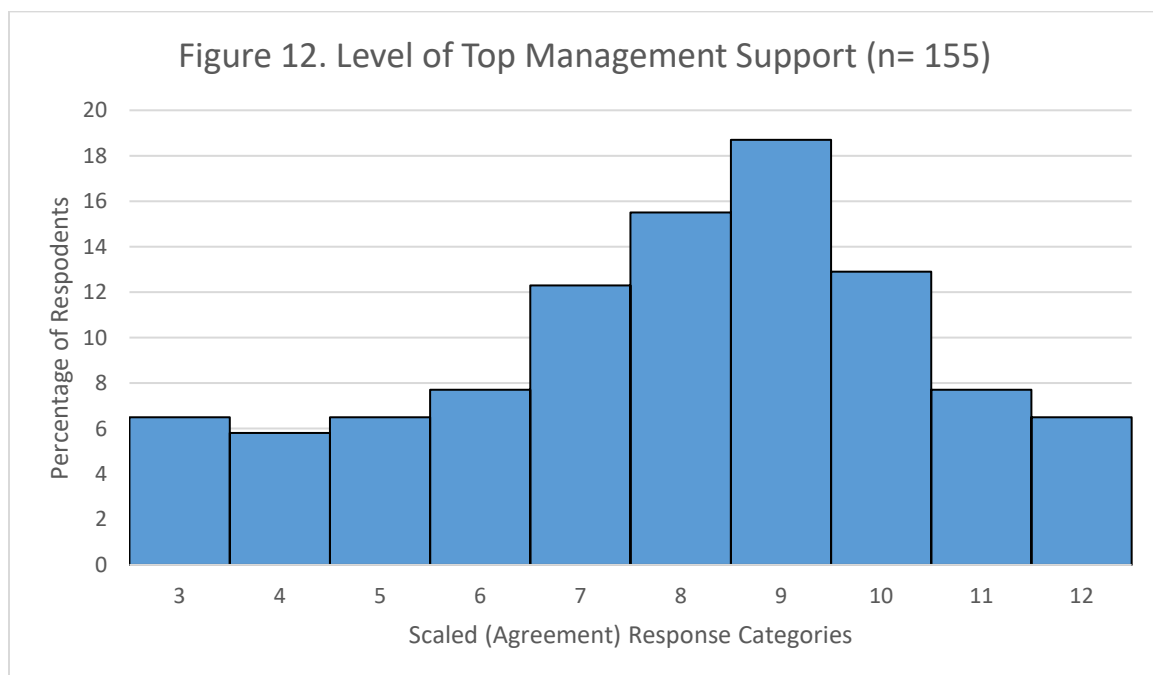
(4) “The decisions or judgments I make are seldom criticized or modified by my supervisor;” (5) “My supervisor lets officers know what is expected of them;” and (5) “I have complete faith in my supervisor.” The supervisor support scale ranged from 6 to 24 and had a mean of 20.0 (sd = 4.1). This distribution of responses is illustrated in Figure 11.



While variation exists among respondents (as there is a full range of values from 6 to 24), the overwhelming majority of MPD officers expressed positive assessments of their supervisors. In fact, over 75 percent of respondents had an average score of three (“agree somewhat”) or higher (“agree strongly”), while nearly one-fifth of the officers (19.5%) responded “agree strongly” to all of the supervisor support items. As such, among the vast majority of patrol officers, MPD supervisors are perceived as supportive, fair, and competent.

Related to orientations toward supervisors (and their support) are assessments of top

managers, who are often responsible for creating and maintaining the culture of a police department. Research on police has generally found that assessments of direct supervisors are usually more positive than that of more abstract (and detached from an officer's day-to-day activities) upper-level leaders. To measure views of top management, respondents were asked to report their relative agreement to the following statements: (1) "When an officer does a particularly good job, top management will publicly recognize his/her performance;" (2) "When an officer gets written up for rule violations, he or she will be treated fairly by top management;" and (3) "When an officer contributes to a team effort rather than look good individually, top management here will recognize it." The distribution of responses to the three-item top management scale are reported in Figure 12. The scale ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean of 7.9 (sd = 2.5).



While we find variation in responses to survey questions posed about top management (i.e., values ranged from 3 [strongly disagreeing with all items] to 12 [strongly agreeing with all items]), the clustering of respondents were toward the middle of the scale (i.e., falling between both “somewhat” categories). As such, while MPD patrol officers were overwhelmingly positive in their assessments of direct supervisor support (see Figure 11), we do not find the same enthusiasm (i.e., either positively or negatively) toward their senior leaders.

