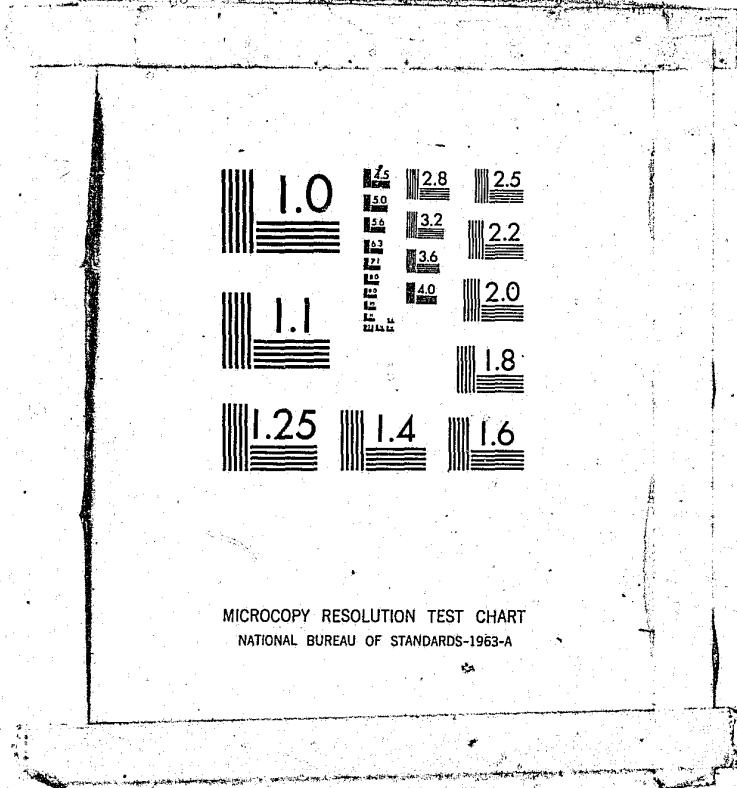National Criminal Justice Reference Service

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CHANGES IN ROLE CONCEPTS OF POLICE OFFICERS

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of
POLICE OFFICERS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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FOREWORD

This work is a response to a question. The question has been asked by police trainers, administrators, personnel officers and, of course, by the subjects of this study, the young police officers of our nation. On many occasions over the past decade, I have asked the question myself. "How does it come to pass that, after exposure to active police duty, so many of our recruits seem to suffer adverse changes in their conceptions of police work?"

It is a perplexing question, and the answer to it is extremely important in both the short and long run for the police administrator. A policeman, profoundly affected by the demands of his occupational role, is not the man that he once was. Nor are his interests, his perceptions of others, or his fears what they once were. Like other members of society, he has been touched by the need to adjust to a changing world. To have changed without knowing it is to be lost in confusing and alien surroundings.

Recognizing personal change, understanding the impact of change on the system of criminal justice, and understanding its importance for police training and the management of human resources are the vital concerns raised within this research. The aggregate role of the police has expanded over the years to include essentially conflicting, if not contradictory, elements. The dual missions of law enforcement and peace keeping produce a certain amount of "role conflict" at the institutional level. The repercussions of these conflicts are felt by the individuals within the organization. This work indicates that the subjects of this research have become aware of many of these conflicts.

Mr. Sterling has conducted a careful and rigorous examination into the question of personal change. He has delved into the collateral issues flowing from this central inquiry, and the results of his efforts are presented in this report. After reading the report, it is appropriate to say that the content and supporting data are significant to all men who have ventured into law enforcement.

The role that I play here is one of forwarding this work to a potential reader. In this role, I am forced to shed my characteristic choice of conservative phraseology and add a compelling superlative to my description of the work. The report is, indeed, highly significant. Examine the text. Read the text. Read it again and again. No single review of its contents will do it justice. There is too much of value, too much impact on too many components of the police profession to treat the material lightly. You need not agree with Mr. Sterling's work. You must read it, however, to better comprehend your disagreement.

Men in the police environment have been pictured as malleable beings. Recognizing this, all who are entrusted with the destiny of the men entering law enforcement must consider anew what they can do to control for the better the forces for change. It is hoped that many who read this text will find new meaning in Goethe's imperative,

"If you treat an individual as he is, he will stay as he is, but if you treat him as if he were what he ought to be and could be, he will become what he ought to be."

R. Dean Smith
Director
Professional Standards Division

PREFACE

POLICE TRAINING AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Today, it seems that no aspect of law enforcement receives more attention from the general public and greater emphasis from the police themselves than that of training. It is somewhat unfortunate that when reference is made to police training, both the public and the police often believe that the core of this training is legalistic--supplemented by a host of "how-to-do-it" subjects. While these factors are essential, the subject area which promises the greatest improvement of police service lies within the liberal arts--particularly in the social sciences.

"It is not only pure vocational training that is needed, but also a broader educational exposure to the liberal arts. The policeman assigned to our streets to regulate, direct, and control human behavior must be armed with more than a gun and the ability to perform mechanical movements in response to a situation. He is required to engage in the difficult, complex, and important business of human behavior. Thus his intellectual armament should be equal to his physical prowess."[1]

There is a twofold need on the part of the police for this kind of knowledge, particularly for those men with a responsibility for training. First, they need to appreciate more fully the value of the social sciences, and secondly, they need to become more able to draw from the vast knowledge of the social sciences that which is relevant and useful. The need on the part of the public is to support the police in this endeavor.

This is not to say that the police need to discover the social sciences. There are few police trainers who are unaware of the massive literature available in those disciplines. There are few police trainers who have not examined a book or periodical in the social sciences and recognized its worth. What police trainer could minimize the importance of a collection of books with such titles as "Social Disorganization," "Frustration and Aggression," "Psychology of Learning," "Personality Change," "Collective Behavior," and "Men Under Stress?" None could! Yet, many who have picked up these books have become lost in abstruse concepts and ponderous terminology. Unfortunately, not many scholars or practitioners in any field--education, business, government, or law enforcement--have been able to bridge the gap between the academic social sciences and the everyday working world. This work is an attempt to bridge that gap.

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[1]Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, "Task Force Report," May 14, 1971, p. 14.

A great deal of what has been said and written regarding the importance of police training has implied that our present efforts are inadequate. No one can deny that the training process must involve more than merely presenting recruits with quantities of information to be learned, since the development of a good officer includes much more than simply absorbing facts and mastering skills. Ideally, the police trainer should recognize that he is preparing recruits to play an important and distinctive role in a changing society. He who realizes that the formal training program is but a part of an ongoing process of the occupational socialization for the recruit will produce better officers. The trainer who is sensitive to the many conflicts and changes in contemporary society will put into the police ranks men who are better prepared for the everyday reality of police work.

POLICE TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Because man is a complex being, any effort to change him must reflect this complexity. Since occupational socialization for the police recruit involves more than the mere acquisition of information, then the learning process in this broader sense will affect attitudes, emotions, perceptions and conceptions. These modifications may even influence man's essence, his personality. How the recruit views his occupational role, how he perceives the people with whom he comes into contact, and most importantly, how he conceives of himself are matters which will change as he becomes a more experienced police officer. These are the elements out of which this research arises. The main body of this report describes the nature and magnitude of selected changes in role concepts as they occur over a 21 month time span for a group of police recruits.

Others have attempted to examine police behavior, usually at a single point in time, rather than by tracing behavioral changes over time. Generally, these works have been written by social scientists for other social scientists, whether or not this was intended by the authors. Consequently, these publications have been heavy with esoteric terminology, complex in their methodology, overpowering in their statistical presentations, and abstract in their meaning and implications. In light of this, it is hardly surprising that so many of the good books and periodicals about the police which have appeared in recent years have had so little effect on the police.

Underlying this research is the premise that it is more important for the police to understand themselves than it is for social scientists to understand the police. Improvements in law enforcement can be attained more easily and supported more enthusiastically if the police themselves see the need for change. Perhaps the precondition for improvement in the quality of police services which holds the greatest potential is the acquisition of new insights by the police on the nature of their role and its relationship to other people. Accordingly, this report has been written with the intent that it can be understood by most police officers-- particularly police administrators and trainers. On a more specific level, it is hoped that the 113 men who served as the subjects in this research will have a greater understanding of themselves and of their role after reading this report. From this group of young men and others like them will come a collective ability and willingness on the part of the police to improve further the field of law enforcement in the future.

We live in a society which seems preoccupied with change. In such an environment, research flourishes because it is considered the forerunner of change. However, the relationship between research and change often is confused. Research does not carry with it a command for change. What research can do is to create new understandings and set forth new ways to conceptualize

problems. To the extent that this occurs, then, research has the potential to serve as the foundation for change. In the case of this research, there is no explicit appeal for change in law enforcement. Rather, there is simply the hope that this work will help police officers to gain a better understanding of themselves, their experiences, and their role in society.

J. W. S.

CHAPTER I

UNDERSTANDING ROLE THEORY

Since one frequently encounters difficulty with the word "theory," it will be useful to attempt its definition and explain its function. A theory can be defined simply as a "set of plausible assumptions offered to explain something." In brief, role theory is a set of assumptions about the interaction of people with one another. Initially, the true worth of a theory is determined by its capacity for enabling one to see something from a different point of view and understand it better. Metaphorically speaking, a theory can be likened to a pair of binoculars with a restricted field which allows us to focus on a selected part of a given phenomenon and see it more clearly. Within the field of psychology, for example, there are several different theoretical viewpoints. As diagrammed in Figure 1.1, those with a psychoanalytic bent center their attention on the unconscious mental process while keeping the conscious and preconscious aspects in view. Behaviorists focus on the whole of observable and measurable behavior--intentionally blocking from view the mental life of the individual. For the behaviorist, the area behind the brick wall is dark and unknown--perhaps unknowable. The role theorist brings social behavior with its complex interpersonal relationships into sharp focus but they also see the mental life of the individual as a background.

From this illustration, it should be clear that no one theory encompasses all of a given behavior. Further, it should be obvious that one cannot claim that the behaviorists are right and the role theorists are wrong. What can be said is that each view of behavior allows one to focus on a selected part of the overall picture and view that part with greater clarity and understanding. Role theory tends to emphasize the conditions under which social factors will be more, rather than less, influential. Role theory highlights the exchange of actions among and between individuals.

HISTORICAL COMMENTS

Despite the many dangers inherent in an historical analysis, it would be useful to pause for a few moments and consider the history of social psychology and role theory in a very general manner.

Firstly, knowledge has been accumulated about man and his nature for centuries. Perhaps more than any other subject, the nature of man has preoccupied scholars throughout history. The study of the structure of our societies has proved equally absorbing. As a consequence, there is on the one hand, a great fund of knowledge about man, and on the other hand, a great body of knowledge about man's environment, society. There has been done relatively little research in

PSYCHOANALYTIC

ROLE THEORIST

SEEING
HEARING
TASTING
SMELLING
TOUCHING

SENSORY INPUT

UNCONSCIOUS, PRECONSCIOUS, AND CONSCIOUS MENTAL PROCESSES

OBSERVABLE RESPONSES

VERBAL
MUSCULAR
GLANDULAR

BEHAVIORIST

Figure 1.1 REPRESENTATION OF THREE THEORETICAL VIEWS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

the gap between man and society. Man interacting in a social setting is the subject area of social psychology.

Secondly, social psychology, of which role theory is a major part, often is considered the newest of the social sciences. Social psychology began to flourish soon after World War I. That disruptive event, followed by the spread of communism, the depression of the 1930's, the rise of Hitler, race riots, and finally, the outbreak of World War II, produced unprecedented social strains in our society. As a result, a great deal of scholarly effort went into the study of such related topics as attitude change, communications, leadership, morale, prejudice, propaganda, public opinion, race relations and rumor. In the pragmatic tradition of our country, social psychology came to the fore as a means of solving contemporary social problems. This was the era of applied psychology and sociology.

Thirdly, although the kinds of questions which social psychologists ask about human interdependence and the control and manipulation of behavior essentially have been asked throughout history, one might wonder why social psychology was so late in developing into a so-called science. The answer seems to lie in the fact that scholars believed that they already possessed the answers to these sociopsychological questions. An understanding of the societal mechanisms of control such as custom, folkways, law, mores, religion and morality, and taboos was considered sufficient to explain, predict, and control social behavior. These means of social control were, in fact, sufficient to produce the constancies of behavior necessary for the functioning of a stable society. It was only when these institutional means of behavioral control began to weaken that a search was undertaken for new answers. Only when these mechanisms lost their binding power did researchers begin to look for new ways to explain behavior. Social psychology has given us a theoretical framework which has been particularly valuable in this endeavor.

The Lessons of History

Reference has been made to the dangers inherent in the study of history. Perhaps the greatest danger with history is that people often try to draw conclusions from a selected segment of historical knowledge which supports their preconceived viewpoints. Thus, the great lessons of history may be erroneous or only partly true. Notwithstanding this, it will be useful to try to draw some analogies relevant to the police from the foregoing historical overview.

First, we discussed the gap in our knowledge between man and the structure of his society. The police field has reflected this same void in microcosm. There has been much sound and useful psychological research on the policeman. For example, it has been noted that as far back as 1917, Louis Terman first tested the I.Q.'s of policemen through the use of "mental and pedagogical tests." In 1921 Chief August Vollmer of the Berkeley, California, Police Department suggested the use of the army Alpha test for selecting police officers. Thurstone was testing the intelligence of police back in 1922. A broad range of psychological testing of police subjects followed from these early beginnings. [1] Thus, there is a considerable knowledge of the psychological characteristics of the man who is a policeman.

[1] See Jay Gottesman, Personality Patterns of Urban Police Applicants as Measured by the M.M.P.I. (Hoboken, N.J., Stevens Institute of Technology, 1969), pp. 14-75, for a detailed historical review of the psychological testing of police.

A great deal is known also about the organizational structure within which a policeman works. As early as 1920, one leader in law enforcement foresaw this overemphasis on the mechanical side of organization. Raymond Fosdick commented that,

> "More thought is given to the perfection of the organization as a machine of smoothly working parts . . . than to the primary problem of adjusting individual persons to their tasks."[2]

A concern for hierarchy, organizational framework, structure, and system characterized the early police literature and continues to dominate the field today. Consequently, one is steeped in information about organization and the administration of that organization. However, there is a gap in this knowledge about what happens when the psychological man is placed within the organization, the social context of the police world. Even in recent years, academicians have not rushed in to fill this void. Recently, Niederhoffer analyzed the subject matter of the articles appearing in the two leading sociological journals, the American Sociological Review, and the American Journal of Sociology. In the twenty-five year period from 1940 through 1964, only six articles were published which even remotely concerned the police.[3]

Secondly, it should be apparent to most that existing societal controls of behavior have continued to weaken. For one thing, the law as an entity of social control seems to have little influence on the behavior of large segments of our society. What is not recognized is that the police are a part of society and are subject to the same societal influences as others. Rules and regulations, policies, codes of ethics, as well as the very laws enforced often do not have as much binding power on the behavior of policemen as they should. The reports of police misconduct which appear almost daily in newspapers and magazines, as well as the experiences and observations of police administrators, seem to suggest that, in far too many instances, there are more powerful determinants of behavior than rules and regulations. Social psychology provides a way of investigating these other determinants.

Thirdly, though the cataclysmic changes of the present may be no less disruptive than those which have occurred in earlier times, the pace of events gives the appearance of a totally new era. As a result, the changes which the police face today--both externally and internally--are unprecedented. Social psychology can serve as a sound and useful aid in understanding the current problems with which we must deal and in formulating reasonable answers to these problems.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ROLE THEORY

"Unfamiliar, unexpected situations, or personal social crises, seem to heighten the level of role awareness."[4] The police today demonstrate this point.

[2] Raymond B. Fosdick, American Police Systems (New York, The Century Company, 1920), p. 313.

[3] Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield (Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Company, 1967), p. 4.

[4] S. Stansfeld Sargent and Robert C. Williamson, Social Psychology (New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1966), p. 397.

Our level of role awareness indeed has been heightened. Considerable research continues to define and delimit the contemporary police role. Task analyses and role definitions are highly important. However, research is incomplete without a view of these concepts from the police perspective. Such concepts may be a more significant determinant of actual police behavior than explicit formal statements describing what the police should or should not do. Founded upon the literature of role theory, this study is an attempt to gain a greater understanding of the nature of the role concepts held by a group of police officers from the beginning of their careers in law enforcement to the time they have experienced eighteen months of service as a patrolman.

Although role theory, a major part of social psychology, came to the fore in the 1930's, it was not until after World War II that role theory was utilized as a theoretical schema for research. Initially, role theory served the anthropologist in explaining how primitive societies passed on their culture to the young. Later, role theory commonly was applied to the socialization of children in general. Only after it was realized that socialization was an ongoing process did we begin to utilize it in the analysis of adult roles--typically an occupational role such as a nurse, lawyer, teacher or foreman. Role theory also has been utilized as a framework for studying the role of the aged. Thus, the life span of man has been included within the purview of role theory. More recent applications of role theory have extended its usefulness to the study of criminality and physical and mental illness. Doubtless, this theoretical approach to man's behavior holds great promise of providing a better understanding of the police role.

That's Show Biz

Perhaps the primary reason for the popularity of role theory is the belief held by most individuals that, in their respective occupations, they are playing a role. For instance, in police departments, it is common to hear the men joke among themselves that they are "playing the part" and shrugging off bad days with the comment, "that's show biz." Such remarks suggest an awareness of the fact that these men are performing an occupational role.

The so-called "theatrical model" of role theory has gained widespread acceptance since it is easy to understand. However, this dramaturgical model is necessarily an oversimplification which ignores many fundamental concepts in role theory. Despite the problems created by the popularization of this theatrical model, it does serve as a useful point of departure for learning more about role theory. Accordingly, a series of essential points of comparison between the theatrical model and role theory are set forth below.

THEATRICAL MODEL	ROLE THEORY
1. Initially, one must learn the basics of acting--how to talk, walk, and gesture.	1. From infancy, one must learn how to act socially, to be able to respond to the words and gestures of others.
2. Each play has a setting in time and place. Knowledge of the geographical setting and the time dimensions are of great significance in understanding a play.	2. Both situational and temporal factors affect role behavior. The role of police today differs from what it was fifty years ago. Similarly, the role of the state police is different from that of municipal police.

3. One must learn to play a particular part in a play, a part which is created by someone other than an actor. The script calls for the actor to do and say certain things.

4. Ordinarily, one interacts with other actors. Cues are taken from what others do and say.

5. An audience watches the play and judges the performance. The judgments of some persons in the audience do not matter to the actors. The judgments of reviewers or backers do matter greatly to actors.

6. When playing a role, one reveals very little of his own personality. Consequently, the audience comes to know little of the personality of an actor while he is performing.

7. Some variation in performance may be based on the ability of the actor to learn and play his part.

8. An actor consciously and deliberately enacts the role he is playing. The actor playing the role of a policeman is still an actor.

9. An actor will play a number of roles throughout his career in the theater, almost always one at a time. Some roles will be remarkably different than others.

3. By and large, social roles are predetermined. Culture defines the nature of the role and sets the limits of acceptable variation. Norms of behavior dictate what the actor will do and say.

4. One reacts to other people in terms of cues--some verbal, others nonverbal; some very obvious, others quite subtle.

5. There are many audiences, and some of them are on the stage with the actors. Here too, judgments of the performance by some in the audiences may be of relatively little importance while the judgments of others may be of great significance.

6. When enacting a social role, the personality of the actor may be masked by the performance of the role. Consider the role of the honor guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

7. Variations in performance may be based on the actor's ability to learn and enact his role.

8. Social roles become internalized--they are a part of the self. A man playing the occupational role of a policeman may conceive of himself as a policeman.

9. One will play a number of roles contemporaneously throughout his lifetime. Some roles will differ remarkably from others--in some instances, even conflict directly with one another.

