

THE HUMAN FACTOR IN LAW ENFORCEMENT: An Exploratory Study of the Attitudes of Policemen Toward Prostitution

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The attitudes of law enforcers toward the person of the prostitute and the act of prostitution were examined using the multiple case study and survey method. Twenty-five policemen were interviewed in depth while one hundred eighty three participated in the survey. Results revealed a high level of knowledge of the law among the respondents. However, their feelings and behavioral inclinations did not support their knowledge of the law. To a limited extent, the variables 'rank' and 'number of years in Metro Manila' accounted for some of the variations in the cognitive and affective component of the attitude, respectively. Personal encounters with prostitutes, actual experiences in enforcing the law against prostitution, and some socio-cultural factors helped shaped these attitudes.

The policeman is a favorite target of public scrutiny. The mere sight of him elicits various images and feelings within the civilian. Although these images and feelings are not always rooted in actual encounters with police authorities, they do determine how the citizen regards and relates with him in particular and with policemen in general. Niederhoffer (1969) aptly describes this phenomenon when he said, "The policeman is a 'Rorschach' in uniform as he patrols his beat. His occupational accouterments — shield, nightstick, gun, and summons book — clothe him with a mantle of symbolism that stimulates fantasy and projection."

The public image of the Filipino policeman has always been under attack. A survey conducted in 1966 by a public safety team of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) made the observation that "the public condemns the police" and that their "deteriorating public image is well manifested in daily newspapers." Furthermore, the survey team concluded that the police "are involved in the prevailing worsening of the peace and order situation."

The preoccupation of the Filipino with public image is further heightened by the present experience of democracy under the administration of President Aquino. The citizenry, more than ever, expect their public officials to live lives beyond reproach. The policeman is the most visible of these officials. Thus, his actions are carefully watched.

Inspection of newspaper accounts continually indicate a beleaguered image of the police. It seems that not much has changed since the 1966 USAID survey. Policemen continue to be associated with *tong* and *lagay*, Filipino terms for grease and protection money. Apparently, in the mind of the citizenry, policemen personify corruption. Consider this portion in a newspaper editorial (*Manila Standard*, 1986):

Normally, the link between the police and crime is that of law enforcement. The police are obliged to prevent crimes or once they are committed, to pinpoint the culprits and then to take them into custody. But a new connotation has arisen with the participation of an increasing number of policemen in criminal activities, sometimes as a leader . . .

One of the criminal activities allegedly

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participated in by a number of policemen is prostitution. Dailies and tabloids abound in stories of cops in cahoots with prostitutes, pimps, managers and operators of sex dens. Such reports impel public officials to wage a renewed battle against vice lairs. However, their moves are often met with public skepticism. It seems that the citizens are yet to be convinced about the consistency of policemen in enforcing the law against prostitution.

The main interest of this study is the perceptions of policemen regarding prostitution. It attempts to solicit feedback from the frontliners in the antiprostitution campaign. Research efforts in the past have considered the viewpoints of psychologists, sociologists, and even that of the religious in understanding the phenomenon of prostitution; with hardly any report on the angle of the law enforcer. Most of these studies have identified poverty as the root cause of prostitution. However, it has been realized that the problem of prostitution is not just a problem of poverty. It is a problem too of law enforcement and of the law enforcer himself.

The battle against prostitution begins with a clear understanding of the situation and this ultimately requires the consideration of the person authorized by society to enforce the law against the reprehensible act. The mere review of laws for possible revisions or amendments will not suffice because the relevance and effectivity of such laws hinge on their actual implementation. Hence, it is imperative that concerned sectors of society consider the human factor in law enforcement — the policeman himself.

The present study seeks to determine the attitudes of policemen toward prostitution. What are their cognitions, affective evaluations, and behavioral inclinations regarding prostitution and the prostitute? Do these cognitions, affective evaluations, and behavioral inclinations support or contradict each other? Do factors such as rank, age, birthplace, length of service, number of years

in Metro Manila, education and salary affect these attitudes? What role do personal experiences and broader socio-cultural factors have in influencing these attitudes. What are the implications of these attitudes for policy and lawmaking?