In an effort to examine associations between the various external (i.e., the street environment) and internal (i.e., the organizational environment) occupational settings, correlation analysis was performed among all of the work climate variables. Correlations range from -1.0 to 1.0., with values closer to zero indication weaker relationships, and values close to -1.0 and 1.0 indicating stronger associations. Table 6 presents the results.

**Table 6. Correlations between Attitudes toward External and Internal Work Environments**

|                           | <i>Job Satisfaction</i> | <i>Job Stress</i> | <i>Danger</i> | <i>Citizen Distrust</i> | <i>Supervisor Support</i> | <i>Top Mgmt. Support</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Job Satisfaction</i>   | -                       |                   |               |                         |                           |                          |
| <i>Job Stress</i>         | -.342**                 | -                 |               |                         |                           |                          |
| <i>Danger</i>             | .059                    | .219**            | -             |                         |                           |                          |
| <i>Citizen Distrust</i>   | -.238**                 | .307**            | .194*         | -                       |                           |                          |
| <i>Supervisor Support</i> | .231**                  | -.200*            | .059          | -.198*                  | -                         |                          |
| <i>Top Mgmt. Support</i>  | .327**                  | -.243**           | -.050         | -.137                   | .452*                     | -                        |

\* p < .05      \*\* p < .01

Table 6 reveals that job satisfaction was inversely related to job stress (-.342), which was statistically significant at p < .01. This indicates that those officers that were more satisfied with

their jobs were also less stressed. Conversely, less satisfied officers reported more job stress. The correlation between danger and job satisfaction was small (.059) and not statistically significant, suggesting that perceived danger does not impact one's satisfaction with the job. Citizen distrust was inversely related to job satisfaction (-.238) and statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ), revealing that high levels of citizen distrust are associated with less job satisfaction (and vice versa). Finally, more positive assessments of supervisor and top management support was correlated with higher levels of job satisfaction (.231 and .327, respectively;  $p < .01$ ). As such, supportive superiors result in more satisfied patrol officers, and conversely, officers that perceive less support from supervisors and top managers are less satisfied with their jobs. Overall, when officers hold higher levels of distrust toward citizens and job stress, job satisfaction suffers. Further, positive views of support from supervisors and top managers contributes to more satisfied patrol personnel.

Table 6 also illustrates statistically significant relationships between job stress and danger, as those officers who reported higher levels of occupational danger also reported higher levels of job stress (.219;  $p < .01$ ). Conversely, lower levels of perceived danger was associated with lower levels of job stress. In a similar manner, officers that expressed more distrust toward Madisonians reported higher levels of job stress (.307;  $p < .01$ ). Finally, more positive reviews of supervisor and top management support was correlated with less job stress (-.200;  $p < .05$  and -.243;  $p < .01$ , respectively).

We also find that those officers that were most distrustful of citizens (while small in number) also reported higher levels of perceived danger (.194;  $p < .05$ ), which makes intuitive

sense since citizens represent the chief source of physical danger for police. In terms of the internal environment's impact on perceived danger, we fail to find a statistical association between street-level danger and views of direct supervisor or top management support.

In parsing out the impact of views of the internal environment (i.e., supervisors and top management) on views of citizens, we find only a statistically significant negative correlation between direct supervisor support and citizen distrust ( $-.198$ ;  $p < .05$ ). That is, more positive assessments of first-level supervision is associated with less citizen distrust (and vice versa). This makes sense since one's patrol supervisor is more likely to be connected to the external environment (along with the officer), and where more support is perceived, less negative views of citizens (and police work in general) manifests, as officers may feel more free in their street-level decision making. Conversely, the relative distance between top managers and patrol officers might be a factor in the lack of association between top management support and distrust of primary clientele on the street.

Finally, among the dimensions of the internal occupational work environment, we find a strong positive correlation ( $.452$ ;  $p < .01$ ) between views of direct supervisor support and perceptions of top management support. That is, when positive assessments are expressed toward one's direct supervisor, favorable orientations are revealed for top management. The converse is also true, as negative orientations toward direct supervisors are related to less favorable assessments of top management. This suggests that direct supervisors, as transmission belts of supervision in police agencies, have an impact (i.e., both positive and negative) on the way in which patrol officers view upper-level administration.