Again, it should be stated that this comparison is a good teaching device but it brings little exactness to this discussion of role theory.

SOME BASIC DEFINITIONS

There is need to gain some precision, both in our concept of role theory and in our terminology. This can be done through a consideration of the following definitions and explanatory comments.

I. Position —a place in a social structure to which a collection of duties and rights are assigned and recognized by members of a society.

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"The position makes the man." This oft repeated aphorism suggests that positions exist independent of the occupant and tend to mold to a considerable degree the way in which an incumbent occupies a position. However, it cannot be overlooked that one who occupies a position can modify the nature of the position. Consider, for example, someone in a position as director of police training for an urban police department. At the outset, this person is expected to perform certain duties. Also, certain rights connected with this position would apply to the incumbent. However, over time a man of firm conviction or considerable ability may be able to expand the duties and rights of this position beyond the fundamental training function to include recruitment, background investigation, selection, and some measure of field inspection. A weaker man in the same position might experience some decrease in his duties and rights. Regardless, the basic rights and duties of the training director's position will remain substantially the same no matter what the characteristics of the persons who enter and occupy this position.

II. Society —a collectivity of positions- —a structure of interrelated positions about which there is some degree of consensus.

Similarly, one can conceive of a police department in the same way. Accordingly, a police department could be described as an organized set of hierarchical positions about which there is some degree of agreement as to duties and rights.

III. Role —the dynamic aspect of positions- what a person does as an occupant of a specified position.

Role may be defined at the societal, group or individual level. At the societal level, a role may be defined broadly as what "society" says it is! Thus, there are societal norms dictating the nature of various role behaviors. However, for purposes of research, it would be difficult to specify the behavioral norms that society holds for any role. More narrowly, there are group concepts of expected role behavior. For example, a group of police recruits may believe that experienced policemen should behave in certain ways. Prosecutors, too, would have certain behavioral expectations related to the policeman's role. Role definitions must be thought of at this level in order for them to be researchable. Another source of role definition is that of the concept held by an individual regarding the behavioral norms which apply to himself, a group, or a society. This definitional level also lends itself quite readily to research purposes.

IV. Role Reciprocal —a person in a counter role with whom one interacts in a role relationship.

No role stands in isolation. Each carries with it certain rights and duties which are recognized by role reciprocals. From this basic concept comes a more accurate way of describing society and the organizations within it. A police department consists of a set of roles--each with its own reciprocal. "Cops and robbers" is a simplified example of a role and its reciprocal. Each has certain expected rights and obligations regarding the other. There is a host of other examples of role reciprocals which come to mind immediately. On a most general level and consistent with the terminology of role theory are actor-target and self-other. More specifically, there are such reciprocal role relationships as husband-wife, teacher-student, jailer-prisoner, buyer-seller, lawyer-client, and researcher-subject. In the examples cited above, two considerations should be kept in mind. First, this discussion is not restricted to superordinate and

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subordinate relationships. Secondly, the nature of the reciprocal role relationship generally is well-structured regarding the expectations of each person involved. One might consider now the structure of the reciprocal role relationship between a police officer and his client, a law violator. While it must be allowed that for a well-trained police officer, the nature of his role behavior is highly structured, still, this role does not stand alone. The behavioral norms for the violator, the role reciprocal, are exceedingly unstructured. Consequently, the reciprocal role relationship reflects many uncertainties. We should note that the fluid nature of this reciprocal relationship produces considerable difficulty for the police.

An important aspect of reciprocal role relationships concerns the concept that the obligations of one are the rights of another. Parents, for example, have an obligation to provide for the basic needs of their children: food, shelter, clothing, and a measure of affection. Children have a right to the satisfaction of these basic needs. In the same sense, the police have an obligation to safeguard the lives and property of all citizens. Each citizen has a right to have his life and property safeguarded by the police. On the other hand, the police have a right to the cooperation of citizens in the accomplishment of their mission. Citizens have an obligation to cooperate with the police in safeguarding the community.

V. Role Set — a complex of positions in which an individual holds simultaneous membership.

Each of us holds more than the one position, and accordingly, enacts more than one role. A patrolman's role set might include a number of positions such as first class patrolman, the president of the Patrolman's Benevolent Association, a part time college student, and a father of four children. We should note that some positions in a role set may conflict with one another. In one sense, the demands of one role may encroach on those of another. In a different sense, the habitual behaviors of one role may be inappropriate for another role within a role set.

VI. Expectations — beliefs and demands about what should or ought to be done and what should or ought not to be done by a role incumbent.

In role theory, expectations are held by both the role incumbent and others involved in a reciprocal role relationship. For both, these expectations are learned.

What is of major importance here is that the behavioral expectations for some roles are consistent for all role reciprocals. Almost everyone expects just about the same kind of behavior from a dentist. But for some other roles, these expectations may be exceedingly diversified, complex, and perhaps contradictory. Certainly, different role reciprocals hold quite different role expectations for the police.

VII. Socialization — a formal or informal learning process by which an individual becomes aware of and committed to behavioral norms which are seen as appropriate and right for specific role performances.

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Conversely, socialization includes the learning of expected behavioral responses to the performances of specific roles by other people.

The acquisition of a role through socialization represents the heart of this research. How does one learn for any one role the habitual modes of response and the appropriate attitudes toward himself and others? In the case of a child, the question is one of rearing the child. More technically, we would term this "the transmission of the culture to the child." Significantly, the child learns what is called "reflexive behavior" quite early. He learns how to respond to the behavior of others. He learns when to smile or how to accept compliments or criticism. Similarly, the police recruit must be reared and he must learn appropriate reflexive behavior.

At this point, it is important to distinguish between the learning of a role and other kinds of learning. Taking on a role is not analogous to simply learning the vocabulary of a language which will serve one throughout life. Learning a role can be likened to having to learn both the vocabulary and the grammar of a new language each time you arrive at a new destination. For example, the child who learns the role of son at three years of age must learn a new role at a number of other successive stages in his lifetime; when he leaves home to become a college student, when he marries, and when he, himself, becomes a father. At each stage, he must learn anew not only what to do but also how to do what is expected of him. One also should recognize that a role learned at one stage does not necessarily have any continuity with the next role to be learned. This accounts for some of the difficulties which may arise when a child enters school. His pre-school role may have little continuity with his role as a kindergarten student. Similarly, many student roles do not prepare a person adequately for his vocational role, and certainly, everyone is aware of the discontinuity between the role of the mature worker and the aged retiree. However, as with all learning, the principle of primacy is operative. What is learned first shapes, to varying degrees, later learning.

VIII. Role Concept — (Self) — a set of expectations held by an incumbent regarding the behavior and attributes of his role and the behavior and attributes of a role reciprocal.

(Other) — a set of expectations held by others regarding the behavior and attributes of a role incumbent.

Thus far, the definitions presented have not presupposed of cognitive ability. However, with the definition of role concept, one has to consider an ideational ability since we are talking specifically about a concept, an idea. From a time very early in life, one begins to form ideas of what is expected of him at home, in school, and at work. He is expected to behave in specified ways and to express, on an appropriate level, certain intellectual, emotional, and social attributes. The degree to which these expectations are learned determines the degree to which he is socialized. Role conceptions underlie role performance.

IX. Role Performance — behavior characteristics of an incumbent of one position toward the incumbent of another position.

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This definition pertains to the action which arises out of a role concept. Specifically, this is the enactment of a position. The reference is to that which is common to all persons in a given position rather than the behavioral characteristics of an individual. We are talking about the behavior which is characteristic of students, parents, doctors or soldiers. Mention should be made of the fact that although role performance arises from one's role concept, there is an actual difference between idea and action. A role concept may be developed idiosyncratically by an individual in relative isolation of others. However, his role performance would be socially determined within the setting of a face-to-face role relationship. For purposes of understanding role theory, it is sufficient to say that a role concept may not be necessarily congruent with role behavior. For purposes of research, this difference poses some very real problems although most researchers proceed to accept operationally the equivalence of what a person says he will do with what a person does.

X. Role Evaluation   (Self)-observations and judgments made by an actor about the adequacy of his performance and the personal satisfaction derived from his enactment of the role.

(Other)-observations and judgments made by others about the adequacy of the performance of a role incumbent.

As stated, self-evaluations consist of judgments not only about the adequacy of one's own role performance but also about the personal satisfaction resulting from it. These judgments may or may not take into consideration the role evaluations of other people. In some instances, the role evaluations of others may be unknown to the actor. They may be irrelevant to the actor and consequently ignored. On the other hand, these judgments also may be of exceeding importance to the actor--in fact, crucial in his self evaluation.

XI. Reference Group   -a group by whom an actor sees his role performance observed and evaluated and to whose expectations and evaluations he attends.

As we have said, it makes little sense to say that roles are defined by society. Only on the most general level does "society" define what the expected behaviors are for a person who occupies a certain position. Various reference groups are the real role definers. Reference group is a general term used for the various kinds of "others" to whom an actor gives attention. We should note that a certain group may or may not be a reference group. Attention determines whether it is a reference group or merely an audience group. For example, if a police officer gives considerable attention to the role evaluations of his neighbors, then the neighbors can be considered as members of this particular policeman's reference group. If he gives no attention to the neighbors' judgments or is simply unaware of them, then the neighbors will not be a part of his reference group. Neighbors, in this instance, will constitute an audience group.

XII. Role Model   -someone, real or fictitious, whose behavior and attributes are accepted as a relevant model by someone else learning or redefining a role.

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Role models fall within our general definition of a reference group. In the case of a child, the primary role model would be the father or mother. This is the first person with whom the child identifies. When considering role models, it should be pointed out that there are both positive and negative models. Parents may encourage their child to be like certain "good" children and not to be like other "bad" children. However, sooner or later, a child will exercise his choice in the selection of positive and negative role models. More than likely, these choices will be more influential in structuring role behavior than the choices of role models imposed on the child by others.

XIII. Generalized Other   -the social group with which a role incumbent identifies and gains a sense of self.

This is a specific kind of reference group--the group which a person identifies himself with. The generalized other for a police recruit may consist of other recruits, his trainers, and perhaps a relative who is an outstanding police officer. Later, when the man becomes a patrolman, his generalized other may change or be expanded to include experienced patrolmen and police supervisors.

XIV. Role Conflict   -exposure to and awareness of conflicting expectations in connection with either single or multiple role incumbencies.

Our last definition concerns the effects of differing expectations on a role incumbent. For the sake of illustration, consider a married man in his occupational role who is expected to work long hours in order to accomplish certain assigned tasks. His wife may expect him to devote considerable time to his family role. These conflicting expectations cannot both be followed and hence create a measure of uncertainty for the man regarding what he should do. Assuming that these expectations are incompatible, they would result in role conflict. It is also possible that role conflict can arise from an awareness of contradictory behavioral expectations for a single role.

THE LOCUS OF LEARNING

The task faced by the police training officer would be far simpler if the learning process could be confined to the police academy. This, of course, is unrealistic. Actually, the learnings connected with the socialization of a police recruit may occur in four possible forms.

Figure 1.2

Organizational Type	Specified Learning Goals	Unspecified Learning Goals
Formal	A. Formal Training Program	B. "On the Job" Training in the Field
Informal	C. As Part of Family Relationship	D. As Member in Peer Group

Ostensibly, the greatest amount of cognitive learning in assuming the role of a police officer occurs within the formal recruit training program of the department (A). The goals of such a program are explicit and greatly detailed. Many police

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departments have a formal period of field training for recruits which concentrates on behavioral learning (B). Here, the goals of learning may not be so specified clearly. Rather, they provide the recruit with some initial exposure to general field performance. It would be unrealistic to say that all of the learning of the police role takes place within the formal organization as in (A) and (B). Further, it would be difficult to prove that the greatest amount of learning takes place within the formal organizational sphere of activity. To assert either of the above statements would be to minimize the nature and extent of learning which may take place within the informal organizational structure. A recruit whose father is a police officer may learn a great deal of specific information about police work from his father (C). This may occur intentionally or unintentionally. Even though a recruit's father may not be a police officer, he might learn a considerable amount in his family setting about the nature of work, the concept of profession, or respect for the law. Additionally, much learning of an unspecified nature may take place in contacts between the recruit and other recruits or experienced patrolmen (D). Also, the influence of his nonpolice friends cannot be overlooked. Such learning may supplement or reinforce the learning which has taken place in areas (A) and (B). Conversely, it also may negate the learning gained within the formal organization. Too often, police trainers overlook the full impact of learning which has taken place in areas (C) and (D). As has been said, to do so is unrealistic since this view of the socialization process is only a partial one.

The same four forms of learning the role of the patrolman may take place even before an individual enters the formal police organization. This process is known as "anticipatory socialization" and can be defined in terms of role theory in the following way: role cognitions and expectations which develop in anticipation of future role incumbency. For the sake of illustration, consider a hypothetical student in a junior college police science program whose career goal is to become a police officer. In area (A), the student is enrolled in a formal academic program where the goals of learning are quite specific. Concomitant to the academic program, some orientation to police practices in the field may be required (B). Moreover, the student may acquire incidental learning from the behavior and comments of his instructors, both in and outside the classroom. Within the informal organizational structure of the family, certain general attitudes toward work, authority, and the nature of man will be learned upon which will be founded the acquisition of the police role (C). Finally, in area (D), through contact with other students and friends, our hypothetical aspirant will acquire both information and attitudes which may affect later learnings.

With regard to learning within the context of this research, it seems appropriate to recall the adage that not all which is taught actually is learned and not all that is learned actually is taught. Some of the ideas presented in police recruit schools simply are unlearned. Others are learned conditionally while still others are learned and rejected as valueless. On the other hand, much is learned beyond that which is contained within the formal curriculum. Within recruit school, the incidental comments of instructors and other recruits may produce unintended learning. Outside the school, the actions, expressions, and words of friends and the general public may teach the recruit lessons of great significance. This expanded view of learning an occupational role is carried throughout this report.

In summary, recruit training should be the major influence in the development of the role concepts for the position of patrolman. However, we should recognize that the formal training program does not mark the beginning nor does its completion mark the end of the socialization process. Role concepts will have been developed through anticipatory socialization prior to formal training and

role concepts will continue to be modified throughout the entire career of the man.

AN APPLICATION OF ROLE THEORY TO THE POLICE

The preceding discussion of role theory served to introduce certain definitions and concepts. Beyond this basic information, it will be worthwhile to apply these same concepts to a police recruit. For purposes of discussion, consider a hypothetical recruit named Bob, who is married, a church member, and a part-time student. Using the definitions stated above, he occupies four positions; husband, police recruit, church member, and part-time student. Each position carries with it a role reciprocal; wife, police supervisor, minister, and teacher. As shown in Figure 1.3, these four positions make up the recruit's role set. The behavioral expectations for each position the recruit occupies are exceedingly complex and not necessarily similar to one another. The nature of the police recruit role with respect to formal classroom attendance and the attributes related to that role are quite similar to those for the part-time college student role. In time, there may be some conflicts between the nature of and the essential attributes for the active role of patrolman and the other roles within his role set.

The socialization of our hypothetical police recruit includes both adopting the norms of the police and dropping some of the norms of other groups. In learning the police role, the new recruit undertakes the complex process of learning not only knowledge and some skills, but also values, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, patterns of response, a sense of rightness, and the unique meanings of certain symbols. Combined, these extensive learnings result in appropriate role behavior.

From the start, Bob learns what a police officer should or should not do in his official role. For the police, most of these prescriptions and proscriptions are quite explicit--stated in detailed rules and regulations, general and special orders, as well as the laws of the jurisdiction. Other prescriptions and proscriptions are implicit in the incidental comments made by members of his reference group or by role models within the generalized other group. We should keep in mind that role behavior also includes the way in which things are to be done. The entire range of expressive behavior, including pattern or style of speech, characteristic mannerisms and gestures, plays an important part in learning a role. In this regard, it frequently has been noted how quickly some very young policemen, even recruits, take on some of the speech patterns, clothing styles, and gestures of a movie or T.V. stereotype of the "tough cop," or perhaps those of a role model within their own department.

Role concepts also encompass the qualities which are expected of patrolmen. Such attributes result from the collective role concepts of the occupation. For example, if police work is considered a primarily physical activity--active patrol, chasing felons, subduing prisoners, and crowd control--then logically the necessary attributes for work of this kind would be physical strength, certain motor skills, and stamina. If, on the other hand, police work is seen largely as a service function, then such attributes as verbal skills, interpersonal skills, the ability to empathize, compassion, and abstract intelligence may be more appropriate.

The other side of the coin is that during socialization, Bob also develops expectations about the behavior and qualities of certain reference groups. He begins to categorize these groups of people and to develop expectations regarding the behavior of each of them. His first set of expectations for significant others may center on his trainers and his fellow recruits. At this stage, there is little

Figure 1.3 Role set of police recruit (BOB) showing various role relationships.

chance of conflicting expectations between those held by generalized others and the recruit himself. Later, when assigned to the field, he further will refine his expectations of the behavior and attributes of other groups to include experienced officers, supervisors, and various client populations in the community-- the people with whom he will deal each day he works as a patrolman. Here, conflicting expectations are quite possible. In fact, they are to be anticipated.

These expectations about his own behavior and attributes appropriate to the enactment of his role, when coupled with the behavior and attributes expected of others in role relationships, will structure his initial role performance. Again, it should be emphasized that we are talking about the role behavior common to incumbents of the position of recruit.

Evaluation of role performance, as we have said, takes two forms--self evaluation and the evaluation by others. Both are closely interrelated. Bob will begin to evaluate his own adequacy while in recruit training. His indices of success or failure are not merely the more formal evaluations--test scores and performance ratings. We are talking about a nod of approval, a slap on the back, a perfunctory greeting, or no response at all from others. Self evaluation, in this sense, is based largely in the evaluative behavior of others toward us. Consider this example.

> Bob is a bright recruit with several years of college. Yet, his pre-service training was quite burdensome for him. This training program was quite different from college work. Recruits were expected to memorize word for word all the essential elements in statutes, ordinances, and rules and regulations. In a test at the end of each week, they would have to write out their answers verbatim. By objective standards, Bob was doing well--about 96 out of a possible 100. In terms of his self evaluation of role performance as a recruit, he was also doing pretty well. One day, midway through training, he discovered or, more correctly, he confirmed that a number of other recruits were cheating. What the others had been doing covertly during the early weeks was now becoming fairly open. The matter was reported to the supervising sergeant who said perfunctorily that he would look into it. The way the trainer responded then and the way he responded later convinced Bob that, although he could write a good exam paper, his actual role performance in this instance was viewed disapprovingly.

Often the more informal evaluations may have a stronger effect on a person than formal procedures.

The term reference group, as we have said, is a general term for others who are significant to us in each of our various roles. These are the people who observe us, interact with us, and evaluate our role performances. For the police in general, there are a multitude of reference groups. This is a consequence of the nature of police work which involves most officers in frequent, open, and unstructured role relationships. In contrast, a brain surgeon enacts his occupational role in relative isolation from others. His work requires infrequent, closed, and highly structured role relationships. Hence, there are few people beyond generalized others who observe these medical practitioners, interact with them, and evaluate their role performance.

In the case of police recruits, they too have few people within their reference group except for other recruits, their trainers and supervisors, or perhaps a relative who is an experienced police officer. As shown in Figure 1.3,

these intimate role reciprocals collectively comprise the generalized other. It is from identification with these people that Bob will gain a self concept of police patrolman. Only after he works in the field and becomes exposed to a full range of people and situations can the expansiveness of his reference groups become known to him.

Role models also are included within our definitions of a reference group and of the generalized other. They are exceedingly important, both in structuring role concepts and the resultant behavior, and in influencing self-evaluations. In Bob's case, while some "very significant others" may have disapproved of his role performance, still, his role may have been consistent with his idealized role models. This would be very important to him in his self-evaluation.