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The major part of this study came from semi-structured intensive interviews with a sample of policemen. Questionnaires were first administered to the larger group of policemen. This survey served to supplement some of the findings from the interviews. Hence, a combination of a multiple case study approach and an ex post facto survey approach was employed in the research. The final sample consisted of 25 policemen for the intensive interviews and 183 policemen for the attitude scale. All of them came from either the Western Police District (WPD) Headquarters or Station 5. Selection of respondents was based on the policemen's willingness and availability for the interview and their presence during fall-in time for the attitude scale.

Data Collection Procedure

For the interview phase, semi-structured intensive interviews were conducted with each of the 25 policemen. The interviews were designed to explore the range and depth of the policemen's attitude toward prostitution. Questions revolved around their experiences, perceptions and feelings regarding the person of the prostitute, the act of prostitution, and the different factors that influence their work on prostitution. Each interview lasted from one to four hours.

For the survey portion, the researcher initially secured clearance from the WPD Superintendent and the respective commanding officers of the groups involved in the research. Arrangements were then made regarding the

date and time of administration. Respondents were drawn from the list of policemen reporting for duty at the office. Policemen who were either on leave or assigned to sensitive posts which prevented them from reporting for duty were exempted from the list.

The first part of the survey consisted of a "Police Officer's Information Sheet" that was devised to gather background information on the respondents. Data included the respondent's rank, age, birth place, number of years in Metro Manila, number of years in the police service, civil status, religion, highest educational attainment, and present functional assignment. The information yielded by this questionnaire provided the profile of the respondents.

The second part of the survey was an "Attitude Scale" that was designed to provide a more objective measure of the attitudes of policemen toward prostitution. Attitude was operationalized in 3 ways: (a) reactions to statements on cognitions regarding the stimulus object, (b) reactions to statements on affective evaluations of the stimulus object, and (c) reactions to statements on behavioral predispositions toward the stimulus object.

The extent to which the respondents approved or disapproved of the 25 statements regarding prostitution indicated their cognitions, affective evaluations, and behavioral predispositions toward the stimulus object. Twenty-three items were stated in standard 5-category Likert formula with *strongly agree* (or oftentimes) given a score of 5, undecided (or sometimes) 3, and *strongly disagree* (or hardly ever) 1. In order to control for agreement response set, 12 items were worded positively while 11 items were worded negatively. The negative statements were reversely scored in the analysis. The remaining two items were multiple choice items.

Data Analysis

1. Semi-structured Intensive Interviews

Transcribed materials from the in-depth interviews were subjected to content analysis to draw out major themes and trends across the different interviews. Categories were dictated by the findings themselves. The frequency with which the category appeared became the basis for the statements made regarding the prevailing attitude of policemen toward prostitution.

2. Police Officer's Information Sheet

The demographic data gathered from this portion were assigned numerical values. Then, frequencies, percentages, cumulative percentages, means and standard deviations were computed for. Results provided the basis for drawing the profile of the respondents.

3. Attitude Scale

The five different positions that can possibly be taken by the respondent in relation to the 23 Likert-type statements were assigned values of 1 to 5. The "one" end was assigned to the negative end of the scale while the "five" end was assigned to the positive end of the scale. In order to describe the pattern of responses on each statement, means and standard deviations were obtained. The total score of each individual in each of the subgroups and in the overall scale was determined by getting the sum of the numerical values of the positions that he checked. Then, the mean scores of all the respondents on the three subsets and in the overall scale was computed for. In the absence of a comparison group to which the sample of respondents can be evaluated against, the test of polarity was employed to allow more meaningful interpretation of results. This required solving for the t values of the each of the mean scores and the neutral score of 3. Thus, 4 t tests were performed.

Next, an intercorrelation matrix containing selected demographic variables, the three attitudinal components, and the overall attitude measure was obtained. This was done to choose the demographic variables which may be used as predictor variables. Finally, regression analysis was done to find out the extent to which the chosen predictor variables accounted for the variance in the different mean scores of the respondents.