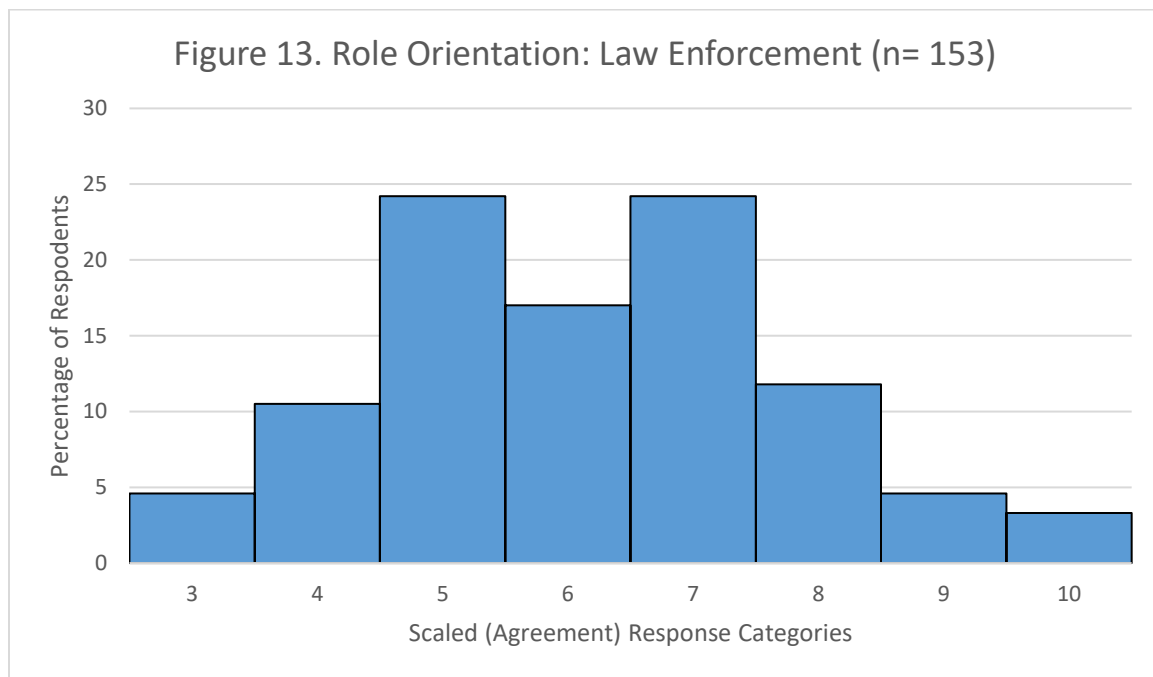


## *Role Orientations*

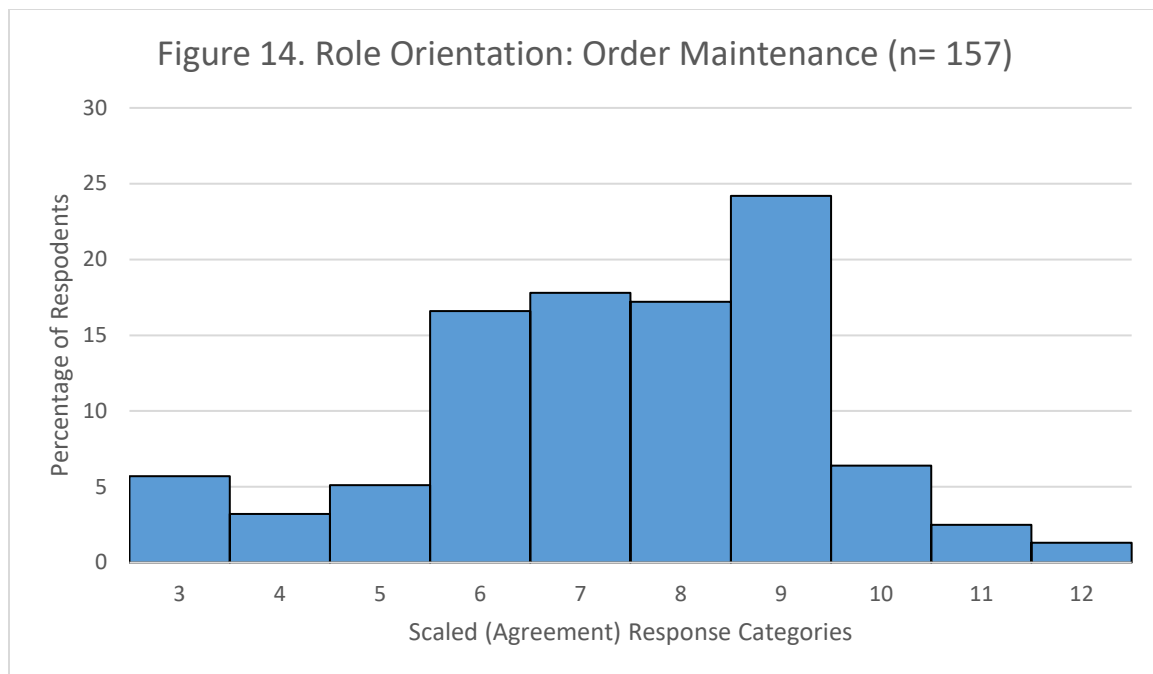
The various functions performed by patrol officers can be collapsed into primary role orientations of law enforcement, order maintenance, and community policing. While some officers orient themselves more narrowly toward crime fighting, others may be more expansive in perceptions of their role by embracing order maintenance and problem solving/disorder activities. We queried patrol officers about their attitudes toward each of these roles, and their responses are displayed in Figures 13 (law enforcement), 14 (order maintenance), and 15 (community policing). The replies to our survey questions were not mutually exclusive, so officers who endorsed one orientation (e.g., law enforcement) could also score highly on one (e.g., order maintenance *or* community policing) or both (order maintenance *and* community policing) other roles. Similar to the previous figures, higher values indicate greater attitudinal alignment with each police role.