As mentioned previously, role models may be either positive or negative. One may aspire to be like someone of renown or unlike someone else of disrepute. In the instance of a positive role model, the performances and characteristics of the model to add to the nature of the role being acquired or enacted. However, negative role models may not add much substance to another's role performance beyond the concept that a certain type of behavior or attribute was unacceptable to the role.

EXAMPLES OF ROLE CONFLICT

Role conflict can take two forms, inter-role and intra-role conflict. Inter-role conflict arises out of mutually exclusive demands resulting from the performance of two or more roles by any one individual. For example, Bob may experience role conflict. Conflict may arise between his occupational role and his marital role. His wife may not want him to be a policeman. The time demanded by his role as a part-time student may be resented by his children who want him to play with them in the evening. Some of his police supervisors also may disapprove of his student role. His temperance-preaching minister may nag him unfairly regarding what he suspects is common behavior for policemen: drinking. All of these possibilities exist.

One of the most common examples of inter-role conflict concerns part-time employment. Secondary employment in many police departments is restricted ordinarily. Employment in a tavern or place where the principal business is the sale of intoxicating liquor; as a driver of a taxicab or other public passenger vehicle; or in any employment requiring appearance in uniform or use of police equipment, records, or documents generally is not allowed. The decision to prohibit such supplementary employment is based on the fact that role conflict most likely would arise in these situations--either for the officer performing his part-time role or for other on-duty officers enacting their role.

At this point in the discussion the second kind of role conflict, intra-role conflict, is of greater concern. During training, nearly all of the members of Bob's generalized other had similar expectations regarding his role performance. Initially, no one expected very much beyond being prompt, attentive, and able to pass periodic examinations. As the weeks went by, group loyalty became a behavioral expectation. When Bob reported the matter of cheating on examinations to his trainer, he violated the expectations of some members of his recruit class. Thus, he became exposed to intra-role conflict early in his career. Later, after graduation from recruit training, he discovered that there was considerable potential for intra-role conflict arising from the different expectations for role performance.

-- In Bob's department, there was a general order which required that "patrolmen check doors and windows in stores and businesses at irregular time intervals during evening hours." The chief wanted this done--so the trainers told the recruit. When Bob got in the field, he was told by his supervisor that he should check doors and windows--but it's unnecessary when the business is checked by a private watch service.

-- Later, when Bob began to talk to more experienced patrolmen, they told him that "it's a waste of time to do these security checks." They suggested that he might shake a few doorknobs when a supervisor is around or there are citizens on the street-- but that's all. The exception would be the merchant who was willing to pay a few dollars to a patrolman for a little extra attention to his building.

-- Contrary to what he had been told in the field, our recruit knew from reading his role model's book, Police Administration, by O. W. Wilson, that patrolmen should check the security of doors and windows of commercial buildings even when private watch services are utilized.

-- Because of a rise in commercial burglaries, the Chamber of Commerce expressed its strong opinion in a newspaper article that doors and windows should be checked by police patrolmen frequently and regularly whenever a business is closed--including the daylight hours on Sundays.

-- A community group of residents later reacted to the statement of the Chamber of Commerce and publicly voiced its opinion that the police should not perform security checks at all. In its view, the police should concentrate their patrol effort in residential areas--protecting citizens, not buildings. They added that businessmen should pay for private watchman service and not burden the police with it.

-- A spokesman for the Association of Private Watchmen concurred with the community group and stated that the police should not be in the watchman business.

As a result of all this controversy, Bob, in his new role as patrolman, probably experienced intra-role conflict regarding this one small part of his role performance. This presupposes that those who have made their expectations manifest fall within his reference group. Obviously, there may be some variables involved here. Bob may feel simply that the matter is clear-cut and that he should stick strictly to departmental procedures. In this event, he would not attend to the expectations voiced by other people. Hence, he would experience little intra-role conflict.

Other circumstances may exist which would reduce the measure of role conflict in this situation. Bob simply may be unaware of the expectations expressed by such audience groups as the Chamber of Commerce, the residential community group, and the Association of Private Watchmen. He may be unfamiliar with the O. W. Wilson text. He also may be assigned to a one-man car and have little exposure to experienced patrolmen who believe that security checks are a waste of time. In any of these instances, intra-role conflict will be minimal.

CHANGING ROLES

Most of us shift easily from one role to another. Because we do, we are generally unaware of the number of distinct roles we play at any one time in our lives. A police officer may shift among the roles of patrolman, father, husband, student, neighbor, patient, and son within a single day with relative ease even though each of these roles is separate and each requires a different type of behavior. We should note in passing that the successful enactment of one of these roles does not always ensure the successful enactment of another.

In role acquisition for the police recruit, we ordinarily tend to think of recruit training and the probationary period in the field which follows it as one continuous process directed toward becoming a police officer. As conceptualized within this research, two specific roles are involved. One, the role of the trainee, differs considerably from that of the other, the apprentice patrolman.[5] Each calls for different behaviors, attributes, attitudes and perceptions. Each has different role reciprocals and each has different expectations. One role is passive, the other is active. One involves primarily thinking; the other requires doing. The orientation of one is idealistic; the other is realistic. That the two roles are distinct and, in many ways, discontinuous is suggested in the following introduction to the police recruits in one major city:

> "The student is primarily a student and not a police officer. If
> you see the need for police action, call 222-3333, identify your-
> self and ask that a police officer be dispatched. Do not become
> involved in police action unless it is of an emergency nature."[6]

Even in emergency situations, the role expectations for the trainees are such that they inhibit a shift to the action-oriented role of the apprentice patrolman, a role which they have yet to know. Consider this example. Near the beginning of their training, several police recruits were walking from a restaurant where they had just finished their lunch when they heard a loud screech. They saw two vehicles collide. They then heard someone screaming and saw that a pedestrian had been injured severely, his legs severed from his body. The recruits did nothing in this emergency situation. Later, one recruit mused over his inaction.

> "We didn't do a thing . . . We stood there with the rest of the
> crowd, waiting for the police to come. That afternoon, I sat
> in class asking myself why I hadn't done anything to help.
> After all, I'm a policeman too."[7]

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[5] The use of the word "apprentice" within this section of the report is intended to mean "one who is learning by practical experience under skilled workers a trade, art, or calling." In this analysis, the apprenticeship period begins at the conclusion of formal recruit training and ends at the time of the final testing 18 months later.

[6] "Standards of Professional Conduct," Education and Training Center, Education and Training Division, Baltimore City Police Department, (undated, mimeographed manuscript).

[7] Chicago Police Star (Chicago Police Department, October 1968), p. 3.

Nominally, yes, he was a policeman. However, this recruit failed to realize that he had not gone through the rites of passage. He did not hold the position of police officer and hence, he could not enact that role.

An explanation of this passive behavior arises from the fact that the roles of police trainee and apprentice patrolman are distinct from one another. In this instance, role theory would lead us to reason that either the recruit did not respond to the expectation of the crowd to take action or the crowd held no such expectation for the recruit trainee. Despite the intended preparatory function of the trainee role for the subsequent role of apprentice and the temporal continuity between the two roles, they are in many respects discontinuous. For the recruit-trainee to view himself as a police officer, he must enact that role and engage in the enforcement of laws regarding citizens. Only then can he truly claim the title of police patrolman.

ROLE DISCONTINUITIES

Ostensibly, one tends to see continuities in his various roles. By and large, he thinks that the adolescent role prepares him for his adult role, that a student role prepares him for his occupational role, and that the courtship role prepares one for marriage. In these situations, continuity in time is assumed to mean continuity in the nature of these roles. To the contrary, within the perspective of role theory, discontinuities are common. A moment's reflection about adolescence, education, and courtship will reveal that the assumption of continuity is unwarranted. The whole of the turmoil of adolescence is based on the fact that the role can be a dreadful preparation for adulthood. Our educational institutions have been criticized continually for the unrealistic way in which the student role attempts to prepare an individual for a vocational role. So, too, with courtship. For many, it may be a woeful preparation for marital roles.

As stated earlier, the role of the recruit trainee is distinct from that of the apprentice patrolman. Quite obviously, the settings for role behavior are dissimilar. Training typically is done in a school-like facility isolated from the flow of other police activity. The life style for the recruit in many ways is reminiscent of high school. The trainees attend classes, listen to lectures, have reading assignments, and take period examinations. What may not be so obvious is a whole series of differences arising from the concepts of role theory. At bottom, the recruit trainee and the apprentice do not occupy the same positions within the role system. Each has different role reciprocals. The trainee's primary role reciprocal is the trainer. The patrolman's reciprocals are experienced patrolmen, supervisors, and law violators. The audiences and reference groups of trainees and apprentices are different. The role model of the recruit trainee may be his trainer who manifests certain intellectual role attributes, a measure of erudition, and the appearance of experience. The model for the apprentice may be the heroic patrolman who has captured a bank robber. In summary, different behavioral expectations are communicated to the beginning patrolman in each instance by a different set of role reciprocals. Thus, the two roles have both situational and theoretical differences which serve to distinguish the one role from the other.

Beyond these situational and theoretical differences, there is a third condition which serves to create a discontinuity in role sequences. Within the process of taking on a new role, there is a built in separation function of the new from the old. This is an active process by which the initiate cuts himself off from his former role and creates an after-the-fact discontinuity between the new and the old. True, there is always some carry over in roles

and one cannot deny the general principle that what is learned first shapes later learning. However, we must be aware of the effect of this counter process. Consider the candidate for police service as he presents himself on his first day. Although the process of anticipatory socialization may have created a condition of favorable role readiness, more than likely, there is some residue of negative feeling toward the police carried over from previous civilian roles. Recognizing the fact that the new man comes from a society which reflects varying degrees of disdain for the police and that he may have internalized some measure of this negative view, the utility of this segmenting function between roles can be seen. From the outset, the man must become convinced of the goodness and rightness of the police.

At the next phase of this introductory role sequence, the detaching function again serves an important purpose. As the recruit completes his formal training and moves into the field, the old role becomes segmented from the new. The academic approach is devalued while the experiential is valued up in this new action-oriented role. The highly detailed role prescriptions and proscriptions learned in recruit school sometimes may serve as impediments rather than guides to action. In such instances, they must be seen as part of the behavioral expectations for a previous role which is different from that of the apprentice patrolman. To some extent, the man must become detached from his former role. His provisional perspectives gained while in training which dealt with the ideal must be replaced with new perspectives which deal with the actual. Effective socialization depends on a rejection of the past and a commitment to the present.

> "Whatever he may learn from police schooling, sooner or later he will have to adjust to the system of expectations and appearances which prevails in the outside world . . ."[8]

In essence, when we talk about socialization for the police recruit, we are talking about a sequence involving two distinct roles. Effective socialization depends upon a rejection of past roles and commitment to the present role.

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[8]David J. Dodd, "Police Mentality and Behavior," Issues in Criminology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Berkeley, University of California, 1967), p. 47.

CHAPTER II

THE ELEMENTS OF RESEARCH

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

What a person is can be judged best by what he does. A man's perception of and participation in his community is affected profoundly by the kind of work he performs regularly. His chosen vocation has a direct effect on the level of his income and the pattern of his expenditures; on the nature of his friendships and the style of his social relationships; and on the status, privileges, and prestige he receives from others.

Of even greater interest is the fact that some of the more demanding occupations tend to form the basis of a person's self concept. The ministry, teaching, medicine, and law enforcement are examples of vocational pursuits whose effects are so pervasive and deep-rooted that, in a sense, they form the very essence of the self. Accordingly, they affect the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the person who practices the particular vocational pursuit. Occupations of this kind hold the greatest value to the researcher who is interested in occupational socialization.

We are all aware that police work strongly affects the man engaged in it. It is almost self-evident that exposure to police work changes a man but we do not know the specific ways in which the man undergoes this transformation. This is an important question and it is on this question that this study is focused. We may think we know from our own experience that police work makes a man cynical. We may believe that social isolation is the cause of certain effects. We may feel that police work blunts emotions, makes the practitioner conservative, and affects his perceptions of people, but this does not really tell us very much about the process of change.

We do not know very much at all about the specific ways in which a man changes. We know little about the forces that impinge on the man doing police work which cause him to change. Further, we know little about the dimension of time. The critical periods of change may occur almost immediately after the recruit emerges from formal training or they may be cumulative--peaking at a point later in his career. If we are going to be able to deal with these changes in ways which will improve law enforcement, then we must know more about their nature, their chronology, and their magnitude.

From the foregoing, it should be apparent that the task of assessing the changes in role concepts which occur over time calls for a longitudinal research design. In this way, shifts in role-related concepts can be examined systematically

at specific points. The question immediately arises concerning when role concepts should be assessed. The earlier discussion of role discontinuities suggests that recruit training constitutes a fairly well defined feeder role. The apprenticeship period which follows can also be considered as another distinct feeder role which leads to full entry into the patrolman's role. Thus, there appear to be three natural points in time at which to examine role concepts.

The beginning of recruit training marks the formal point of entry into a new role, that of police trainee. It also marks the time when previous civilian occupational roles are ended. Despite these demarcations, anticipatory socialization already may have affected their attitudes and values to some degree. The completion of recruit school marks the end of formal training and as such, it constitutes a second natural point for the assessment of role concepts. This event also marks the beginning of the next feeder role, that of apprentice patrolman. A special problem arises here because the end of the apprentice role is not related to any formal event. We should note that the completion of the official probationary period does not correspond in a true sense with the end of the apprentice role and the taking on of the next role. Consequently, the third point at which to assess role concepts was designated rather arbitrarily. Within the framework of role theory, the need was to choose a time which marked the end of a period in which doing replaced learning as the dominant behavioral expectation. In the reasoned judgment of a number of police officers, this point occurs within one to two years of field experience. In the case of this research, the third and final testing of the subjects occurred after eighteen months of enactment of the apprentice patrolman's role.

THE RESEARCH SITES

Four city police departments were chosen to be included within this research: Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio; and Indianapolis. The choice of these departments was dictated by both practical and theoretical considerations. Initially, a decision was made not to concentrate the research effort on a single large city. This, of course, would have been the easiest way to procure a fairly large number of subjects. Certainly, this kind of an approach would have facilitated the analysis and presentation of the data. However, it was felt that data derived from one location would produce merely ad hoc results. Ideally, we wanted to find evidence of changes in role concepts which were common to all police recruits. It was felt that a data base broadened to include several cities would lend greater support to the study's findings and enhance the value of the research.

It then became necessary to make some judgments about the quality of the departments to be considered. Unless the departments studied were somewhat equivalent in overall quality, the research design would suffer. For the author's purpose, it would make little sense to combine and compare a backward department with a highly effective one. What was sought was a number of exemplary departments. The departments finally chosen were all good ones. Each was effective in the performance of the police mission. All four had outstanding leadership, a sound organizational structure, good personnel and training practices, and realistic standards of police performance. Consequently, each had a well justified reputation for excellence in its respective community. All four departments were progressive. They were willing to try new approaches to law enforcement. In fact, that each department agreed to participate in this research indicated a desire for self-examination and an acceptance of the belief that research can serve as a basis for self-improvement.

Timing was also an important consideration. Because of the nationwide implications of one critical event involving a single major police department, it was felt that subjects in the four cities all should be tested at about the same time. Accordingly, it was deemed necessary to test the recruits always at times as close as possible to one another. Insofar as possible, these conditions were met. The initial testing of the subjects occurred during the last half of September, 1968. All were tested within one week or less after the start of their formal recruit training.

Although the considerations of timing greatly limited the possible choices of research sites, it still was necessary to choose cities where the conditions of employment and the length of training were relatively equivalent. Selected factors regarding these conditions for the four cities selected are presented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Table 2.1

Conditions of Police Employment in Four Police Departments

City	Age of Appointment	Residence Requirement	Educational Requirement	Veterans Preference	Length of Recruit Training	Length of Probationary Period
Balt.	21-35	None	H.S. grad. or GED	5% added to test score	14 weeks	24 months
Cin.	21-30	None	H.S. grad. or GED	20% added to test score	14 weeks	12 months
Col.	21-31	None	H.S. grad. or GED	5 points added to test score	16 weeks	12 months
Ind.	21-32	1 year in state	H.S. grad. or GED	None	14 weeks*	12 months

*Note: Recruit training in Indianapolis also includes a fifteenth week of field interviews where the men go into inner city areas in uniform and interview residents regarding police related problems.

In terms of the criteria already specified, there is a high degree of comparability among the four cities chosen for this research. However, there are some significant differences among the cities which need to be considered. From Table 2.2, it can be seen that Baltimore has nearly double the population of each of the other cities. Moreover, it has more than three times the number of department employees. The influence of size as a possible inter-city variable cannot be denied.

There is also a regional bias among the selected cities. This is admitted as a possible limitation on the design of this study. However, the effect of a regional concentration in the midwest did not appear to have affected the general comparability of the cities. As an explanation of this, it must be acknowledged that most of the regional differences which have been found in studies of various kinds are a consequence of other more basic variables such as age, education, income, and related social class factors. In the final analysis, the selection of Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Indianapolis represents sound and reasonable choices in light of the many restrictions created by the aforementioned practical and theoretical considerations.

Table 2.2
Characteristics of Cities and Their Police Departments

City	Estimated Population	Sq. Mi. Area	No. of Depart. Employees	No. of Sworn Personnel	No. of Civilian Personnel	Police per 1,000 Population	Police per Sq. Mile	Percent Civilian Employees
Balt.	935,000	93.8	3,371	3,025	346	3.24	32.25	10.3
Cin.	502,550	77.6	1,000	891	109	1.77	11.48	10.9
Col.	573,280	113.1	883	750	133	2.52	6.63	15.1
Ind.	515,000	86.0	1,043	898	145	1.74	10.44	13.9

Source: "General Administrative Survey," Planning and Research Unit, Kansas City, Missouri Police Department, October, 1967, supplemented by U. S. Census Bureau data.

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The literature of role theory reflects a richness of theoretical concepts. At the outset, it was necessary to delimit the areas encompassed within this approach to those aspects which would be measurable, relevant to the experience of the police recruit, and susceptible to fluctuation in the short run. After considerable deliberation, a choice of conceptual areas was made. Preliminary instruments were designed, pretested in a number of locations, reconsidered, and redesigned. Ultimately, a battery of six instruments was decided upon.[1]

1. Role Conflict

    Since role conflict is central to role theory, an instrument assessing this area was designed. The conflict instrument was adapted from the original form designed by Gross, Mason, and McEachern.[2]

2. Perception of Reference Groups

    The perception of reference groups as role reciprocals and evaluators is a fundamental concept in role theory. Osgood's semantic differential was employed as a method to measure the connotative meaning held by the subjects for groups who are or will be significant to the police recruit.

3. Aggregate Role

    Even though the concept of aggregate role is not accorded great importance in the general literature, it was thought

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[1] Copies of each of the instruments within the Role Perception Battery and the accompanying Life History and Supplementary Information forms can be found in Appendix B.

[2] Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1958), pp. 154-156.

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to be of major importance at this time within the field of law enforcement. Accordingly, an instrument tapping the subjects' concept of the aggregate role of the police was devised.

4. Role Attributes

    Role attributes form an essential area of inquiry. Although Wetteroth's work is founded in traitist psychology rather than social psychology, it was replicated in connection with this part of the research. Here the attempt was to discover the attributes thought to be essential to the enactment of the police role.[3]

5. Perception of Danger

    Danger is intrinsic to the police role. Skolnick reasoned that the performance of the police role is modified considerably whenever a police officer perceives himself to be in a dangerous situation.[4] The instrument utilized was intended to determine the degree of danger perceived by police in typical work assignments.