RESULTS

Results from the intensive interviews and the standard questionnaires yielded very rich information on the attitudes of policemen toward prostitution. Although the two different methods had their own limitations in approximating the reality of the policeman, several significant observations have been made in the process.

One of these was the policemen's high level of knowledge of the law regarding prostitution. Responses to the intensive interviews and to the attitude scale revealed that most of them knew the provisions in the Revised Penal Code: the act which defined prostitution, the type of offense or crime involved, the other offense classified with prostitution, and the penalties due to the offenders.

Another notable observation centered on the feelings of the policemen regarding the person of the prostitute and the act of prostitution. Results showed that sympathy and understanding characterized what most of them felt toward the prostitute. They admitted that most of the women involved in the business were there by force of circumstances. They expressed their disagreement with treating the women like other criminals. They recognized the pitiful state of the woman. Yet, it was also very clear that majority of them disapproved of the act of prostitution. A lot of them were personally against it. They regarded it as a shameful thing for women to engage in. They agreed to its prohibition for moral and health reasons. This seeming con-

tradition within policemen merely reflected the distinction between feelings for the person of the prostitute and those for the act of prostitution.

Corollary to this is the observation regarding the behaviors of policemen toward prostitution. Results of the intensive interviews and of the standard questionnaires indicated a great deal of leniency in the enforcement of the law. Oftentimes, strict implementation of the law resulted from "orders from above" rather than "urges from within." However, when asked if they were willing to work for its legalization, majority disagreed.

It is also worth noting that a great number of respondents proposed different ways of approaching the situation. In the intensive interviews, majority proposed rehabilitation of the woman. In the standard questionnaires, most of the respondents suggested the inclusion of the customer as a participant in the crime and an increase in the penalty of the offenders. Only a small percentage chose to continue classifying it as a crime under the Revised Penal Code with the present provisions. Although the results from intensive interviews and standard questionnaires did not perfectly match, results indicated some deviation from the present law which they are mandated to uphold.

Findings from the different components that comprise the overall attitude of the policemen indicated a lack of support among the said components. Their feelings and behavior did not necessarily reinforce what they knew was required of them by law. Figure 1 illustrates the difference among the thoughts, feelings and behavior patterns of the respondents; as reflected in the attitude scale.

The demographic characteristics of the policemen seemed to have minimal influence over the variation in the cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses of the policemen. Results showed that, to a very limited extent, only *rank* and the *number of years in Metro*

COGNITIONS

AFFECTIVE EVALUATIONS

BEHAVIORAL INCLINATIONS

1. Prostitution is a crime against morals.
 $\bar{X} = 3.97$ SD = .87

9.2%	4.7%		61.20%	23.50%
1	2	3	4	5

2. Prostitution is an offense against decency and good customs.
 $\bar{X} = 3.91$ SD = .97

13.11%			57.92%	24.59%
1	2	3	4	5

3. Prostitution is a legitimate profession.
 $\bar{X} = 3.80$ SD = 1.15

5.82%	12.71%	7.16%	45.86%	28.73%
1	2	3	4	5

4. Under the RPC, prostitutes are considered vagrants.
 $\bar{X} = 3.77$ SD = .90

14.21%	5.4%		65.57%	15.44%
1	2	3	4	5

5. Our present penal law against prostitution is meant to discourage women from committing the crime.
 $\bar{X} = 3.70$ SD = .97

5.44%	8.24%	8.79%	65.93%	11.54%
1	2	3	4	5

6. Women who regularly accept money in exchange for sexual intercourse are considered prostitutes.
 $\bar{X} = 3.67$ SD = 1.15

6.21%	14.75%	7.10%	50.82%	21.31%
1	2	3	4	5

7. Under the RPC, prostitution is penalized with imprisonment for 30 days.
 $\bar{X} = 3.15$ SD = 1.02

5%	26.67%	21.67%	41.67%	5%
1	2	3	4	5

LEGEND:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
 2 = Disagree
 3 = Undecided
 4 = Agree
 5 = Strongly Agree