The law enforcement role orientation focused on the extent to which officer believed they should just concentrate on crime issues rather than lower level minor (i.e., less serious) citizen concerns. Specifically, respondents were asked to report their relative agreement with the following statements: (1) “An officer is most effective when she or he focuses only on serious crimes, rather than dealing with minor misdemeanors or traffic infractions;” (2) “Police officers are required to spend too much time handling calls that are unimportant and not crime related;” and (3) “When an officer has probable cause against a suspect, the officer should always arrest that suspect, even if the crime is minor.” The law enforcement scale ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean of 6.2 (sd = 1.6). The mean and Figure 13 illustrate that officers tended to

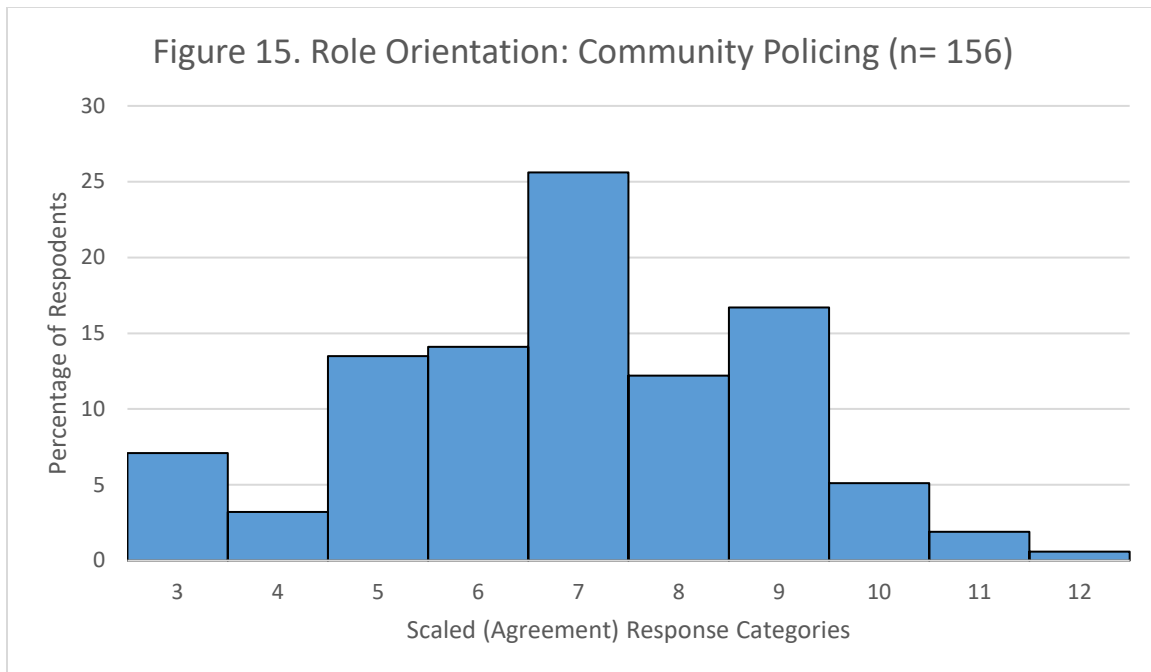
fall in the middle to lower end of the scale (i.e., an average response near that of “disagree somewhat”) without strongly endorsing a crime fighter focus. This is not to suggest that MPD patrol officers do not believe in fighting crime, it simply indicates that they do not place it as the “end all be all” at the cost of ignoring minor offenses and non-crime calls.



The order maintenance orientation focused on the extent to which officers believed that police should be required (as part of their role) to do something about public nuisances (e.g., panhandling, loud parties, barking dogs, etc.), neighbor disputes, and family disputes. The order maintenance scale ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean of 7.4 (sd = 2.). While variation existed among MPD respondents (from 3 [disagree strongly] to 12 [strongly agree]), the clustering was more favorable (i.e., more closely to “agree somewhat”) than that of law enforcement (see Figure 13).