6. Attitudinal Orientations to Role

    The subjects of this research entered their formal training in a condition of role readiness. This state of preparedness included a variety of attitudinal orientations related to the police role. Twenty separate items make up a four-part scale drawn from a factor analysis of the responses of a nationwide sample of police patrolmen.[5]

To the Role Perception Battery, a Life History and a Supplementary Information form were added. The former was designed to obtain essential biographical data from the subjects; the latter was structured to obtain related information which would reflect changes over time. Beyond these instruments, a standardized personality test was completed by the subjects. This instrument, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, was designed to measure a number of relatively independent normal personality variables.[6] This research instrument was chosen because of its congruence to role theory.

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[3] William J. Wetteroth, "Variations in Trait Images of Occupational Choice Among Police Recruits Before and After Basic Training Experience" (M. A. thesis, Brooklyn College, 1964).

[4] Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1966) p. 42-70.

[5] Nelson A. Watson and James W. Sterling, Police and Their Opinions (Washington, D. C., International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1969).

[6] Allen L. Edwards, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (New York, The Psychological Corporation, 1953).

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THE RESEARCH METHODS

One of the most difficult problems related to the understandability of this research concerns statistics. After reading an early draft of this report, one outstanding police administrator confided to the author his fears concerning the abstruseness of statistical expressions and advised a greater explanation of terms. To the extent possible, this advice was followed in the preparation of this report.

Statistical presentations are necessarily included throughout this research report. In order to understand better the conclusions drawn from these statistical analyses, it is necessary to have some familiarity with a variety of statistical concepts and procedures. Hence, many readers will need the basic explanations that follow in this section. Where necessary, these explanations are supplemented in the discussion related to a particular set of data.

These interpretations are intended to make the uninitiated reader better able to draw conclusions from the data and the related analyses rather than to enable him to perform certain statistical computations. There is a large number of books intended for that purpose. In this instance, the explanations are specifically designed to assist the reader without statistical background in his role as a consumer of research information.

For those with a knowledge of statistics, it should be explained that the completeness and precision of many explanations was sacrificed intentionally in order to gain clarity and an appearance of simplicity. Perhaps the underlying premise that it is more important for the police to understand themselves than it is for social scientists to understand the police should be rephrased here. Accordingly, it seems more important for the police to be able to gain an understanding of the data than it is for statisticians to feel satisfied with the completeness and accuracy of the statistical explanations offered herein.

Mean and Median

The mean and median are both measures of central tendency, i.e., measures of the center of a distribution of numbers of observations. The mean, very often denoted by $\overline{X}$, is simply an average, the sum of all the observations divided by the total number of observations. The median, on the other hand, is found by arranging the observations in ascending order and finding the observation which falls numerically in the middle. To illustrate the use of the mean and median, suppose we wish to describe in a single summary figure the distribution of the ages of ten police recruits. Three of these men were 22 years of age, two were 23, and five were 24. Here, a mean would be used since there are no extreme ages in the distribution which would distort the measure of central tendency. In this case, the mean age is 23.2 years. On the other hand, in examining the distribution of ages of a random group of police officers, a median might be more appropriate since there might be a few old officers in the group whose extreme ages would distort the data. If the ages of the men in this group were 21, 23, 24, 24, 25, 26, 28, 28, 49, 57, the median score of 25.5 would be more representative of the group than the mean. Although the median does have certain uses, the mean is found most frequently in statistical analyses. The mean score is essential not only as a measure of central tendency but also as a basic computation in statistical testing.

Standard Deviation

Another fundamental measure in statistics is the standard deviation, usually denoted by s. The standard deviation measures how much a particular group of observations varies or differs from its mean. Regardless of the mean score for a set of observations, there will be observations which differ from this average value. The standard deviation is a measure of this difference. The larger the value of the standard deviation, the greater the variability of scores about the mean. Conversely, the smaller the standard deviation, the less the dispersion of scores. For example, in the recruit group referred to above, the standard deviation was .87. The standard deviation for the random group of police officers would, of course, be larger. For this group, s was 11.57. As indicated by the two standard deviations, the recruit group was more homogeneous in terms of age than was the random group of police officers.

Probability

Underlying most of statistical theory is the theory of probability. Quite simply, a probability would represent the chances of a particular event occurring. For example, if we say that the probability of flipping a coin and getting a head is 0.50, we mean that in the long run, heads will come up 50% of the time. Probability is particularly important in the area of statistical inference, the decision-making process of statistics. For example, we may wish to determine whether or not a particular brand of ammunition is reliable or whether those men who obtain a high score on a particular entrance examination will complete recruit training. In making our determination, we must decide on the probability of error level which we will allow ourselves. In the case of the ammunition, we may be willing to allow only one chance in 10,000 that the ammunition will misfire since a single misfire might mean the death of a policeman. However, in the case of training, we might be willing to allow five chances in 100 that men who pass the entrance examination will not complete recruit training. The consequences of a wrong decision in this case are much less severe.

Levels of Statistical Significance

Levels of statistical significance for a particular statistical test are based on probabilities. A .01 significance level value for a particular test would mean that the probability is one out of 100 that a calculated value for the test will exceed the .01 level value by mere chance alone. Within this research, an arbitrary decision was made regarding the level of statistical significance at which it would be concluded that a relationship was real and not due to chance. Where the probability is one in 100 (.01 level of significance) that the difference between or among scores could have occurred by chance alone, the difference is regarded as statistically significant. Where the probability level is five chances in 100 (.05 level of significance), the significance of the difference is less certain. Beyond that probability level, differences are not regarded as real or significant.

Tests of Significance of Differences Between Correlated and Uncorrelated Means

The t test is used to test the significance of the difference between the mean scores of two variables. A simple inspection of the two means to see which is greater is insufficient because the mean score represents only a portion of the total characteristics of the sets of numbers included in the two variables. Because it is desirable to make assertions about the true means of the variables rather than the sample means, we must use the statistical technique of the t test.

The t test will appear in different forms throughout this report. One form relates to uncorrelated samples, i.e., two different groups. Another form is followed with correlated samples, i.e., the same group at two different times. Another variation in the t test concerns the size of the sample groups from which the means were obtained. The computational procedures and interpretations will differ depending on whether the sample group is more or less than 30. In any event, the intent is the same for all forms of the test, to decide whether there is a significant difference between the two means. The result of the t test is a number which is compared with a predetermined number taken from a table of t values at the desired level of significance. If the calculated t value is greater in absolute magnitude than the preselected table value regardless of its sign, then it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between the mean scores.

Correlation Coefficient

Correlation is a technique used to measure the association or relationship between two variables. The correlation coefficient is a single number which indicates the strength of the relationship between two variables. A set of measurements is taken for each variable and the correlation coefficient is calculated in one of two ways--the Pearson r or the rank correlation method. While not mathematically equivalent, the two methods produce coefficients which are very similar. In calculating the Pearson r, the observations themselves are used, while with the method of rank correlation, the observations are replaced by their ranks. The smallest or largest observation is designated by 1, the next score in order by 2, etc. The coefficient will lie between +1.00 and -1.00. A positive 1.00 denotes perfect positive correlation, i.e., if there is an increase or decrease in one variable, there will also be a corresponding increase or decrease in the second variable. A -1.00 indicates perfect negative correlation, i.e., if there is an increase or a decrease in one variable, there will be an inverse decrease or increase in the other. A coefficient of zero indicates no relationship between the variables. For example, the correlation coefficient between age and length of experience for a sample of police officers might be +.88. The correlation between educational level and firearms proficiency for this same group might be .09. The correlation between their physical size and the number of times they had been assaulted while on duty might be -.73. Assumedly, the bigger the man, the fewer number of times he would have been assaulted.

The significance of a particular correlation can be tested using a form of the t test. Suppose the correlation of .09 between educational level and firearms proficiency was based on a sample of 20 men. The calculated t value for this correlation would be .38. Since this value would not exceed the predetermined value listed in a table of t values for a sample group of this size, we would say the correlation was not significant. Therefore, one could conclude that there was no relationship between educational attainment and firearms proficiency.

Analysis of Variance--F Scores

In the analysis of variance, the variation of a response is analyzed in terms of a set of independent or uncorrelated variables. A portion of the variation of the response is assigned to each of the independent variables. Then it is determined whether or not each particular variable has a significant effect on the response. Suppose, for example, we wish to know whether or not the length of police experience has a significant effect on how a sample of patrolmen see the degree of danger related to a particular radio assignment such as a robbery in progress. The response variable here would be the danger rating which the police officer gives to the robbery call, and the independent variable would be the length of the

subject's police experience at the time the danger ratings were obtained. The test of significance is accomplished through the use of F tests. A calculated F-value is compared with a preselected value from a table of F-values at a particular level of significance. If the calculated value exceeds the preselected value, then the independent variable being tested is concluded to have had a significant effect on the response variable.

Chi-Square Test

The Chi-Square, denoted X^2, is used to test the independence (non-correlation) of two variables or traits. This method is used on data which can be classified into separate categories and set up in tabular form. For example, we might test for independence between educational level and firearms proficiency. Categories for educational level might be "men who did not finish high school," "men who finished high school but had no college," and "men who had some college." For firearms proficiency, we might categorize the men according to those who shot at the marksman and the expert level. The number of officers which fall into these categories can then be tabulated and a X^2 value calculated. The result of the calculation of a X^2 test is a value which, as in the case of the t and F tests, is compared with a predetermined number taken from a table of X^2 values at a particular significance level. If the calculated value does not exceed the predetermined value, then it is concluded that the two variables are independent of one another. In this example, it therefore would be shown that there was no relationship between educational attainment and firearms proficiency.

Factor Analysis

Expressed most simply, factor analysis attempts to find common factors which may exist among the responses of a group of subjects to a test. This statistical analysis does not specify precisely what the underlying factors might be. Rather, each factor must be inferred logically from the underlying nature of the elements which are clustered together. Those responses that group together will have high correlations with others within the group and conversely, low correlations with other responses outside the group. Each test in a group is correlated with the factor which seems to account for the grouping. These correlations are called the factor loadings. As was true with correlation coefficients, factor loadings may range from -1.00 to +1.00. The values may be interpreted in the same way as correlation coefficients.

As an example of factor analysis, we might consider a sample of police officers who are asked to assign a rating of perceived danger to each of twenty radio calls. These responses may range from one to five. A value of five would indicate that the call was considered to be the most dangerous. Their scores would then be subjected to a factor analysis. The results of this analysis would show a clustering of the radio calls into several groups or factors. Each of the calls in a particular group will, in some underlying way, be similar to the other calls in the group. For example, those calls which were seen as having a large element of danger such as "robbery in progress" or "assault with a deadly weapon," will group together, while those which involve merely filling out a report such as "meet a citizen" or "animal bite victim," will be found clustered together in another group.

THE RESEARCH SUBJECTS

At the time of the initial testing at the beginning of recruit training, a total of 152 men from the four cities served as subjects. The recruit class in Baltimore had forty-three men in it. Cincinnati had thirty-nine, Columbus thirty-one,

and Indianapolis thirty-nine. In this regard, the size of the city did not influence directly the size of the recruit class.

Residential Background

Ours is a mobile society. People move their residence from one location to another with greater frequency and less personal disruption than ever before in our history. The reasons for these moves usually are job related. In marked contrast, several researchers have noted that police officers have tended to have lived in or near the city in which they work for a relatively long number of years. In one study of the police supervisors in a major city, it was observed that:

> "The more than 800 sergeants on this city's police force (and for that matter, the lieutenants and captains also) are to an over-whelming degree, likely to be 'locals' rather than 'cosmopolitans'--men with long-standing ties to their community and neighborhood who have known no other large city and whose friends are of the same type."[7]

From this observation, it was inferred that the largely local composition of the personnel in this department made a difference in the way in which the department functioned. In this instance, the author did not discuss what specific differences might have resulted from residential stability nor did he claim that the local characteristic of the department's personnel was typical of all police forces.

What is typical of policemen in general cannot be concluded properly from other studies which refer to the residential backgrounds of the men in a particular department.

> "Data gathered in a large city on the West Coast show that 75.6% of all officers were born and raised outside the city and 50.0% outside the state."[8]

On the other hand, in Denver, a city well-known for having a very high proportion of immigrants among the total population, it was observed that the policemen working in that city were predominantly local men.

> "According to the 1960 census, only 13% of Colorado's population had lived in Colorado ten years or more. By contrast, 84% of Denver's policemen had lived in Denver for more than ten years and a full 40% had lived there all their lives. Denver policemen have seen . . . the city grow and change."[9]

In light of these different observations, the question remains whether high residential stability is really typical of the police. To deal with this question, census data was sought out and is displayed in Table 2.3. Only men engaged in

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[7]James Q. Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Police," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIX, March, 1964, p. 523.

[8]Ibid., p. 523.

[9]David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police (New York, The Free Press, 1969), p. 5.

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agricultural vocations showed a degree of residential stability which exceeded that of law enforcement personnel.

Table 2.3

Place of Birth of Experienced Male Civilian Labor Force
By Occupational Classification, 1960
(Ranked in Order of Percent Born in Same State)

Occupational Classification	Born in Same State	Born in Different State	Born in Different Region
Farmers and Farm Managers	85.02	8.54	6.07
Farm Laborers and Foremen	77.46	10.08	11.16
Policemen, Sheriffs, Marshals	73.27	11.02	15.24
Operatives	68.44	12.78	17.30
Clerical	68.20	13.53	17.27
Laborers	68.10	12.55	17.97
Craftsmen, Foremen	65.88	14.81	18.54
Sales	65.38	15.58	18.30
Service	63.15	13.66	21.00
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	60.54	17.98	20.71
Private Household	59.93	15.12	23.17
Professional, Technical	55.58	19.18	24.39

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports. Occupational Characteristics. Final Report PC (2)-7A (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 111-114.

What of the residential backgrounds of the 152 men in this study? Information related to their residential background is displayed in Table 2.4. In the case of Cincinnati, Columbus, and Indianapolis, slightly fewer than half of the men had lived in or near the city of their present employment all their lives (except for military service). In Baltimore, this was true for 69.8% of the men. In this respect, Baltimore differs from the other three cities. As indicated in Table 2.1, only Indianapolis had a residence requirement. This specified one year of residence within the state. Potentially, the other three cities could recruit from anywhere in the nation. Yet, a remarkably high proportion of the men had spent their lives in or near the city in which they worked. In this day and age of high mobility, these findings appear to be of more than passing interest. Just as the farmer is tied physically and psychologically to his land, the police recruit is tied psychologically to his city. These men have observed their city grow and change in terms of its population and its physical characteristics. Unlike other people who move in and move out of the city, the recruits with high residential stability are unique for they alone possess a detailed historical perspective of neighbors and neighborhoods. They can view things in retrospect and feel nostalgia.

One observer of our contemporary life style has noted that, as mobility increases, the importance given to a physical place of residence decreases.[10]

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[10]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York, Random House, 1970), pp. 65-82.

Table 2.4
Residential Background of Recruits

CITY	Lived in or near the city in which they work and nowhere else. (No military service)*		Lived in or near the city in which they work and nowhere else except during military service.		Lived elsewhere in the state at some time in their lives.		Lived outside the state at some time in their lives.	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Balt. (N = 43)	14	32.6	16	37.2	2	4.7	11	25.6
Cin. (N = 39)	8	20.5	10	25.6	5	12.8	16	41.0
Col. (N = 31)	6	19.4	9	29.0	6	19.4	10	32.3
Ind. (N = 39)	7	17.9	11	28.1	8	20.5	13	33.3
Total (N = 152)	35	23.0	46	30.3	21	13.8	50	32.9

*The category "in or near the city" included those men who lived within twenty miles of the central city.

Home, as a place, is devalued and emotional attachments to it are diminished. Individual commitments shift from place-related social structures such as "the home," "the old neighborhood," and the "home town" to placeless relationships centered around corporate entities, professions, group memberships, and friendships. Within a society characterized so much by change, the police officer stands as anachronistic--historically, occupationally, and emotionally rooted to his city. For others, the city has little intrinsic value. It is merely a convenient setting in which relationships can be experienced. The conservative nature of the police character has been noted by numerous observers. On the face of it, it is reasonable to assume that the high degree of residential stability of police officers may be related to the provincial outlook so often attributed to the police occupational group.

Age Distribution

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of the conditions of employment, all four cities set their minimum entrance age for the position of patrolman at twenty-one years. The maximum age for appointment ranges from 30-35 years. The distribution of the recruit's ages is shown in Table 2.5.

The findings on the age distribution of the subjects are unremarkable. The fact that Baltimore has the lowest mean age may be related to a recruiting procedure which allows interested men to take the original entrance examination before their twenty-first birthday. For purposes of comparison, it should be noted that the mean age for a nationwide sample of police recruits was exactly twenty-five years.[11]

Racial Origin

The racial origin of the subjects in each of the cities is shown in Table 2.6. For purposes of comparison, the percentage of non-white persons in the total

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[11]Watson and Sterling, op. cit., p. 23.

Table 2.5
Age Distribution of Recruits

City	Under 25 Years	25-29 Years	30-34 Years	Mean Age
Balt. (N = 43)	34	9	0	23.8
Cin. (N = 39)	30	8	1	24.1
Col. (N = 31)	21	10	0	24.3
Ind. (N = 39)	22	13	4	25.3
Total (N = 152)	107	40	5	24.3

Table 2.6
Racial Composition of Recruits

City	White	Black	Percentage of Blacks in Recruit Group	Percentage of Non-Whites in Total Population (1970 Data)*
Balt. (N = 43)	33	10	23.3	47.0
Cin. (N = 39)	38	1	2.6	28.1
Col. (N = 31)	30	1	3.2	19.0
Ind. (N = 39)	34	5	12.8	18.4
Total (N = 152)	135	17	11.2	30.0

*U. S. Bureau of the Census, Advanced Report, 1970 General Population Characteristics, P. C. (V2).

population of each city as of 1970 is included. The ability of the four departments to attract black men into law enforcement varied considerably among the cities. Baltimore, with a 47% representation of blacks in the total population (in 1970), was the most successful in the recruitment of minority group members. As shown, slightly over 23% of the recruit group was black.

Marital Status

As a group, the police commonly are thought to be remarkably stable in marriage and family life. For example, one study describes the police in a major city in the following way:

> "Policemen are family men . . . Moreover, policemen seem to have more stable marriages than are to be found in the community as a whole . . . this is an important point to bear in mind. Policemen represent family men, men who value family stability highly and who may rely on their families for support against a populace which they often regard as hostile."[12]

To what extent do the subjects in this research conform to this generality at the time of their entry into law enforcement? In the case of this research, the subjects' highly stable residential backgrounds would seem to support marital stability. The data related to their marital background is set forth in Table 2.7. That ninety-six of the 152 (63.2%) of the group were married, and nine (5.9%) were divorced or separated, was not taken as an indication that this original group of men is remarkable in their marital status. As compared to a nationwide sample of police officers, they exhibited a somewhat different pattern. Ninety-three percent of the experienced officers in the sample were married while only three percent were separated or divorced. Of the recruit group included in this same nationwide study, seventy percent were married while three percent were separated or divorced.[13] Analyzing these findings, it should be noted that age is related to the marital status of the group. Thus, comparisons based on this factor should be made between equivalent age groups.

Military Status

The military background of the subjects is of interest since it relates to both recruitment practices and anticipatory socialization. Data on the military backgrounds of the men is shown in Table 2.8. From the standpoint of recruitment, one should note that Indianapolis was the only city of the four which did not give any preference to applicants who were military veterans. Yet, the percentage of veterans included in the Indianapolis group was the highest of all four cities. It would appear that preference points given to veterans on the original entrance examination did not influence the degree to which a department recruited men with military experience. From the standpoint of anticipatory socialization, a notable proportion of the subjects was exposed to law enforcement while in the military. For them, this constituted a positive preparatory experience for their present role.

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[12] Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[13] Watson and Sterling, op.cit., p. 26.