1. Prostitution should be legalized in the Philippines.
 $\bar{X} = 3.79$ SD = 1.23

19.13%	13.66%	25.14%	39.94%
1	2	3	4

2. It is shameful for women to habitually indulge in sex for any form of consideration.
 $\bar{X} = 3.74$ SD = 1.06

15.30%	9.84%	49.73%	22.40%
1	2	3	4

3. Engaging in sex for money or profit should be condemned by society.
 $\bar{X} = 3.44$ SD = 1.15

23.08%	14.29%	40.66%	17.58%
1	2	3	4

4. Law should not be used to impose standards of morality.
 $\bar{X} = 3.24$ SD = 1.16

30.94%	9.94%	42.54%	11.60%
1	2	3	4

5. Prostitutes are worthy of respect.
 $\bar{X} = 3.19$ SD = 1.09

33.85%	20.77%	31.15%	12.57%
1	2	3	4

6. We should be more sympathetic of prostitutes.
 $\bar{X} = 3.04$ SD = 1.14

36.52%	14.04%	39.71%	9.65%
1	2	3	4

7. I feel offended, when in civilian clothes, I am approached or solicited by a prostitute.
 $\bar{X} = 2.95$ SD = 1.10

12.64%	14.29%	50%	12.09%	10.77%
1	2	3	4	5

8. We should not treat prostitutes as criminals.
 $\bar{X} = 2.54$ SD = 1.09

10.93%	58.47%	13.7%	18.58%	7.65%
1	2	3	4	5

1. I make an effort to discourage my women friends from engaging in prostitution.
 $\bar{X} = 3.87$ SD = 1.15

19.54%	26.92%	23.08%	39.56%
1	2	3	4

2. I will encourage citizens to work for the legalization of prostitution.
 $\bar{X} = 3.84$ SD = 1.33

14.75%	19.66%	18.09%	46.99%
1	2	3	4

3. I will join other policemen who want to work for the legalization of prostitution in the Philippines.
 $\bar{X} = 3.79$ SD = 1.29

14.75%	16.83%	21.31%	42.08%
1	2	3	4

4. If given the assignment, I will use up all possible resources in getting rid of prostitution.
 $\bar{X} = 3.74$ SD = 1.09

9.34%	15.95%	49.60%	24.18%
1	2	3	4

5. When asked for my opinion, I persuade my male friends against availing of the services of prostitutes.
 $\bar{X} = 3.28$ SD = 1.16

9.29%	10.93%	40.98%	20.22%	18.58%
1	2	3	4	5

6. I ignore prostitutes as long as they are not involved in other crimes.
 $\bar{X} = 3.08$ SD = 1.11

9.44%	15.56%	46.67%	12.87%	14.44%
1	2	3	4	5

7. I consider the woman's intention for engaging in prostitution before making an arrest.
 $\bar{X} = 2.79$ SD = 1.12

17.78%	14.44%	47.22%	18.22%	8.33%
1	2	3	4	5

8. In making arrests, I tend to be more tolerant of prostitutes than other criminals.
 $\bar{X} = 2.79$ SD = .97

14.21%	12.02%	60.11%	8.20%	5.46%
1	2	3	4	5

Figure 1. Mean, Standard Deviation, and Distribution of Scores of Attitudinal Statements

Manila accounted for variations in cognitions and affective evaluations respectively. Regression of the cognitive component on rank produced a significant B value of .49 ($t = 2.15, p .05$). The predictor accounted for only 2.5% of the variation in the cognitive component of the respondent's attitude toward prostitution. The test for significance of the overall R^2 (through the ANOVA for R^2) showed it to be significant beyond the 5% level. Thus, to a limited extent, the higher the rank of a policeman, the greater is his knowledge of the law regarding prostitution.