The community policing role orientation focused on the extent to which officers believed that they should be responsible for disorderly conditions such as: nuisance businesses, parents who don't control their kids, and litter and trash. The three-item scale ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean of 6.9 (sd = 2.). As the mean and Figure 15 illustrate, officers generally fell between their law enforcement and order maintenance orientations. Interestingly, across the three-survey items, the majority of officers (i.e., 52.8%) disagreed that they should be required to do something about parents that don't control their kids or litter, trash, and vandalism (i.e., 76.3%), although the majority of respondents (i.e., 63.7%) agreed that police should be required to do something about nuisance businesses.



In an effort to assess associations between the three role orientations (see Table 7), correlation analysis was performed. Correlations range from -1.0 to 1.0., with values closer to zero indication weaker relationships, and values close to -1.0 and 1.0 indicating stronger associations. While officers' order maintenance and law enforcement role orientations were not statistically associated with each other, we do find an extremely strong correlation (.624;  $p < .01$ ) between traditional order maintenance role orientations and community policing orientations that focus on lower-level physical and social disorders. That is, officers that endorsed the order maintenance role also endorsed the community policing, and conversely, when officers did not believe they should be required to do something about order maintenance activities, they reported the same negative views of community policing functions. We also find that law enforcement orientations and attitudes toward community

policing functions were negatively correlated (and statistically related) to one another (-.105;  $p < .05$ ). So, MPD officers that strongly endorsed crime fighting orientations tended to reject community policing orientations, and (conversely) those who rejected law enforcement role orientations were more accepting of community policing. This relationship might be expected given that these two role orientations might be regarded as opposite ends of the police role continuum (i.e., traditional crime fighting versus more contemporary disorder and problems solving approaches).

**Table 7. Correlations between Role Orientations**

|                           | <i>Law<br/>Enforcement</i> | <i>Order<br/>Maintenance</i> | <i>Community<br/>Policing</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Law Enforcement</i>    | -                          |                              |                               |
| <i>Order Maintenance</i>  | -.105                      | -                            |                               |
| <i>Community Policing</i> | -.189*                     | .624**                       | -                             |