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Table 2.7

Marital Status of Recruits

City	Single		Married		Divorced or Separated	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Balt. (N = 43)	20	46.5	21	48.8	2	4.7
Cin. (N = 39)	12	30.8	27	69.2	0	--
Col. (N = 31)	6	19.4	23	74.2	2	6.4
Ind. (N = 39)	9	23.1	25	64.1	5	12.8
Total (N = 152)	47	30.9	96	63.2	9	5.9

Table 2.8

Military Background of Recruits

City	Men with Active Military Experience	% of Total	Men with Active Military Police Experience	% of Total
Balt. (N = 43)	25	58.1	3	7.0
Cin. (N = 39)	18	46.2	3	7.7
Col. (N = 31)	22	71.0	4	12.9
Ind. (N = 39)	28	71.8	4	10.3
Total (N = 152)	93	61.1	14	9.2

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Educational Background

All of the subjects were high school graduates. However, fifteen of the men held high school equivalency certificates. As shown in Table 2.9, 32.5% of the men had some college attendance. In comparison to the 55.2% of the nationwide sample of police recruits who had attended college, and the 53.0% of experienced officers who reported some college work, the recruits had a lower educational level. [14]

Educational Background of Recruits' Fathers

A father's educational attainment is a significant variable in the lives of his children. His education determines his occupation. His education also influences the family's life style, including the value attached to educational achievement for his children. Accordingly, it is of interest to examine the educational backgrounds of the subjects' fathers as shown in Table 2.10.

As a general rule, children tend to exceed the educational level of their parents. This was true in the case of the recruit subjects. As previously stated, all of the subjects were high school graduates. Only 52.0% of their fathers had been graduated from high school. Moreover, 86.2% of the fathers never attended college. The comparable figure for the recruit subjects was 67.5%.

Occupational Background

The police generally are described as having lower-middle class, working-class, or lower-class backgrounds. Proceeding from these general characterizations, it is inferred commonly that certain kinds of undesirable police behavior are a consequence of the low socioeconomic origins of the men in that occupational group. [15] Hence, a discussion of social origin is important to the goals of this research.

Occupation, education and income are related to social origin. The interrelationships among these factors are obvious. Education, to a large degree, determines one's occupation which, in turn, determines his level of income. For purposes of research then, the best single indicator of social class is occupation. Accordingly, the subjects' highest skill occupations before entry into police work were analyzed through the use of a standard classificatory system. [16] This system is based on the assumption that occupations are classifiable in terms of basic dimensions that reflect the social class structure. Thus, a craftsman, foreman, or police officer is assumed to share common behavior patterns, attitudes, and values with other persons in the same general occupational category. Conversely, they are assumed to differ in distinctive ways from persons in other general occupational classifications. As a rule of thumb, it is held that occupations in the categories of craftsmen and foremen, clerical and sales, proprietors and managers, and professionals are middle-class and above, while the remaining categories are less than middle class.

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[14] Ibid., p. 31.

[15] Ibid., pp. 105-124 for a discussion of the social class backgrounds of the police and the implications of class origin for present occupational behavior.

[16] Occupations were classified according to the "Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census: 1950," as contained in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York, The Free Press, 1961), pp. 263-275.

Table 2.9

Years of College Work Completed by Recruits

City	One Year or Less	Two Years	Three Years	Four Years	Total with College Attendance	Percentage of City Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%
Balt. (N = 43)	6	0	1	3	10	23.3
Cin. (N = 39)	12	3	2	1	18	46.2
Col. (N = 31)	9	2	0	1	12	38.7
Ind. (N = 39)	5	1	2	1	9	23.1
Total (N = 152)	32	6	5	6	49	32.5

Table 2.10

Educational Attainment of the Recruits' Fathers

City	Less Than High School		High School Graduate		Some College Attendance		College Graduate	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Balt. (N = 43)	25	58.1	14	32.6	3	7.0	1	2.3
Cin. (N = 39)	14	35.9	14	35.9	9	23.1	2	5.1
Col. (N = 31)	16	51.6	13	41.9	2	6.5	0	0.0
Ind. (N = 39)	18	46.2	17	43.6	3	7.7	1	2.6
Total (N = 152)	73	48.0	58	38.2	17	11.2	4	2.6

Occupational Backgrounds of the Subjects

One's previous employment reflects something about his aspirations, his education, his interests, and the overall pattern of his employment. All of these factors are class related.

As a general indicator of the social class backgrounds of the recruit subjects, their highest level of employment before entering police work was analyzed. The procedure of using the highest position of employment is a more valid indicator of the social class level of the man. The highest skill job represents a peak of achievement in the subject's early working career. This is the job that the subject would tend to look back on. Hence, it would reflect that position in the social class structure at which the subject would tend to identify himself in a psychological sense. The resultant data is set forth in the table below along with similar data for two other police groups and the general male population.

Table 2.11

A Comparison of the Previous Highest Skill Occupations of Three
Groups of Police Officers with the Distribution of Occupations
in the General Population

Occupational Classification	152 Police Recruits	Nationwide Sample of Police Recruits (N = 165)*	Nationwide Sample of Experienced Police Officers (N = 4,061)*	Distribution of Occupations of Employed Males, 1960**
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Professional, Technical, Managerial	5.3	7.9	12.5	20.9
Clerical	15.1	19.4	15.7	6.9
Sales	7.9	9.1	12.2	6.8
Craftsmen, Foremen	13.2	20.0	23.4	19.5
Operatives	20.4	13.3	20.6	19.9
Service, Household	3.9	3.0	2.4	6.1
Farmers	---	---	0.8	8.4
Laborers	3.9	1.8	2.1	6.9
Military	14.5	8.5	9.0	
Police Related	7.3			
Student	3.3	1.2	1.3	
Unemployed	2.6			
Unclassified	2.6	15.8		4.6

*Watson and Sterling, op. cit., pp. 114-115.
**U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Occupational Characteristics, Final Report, PC(2)-7A. (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963) p. XX.

Because of a variety of reasons, the data set forth above is not strictly comparable. We should keep in mind that for the two recruit groups, their previous occupation represents a job held during the trial working period of a relatively young individual. On the other hand, the distribution of occupations among

employed males consisted of jobs held by adults during their stable working life. Because of this and a number of other reasons, the data can yield only some general impressions.

First, the generalization that the police are drawn from the lower-middle class appears to be supported by the data drawn from the responses of the 152 recruit subjects. Only 41.5% of the subjects held jobs at or above the level of craftsmen and foremen. Thus, accepting the rule of thumb cited above, the majority of the subjects would be classified less than middle class. However, we should keep in mind that the data is somewhat distorted by the number of subjects who were in the military service and were attending school. In general it is of interest to note that a higher proportion of the police groups included in the table held clerical jobs than was true for the overall male population. Lastly, as a characteristic of the present time, a significant proportion of the subjects came directly from military service into law enforcement.

Occupational Backgrounds of the Subjects' Fathers

The occupational background of the fathers of the recruits serves as another indication of social origin. Accordingly, data related to this factor is set forth below. As in the previous table, data drawn from similar groups is provided for reference purposes.

Table 2.12

A Comparison of the Occupations of the Fathers of Three
Groups of Police Officers with the Distribution of Occupations
in the General Population

Occupational Classification	Police Recruits (N = 152)	Nationwide Sample of Police Recruits (N = 165)*	Nationwide Sample of Experienced Police Officers (N = 1,195)*	Distribution of Occupations of Employed Males, 1960**
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Professional, Technical, Managerial	13.2	13.9	15.2	20.9
Clerical	7.9	6.1	5.4	6.9
Sales	7.2	6.1	5.4	6.8
Craftsmen, Foremen	34.2	24.9	31.5	19.5
Operatives	17.8	14.6	14.6	19.9
Service, Household	5.3	4.9	7.2	6.1
Farmers	0.6	0.6	4.8	8.4
Laborers	2.6	9.1	6.0	6.9
Military	2.0	1.8	---	
Police Related	3.3	4.2	9.8	
Unclassifiable	5.9	13.9	---	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Watson and Sterling, op. cit., pp. 110-112. (The 1,195 men in this classification are from cities with populations over 500,000).
**U.S. Bureau of the Census. (U.S. Census of Population, 1960), op. cit., P. XX

Several impressions emerge from this table. The majority of the subjects' fathers as well as those of the other two police groups, were reported to have been employed at the middle class level and above. When considered in light of the fact that 48% of these fathers had not completed high school, it can be assumed that this group of fathers was very upward-striving. Beyond this, the data is consistent with the general finding that there is a decreasing proportion of the sons of police officers entering into police work.[17] Lastly, the greatest proportion of the recruits had fathers who were employed as craftsmen and foremen. The representation of fathers at this job level far exceeded that for employed men in the general population.

Length of Anticipatory Socialization

The age at which a person makes his occupational choice has been the focus of considerable research. This time of choice marks the beginning of occupational socialization since it is at this point that conceptions and perceptions will begin to be modified in anticipation of actual entry into the vocation or its related formal training program. The age of decision tends to vary with the nature of the vocation; that is, occupations requiring lengthy academic preparation necessitate an earlier vocational choice than do those having fewer prerequisites. Nevertheless, studies have shown that vocational choices generally begin to form during the late elementary or early high school years.[18] During the high school years, career guidance programs and information services are available to assist the individual in making realistic choices. Without such help, decisions may fail to consider the necessity for matching individual abilities and vocational requirements.

For purposes of this research, the process of anticipatory socialization was judged to have begun at the time when the individual first became interested in police work as a vocational choice. Since the foundations upon which police training will be built are structured by this process, the length of time that the subjects have considered police work as a career possibility should be examined. The data conveys the impression that most of the subjects did not make an early decision to enter law enforcement. That 68.7% of the group had considered police work as a vocational choice for less than four years indicates that the majority of subjects made their vocational choice after completing high school. This should be obvious from the data shown in Table 2.13.

Preparatory Work Experience

Every job has a primary orientation to data, people or things. Some jobs entail working almost exclusively with data. Others, like the job of the police patrolman, are primarily people-centered. Still other occupations require mostly the manipulation of things. Yet, every job requires the worker to deal to some extent with each of these three elements at various levels of complexity. These relationships have been systematized in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles.[19] This authoritative source sets forth a detailed hierarchical classification of jobs according to their relationship with data, people, and things.

[17]Watson and Sterling, op. cit., p. 112.

[18]Donald E. Super, "The Critical Ninth Grade: Vocational Choice or Vocational Exploration," Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 39, 1960-1961, pp. 106-109.

[19]U. S. Department of Labor, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Vol. II (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 649.

Table 2.13

Length of Time Recruits Had Been Interested in
Police Work as a Vocational Choice

	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	Total	% of Total
Less than 1 Year	14	1	2	9	26	17.21
Less than 2 Years	11	6	10	8	35	23.03
Less than 3 Years	4	11	3	6	24	15.89
Less than 4 Years	6	7	4	2	19	12.58
Less than 5 Years	2	5	4	3	14	9.27
Less than 6 Years	-	2	3	3	8	5.29
Less than 7 Years	1	2	1	1	5	3.31
Less than 8 Years	-	1	1	2	4	2.64
Less than 9 Years	-	2	2	2	6	3.97
Less than 10 Years	1	1	-	1	3	1.98
More than 10 Years	4	1	1	2	8	5.29
Total	43	39	31	39	152	100.00

Table 2.14

Functional Levels of Job Complexity

DATA	PEOPLE	THINGS
0 Synthesizing	0 Mentoring	0 Setting-up
1 Coordinating	1 Negotiating	1 Precision Working
2 Analyzing	2 Instructing	2 Operating-Controlling
3 Compiling	3 Supervising	3 Driving-Operating
4 Computing	4 Diverting	4 Manipulating
5 Copying	5 Persuading	5 Tending
6 Comparing	6 Speaking-Signaling	6 Feeding-Offbearing
7 No Significant	7 Serving	7 Handling
8 Relationship	8 No Significant Relationship	8 No Significant Relationship

Each column in Table 2.14 contains a listing of present participle verbs which describe what a worker does in relationship to the column heading. These verb forms range from the complex (0) to the simple (8). This classification can be used not only to designate the functions of a specific job as they relate to data, people, and things, but also when the three columns are considered together, it can also express the general level of complexity of that job. For example, a psychiatrist is classified as 108. The job calls for the practitioner to deal with data at a high level, that of coordination. Obviously, his relationship with people is at the highest level, mentoring. Equally obvious is the fact that a psychiatrist's work calls for no significant relationship to things. Consider another example, that of the mathematical statistician's job which is classified as 088. The job is classified at the highest level of complexity with regard to data and the position has no significant relationship to people or things. The job of the carpentry laborer is classified as 887. The laborer does not deal with data or people to any notable degree and he functions at the lowest level with regard to things. *

Pertinent to this research is the question of the occupational backgrounds of the recruit subjects. To what extent have these men held jobs which have served as preparation for the position of police patrolman? In order to answer this question, the subjects were asked to list the full-time job they held immediately before entering police work. Of the 152 subjects, 22 were in the military, five were students, and ten gave responses which could not be classified. The responses made by the remaining 115 subjects were classified according to data, people, and things. The results are shown in Table 2.15.

This table shows that only 22.6% of the subjects held a job in which the relationship to data was equal to or greater than that of the patrolman, the level of analysis. Of far greater significance is the fact that only 26% of the subjects held jobs in which the relationship to people was equal to or exceeded the classification of speaking-signaling assigned to the position of patrolman. Beyond this, if one accepts that a considerable part of a patrolman's job requires him to function in relationship to people at higher levels of complexity than speaking and signaling, then the vocational preparation of our subjects is even more inappropriate. When one considers that 70.4% of the subjects held jobs which had no significant relationship to people, he hardly can feel assured that these men can deal properly with the complex people-problems they soon confront after only a few hours of instruction in the areas of social problems and human relations. One observer of the police patrolman's job has commented that, "His education has not fitted him to master the enormous social-worker chores that are thrust upon him. The complexities of his job would tax a superman."[20] To this

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*Within the aforementioned classification, the police patrolman's job is listed as 268. Accordingly, the job is viewed as one calling for analyzing data, speaking-signaling to people, and not having any significant relationship to things. Anyone who is familiar with the contemporary occupational role of the patrolman will have considerable difficulty in accepting this classification, particularly regarding the relationship with people. The police patrolman's work in connection with non-criminal, peace-keeping, service types of cases requires considerable persuading, instructing, and negotiating. Even mentoring, the highest level of complexity, is descriptive of the patrolman's role in handling a great many cases. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles defines mentoring as "dealing with individuals in terms of their total personality in order to advise, counsel, and/or guide them with regard to problems that may be resolved by legal, scientific, clerical, spiritual, and/or professional principles." Mentoring is certainly descriptive of the patrolman's work in dealing with the great bulk of juvenile and family related matters.

[20] Fletcher Knebel, "Police in Crisis," Look, Vol. 32, No. 3, Feb. 6, 1968, p. 15.

Table 2.15
Classification of Jobs Held by Recruit Subjects Immediately
Before Entering Police Work (N = 115)

DATA			PEOPLE			THINGS		
Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects	Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects	Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects
0	Synthesizing	0.9	0	Mentoring	--	0	Setting-up	0.9
1	Coordinating	7.8	1	Negotiating	1.7	1	Precision Working	20.9
2	Analyzing	13.9	2	Instructing	1.7	2	Operating-Controlling	3.5
3	Compiling	36.5	3	Supervising	2.6	3	Driving-Operating	4.3
4	Computing	3.5	4	Diverting	--	4	Manipulating	4.3
5	Copying	1.7	5	Persuading	10.4	5	Tending	6.1
6	Comparing	1.7	6	Speaking-Signaling	9.6	6	Feeding-Offbearing	0.9
7			7	Serving	3.5	7	Handling	22.6
8	No Significant Relationship	33.9	8	No Significant Relationship	70.4	8	No Significant Relationship	36.5

statement we can now add that the vocational experiences of the subjects prior to recruitment have not fitted them to master the demanding problems involving people that soon will be thrust upon them.

Other Vocational Interests

A parallel question was asked of the subjects to assess their vocational interests. To what extent were the men interested in jobs which were primarily oriented toward dealing with people rather than data or things? Responses to a question concerning the other kinds of work which the men were considering before they decided to become police officers are shown in Table 2.16. With regard to dealing with data, the great majority of subjects were interested in jobs in which data was handled at relatively high levels of complexity. Almost half of those subjects included in this table were considering other jobs which had no significant relationship with people. Fifty-four percent were interested in vocations which had no significant relationship to things.

In terms of a general orientation to work, about one-third of the respondents expressed an interest in a job which required the incumbent to function in a relationship with people beyond that of serving, speaking, and signaling. All things considered, one easily is impressed that the subjects lack not only a vocational background enabling them to deal with people, but also an interest in those vocations which are people-oriented. This impression supports a description of new patrolmen in Chicago with excellent performance records.

> " . . . they are less socially inclined than patrolmen in general,
> and may be comfortable in solitary work not requiring many
> social contacts. This does not mean that they are anti-social,
> rather that they are more 'work-oriented' than 'person-oriented'."[21]

The question remains whether an interest in data, people or things is a fixed part of personality or the interest can be modified to conform to the nature of the role. More specifically, does the performance of the patrolman's role tend to make the man more person-oriented?

Shift Work

Shift work is unavoidable in law enforcement. In the case of the cities included in this research, Baltimore rotated patrolmen every 28 days. Cincinnati and Indianapolis rotated shifts every month. Columbus rotated its men every quarter. Such rotation of the hours of work requires the men and their families to make rather difficult physiological, psychological, and sociological adjustments. It is of interest within this study to determine how many of the subjects had worked on shifts before entering police work, since this would constitute significant preparatory work experience.

As shown in Table 2.17, that two-thirds of the recruit subjects had worked in jobs which required rotation of shifts reflects something of the nature of their previous occupational experience. Shift work is found almost exclusively in continuous process industries producing chemicals, oil, paper, and steel, and in other industries in which there is a heavy capital outlay for plant and equipment. By and large, this percentage supports the earlier finding that before entering police work, a large proportion of the subjects were engaged in occupations classified as craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and laborers.

[21] Melany E. Baehr, John E. Furcon, and Ernest C. Froemel, Psychological Assessment of Patrolman Qualifications in Relation to Field Performance (Chicago, Industrial Relations Center, University of Chicago, 1968), p. VIII-9.

Table 2.16

Classification of Jobs Considered by Recruit Subjects Before They Entered Police Work (N = 100)

DATA			PEOPLE			THINGS		
Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects	Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects	Level	Verbal Description	% of Subjects
0	Synthesizing	3.0	0	Mentoring	4.0	0	Setting-up	2.0
1	Coordinating	14.0	1	Negotiating	1.0	1	Precision Working	15.0
2	Analyzing	36.0	2	Instructing	12.0	2	Operating-Controlling	6.0
3	Compiling	22.0	3	Supervising	--	3	Driving-Operating	3.0
4	Computing	1.0	4	Diverting	3.0	4	Manipulating	12.0
5	Copying	--	5	Persuading	13.0	5	Tending	--
6	Comparing	--	6	Speaking-Signaling	20.0	6	Feeding-Offbearing	5.0
7	No Significant Relationship	24.0	7	Serving	--	7	Handling	3.0
8			8	No Significant Relationship	47.0	8	No Significant Relationship	54.0

Table 2.17
Shift Work Background of Recruits

City	Number Who Had Done Shift Work Before Entering Police Vocation	Percent Who Had Done Shift Work
Balt. (N = 43)	26	60.4
Cin. (N = 39)	25	64.1
Col. (N = 31)	25	80.6
Ind. (N = 39)	26	66.7
Total (N = 152)	102	67.1

Table 2.18
Number and Percent of Recruits Who Gained Income By Becoming a Police Officer

City	Number Who Make More Money As A Patrolman	% of Total
Balt. (N = 43)	34	79.1
Cin. (N = 39)	31	79.5
Col. (N = 31)	18	58.1
Ind. (N = 39)	23	59.0
Total (N = 152)	106	69.7

Does the proportion of subjects who have engaged in shift work exceed the comparable proportion of the general public engaged in such work? Since the proportion varies from city to city, a precise answer is impossible. In Detroit where shift work in the automobile industry is common, almost 32% of the workers rotate their hours. At the other extreme, only 13.4% of the workers in New York City rotate shifts.[22] From this, it would appear that a greater proportion of the recruits engaged in shift work than was true for workers in the general population.