Regression of the affective component on the number of years in *Metro Manila* yielded a significant B value of -.72 ($t = -2.29, p .05$). This predictor accounted for 2.81% of the variation in the affect scores. The test for significance of the overall R^2 was significant beyond the 5% level. The negative sign of the B value indicated a negative relationship between the two variables, meaning, the greater the number of years spent by a policeman in *Metro Manila*, the less likely is he to favor the strict implementation of the law against prostitution. This finding reinforced the observation made by several policemen during the interviews that, through the years, policemen get used to the existence of prostitution and are, therefore, not very optimistic about the effectivity of the law in controlling it.

Actual experiences with prostitutes and their business appeared to shape a great part of police attitudes. Most of the time, personal encounters with the women revealed offenders of the law who made a living out of being attractive, who readily asked for forgiveness and consideration, and who were forced by circumstances to use sex to earn a living. The typical streetwalker was not the typical criminal who challenged policemen to implement the law on very strict terms. The very person and situation of the prostitute elicited leniency from the policemen. Frequent exposure to prostitution as a desperate way of earning a living further reinforced their feelings of sympathy and understanding. The

net result of all these was a general laxity in the enforcement of the law.

Other features of their experiences on field affected their feelings and behaviors. Tolerating the women meant, not only the absence of hostility from them, but the opportunity to gain cooperation by way of getting information on other crimes. Furthermore, the difficulty and expense involved in proving cases of prostitution led the policemen to be more tolerant of such activities.

The social milieu in which the policemen functioned also had a role in shaping the attitudes of policemen. Findings from the intensive interviews revealed that protection given by persons in authority to those who did business out of prostitution was perceived by policemen as undermining their efforts to enforce the law. Finally, the lack of public cooperation in ridding society of the vice was experienced as a hindrance to the full implementation of the law.

DISCUSSION

Understanding Police Attitudes as a Meaningful Whole

Ideally, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of an attitude should support each other in explaining and directing how an individual relates and gives meaning to his world. Traditional Western attitude theory asserts that the absence of consistency or congruence among these components leads to some form of discomfort or dissonance within the individual. This in turn motivates him to seek some form of change in his beliefs, feelings, or actions in order to achieve congruence.

Results of this research show that the three components of a policeman's attitude toward prostitution do not support each other. Yet, he does not seem bothered at all. There is no feeling of discomfort or dissonance.

The situation of the policeman does not and cannot fit the Western paradigm of consistency in thought, feeling or behavior patterns. Perhaps, a closer approximation to his experience is an adaption on Bulatao's theory (1966) on "Split-Level Christianity." In his study, Bulatao observes the co-existence within the Filipino of two or more thought and behavior systems which are inconsistent with each other. At one level, the person declares submission to ideas, values, and ways of behaving that are characteristic of Western Christianity. At another level, he possesses convictions and behavior patterns which are unique to his culture. Within him exists two sets of reflexes: his behavior as a result of formal schooling and as a result of home influences.

A similar sort of "Split-Level Morality" is experienced by the policeman. At one level, he professes allegiance to the law which requires him to apprehend women who solicit money or any form of consideration in exchange for sexual favors. At another level, he is guided by another set of principles which understands and considers the woman and her trade.

On the outset, the second level is seen by the outsider as a basic weakness or negligence on his part. This view presupposes belief to only one set of principles and that the policeman gives in to temptations to deviate from these principles. Consequently, he is expected to feel guilty or uneasy with himself for his failure to live by the law. However, in reality, the policeman experiences little or no guilt. In fact, he feels a sense of rightness about his experiences in the same way he does about the tenets of the law.

Analysis of the situation of the police reveals the possible source of this split-leveling. The surface level is the more "moral" part involving strict adherence to and implementation of the law. It is a product of formal training in the police academy or institution.

The lower or deeper level is the less "moral" part. This is composed of norms, values, and action tendencies which are characteristic of his environment. They are picked up at the station and on the street, rarely at the academy or institution.