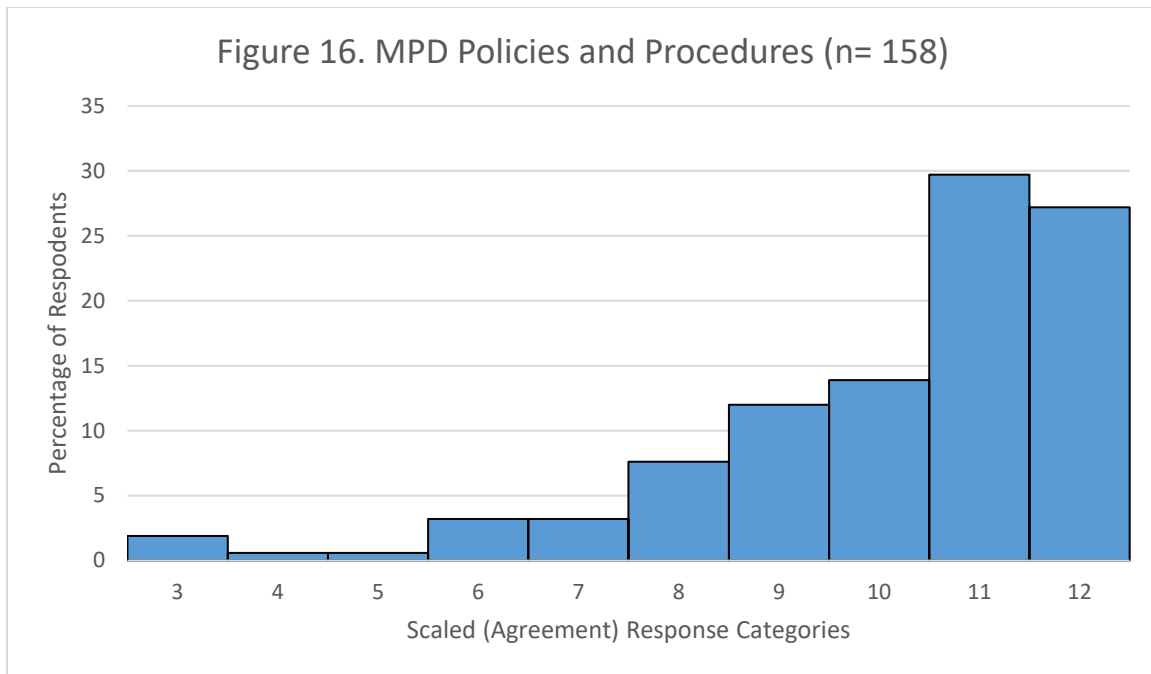
\*  $p < .05$       \*\*  $p < .01$

### *MPD Policies & Procedures*

Throughout the history of policing, efforts have been made to increase the diversity of police personnel (e.g., 1964 Civil Rights Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Affirmative Action, etc.). At the same time, simply hiring diverse (i.e., in terms of race, ethnicity, sex) occupational members is not enough. Organizations must effectively integrate diverse populations and provide equal opportunities for them to succeed. Perceptions of glass ceilings and unequal treatment, once hired, can be obstacles for the effective functioning of officers of varying demographics. We asked respondents to assess MPD policies and procedures in terms of their fairness, and specifically with respect to diverse occupational members. In doing so, we

provided the following statements to MPD officers asking them to provide their level of agreement: (1) “Policies and procedures at the MPD promote cultural diversity among employees in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender;” (2) “Women and minorities, at the MPD, have equal access to merit recognition and promotion opportunities (the same as men and non-minorities);” and (3) “MPD policies and procedures create standards so that decisions are fair and consistent.”

The three-item MPD policies and procedures scale had a mean of 10.1 (sd = 2.0). The mean and scaled responses, presented in Figure 16, indicate a very positive regard for MPD policies and procedures. Cumulatively, 56.9 percent of the officers responded with the highest values (i.e., 11 and 12) for these survey questions. Across each of the individual questionnaire items, 91.2 percent of the respondents agreed (64.2% agreed strongly) that MPD policies promote cultural diversity; 87.4 percent agreed (74.1 agreed strongly) that women and minorities at MPD have the same access as men and non-minorities to merit recognition and promotion; and 79.2 percent agreed (34% agreed strongly) that MPD policies and procedures create standards for fair and consistent decisions.



A logical concern regarding the types of policies that officers were asked to assess is the nature of the variation among respondents who disagreed that MPD’s policies promote cultural diversity (i.e., the 8.8% that disagreed), provide equal access to merit and promotional opportunities (i.e., the 12.7% that disagreed), and create standards so that decisions are fair and consistent (i.e., the 20.8% that disagreed). If, for example, the dissenting respondents across all of these items all represent underrepresented (i.e., in terms of sex and race) personnel, then the aggregate picture of favorability may not be as clear as it appears. To address this issue, we examined sex and race relationships across each of the three MPD policy and procedures questions. Recall that survey respondents’ sex (i.e., 75.4% male and 24.6% in the overall population, compared to 76.7% male and 23.3 % female among survey respondents) and race (i.e., 76.6% White and 23.4% Non-White in the overall population, compared to 80.0%

White and 20% Non-White among survey respondents) mirrored that of the overall population of police patrol.

In terms of sex, 21.4 percent of the respondents that disagreed that MPD's policies and procedures promote cultural diversity were female. Across sex, 9.8 percent of male officers disagreed with this survey item, compared to 8.8 percent of female officers. Similarly, 25 percent of the disagreement regarding MPD's policies and procedures promoting equal access to merit and promotion opportunities were from females. Across sex, the percentage of females that disagreed with this survey-item (14.7%) was very similar to that of males (13.4%). The final question, regarding fair and consistent decisions, resulted in similar findings, as 25.8 percent of the disagreeing respondents were female, and like their male counterparts (20.5%) 23.5 percent of all females disagreed with this survey-item. As such, proportionally, we found very little in the way that suggests that female respondents were overrepresented in unfavorable assessments of the fairness and effectiveness of MPD policies and procedures.

Next, we examined similar relationships across officer race. That is, we compared White and Non-White respondents' unfavorable policy assessments (i.e., their disagreement across the three survey items). Unlike comparisons across officer sex, we find the percentage of Non-Whites that disagreed (46.2%) that MPD's policies and procedures promote cultural diversity to be closer to, albeit less than, Whites (53.8%). Across race, we find that just over one-fifth (20.7%) of the Non-White respondents expressed disagreement, compared to 6 percent of White respondents. With respect to disagreement in equal access to merit and promotional opportunities, there is a more pronounced race effect. That is, 57.9 percent of those officers



that expressed unfavorable assessments were Non-White versus 42.1 percent of whom were White. Across race, 37.9 percent of all Non-White respondents disagreed with this survey item, compared to 6.9 percent of disagreement among all White officers. Finally, 31 percent of the disagreement that MPD's policies and procedures create standards so that decisions are fair and consistent was expressed by Non-White personnel, while 69 percent was from White respondents. Proportionally though, 17.2 percent of White respondents expressed unfavorable views, compared to 31 percent of all Non-White officers. Overall, while we failed to find any patterning among unfavorable views of MPD's policies between male and female officers, some race-based findings emerged.