Relative Income

Although observers of the police have commented frequently that many men who become police officers do so in order to gain increased occupational status, it may be that any such increase in status is merely incidental to a more fundamental and understandable motivation, a desire to make more money. The data in Table 2.18 indicates the number of subjects who will earn more money as a police officer than they did in their job immediately before becoming a police recruit. Over two-thirds of the subjects gained in income as a result of their new occupation. From the previous discussion on the employment backgrounds of the subjects, it is clear that few of the subjects gained status by becoming a police officer. All things considered, the increased income coupled with the security features of the job can be seen as a greater influence in the decision to become a police officer than status considerations.

Sources of Influence on Vocational Choice

What factors influenced the subject's decision to enter into law enforcement? Friends and relatives of the subjects would be a primary influence in the decision. Information about the occupation gained through reading would also be a strong source of influence.

In order to assess the degree to which these factors influenced the subject's decision, they were first asked if they had "any relatives who are or were police officers?" Of the total of 152 men, 62 (40.8%) replied in the affirmative. This group of sixty-two men was then asked in a follow-up question about the degree to which relatives who were police officers influenced their occupational choice. Their responses are arrayed in Table 2.19. The majority of men (35 or 56.4%) who had relatives who were police officers were influenced positively by their relatives.

The next question concerned the influence of friends on the subject's vocational choice. In this instance, 126 of the men (82.9% of the total group of 152) reported having friends who were or had been police officers. These men were then asked a follow-up question on the influence of friends. Their responses are shown in Table 2.20. The great majority of the men (93 or 73.8%) with friends who were or had been police officers were influenced in their vocational choice by these men. By comparison, friends were a much stronger influence on the subjects in deciding to become a police officer than were relatives.

The third question dealing with the forces which shaped the subjects' decision to enter police work concerns reading materials. Only 59 of the total group

[22] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Wages and Related Benefits: 1960-1961, Bulletin No. 1285-83 (Washington, D. C., 1961), pp. 78-80. The data does not include men employed by public utilities, transportation systems, communications industries, and the municipal police, fire and sanitation services.

Table 2.19

Responses of 62 Recruits to the Question, "Do You Feel that They (Relatives) Influenced Your Decision to Become a Police Officer?"

City	No. of Subjects	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Don't Know	Probably No	Definitely No
Col.	11	5	1	1	2	2
Cin.	17	4	3	1	5	4
Ind.	14	4	3	3	2	2
Balt.	20	4	11	1	1	3
Total	62	17	18	6	10	11
Percent	100%	27.4	29.0	9.7	16.1	17.7

Table 2.20

Responses of 126 Recruits to the Question, "Do You Feel that They (Friends) Influenced Your Decision to Become a Police Officer?"

City	No. of Subjects	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Don't Know	Probably No	Definitely No
Col.	26	9	13	1	2	1
Cin.	35	15	7	2	6	5
Ind.	33	11	13	1	3	5
Balt.	32	12	13	1	2	4
Total	126	47	46	5	13	15
Percent	100%	37.3	36.5	4.0	10.3	11.9

(38.8%) had read any books or magazines about police work in the past year. These 59 men were asked a supplemental question about the influence of reading on their choice of jobs. Their responses are set forth in Table 2.21. Of the 59 men who had read about police work in the past year, 69.5% of them reported that reading materials affected their occupational choice.

The general view which emerges from this analysis is that friends with police backgrounds were the most influential of the three sources in affecting the vocational decisions of the subjects. The great majority of the subjects had friends with police experience and more than three-quarters of these subjects reported being positively influenced by their friends. This finding seems to support the premise upon which many police recruitment programs are based: The best source of manpower is the friends of men now employed as police officers. Relatives with police backgrounds had less effect on the subjects' decision than friends. Although reading was a source of vocational information for the smallest number of subjects, it did have a positive effect on a significant proportion of them.

The Level of Reading Materials

Reading constitutes an important part of the process of anticipatory socialization. Hence, an important though secondary consideration in the discussion of the sources of influence on the vocational choices of the subjects was the nature of the materials read by the recruits. Fifty-nine of the 152 men reported that they had read about police work in the year preceding their entry into law enforcement. These subjects then were instructed to list the materials they had read. The responses were categorized and are presented in Table 2.22. The majority of men with a high school education had read only popular materials. On the other hand, the majority of the men who had attended college had read about the police vocation in textbooks and periodical literature. Few men in either educational category had read occupational literature or police publications. All things considered, the reading of sound and informative materials on law enforcement was not a significant part of the anticipatory socialization of the recruit subjects. For the few men who had read about law enforcement, the popular accounts of police work in newspapers, magazines and books constituted the primary source of vocational information.

THE RECRUIT GROUP--A SYNTHESIS

From the background material presented up to now, a general impression of the recruit group can be formed. The men, about twenty-four years of age on the average, came from stable middle-class families--many with long-standing roots in the community. Almost all of the recruits were white. Their fathers, with modest educational attainments, had been upward-striving and were employed primarily at the level of craftsman or foreman.

Two-thirds of the recruits were married. An equal proportion had been in military service. Although all were high school graduates, only one-third of them had attended college. The majority of them were employed in lower middle class jobs which paid less than their initial police salaries. Two-thirds of them already had experienced the effects of shift work on their respective life styles. The great majority of these men had been employed in jobs which dealt primarily with data and things. By and large, they had almost no occupational experience in dealing with people nor did they have an interest in jobs which were people-oriented.

Generally, they had aspired to become police officers for only a few years. Very few of them had read anything of substance about the law enforcement

Table 2.21

Responses of 59 Recruits to the Question, "Do You Feel that Your Reading Has Helped You in Your Decision to Become a Police Officer?"

City	No.	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Don't Know	Probably No	Definitely No
Col.	11	7	2	0	1	1
Cin.	17	8	4	0	3	2
Ind.	18	4	6	3	3	2
Balt.	13	5	5	1	2	0
Total	59	24	17	4	9	5
Percent	100	40.7	28.8	6.8	15.3	8.5

Table 2.22

Nature of Materials Read by 59 Recruits in the Year Preceding Their Entry into Police Work

Reading Source	High School Graduate (N = 32)		Some College Attendance (N = 27)		Combined Group (N = 59)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Newspapers and Magazines	12	37.5	3	11.1	15	25.4
Popular Books	7	21.9	4	14.8	11	18.6
Occupational Literature	3	9.4	3	11.1	6	10.2
Police Publications, Manuals and Bulletins	3	9.4	2	7.4	5	8.5
Textbooks and Periodical Literature for Police	7	21.9	15	55.6	22	37.3

profession. Their friends with police backgrounds had been most influential in their decision to enter into law enforcement.

Time Effects on the Size of the Recruit Group

When the Role Perception Battery first was administered at the beginning of recruit school, a total of 152 men were involved in the research. As would be expected, some attrition occurred during the training period. There were some intercity variations in the number of men lost during this time span--apparently related to an underlying conception of the functions of recruit training. In Baltimore where the training process was viewed as a continuation of the overall selection process, a large number of men failed to complete training. In Cincinnati where the idea was expressed that the training division's function was to train, not to select, no subjects were lost. Both Columbus and Indianapolis apparently shared that view. A further reduction in the size of the group occurred after the completion of formal training. Table 2.23 shows the figures related to the reduction of the original group of 152 men down to 113 patrolmen.

Table 2.23

The Size of the Recruit Groups at Three Points in Time

City	Start of Training	End of Training	After 18 Months Experience
Balt.	43	28	20
Cin.	39	39	37
Col.	31	30	24
Ind.	39	39	32
Total	152	136	113

Over the full time span of this study, twenty-three men in Baltimore were released or allowed to resign. In Cincinnati, two men resigned during their early field experience. Three men were released or allowed to resign from the Columbus group. In addition, one man had died and three were unavailable for the third testing.* In Indianapolis, three men were released or allowed to resign. Here too one man had died. Three other men were unavailable for the final testing in that city.

Men Who Failed

Aside from the death of two men, thirty-one subjects failed to complete eighteen months in the field as patrolmen, thereby failing their original vocational goal. Consequently, within this discussion, this group of thirty-one men will be termed unsuccessful.

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*A total of six men were unavailable at the third testing. The reasons for this included vacations, injuries, urgent police duty, and national guard summer camp.

One's curiosity immediately is aroused regarding the ways in which the unsuccessful group differed from those who attained their original goal. Though curious, one should not be incautious. Since the majority of the unsuccessful group (74.2%) came from one city, Baltimore, a detailed consideration of the differences between the successful and the unsuccessful groups essentially would be a study of the selective factors in only one city. Therefore, with few exceptions, the unsuccessful group will be omitted from the following discussion. The total number of men included in the full analysis which follows will be 113.

Notwithstanding this, it remains of interest to briefly examine the background characteristics of the unsuccessful group. Though they were remarkably similar to the successful group, there were a few notable differences. Of the original group of 152 subjects, there were seventeen blacks. By the completion of eighteen months of field experience, ten of these men remained. Thus, blacks were represented overproportionately within the unsuccessful group. Of the original group, there were six men with four year college degrees. Three of the six were in the unsuccessful group. Thus, college graduates also were overrepresented in the unsuccessful group. Regarding marital status, slightly over 64% of the original group of 152 men were married. Within the unsuccessful group, only 31.2% were married. Fifty percent of this group were single while 18.8% were separated or divorced. In this case, single men and men whose marriages had been unsuccessful were overrepresented among the unsuccessful. Beyond these few factors, there were no apparent differences between the successful and the unsuccessful groups.

SUPPLEMENTARY BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Life History form was administered to the subjects on only one occasion, at the beginning of their recruit training. Generally, the background information obtained from their responses to this form would be invariable over time. However, there was a series of other questions structured to produce background information that assumably would be answered differently by the subjects as time passed. In this case, we would expect that the subjects' view of the nature of police work would change through training and/or experience. Accordingly, their judgments about certain factors related to their jobs would reflect these changes. Questions of this kind were grouped together in a supplemental information form which was administered to the subjects at the beginning and at the end of their recruit training, and after eighteen months' experience in the field as patrolmen.

VALUATION OF PREPARATORY EXPERIENCE

For the new recruits, there is much that is unknown about their future role in law enforcement and their ability to perform that role. However, they do understand the preparatory function of the role of trainee and doubts are reduced somewhat by the belief in the continuity between the position of trainee and that of patrolman. Further, the belief that their previous experience relates to their present and future roles in law enforcement also serves to alleviate some of this initial anxiety. Thus, real or imagined continuity between roles facilitates the assumption of their new role.

In assessing this sense of continuity, two variables must be considered. The first is their changing concept of the police role, and the second concerns the intrinsic nature of previous experience and its actual relevance to police work.

Regarding the first variable, one should note that at the beginning of recruit school, the subjects' view of the police role is based on a loose patchwork of preconceptions derived from a variety of sources--some highly accurate, others inaccurate. At this point, their views would reflect the end product of the process of anticipatory socialization. By the end of their training, the men would hold an intellectualized view of the role developed from the content of the curricula and the verbal observations of their trainers. Only after enactment of the patrolman's role would their concepts of the police role be formed from the reality of actual experience. As the subjects' concept of the police role changed, one would expect that judgments of the preparatory value of their formal education and work experience also would reflect change. At any one point in time, the subjects' concept of the police role would be influenced by that which they already knew as interpreted through the filters of their present role. Thus, one would hypothesize that formal education would be seen as a more valuable preparation for the intellectualized view of the patrolman's role held at the end of recruit training than would be the case at the beginning of training or after field experience.

The second variable concerns the nature of their previous experience. Obviously, not all educational and vocational experience qualifies as excellent preparation for police work. We would expect that academic work at the college level represents better preparation for police work than the mere attainment of a high school equivalency certificate. Similarly, work experience as a police cadet would be considered more valuable than that as a bookkeeper.

The Supplementary Information form contained two questions which probed the subjects' opinion of the preparatory value of their education and occupational experience, presupposing that the two items could assess the degree of continuity. In response to the first question the subjects indicated the degree to which they felt their formal education helped to prepare them for police work. The percentage of responses in each category is presented in Table 2.24.

Table 2.24

Responses to the Question, "Do You Feel that Your Formal Education Has Helped Prepare You for Police Work?"
(Percentages Based on 113 Subjects)

Response Category	Start of Training (T_1)*	End of Training (T_2)	After 18 Months Experience (T_3)
Definitely Yes	51.3%	53.1%	37.2%
Probably Yes	24.8	36.3	46.0
Don't Know	7.1	2.7	4.4
Probably No	8.8	4.4	9.7
Definitely No	8.0	3.5	2.7

*The notations T_1, T_2 and T_3 will be used throughout this report. T_1 will designate the first testing at the start of training, while T_2 will indicate the second testing at the end of training. The notation T_3 will be used to designate the final testing of the subjects at the completion of eighteen months experience in the field as a patrolman.

From the data in the table, formal education seemed a better preparation for police work at the end of recruit training than at either of the other two points in time. A more precise statistical analysis of the data confirmed that this previous educational experience was considered by the students to be more consistent with the academic view of police work learned during recruit training.[23] Moreover, the actual routines of their earlier formal education were felt to have been more transferable to the trainee's role they had just completed.

What estimations were made of the preparatory value of prior occupational experience? The data derived from the responses to this second question was treated in the same way as described in the previous footnote. The mean score at T_1 was 3.53; it rose slightly to 3.69 at T_2; then dropped to 3.50 at T_3. In neither case did the t values derived from this analysis reach a level which would indicate even doubtful significance. Thus, it can be concluded that the subjects' valuation of their formal vocational experience as a preparation for police work remained constant over time.

Let us now examine the relative worth assigned by the subjects to their educational and vocational experience as a preparation for police work. A comparison of the mean scores related to the foregoing data is necessary to answer this question.

Table 2.25

A Test of Significance of the Difference Between Mean
Scores Representing the Value Assigned by 113 Police Subjects
to Education and Work Experience as Preparation for the Police Role

	Mean Score (Education)	Mean Score (Work Experience)	t Value
T_1	3.94	3.53	2.44
T_2	4.31	3.69	4.04
T_3	4.05	3.50	4.04

[23]Mean scores were derived from an analysis of the numerical responses on which the percentages were based. A value of 5 was assigned to a "definitely yes" response while lower values were assigned to other responses on the scale descending to a value of one for a "definitely no" response. The mean score at the start of training (T_1) was 3.94. At the end of training (T_2), the mean score was 4.31 while the mean dropped to 4.05 at T_3. The difference between the mean score obtained at T_1 and the comparable score obtained at T_2 was tested statistically. The t value obtained from this analysis of the difference between the means was 2.63. As has been explained, the probability that a t value as large as this could have occurred by chance alone is 1 in 100. Thus, the difference between mean scores was statistically significant. The t value obtained from a test of the difference between the means obtained at T_2 and T_3 was 2.50. In this instance, the probability that a t value as large as this could have occurred by chance alone was 5 in 100. Thus, from a statistical point of view, this difference is of doubtful significance.

At each point in time shown in Table 2.25, the mean score for the valuation of education exceeded that of the corresponding mean for work experience. The difference between the mean scores for education and work at T_1 was significant at the .05 level of confidence (t = 2.44). At both T_2 and T_3, the difference between the two mean scores was significant at the .01 level (t = 4.04). This analysis points to the conclusion that the subjects consistently valued formal education more highly than their previous work experience as a preparation for the police role. We can reason that the subjects invariably viewed the continuity between their formal education and their police role as being greater than that between their former work experience and their present occupational role.

Is Education a Valued Preparation?

The current efforts of the police to recruit more college men would be premised upon the belief that such academic experience provides better preparation for the police role than does less formal education. This is widely considered self-evident, despite the difficulty encountered while attempting to gather supporting evidence.[24]

Probably the most important group of people to question the value of formal education in this sense would be the men who recently have experienced entering into police work. To get to the heart of this matter, the subjects' responses to the question "Do you feel that your formal education has helped prepare you for police work?" were categorized according to the subjects' level of educational attainment and are presented below in Table 2.26.

Table 2.26

An Analysis of Responses to the Question "Do You Feel that Your Formal
Education has Helped Prepare You for Police Work?" by
Educational Level of Respondents

Level of Education	Mean Score at Start of Training	Mean Score at End of Training	Mean Score After 18 Months Experience
Equivalency Certificate (N = 15)	3.60	4.27	3.87
High School Graduate (N = 61)	3.89	4.10	4.05
College Attendance (N = 37)	4.43	4.68	4.14
Combined Group (N = 113)	3.94	4.31	4.05

The same general pattern of a rise at T_2 and a fall at T_3 appeared for each education group. Further, on inspection, it would seem that subjects with college experience value it more highly than do those with only a high school education or

[24]See discussion on this topic by Charles B. Saunders, Jr., Upgrading the American Police (Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1970), pp. 79-116.

its equivalent. However, since impressions drawn from a mere inspection of the data could lead to error, a statistical test of these differences is necessary.

With the scores of three subgroups at three points in time, the simple test of the significance of the difference between the mean scores used before is inappropriate. For data which can be classified into separate categories, the chi-square technique is useful in testing whether the number of cases among the categories can be attributed reasonably to chance. Analysis of the data in this way showed that the apparent differences in scores among the educational groups at any one point in time were not statistically significant.[25] Thus, we are led to conclude that the subjects with a college background did not value their education as being a more valuable preparatory experience than did subjects with only a high school background.

Valuation of Work Experience

In an effort to determine the kinds of work experience considered valuable, the responses of each subject to the question dealing with the preparatory value of their work experience were assigned numerical values ranging from five (definitely yes) down to one (definitely no). The total for the three time periods then was determined for each man. Theoretically, the scores could range from 15 for the men who consistently felt their work experience was a definite preparation down to three for the men who consistently felt that their work experience was definitely not a useful preparation for police work.

The occupational backgrounds of the 25 subjects who viewed their previous employment as being most valuable were compared with the backgrounds of the 25 subjects who judged their previous work experience as being least valuable. The mean score for the former group of 25 was 14.9 while the score for the latter group was 5.8. Presented below are descriptions of the vocational backgrounds of the 25 men in each group. The general categories of relationships with people used in the table were drawn from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles classification system of Data-People-Things.[26]

Among other things, the data in Table 2.27 supports the obvious view that men who had worked as police cadets and dispatchers were among those who saw this experience as most valuable. Men with certain kinds of military experience also saw this experience as most valuable. At the other extreme, it is of interest that some of the men who held jobs which had no significant relationship to people viewed them as most valuable. Specifically, these six men held jobs as a fireman, clerk, factory worker, mechanic, carpenter and draftsman. Among the group of men who felt their occupational experience was least valuable, none held a police related job. What may be concluded from this analysis is that the great bulk of the recruit subjects who viewed their previous occupational backgrounds as the least valuable preparation for police work held jobs which had no significant relationship to people.

[25] The chi-square values obtained at each point in time were 11.48 (6 d.f.) at T_1, 6.05 (4 d.f.) at T_2, and 1.79 (6 d.f.) at T_3. None of these values reached a level which was statistically significant.

[26] U. S. Department of Labor, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Vol. II (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 649.

Table 2.27

Comparison of Occupational Backgrounds of Subjects Who Viewed Experience as Most/Least Valuable

Job Description	Most Valuable (N = 25)	Least Valuable (N = 25)
Police Related	6	
Military Service	6	3
College Student	2	1
Mentoring People	1	
Supervising People		1
Persuading People	2	2
Speaking-Signaling to People	1	
Serving People	1	1
No Significant Relationship to People	6	17

FRIENDSHIPS

Ours is a friendless society. Though we reside and work close to one another, we live apart--unable to establish intimate human relationships. Typically contemporary man is considered burdened by a high level of anxiety, preoccupied with status considerations, capable of only superficial human relationships, and overwhelmed by vocational pressures. From all this comes a pervasive condition of friendlessness.