The next question then is, "Why is there a separation of these two levels?" Bulatao (1966) echoes the view of some learning theorists that "learning is specific to a situation." This means that an individual learns a response specific to a stimulus or situation. He does not perform the same response to another stimulus or in another situation unless similarity is perceived and experienced. Thus, as long as the two environments of learning remain dissimilar (the surface level being learned within the academy or institution and the lower level being learned within the work or street setting), the two responses will remain unique to their respective situations.

Perceiving the Woman as an Offender

A set of responses acquired by policemen pounding their beat is composed of behaviors in relation to the person of the prostitute. Relating with the woman as an offender of the law is learned on field. Several factors influence how he actually behaves in relation to the prostitute.

One such factor is the history of prior relations with a particular type of suspect. Certain individuals who employ a set of gestures, language and attire have been associated with certain types of criminals or violators of the law. This perceptual shorthand is termed by Skolnick (1966) as the "symbolic assailant." This facilitates their assessment of people who may pose a threat to their authority.

Findings of this research indicate the general absence of a "symbolic assailant" in the person of the prostitute. Although they are recognized as potential carriers of sexually transmitted diseases, they are ordinarily

regarded as "harmless" in terms of doing physical violence to the police officer. The identification marks of a prostitute tend to initially attract rather than threaten the policeman. After the attraction has worn off, sympathy, understanding or disdain is felt by him. Thus, it is expected that he will be more lenient with offenders of this type.

Furthermore, according to the police respondents, women apprehended for vagrancy or prostitution hardly struggle to escape. In order to free themselves, they usually beg for consideration or forgiveness, narrate their tragic life stories or cry while confessing their motivations in joining the trade. Unless the policemen have been ordered to round up women of the streets, or unless the women are known recidivists or trouble-makers, they can be influenced by these behaviors to reconsider their decision to make an apprehension. Being considerate with the women not only assures the absence of hostility or retaliation so common with apprehended criminals, but more importantly, it wins friends who can serve as informants to other crimes.

Another point of interest in this study is the absence of consensus among policemen on whether the woman is considered offender or victim. Although she is recognized as the subject of the antiprostitution law, in many instances, she is considered the victim. This ambivalence in the perception of policemen influences behavior patterns which do not clearly indicate strict enforcement of the law against persons who are not merely offenders but victims too.

Apparently, relating to women offenders elicits varied responses from the men in uniform. This suggests the greater use of discretion by policemen who encounter cases of prostitution on their beat. In the real world, it is difficult to expect policemen to strictly implement the law against prostitution because its offenders do not symbolize immediate and personal threat to the policeman. This,

however, does not mean that policemen are unaware of the dangers caused by prostitutes to the larger society. The findings of this research show that policemen attribute immorality and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases to the growing number of prostitutes. The previous analysis merely underscores the other elements considered in enforcing the law against prostitutes.

Perceiving Prostitution as an Offense

Another set of responses learned by lawmen is related to their day to day experience with prostitution as an offense. Police action is generally understood as a response to perceived danger not only in the person of the offender but in the offense itself. In the case of prostitution, there seems to be an absence or a lack of perceived danger on the part of the policeman simply because the act itself happens in private and nobody is victimized in the conventional way of a complainant seeking justice.

Since police work is highly dependent on citizen complaint, the absence of a complainant necessitates that he initiate action against the alleged offenders of the law. However, his actions are constrained by his limited access to private places. Thus, the only way for him to prevent the commission of the offense is either to harass women by effecting arrests for vagrancy on the streets or to conduct raids and operations againsts identified prostitution houses. Results of this study reveal that neither of the two approaches seem appropriate for the policeman in the context of limited police resources.

Another element that influences police work against prostitution is the perception that the act in question has never been stopped and will never be stopped by any amount of legislation. They believe that, at most, they can only minimize the offense. This dampens their motivation and it is no surprise that their actions appear sporadic if not perfunctory.

The lack of consensus regarding the best way to deal with prostitution was revealed in the various approaches considered by the respondents in dealing with prostitution. Others have even expressed the uneasiness they felt whenever tasked to arrest prostitutes. Several have stated that they only effect arrest upon orders from their authorities. Thus, even if prostitution demands proactive rather than reactive police work, it would be difficult to expect policemen to initiate action against prostitution.