### *Use of Force De-Escalation Training*

Contemporary training strategies stressing the application of lower levels of use of force, in minimizing the injury to suspects and officers, have concentrated on the benefits of de-escalation techniques during encounters with suspects. As part of such approaches, officers are instructed on the benefits of utilizing verbal commands, active listening, and tactical advantage, in "slowing down" encounters that can quickly spiral out of control (and result in high levels of force). We queried patrol personnel about the in-service use of force de-escalation training that they received from MPD. Specifically, we asked officers to rate the MPD's use of force de-escalation training in terms of its: overall helpfulness in dealing with suspects, assistance in avoiding use of force, assistance in using lower levels of force, "real life" applicability, and trainers.

Table 8 displays the distribution of agreement expressed by MPD respondents regarding their in-service de-escalation training. Overall, we find variation in the assessments of various features of MPD's training. For example, the overwhelming majority of officers of respondents believed (95.4% agreed; 54.6 strongly agreed) that MPD's trainers were effective in communicating core principles of use of force de-escalation. Similarly, although with much less intensity, officers asserted (75.8% agreed; 22.2% strongly agreed) that their de-escalation training "has been helpful in dealing with encounters with suspects." In terms of *avoiding* use of force and using *lower levels* of force during encounters with suspects, we find majority agreement toward de-escalation assistance (62.7% and 55.5%, respectively). At the same time, this also indicates that over one-third (37.3%) disagreed in the assistance the training provided in avoiding force, and more than two-fifths (44.7%) did not believe that their training assisted in using lower levels of force. Finally, while assessments were slightly more positive than negative, officers were more split in their perceptions of the limited "real life" applicability (57.9% disagreed) of use of force de-escalation strategies. Overall, we find that MPD's use of force (de-escalation) trainers received high praise, while assessments of the usefulness of such approaches on the street elicited reactions that were more mixed.

**Table 8. Officer Perceptions of In-Service De-Escalation Training (percentages)**

| <i>Survey Item</i>                                                                                                                                                                       | <b>Disagree<br/>Strongly</b> | <b>Disagree<br/>Somewhat</b> | <b>Agree<br/>Somewhat</b> | <b>Agree<br/>Strongly</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>The training that I have received has been helpful in dealing with encounters with suspects (n=153)</i>                                                                               | 5.9                          | 18.3                         | 53.6                      | 22.2                      |
| <i>That training that I have received has assisted me in <u>avoiding</u> the use of force (i.e., hands and weapon-based tactics) during my encounters with suspects (n=153)</i>          | 10.5                         | 26.8                         | 45.1                      | 17.6                      |
| <i>That training that I have received has assisted me in using <u>lower levels</u> of use of force (i.e., hands and weapon-based tactics) during my encounters with suspects (n=152)</i> | 12.5                         | 32.2                         | 36.2                      | 19.1                      |
| <i>The training that I have received has limited applicability to “real life” encounters with suspects (n=152)</i>                                                                       | 17.1                         | 40.8                         | 30.9                      | 11.2                      |
| <i>The trainers that instructed the training that I received were effective in communicating the core principles of use of force de-escalation (n=152)</i>                               | 2.0                          | 2.6                          | 40.8                      | 54.6                      |

## *Concluding Occupational Assessments*

We concluded our survey with two, open-ended questions allowing patrol officers to report what they *liked best about their job* and what they *would change, if they could, about their job*. In coding the various responses to these two questions, identifiable categories emerged. As with the rest of the findings from this report, understanding the favorable and problematic assessments of the police occupation, in the eyes of line-level personnel, can be of use to MPD leaders in strengthening the work climate of their organization.

In terms of what patrol officers like best about their job (n=136), high importance was placed on conditions of the external work environment (i.e., the streets) and working with other MPD officers. Specifically, 36 percent of survey respondents reported that the best thing about their job is helping and meeting people in the community. This included the following responses: “Every day is an opportunity to have a positive impact on someone’s life. I honestly hold onto that;” “Helping Madison residents feel safer in their homes/neighborhoods;” “Helping people through crises they cannot cope with alone;” “I am proud to be a police officer and enjoy helping people have a better quality of life;” “I meet a lot of people from many walks of life;” and “The ability to help people through trying times.”

The next most frequent response (i.e., 27.9 %) regarding the best part of the police occupation related to working with other MPD officers. This included some of the following statements: “100% the people I work with;” “Direct co-workers in patrol and direct supervisors. They are the only ones in this department who regularly engage with the community and provide direct service;” “Serving with my fellow officers and consistently seeing them/us serve

and interact with the public with compassion, patience, and courage;" "Taking care of my platoon;" "The bond that has formed between the people I work with the most;" "The close friendships that I have made with coworkers;" and "Working with intelligent, hardworking, dedicated men and women."