"Analysts of our society have pointed to the increasing impersonality of our relationships. It has been said, for example, that the only human community to which the average American businessman belongs is the car pool which takes him to work. He has few genuine relationships with his neighbors in the suburbs. At the office, it is a matter of whom he can manipulate and who can manipulate him."[27]

In the face of this generalized impersonality, the extensiveness of friendship ties among the police stands in marked contrast to other groups.

Both the man on the street and the scholar appear to readily accept that group solidarity is an occupational characteristic of the police.[28] As a result, explanations for this affiliative tendency abound. Some would reason that the

[27] Nevitt Sanford, Self & Society (New York, Atherton Press, 1966), pp. 50-51.

[28] Two scholarly views of the affiliative tendency of the police can be found in Skolnick, op. cit., pp. 49-65, and Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community (London, Tavistock Publications, Ltd., 1964), pp. 248-249.

perception of real or imagined public hostility tends to move the police away from the public and toward one another in their search for friends. Others would claim that their common social class background provides a fertile base for the growth of a network of friendships. Still others would offer that many friendships pre-exist police membership and are enriched by the sharing of a common occupational experience.

Some of the commonplace explanations for the affiliative tendency of the police are expressed in the police literature or implied from the behavioral sciences. For example, friendships may originate because of some very practical benefits. For the police, one benefit from friendships with other officers can be seen in the statement of a police captain to a group of police recruits.

"Pick your friends carefully. I advise you to stay with your own kind as much as you can. That way you can't go wrong. Stay with your brother officers. Their wives can keep your wife company at night-- and the nights get long, men."[29]

Obviously, there are many other practical benefits which would result from friendships among police officers.

In-group solidarity of the police may be explained by the concept of law enforcement as an esoteric discipline. This view, combined with a belief in the need for secrecy regarding occupational practices, would tend to produce in-group solidarity. That police work is considered a body of knowledge understandable only to the initiated is reflected in the following statement drawn from an autobiographical account of the experiences of a policewoman wherein a deputy inspector shares the wisdom of his long years of experience with a group of recruits.

"Most people are aware of the insularity of a police group; they give various interpretations to this insularity, mostly of a derogatory nature. But you will find, as you become police officers, that this is not only a natural development, but an essential one, because only a policeman, a working policeman, can understand the policeman's life. It is foreign and incomprehensible to everyone else and it cannot be communicated to them."[30]

Another explanation for the close ties among police focuses on the psychological relationships among "silence, secrecy, and solidarity." According to this reasoning:

"Secrecy, among the police, stands as a shield against the attacks of the outside world . . . Secrecy is loyalty, for it represents sticking with the group and its maintenance carries with it a profound sense of participation. Secrecy is solidarity for it represents a common front against the outside world."[31]

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[29]T. Mike Walker, Voices from the Bottom of the World (New York, Grove Press, 1969), p. 55.

[30]Dorothy Uhnak, Policewoman (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1964), p. 32.

[31]William A. Westley, "The Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1951), p. 187.

Belief in the need for secrecy regarding the occupational practices of the police finds clear expression in the resistance to hiring civilians for employment in police agencies. In one instance known to the author, a police official vigorously resisted the creation of a cadet program in his department because he believed that the young men who would be recruited for the program could not be trusted. For example, he felt that the department would become vulnerable "if the cadets knew how many cars were on the street when we changed watches." This same logic is reflected in the statement of another police official in a different city.

"We (the sworn officers) have all worked together a long time; this is our life. We know each other and we stick together. You get a civilian in here, to him it's just a job. He'll learn things and start blabbing them around. You get a lot of sensitive stuff in police work and you have to know how to keep your mouth shut."[32]

These two themes, singly or combined, would tend to bar associational ties between police and non-police.

Still another explanation for the extensive friendships among police officers relates to a condition of employment: shift work. The frequent rotation of shifts tends to limit the development and maintenance of friendship ties to other policemen whose lives are ordered in the same way. This restriction on social activity apparently affects other occupational groups whose hours of work contrast with those of the dominant community.

"Several studies indicate that evening and night shifts interfere with workers' participation in voluntary organizations as well as with their contacts with friends. The principal reason for this interference is that both formal and informal social activities usually take place during the early evening hours when the worker is either absent from the home or is preparing for work."[33]

Though it is clear that shift work may create restrictions on the friendship patterns of the police as well as other occupational groups, it would be an error to assume that the impact of shift work, per se, affects all workers equally. In this regard, it would be of interest to compare the number and nature of friendships between various occupational groups and the police. Such research would permit some reasonable judgments concerning the relation of shift work, either alone or with other conditions unique to the police culture, to the apparently high incidence of intra-group affiliation among police. However, without control for a number of variables, such comparative research would be valueless. The overall pattern of shift work set by the frequency of rotation, the predictability of schedules, and the inclusion of weekends as workdays would appear to affect friendships. Moreover, it has been cited that age and education are significant variables in any study of the social relationships of shift workers.[34] Generally, inter-occupational comparisons between the police and other shift workers must take these variables into consideration.

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[32]J. Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (New York, Atheneum, 1970), p. 153.

[33]Paul E. Mott, Shift Work (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 20.

[34]Ibid., pp. 150-157.

In what is perhaps the best developed theoretical discussion of the group solidarity of the police, this group characteristic is attributed to the element of on-the-job danger and the exercise of police authority. In this discussion, Skolnick reasons that because of the necessity for immediate assistance in emergency situations and the ever present threat of danger, a special element for group solidarity is created.[35] This explanation finds considerable support in Schachter's experimental studies of group affiliation. From one central part of his research, Schachter concludes, "There can be little doubt that the state of anxiety leads to the arousal of affiliative tendencies."[36] Thus, there are both practical and psychological reasons for the relationship between group solidarity and the perception of danger.

Beyond this, in the exercise of authority, particularly in the area of public morality, the police officer is pictured by Skolnick as being caught up in a discrepancy between occupational and personal morality. On the job, he is expected to stand as a symbol of puritanical morality. In his personal life, he follows a less rigorous moral code. Thus, isolation from the public is seen as a protective device to avoid charges of moral hypocricy.

"The policeman may be likened to other authorities who prefer to violate moralistic norms away from onlookers for whom they are routinely supposed to appear as normative models."[37]

Following this line of thought, a police officer can best find the freedom to behave naturally, to relax and to do as he desires, when away from the public and in the company of other officers.

Though this discussion has consisted of anecdotal comments and theoretical constructs, it should serve as a reasonable caution for those observers who consider police friendship patterns easily explained. That there are numerous interrelated factors involved in the formation and continuation of friendships among police officers should be clearly evident from this discussion. That there is a need for relevant data on this subject also should be evident.

A Developmental View of Police Friendship Patterns

An important part of the socialization of police recruits consists of involvement in new patterns of friendship. Since the police appear to be a highly cohesive group, assuming the police role generally would include the development of new friendships within the occupation and the end of relationships with persons outside it. The approach of this research to friendship formation involves an attempt to assess the dynamics of change over time. Subjects were asked to list their three closest friends at the beginning and end of their training, and after eighteen months of field experience. The number of policemen listed at each point in time is displayed in Table 2.28.

Overall, the data reflects a rather dramatic increase in friendships among the police. At the start of training, 15.3% of the closest friends listed by the subjects were police officers. By the end of training, this percentage had increased to 27.7%. It should be noted that this brief time span is the only period in the

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[35] Skolnick, op. cit., p. 54.

[36] Stanley Schachter, The Psychology of Affiliation (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 133.

[37] Skolnick, op. cit., p. 58.

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Table 2.28

Number of Policemen Listed Among the Three
Closest Friends of 113 Police Subjects

City	Start of Training (T_1)	End of Training (T_2)	After 18 Months Experience (T_3)
Balt. (N = 20)	8	14	17
Cin. (N = 37)	21	29	57
Col. (N = 24)	10	15	23
Ind. (N = 32)	13	36	63
Total (N = 113)	52	94	160

police career of the subjects when they, as a group, would not rotate their hours of work. Thus, during this period of time, the effect of shift work probably was unrelated to the increase of friendships with other police officers. By the time the subjects had completed a year and a half of field experience, 47.2% of the friends listed were from among the police occupational group.

Though the overall increase in the number of close police friends over the time span of this research is striking, one cannot ignore the equally striking intercity differences. Indianapolis subjects reported the greatest increase in the number of police friends over time. After experience as patrolmen, these men averaged almost two close police friends per man. The Cincinnati subjects also reported a great increase in close friendships with other police. However, the increase in the number of close police friends over the time span of this research was notably less in Baltimore and Columbus. For Baltimore, only 28.3% of the three closest friends of the Baltimore subjects were police officers. The figure was 31.9% for Columbus.

Though it is impossible to assign specific reasons for the extreme differences in friendship patterns among the various cities, it is clear that the development of extensive friendship ties among the police is not a universal phenomenon. It occurs in some cities, Indianapolis and Cincinnati, for example, and not in others.

Ages of Closest Friends

One of the simplest explanations for the formation of friendships is based on the principle of propinquity. Briefly put, people are most likely to be attracted to others who are closest to them in terms of contact, interests, backgrounds, and ages. All of the subjects in each of the four cities lived reasonably near one another. All shared a common interest in law enforcement. Moreover, we have seen evidence of the subjects having similar backgrounds. But what of the ages of their friends?

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We live in an age-graded society. From childhood on, friendships generally develop among people who are close in age to one another. For this reason, it is of interest to examine the ages of the people named by the subjects as being among their three closest friends at each point in time.

The average ages of the people listed as the closest friends of the subjects are shown in Table 2.29. In order to avoid distortions in the average caused by extreme ages, the median measure of central tendency was used rather than the arithmetic mean. An examination of the data leads to the conclusion that the median age of the subjects' police and civilian friends remained very close to the average age of the subjects themselves. Further, there were no apparent inter-city differences. The upward tendency in the age data after eighteen months of experience reflects the time span of the research. The age ranges shown yield additional information. Over time the age range for civilian friends generally was wider than that for police friends. There also was a tendency for the upper limit of the age range for police friends to increase as time passed. Reasonably, this would result from friendships developing with a slightly older police officer. By and large, the data affirms the principle of propinquity in ages as a base for friendship formation.

Occupational Backgrounds of the Subjects' Closest Friends

This discussion of friendships has focused upon the formation of new friendships with other police officers. However, for each new friendship developed with a police officer, an old friendship with a person in another occupational classification has been dropped or diminished in importance. Just as certain inferences can be drawn from the acquisition of new friendships, so too can they be drawn from the nature of the friendships which have been replaced. Table 2.30 shows the occupational backgrounds of the people listed by the subjects as being among their three closest friends at each point in time. The increase in the percentage of policemen listed as friends has been discussed already. Here our interest concentrates on the percentage of friends drawn from other occupations. An examination of the total percentage of friends from each occupational classification as it changes over time revealed that the representation of friends drawn from the professional, craftsman/foreman, household/service, and laborer classifications remained relatively constant. On the other hand, considerable decreases in the percentage of the subjects' three closest friends were noted between the beginning and the end of the research for the clerical/sales, operatives, student and military classifications. In the clerical/sales category, the 18.3% figure at the start of training dropped to 9.7% after field experience. At the outset, operatives constituted 12.1% of the total listed. By the end of the research, this figure dropped to 6.5% of the total. For the student group, the percentage dropped to 2.7% from an initial figure of 10.0%. Equally notable was the decrease in friendships with persons in the military service. Over the time of this research, the percentage figure dropped to 1.8% from 9.1% at the start.

In interpreting this data, it is important to note that before becoming policemen, 20.4% of the subjects were employed as operatives, 15.1% in clerical/sales positions, 14.5% were in the military service and 3.3% were students. Thus, the greatest decreases in friendships occurred with those persons in the categories from which came the majority of the subjects themselves. Apparently, friendships with persons in the same occupational group as the subjects prior to their police career were replaced by persons in the subjects' new occupational group. Interestingly, friendships drawn from the categories of clerical/sales, operatives, student and military decreased 28.8% between the beginning and the end of this research while friendships with other police officers increased 31.9% during the same time span. Overall, the impression that a significant proportion of the

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Table 2.29

Analysis of Median Ages of Three Closest Friends of 113 Police Subjects

	Start of Training (T₁)			End of Training (T₂)			After 18 Months Experience (T₃)		
	Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median	Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median	Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median
Balt.	24.0	20-27	23.0	23.5	20-28	23.0	25.0	20-35	25.0
Cin.	24.0	20-28	23.0	23.0	20-38	23.0	24.0	21-32	25.5
Col.	26.0	22-31	23.0	24.0	22-27	25.0	26.0	22-40	26.0
Ind.	24.0	21-33	24.0	24.0	21-32	23.0	25.0	22-37	25.0
TOTAL	24.0	20-33	23.5	24.0	20-38	23.5	25.0	20-40	25.0

City	Start of Training — Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median	End of Training — Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median	Age Range	After 18 Months — Police Median	Age Range	Civilian Median	Age Range
Balt.	24.0	20-27	23.0	23.5	20-28	23.0	18-45	25.0	20-35	25.0	22-34
Cin.	24.0	20-28	23.0	23.0	20-38	23.0	19-37	24.0	21-32	25.5	21-44
Col.	26.0	22-31	23.0	24.0	22-27	25.0	20-57	26.0	22-40	26.0	20-42
Ind.	24.0	21-33	24.0	24.0	21-32	23.0	20-40	25.0	22-37	25.0	22-59
TOTAL	24.0	20-33	23.5	24.0	20-38	23.5	18-57	25.0	20-40	25.0	20-59

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Table 2.30

Occupational Classification of the Three Closest Friends of 113 Police Subjects

	Police	Prof. Mgr. Prod.	Clerical, Sales	Craftsmen, Foremen	Operatives	Household, Services	Laborers	Students	Military	Unclassifiable
Start of Training (T_1)	15.3%	13.0%	18.3%	11.5%	12.1%	2.1%	3.8%	10.0%	9.1%	4.7%
End of Training (T_2)	27.7	10.0	15.3	11.8	7.4	2.7	4.4	8.6	6.8	5.3
After 18 Months Experience (T_3)	47.2	11.2	9.7	10.9	6.5	2.1	3.2	2.7	1.8	4.7

subject's friendships before and after experience as a police officer were found in direct association with other persons engaged in common occupational pursuits.

Residential Stability and the Formation of Friendships

Another factor logically related to the formation of friendships with other police officers concerns the residential stability of the subjects. The recruit who is new to a community would tend to develop new friendships while the man who has lived in a community all his life will have his friendships already established. To test this hypothesis, the data on friendships was analyzed according to the resident classification used earlier. The related data is presented in Table 2.31.

Table 2.31

Formation of Friendships with other Police Officers Between Start of Training and End of 18 Months Experience, by Residence Classification of 113 Police Subjects

Residence Classification of Subject	Maintained Same Number of Police Friends	Increased Number of Police Friends	Decreased Number of Police Friends	Total
Lived in or near the city in which they work and no-where else; no military service.	12	12	2	26
Lived in or near the city in which they work and no-where else except during military service.	10	16	4	30
Lived elsewhere in the state at some time in their lives.	1	15	2	18
Lived outside the state at some time in their lives.	12	26	1	39
Total	35	69	9	113

Seemingly, those who once had lived in other cities or states were overrepresented among those subjects who had increased the number of police officers included among their three closest friends. However, a statistical test of the significance of the differences among the groups failed to support this hypothesis.[38] Thus, one can conclude that residential mobility was not a significant factor in the formation of friendships within the occupational group of the subjects.

[38] The Chi-Square technique was employed to test the hypothesis upon which this analysis was based. The X^2 value of 11.39 (6 degrees of freedom) failed to reach the .05 level of significance. However, the value was significant at the .10 level.

INTRADEPARTMENT ASPIRATIONS

"Everyone on this force should be aspiring to be commissioner."[39] Express-
ed by the commissioner of a major police agency, this desire is a useful motiva-
tional theme. As an idealistic goal, it is something we easily approve. However,
one should recognize that it is one of man's guiding fictions, a part of his ethos
which carries the belief that everyone can rise to the top. As a realistic personal
goal in the everyday world of work, all men cannot become chiefs and presidents.
The restrictive structure of police departments is such that all men cannot be pro-
moted in rank.

The position to which one aspires in both the short and the long run influ-
ences how one enacts his present role. Aspiring to a lofty position for which one
is unsuited because his personal attributes do not satisfy the requirements of that
role creates conflict. Clearly, not all of our subjects are potential supervisors
or command officers. Conversely, low aspirations may lead to role calculation,
a condition in which the role incumbent consciously and deliberately simulates
minimal conformity to role prescriptions and proscriptions. Thus, it becomes
pertinent for this research to determine some measures of the subjects' aspira-
tions.

At the first and second testing all of the subjects indicated on a separate item
that they intended to be promoted in rank within the next ten years. Clearly, if
their aspirations were unchanging over time, most of the subjects would be destined
to experience varying measures of disillusionment as a consequence of their
unrealistic aspirations. By the time of the third testing, only five of the 113 men
indicated that they did not expect to be promoted within the next ten years. Thus,
even after eighteen months of experience as a patrolman, the vast majority of the
subjects still anticipated a promotion within the next ten years.

A supplementary item then called for the subjects to list the position they
would like to attain within ten years. From the responses given to this item, it
was clear that a number of subjects believed that the attainment of a specialist or
investigative position constituted a promotion. The responses were grouped into
five levels and the related data is set forth in Table 2.32. The subjects in both
Indianapolis and Baltimore indicated higher aspirations than those subjects in
Cincinnati and Columbus. At the time of the first testing, 65.6% of the Indian-
apolis subjects desired to become a lieutenant or above within ten years. By the
time of the second testing, this figure had risen to 72%. After eighteen months
experience, the figure for Indianapolis had dropped back to 65.6%. For the
Baltimore subjects, the comparable percentage figures were 55%, 70% and 55%.

To the contrary, the Cincinnati and Columbus recruits held relatively lower
aspirations. At the first testing, 13.5% of the Cincinnati men aspired to a lieu-
tenant's position or above within their first decade on the job. At the time of the
second testing, the figure had risen to 29.7%. At the third testing, the Cincinnati
group reported a further rise in aspirations. This time 48.6% of the group in-
dicated that they wanted to become a lieutenant or better. In Columbus, at the
time of the first testing, 25.1% aspired to become a lieutenant or above. By the
end of training, the figure was reduced to 20.9%. After field experience, the
figure was even lower, 16.7%.

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[39]Wilson, op. cit., p. 208.

Table 2.32

Promotional Levels Aspired to Within Ten Years by 113 Subjects, Reported in Percent

City	Detective or Specialist			Sergeant			Lieutenant			Captain			Above Captain		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Balt. (N=20)	30.0%	5.0%	20.0%	15.0%	25.0%	25.0%	45.0%	50.0%	30.0%	5.0%	15.0%	20.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
Cin. (N=37)	32.4	16.2	18.9	54.1	54.1	32.4	10.8	27.0	37.8	2.7	2.7	10.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Col. (N=24)	37.5	33.3	41.7	37.5	45.8	41.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	4.2	4.2	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
Ind. (N=32)	18.8	6.3	9.4	15.6	21.9	25.0	28.1	43.8	25.0	21.9	18.8	21.9	15.6	9.4	18.8
Total (N=113)	29.2	14.2	22.1	32.7	38.9	30.1	23.0	33.6	28.3	8.8	9.7	13.3	6.2	3.5	6.2

Here again, inter-city differences were apparent. In two cities, Baltimore and Indianapolis, the subjects had notably higher aspirations than the subjects in Cincinnati or Columbus. The difference can, in part, be explained away by differences in the promotional system. In Indianapolis, men are eligible for promotion after five years of service. However, for each academic year of college completed, the required years of service are reduced by an equivalent amount. This progressive promotional policy may account for the high aspirations in that city. In Baltimore, men are eligible for promotion after three years of service. They need only serve one year as a sergeant to be eligible to take the lieutenant's examination.