Other Socio-Cultural Factors Which Influence Police Work Against Prostitution

Several other elements in the social environment of the policeman should be given special attention as far as it affects his efforts to implement the law against prostitution. Responses to the interviews reveal that one of the most significant factors behind the implementation or non-implementation of the law is what they term as the *padrino system* among Filipinos. Literally, *padrino* means male sponsor. Its colloquial version is *ninong*, with a female counterpart termed *ninang*. The system refers to the network of extra-familial relations between individuals formed by virtue of socio-religious events like baptism, confirmation and marriage. Parents of the sponsored child (or children) and the sponsors begin relating to each other as *Kompadre* or *Komadre*.

This system, according to the respondents, has extended its influence beyond family matters into the domain of police work. Usually, pimps, maintainers and operators of sex dens have politicians, policemen or military men as *padrinos* or *kompadres*. Consequently, these *padrinos* and *kompadres* are called upon to intercede for them during arrests and raids. The request for consideration is made to the arresting officer and his immediate superior. Most of the time, especially when there is no actual complainant (as in the case of most prostitution arrests), the *padrino* succeeds in his goal.

When the *padrino* or *kompadre* involved is a co-policeman, the arresting officer feels more obliged to let go of the case. Among policemen, this is termed as *arbor* or the act of asking something of value from another. However, this term does not merely denote "request" because oftentimes, the other person simply informs the arresting officer that the case is *his* case. The act of requesting merely becomes a formality. This practice may be understood within the wider context of the "in-group orientation" or the "tayo-tayo mentality" characteristic of most Filipinos (Licuanan, 1985).

His experience of *utang-ng-loob* is another factor which color his decisions to enforce the law. The term is loosely translated as "debt of gratitude." This is clearly demonstrated in cases of women supplying information to policemen in gratitude for non-arrest for vagrancy or prostitution. Although the information was voluntarily given, policemen find themselves extending more consideration to women who have been helpful in their solution of other crimes. Furthermore, when this transaction becomes frequent, the women become *suki* or "long-standing customer" of policemen. Others even develop more intimate relations with the women.

The need to establish good community relations is another influencing factor in the work of the policemen. Since a great part of his job is facilitated by the cooperation of civilian members of the community, he has to strike a good balance between enforcing the law and building harmonious relations with the community. In the case of the respondents in this research, their immediate community is predominantly composed by residents and owners of entertainment establishments along the Tourist Belt of Manila. People in this area thrive on the business of entertainment, thus, strict implementation of laws related to their business will only invite hostility from them. Considering the prevalence of other crimes against persons and properties, policemen in the area find

themselves compromising in order to gain the higher value of community cooperation against what are considered more serious crimes.

Corollary to this is the sensitivity of policemen to their public image. Although they are not denying the involvement of several policemen in corrupt activities, they resent being stereotyped as corrupt. Most of the respondents in the study have expressed their confidence in the good will of most policemen and have spoken about the role of the public in recognizing and encouraging this good will. For some of them, their bad image has a demoralizing effect as it gives them the feeling of hopelessness in terms of ever pleasing the public. Thus, little effort is made to live up to the ideals of the service.

Finally, it must be mentioned that the common experience of harrassment has its toll on the degree of initiative taken by policemen in enforcing the law. Stories abound regarding arrests allegedly made under threat or extortion, apprehensions done with physical injury or raids conducted with robbery. Since it was beyond the scope and method of the study to confirm or disconfirm such allegations against the policemen, focus was given on how such experiences have contributed in dampening their initiative. They know the consequences of charges filed against them, therefore, unless they are backed up by "orders from above," they prefer to tolerate if not ignore cases of prostitution.

The above discussion does not intend to describe the policeman simply as a "good guy" or an impulsive law breaker. What this section attempted to do was to consider the social pressures that bear upon policemen to forego the enforcement of certain laws in the interest of conforming to other values and standards.