Finally, officers appreciated the lack of monotony of their job, and the relative freedom and autonomy they have in handling their calls for service. For example, patrol officers expressed the following: "Every day is different;" "Freedom, variety and problem solving;" "I like the unpredictability, excitement, and variation;" "No two days are alike, spontaneity;" "No two moments are ever the same;" "The diverse CFS;" and "You never know what is going to happen and that I am not stuck behind a desk."

The frustration, or what officers would change about their job, also illuminated some identifiable themes. Among the most problematic factors noted by respondents was the lack of resources, particularly with regard to staffing. Among the 130 officers that responded to this open-ended question, 18.5 percent noted concerns such as: "Hire more officers so we can adequately handle calls for service and have more requests for days off approved;" "I would remedy the staffing issues so that officers were more able to attend specialized trainings and take time off;" "Better technical support;" and "Staffing – we need more of it and we need to add beat cops. Over the last 5 years, calls for service have increased and we haven't added officers and beats. This means less time for the patrol officer to pro-actively engage in community policing or pro-active law enforcement activities and leaved it to our specialized units."

Patrol officers also expressed dissatisfaction (14.6%) with the ways in which the public views them and their occupation. Interestingly, while the public (i.e., the ability to help them) represented a very positive dimension of the occupation for officers, their orientations toward the police also represent a negative feature of the job. Officers noted such dissatisfaction as part of the following responses to what they would change about their job: “How much the public dislikes/distrusts/misunderstands us;” “I Wish There was More Community Support for Law Enforcement. Madison’s Citizens can be Extremely Cruel to their Police Department – i.e., ‘Fuck the Police’ Signs in People’s Yards, ‘Fuck 12’ on the Back of People’s Shirts, Yelling Hurtful Things Such as ‘Pig’ ‘MPDK’, ‘Racist’, and ‘Cop Killers’ are Heard Often and it’s Sad; ” “Dealing with a public that doesn’t understand how fortunate they are to have a police department of this caliber;” “Making a proactive effort to show the community how most of our interactions go rather than only the major or controversial incidents; ” and “More respect and appreciation of the police, specifically in our more challenged neighborhoods.”

A third category of concern, identified by responding patrol personnel (13.1%), related to extrinsic features of the police profession (i.e., their hours/pay/work schedule). This included such statements as: “A more regular work schedule;” “Higher pay;” “Make it easier to get time off;” “The 6-3 work schedule is brutal. I would like a 4-3 fixed week schedule;” “The inflexible hours. They make family life exceedingly difficult;” and, “The schedule. I’d much rather work longer days to have more days off.”

Some patrol officers (12.3%) identified MPD management as something they would change about their job. Specifically, respondents noted the following: “Command needs to

make more personal connections with officers. There is too much reliance on email; “Have administration and supervision work some days in patrol every year;” “Have leaders, not managers;” “The pervasive, negative view of patrol that upper management has in our department;” “To be treated by upper management as the professionals we are;” and “More interaction from management with policy implementation. Not only making a decree for a new policy/procedure, rather, require more input before policies/procedures are implemented.”

A final area of dissatisfaction expressed by patrol personnel, and representing an additional external source of discontent (with that of public perception), focused on Madison’s City Council and local government. Examples of such discontent and needed change among officers included: “Have a city council that understood what we do and how police function in this country based on law and not emotion of the moment;” “That I could inform and/or influence government bodies that make decisions regarding what laws are, what is and is not funded, etc., and the unintended consequences that those decisions have on the citizens on the street;” “ More support from city council” “To have City Council actually support us;” and, “Change some of our city, county, and state political leaders whose decisions have been adverse for public safety.”

In closing, just as it is useful for organizational leaders to understand the conditions of the occupation that officers’ value, in ensuring that these features are maintained (or, at least, not substantially altered), sources of discontent are valuable so that efforts can be made to address them in enhancing the satisfaction of organizational personnel. Interestingly, there are noted problematic conditions for patrol officers that are within the reach of top management.

For example, MPD leaders can work toward addressing extrinsic factors of hours/pay/work schedule, as well as insufficient resources/staffing. Most importantly, top management should not underestimate the value of subordinates' perceptions of them, as this represented one of the five primary sources of dissatisfaction for MPD patrol personnel. Finally, while public perceptions of police and city council are beyond the direct control of top management, organizational leaders could serve as a buffer, and support system, when issues arise related to these external constituents of Madison.