Toward a More Comprehensive Understanding of Law Enforcement

Findings from the present study may well lead into a deeper understanding of law enforcement in general. Analysis of the situation of the police indicate two sources of learning: (a) formal training on concepts and skills required of a policeman and (b) informal training involving norms and behavior patterns acquired at the station and in the streets. His attitude toward the enforcement of a particular law is a product of both formal and informal training. The degree of dissimilarity between these two contexts of learning influences the extent of split-leveling experienced by the policeman in responding to situations.

In the case of prostitution, the policeman was taught that solicitation of money or consideration in exchange for a sex is morally reprehensible and, therefore, should be punished. In reality, however, what may strike him is the desperate attempt of a woman to make a living more than the immorality of the act. In this case, there is a split between what he professes to believe in (the law) and what he actually does given the situation (non-enforcement or selective enforcement of the law).

Results of the present study show that the actual enforcement of the law is influenced by several factors. Firstly, the nature of the offense determines the extent to which policemen choose to enforce the law. Crimes against persons and property, like murder, homicide, robbery, and brigandage warrant immediate action from the police. In such crimes, the urgency to act according to the law is clear because of the presence of a victim or complainant. There is evidence that damage has been done and police authorities are called upon to respond. On the other hand, crimes against morals, like gambling, indecency, vagrancy, and prostitution, rarely have victims or complainants. In most cases, policemen are required to initiate action by

gathering evidence admissible in court. Unless other concerned sectors of society file a formal complaint, there is no clear proof that an offense against someone or something has been committed. Thus, the urgency to act according to the stipulations of the law is not commonly experienced by policemen.

Secondly, policemen are influenced in their discretionary determinations by the person of the offender. The appearance and behavior of the violator may challenge or not the authority of the policeman. For instance, identified hoodlums and pickpockets, aside from the trouble they cause to the community, are perceived to be hostile to policemen. Policemen have learned to associate them with danger and violence. Thus, they are likely to enforce their authority over the situation even if they have little legal justification for doing so. On the contrary, vendors, beggars and prostitutes do not ordinarily pose clear danger to the community in terms of robbing others of their basic rights. Furthermore, these violators are seen as harmless and even cooperative with law enforcers. Thus, policemen are apt to be more considerate and understanding with them in terms of selectively enforcing the law.

Thirdly, the norms and values that govern the particular community in which policemen

function influence police behavior. Communities vary considerably in their expectations of the police. For example, a highly residential area is likely to protest the presence of businesses which create noise and pollution. Thus, factories and entertainment establishments may not be accepted in such areas. On the other hand, a highly commercialized area, similar to the that of the present research, is likely to be more tolerant of the noise and pollution that accompanies industrialization. Members of this community might even encourage the growth of such ventures — legal or illegal. Thus, police work against such activities are usually met with minimal cooperation, if not outright resistance. In many instances, neutralizing police authorities by way of pay-offs and relationships with persons of influence becomes a standard operating procedure.

In summary then, law enforcement is determined, not only by the knowledge of the law but by the policeman's actual perception of encounter with the offense, the offender and the community to which he is assigned. Figure 2 diagrams the relationship between these factors.

FORMAL TRAINING
(knowledge imputed, affect implied
& behavior required by the:)

ON FIELD LEARNING
(ideas, feelings, & action
tendencies toward:)

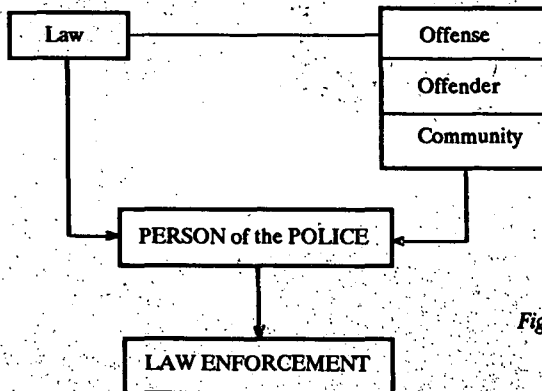


Figure 2. Schematic representation of factors that influence selective enforcement of the law.

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