In the two cities with lower levels of aspiration, the conditions for promotion were more conservative. In Cincinnati, the men are eligible to take the sergeant's examination after three years of service. Other promotional examinations require two years in rank before being eligible. In Columbus, men are eligible to take their first promotional examination after five years of service. To a considerable degree, the aspirational level of the subjects tends to be structured by the promotional policies within the department. Though that may be true, the high level of aspiration in the cities with the most liberal promotional policies appears to reflect an unrealistic appraisal of the actual numerical chances for promotion.

Aspiration and Education

On a common sense level, the man who is motivated to obtain additional education beyond high school is generally a man with ambitions. For the sake of future satisfaction, the man is willing to defer certain present gratifications while he pursues advanced education.

Within the framework of this research, we would then expect that the subjects who have undertaken a college education would have higher intradepartment aspirations than the subjects who have ended their formal education at the high school level. In order to test this hypothesis, the 113 men were divided into two educational groups and differences between the groups were tested for statistical significance. The results are shown in Table 2.33

From an analysis of the scores obtained at the start and the end of training, the two groups had aspirations which were roughly equivalent. The slight differences that did exist were not statistically significant. However, by the end of eighteen months field experience, the aspirations of the men who had attended college rose significantly over those who had only a high school education. Inspection of the data shows that 67.6% of the college men held aspirations at the level of lieutenant or above. This compares to 38.2% for the high school group. The difference between the two groups was tested statistically and was found to be significant at the .05 level. The emergence of a higher level of aspiration for the college group by the end of eighteen months of field experience serves as interesting background data for the common problem faced by many personnel administrators in police agencies: the loss of college men during the first few years of their police career.

Assignment Aspirations

The promotional goal of the subjects within ten years is but one part of their career aspirations. This can be considered the vertical dimension of aspiration. The horizontal dimension of career aspirations concerns the attainment of positions in various fields of specialization without rising vertically in the police rank structure.

Table 2.33

A Comparison of the Level of Intra-Department Aspirations
Among Subjects with High School Education (N = 76) and
Those with Some College Attendance (N = 37)

	Educational Group	Det. or Specialist	Sgt.	Lt.	Capt.	Above Capt.	Total
T_1	Some College Attendance	13	14	6	3	1	37
	High School Only	20	23	20	7	6	76
	Total	33	37	26	10	7	113

$$x^2 = 3.32, \text{ 4 d.f., not sig.}$$

	Educational Group	Det. or Specialist	Sgt.	Lt.	Capt.	Above Capt.	Total
T_2	Some College Attendance	6	14	11	5	1	37
	High School Only	11	28	28	6	3	76
	Total	17	42	39	11	4	113

$$x^2 = 1.34, \text{ 4 d.f., not sig.}$$

	Educational Group	Det. or Specialist	Sgt.	Lt.	Capt.	Above Capt.	Total
T_3	Some College Attendance	5	7	17	6	2	37
	High School Only	20	27	15	9	5	76
	Total	25	34	32	15	7	113

$$x^2 = 10.58, \text{ 4 d.f., sig. @ .05}$$

The subjects were asked what position or assignment they would like to have ten years in the future, assuming that they were not promoted in rank. Table 2.34 shows a detailed breakdown of the job preferences of the 113 subjects given in response to the question.

Differences Over Time

Several general impressions emerge from the data. At the start of training, an assignment as a detective was preferred by the largest number of men, 38. This represents one-third of the total group. Patrol was the next most desired assignment, with 28 of the 113 subjects aspiring to a position in patrol. Including the ancillary patrol functions of canine and tactical increases the percentage 25.7. The next most preferred assignment was traffic; 14.2% of the total subjects desired

Table 2.34

Assignments which 113 Police Subjects Aspired to if Not
Promoted within Ten Years, by City

Preferred Unit Assignment	Baltimore (N = 20)			Cincinnati (N = 37)			Columbus (N = 24)			Indianapolis (N = 32)			Combined Group (N = 113)		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Patrol	3	4	3	10	15	21	7	5	11	8	9	13	28	33	48
Canine/Tactical	0	2	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	5
Detective	13	6	6	6	9	4	7	9	7	12	8	10	38	32	27
Juvenile	0	2	0	5	2	1	1	3	1	1	0	1	7	7	3
Traffic	1	1	2	8	4	1	7	4	0	0	1	3	16	10	6
Administrative	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	2	4	1	3	5	7
Training	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	5	3
Unclassifiable	3	3	4	5	5	5	2	1	2	9	7	3	19	16	14

this position. An assignment in juvenile drew seven men or 6.2% of the total group. As shown in the table, few men were interested in administrative or training positions. Half of the men whose responses were unclassifiable indicated that they would seek another job if they were not promoted in rank within ten years.

The general preference of the subjects for an investigative police role is consistent with the findings of another recent study of urban police recruits. This research involved 107 New York City police recruits. At the start of their training, 38% of these men indicated that they would like to be assigned to the detective division after ten years of service.[40] Thus, it appears that an interest in detective work is common among men entering urban police agencies. One reasonably might assume that this generalized preference for an investigative assignment was a choice largely based on the glamorized view of the work presented in the mass media, fictional literature, and the movies. By the completion of training, only 28.3% of the 113 research subjects expressed an interest in a detective assignment. At this point in time, a slightly greater proportion of the men, 29.2%, aspired to a position in patrol. As before, if auxiliary assignments in canine and tactical units are included within the patrol category, the overall figure increases to 33.6% of the total. Again, traffic and juvenile were positions attractive to a notable proportion of the subjects. As was true at the outset of training, relatively few men expressed an interest in an administrative or training position. In light of the important reciprocal role relationship which existed between the subjects and their trainers during recruit training, it is of interest to note that only five men aspired to a training position. During training, police instructors served as role models for the subjects. Despite this influential relationship during a formative period, the aspirations of few subjects were affected by these role models.

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[40] John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," in David J. Bordua, ed., The Police (N. Y., John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 206.

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The reduction of interest in a detective assignment by the end of formal recruit training stands in contrast to other data the New York City research previously cited. A group of 296 New York City recruits with three months of training were asked to state what their most desired assignment would be in ten years. In this instance, 58% of the men chose a detective assignment.[41] Differences in the pay and the prestige accorded the position of detective may account for the apparently divergent trends in positional aspiration between New York City subjects and the combined group of 55 in this research.

After 18 months of field experience, the responses of the 113 subjects reflected more clearly the trends evidenced between the beginning and the end of recruit training. Only 23.9% of the subjects, now experienced patrolmen, chose the detective's position as one they aspired to hold in ten years. To the contrary, 42.5% of the men were interested in a patrol position at the end of ten years. The inclusion of canine and tactical assignments in the patrol category increases the figure to 47.0%. Interest in traffic and juvenile assignments decreased while interest in staff positions showed a slight increase. In general, the data reflects a shift toward reality in terms of the actual number of positions existing within the respective departments and the variety of positions which can be attained.

Inter-City Differences

Once again, several interesting impressions of inter-city differences were apparent. First, with the exception of Baltimore, the subjects increasingly aspired to a position in patrol in the event they were not promoted in rank within ten years. To the contrary, the Baltimore subjects tended to show relatively little interest in patrol across time. Secondly, at the start of training, the Cincinnati subjects showed considerable breadth in their lateral aspirational goals while the subjects in the other three cities tended to concentrate their desires on patrol and detective assignments. That the Cincinnati subjects showed relatively greater diversity in their aspirations at the outset would seem to indicate their knowledge of the variety of assignments available within their department. Thirdly, a considerable proportion of the subjects in Cincinnati and Columbus showed an interest in traffic at the beginning of training while almost no interest in this activity was shown by the men in Baltimore and Indianapolis. Lastly, while the subjects in Baltimore, Columbus, and Indianapolis expressed greater variety in their aspirations over the time span of the research, the subjects in Cincinnati tended to concentrate their desires on a position in patrol. Overall, the inter-city differences that did appear would assumedly be related to the subjects knowledge of the various unit assignments within their respective departments coupled with the attention and prestige given to these assignments.

Thus, the data tends to invalidate the assumption that the high prestige accorded to the detective role tends to cause police officers to aspire to become detectives and contrariwise, that the low prestige given to the patrolman's role tends to cause police officers to leave that role as quickly as possible. It is important to note that a significant proportion of the subjects in this research see the patrolman's role as worthy of their long run aspirations.

APPROVAL OF VOCATIONAL CHOICE BY WIFE/FAMILY

Within the definitions set forth earlier, a reference group was defined as "a group by whom an actor sees his role performance observed and evaluated and to whose expectations and evaluations he attends." Within the reference group of

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[41] Ibid., p. 206.

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our subjects is the role reciprocal of wife, or if unmarried, parents. Of necessity, a subject would find it hard to ignore the expectations and evaluations of his wife or parents.

To what extent are these significant role reciprocals thought to approve of the subjects' occupational pursuits? The answer to this question was gained from an analysis of the responses to the item stated below.

Table 2.35

Responses of 113 Police Subjects to the Question, "What Does Your Wife Think About Your Becoming A Police Officer?" (If You Are Unmarried, "What Do Your Parents Think About Your Becoming A Police Officer?")

Response Category	Start of Training	End of Training	After 18 Months Experience
Strongly Approve	31.9%	33.6%	32.7%
Approve	58.4	60.2	54.0
Have No Opinion	3.5	2.7	7.1
Disapprove	6.2	3.5	5.3
Strongly Disapprove	0	0	0.9

Clearly, the subjects' perceptions of the measure of acceptance of their occupational choice expressed by their wives or parents is highly favorable. At the beginning of their law enforcement career, 90.3% of the subjects believed that their wives approved of their choice of career. By T_2, this percentage figure had risen to 93.8. Eighteen months later, the percentage dropped slightly to 86.7% of the total.

In the case of a vocation which does not intrude on the personal life of the worker, the measure of approval voiced by a wife or parent is of less significance than in the case of an occupation which makes frequent demands on the family life of the worker. In the case of a police officer, a wife or parent may be required constantly to adjust their life style to conform with the requirements of the police job. In a very real sense, a wife or parent actively performs a staff support function for their husband or son. Under such conditions, the high percentage of approval perceived by the subjects stands as a remarkable finding. This measure of perceived approval becomes even more remarkable when the relatively low status and pay of the job are considered within the context of continual public controversy over the police role.

AN ATTITUDINAL MEASURE OF JOB SATISFACTION

An examination of the nature and magnitude of the satisfaction derived from one's job is a major research undertaking in and of itself. On a general level, it is recognized that job satisfaction is related to the worker's perception of the status and importance assigned to his work, the monetary return he gains from job performance, the degree to which he is accepted into informal groups of co-workers both on and off the job, and a host of other factors. To explore fully the many

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dimensions of job satisfaction is to stray from the scope of this research and its theoretical base. However, there are some logical relationships between job satisfaction and role which merit attention.

During the early period of occupational socialization, job satisfaction seemingly relates to two factors. First, as an employee sees that his abilities are consistent with the requirements of his occupational role, his satisfaction increases. Secondly, as he is accepted by his co-workers and gains entry into their informal groups, his satisfaction increases further. Therefore, one would expect that a measure of job satisfaction would reflect increases in the short run. Later, when the problems and complexities of the role become more fully known, job satisfaction might be expected to decrease. The responses of the 113 subjects to an item assessing relative job satisfaction are set forth in the following table.

Table 2.36

Responses of 113 Police Subjects to the Question, "How Satisfied Are You with Your Job As A Police Officer When You Compare It with Other Jobs You Had Before You Entered Law Enforcement?"

Response Category	Start of Training (T_1)	End of Training (T_2)	After 18 Months Experience (T_3)
Very Well Satisfied	77.0%	87.6%	74.3%
Fairly Well Satisfied	11.5	10.6	20.4
Undecided	11.5	1.8	3.5
Fairly Dissatisfied	0	0	1.8
Very Dissatisfied	0	0	0

As the data indicates, the subjects registered a higher degree of satisfaction with their present job in law enforcement than with their previous jobs. At T_1, 88.5% of the subjects indicated that they were well satisfied with their present job. By T_2, the comparable figure peaked at 98.2%. The percentage figure dropped back slightly at T_3 to 94.7%. Again, considering the general public controversy over the police role, the subjects expressed a remarkable degree of satisfaction with their job in law enforcement.

A Supplementary Measure of Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is difficult to assess and those who undertake the task should do so cautiously. Though the problems associated with the assessment of job satisfaction cannot be overcome easily, a follow-up question was asked in order to improve the assessment procedure: Would they still become police officers if they had it to do over again? The subjects' responses to this second item are presented in Table 2.37. This data gives an additional indication of the high degree of satisfaction which the subjects felt they derived from enactment of the police role. At the start of training, 95.6% of the subjects responded that they would still become a police officer if they "had it to do over again." After training, every subject responded affirmatively. After patrol experience, the figure dropped to 96.4. This set of data, when considered in light of the other two indices of job

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Table 2.37

Responses of 113 Police Subjects to the Question, "If You Had It To
Do Over Again, and Knew What You Now Know, Would
You Still Become a Police Officer?"

Response Category	Start of Training (T_1)	End of Training (T_2)	After 18 Months Experience (T_3)
Definitely Yes	77.0%	91.2%	80.5%
Probably Yes	18.6	8.8	15.9
Undecided	3.5	0	2.7
Probably No	0.9	0	0
Definitely No	0	0	0

satisfaction, gives the general impression that the subjects themselves were highly satisfied with their role in law enforcement.

CHANGING BACKGROUND FACTORS--A RESTATEMENT

When the subjects entered recruit training, they already had formed a number of judgments and evaluations about their future police role. This is one of the functions of anticipatory socialization. From the moment the men became recruits, these preconceptions were subject to modification--first by formal training and next by job experience. One of the major concepts which would be altered by the combined impact of training and experience is the fundamental view of the nature of the police role. As this basic role concept is modified over time, so too, would be altered a number of relative judgments pertaining to that role. The subjects' evaluations of their preparatory experiences, their aspirations, and their satisfactions would tend to change over time since they result from a basic concept which is being revised continually. So, too, would certain other considerations related to friendship formation be modified by the socialization process. This section was structured to trace the nature of these changes over the time span of this research.

Both the subjects' formal education and previous occupational experience served as a preparation for assuming the police role. Whether or not these experiences were in fact a useful preparation for the police role is not of concern here. Rather, attention is focused upon the degree to which the subjects believed these experiences were valuable preliminaries to the police role. In general, the subjects rated their formal education, whatever its level, as a more valuable preparation than their previous occupational experience. At all three points in time, college men felt their education was a more valuable preparatory experience than did men with less education. It was interesting to note that education was held to be most valuable when the subjects completed recruit training. For this transitional role which is largely academic, previous formal education obviously would be seen as highly relevant. However, once the subjects began to enact the patrolman's role, the relevance of education to that role decreased. Some previous job experiences were seen by the subjects as a highly valuable preparation while others were not. They considered police related jobs and

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military service to be the most valuable preparation. Other jobs which had no significant relationship to dealing with people tended to be viewed as least valuable.

The promotional aspirations of the subjects were generally high--in fact so high as to be unrealistic in terms of the limited number of opportunities available. Although this was true on a general level, there were some striking inter-city differences. The Indianapolis subjects indicated the highest aspiration level at all three points in time. At the start of training, over 65% of these subjects aspired to occupy positions at or above the level of lieutenant within ten years. By the completion of recruit training, this figure had risen to 72%; after field experience, it dropped back to 65%. By comparison, only 25% of the Columbus subjects aspired to become a lieutenant or above within ten years after the start of training. This percentage decreased to 21% at the end of recruit training. A still further reduction occurred after field experience. At that time, only 16.7% of the men aspired to positions at the level of lieutenant or beyond. These striking inter-city differences in aspiration level may be explained in part by variations in promotional regulations. However, other psychological explanations for these differences appear to be necessary.

Education and aspiration are interrelated. Accordingly, data derived from the subjects' responses were analyzed to see if those men who had attended college indicated higher aspiration levels than those men with less formal education. At the beginning of recruit training, there were no differences in the aspiration levels of these two educational groups. The same was true at the completion of training. However, after the subjects had served as patrolmen for 18 months, the aspirations of the college educated subjects were significantly higher than those of the subjects with only a high school education. After field experience, over 67% of the subjects with college backgrounds aspired to achieve lieutenant or above within ten years. The comparable figure for the high school group was 38.2%.

Aspirations also have a horizontal dimension. Assuming the subjects were not promoted within ten years, what other positions within their departments would they prefer? While other research findings suggest that aspirations of this kind tend to be focused on investigative positions, the aspirations of the subjects in this narrow research did not reflect this narrow preoccupation. At the beginning of training, 33.6% of the men aspired to investigative positions. After training, this figure decreased to 28.3%. After field experience, only 23.9% of the subjects expressed an interest in an investigative position. A high interest in the patrolman's position was shown at all three points in time--particularly after experience as a patrolman. At this time, 42.5% of the subjects aspired to a patrol position. If canine and tactical units are included within the patrol category, the figure rises to 46.9%. Generally, as time passed and the men acquired more information about the variety of positions within their respective departments, their horizontal aspirations reflected a broader range of choices.

Although the formation of friendships with other police officers may result from a number of very practical and obvious reasons, it would appear that the development of such friendships is also related to a variety of more subtle factors. In general, friendships with others in the same occupational role would reflect the development of a sense of identification with that role. At the start of recruit training, only 15.3% of the subjects' three closest friends were police officers. At the end of training, 27.7% of their friends were policemen. The figure rose to 47.2% after field experience. Once again, some notable inter-city differences were found. In Baltimore, only 28.3% of the friends named by the subjects after field experience were police officers. At the other extreme, 65.6% of the three closest friends named by the Indianapolis subjects after patrol experience were police

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officers. In general, the police and non-police friends of the subjects tended to be close in age to the subjects. As the subjects recognized an increasing number of police officers as being among their three closest friends, they tended to drop or downgrade their friendships with other men who held jobs in the same categories as the subjects held before entry into police work. Generally, it would seem that as the subjects began to identify with an occupational group, whatever its nature, they formed new friendships with people of that occupational group.

Lastly, contrary to the adage that he who increases knowledge increases sorrow, the subjects were highly satisfied with their police role and remained so over the time span of this study. Their high job satisfaction was evidenced also by their responses to the question if they had it to do over again, would they still become police officers. At the beginning of training, 95.6% of the subjects responded affirmatively. At the end of training, all of the subjects indicated that they would do so. After field experience, the figure decreased only slightly to 96.4%. Their consistently high level of job satisfaction was reinforced by a strong measure of approval of their occupational choice by a most significant role reciprocal, their wife or their family. Despite all of the possibilities for job dissatisfaction inherent in the police role, the subjects evidenced a high degree of satisfaction with their work.

CHAPTER III

POLICE EXPERIENCE AND PERSONALITY CHANGE

Throughout the introductory section on role theory, little was said about the matter of personality. The role theoretical approach to understanding behavior emphasizes the conditions in which social rather than personal factors will be most influential. Indeed, in order to understand role theory, personality is not of central importance. Essentially, role theory deals with the external determinants of behavior--society, reference groups, role reciprocals and role models, and the behavioral expectations held by significant others. Again, social relationships between individuals and within collectivities are emphasized. Despite the extensiveness of this externally-oriented theory, it should be recognized that behavior cannot be explained completely by mere consideration of the external aspects of a situation. A more complete and realistic understanding of the subject requires that some attention be given to personality as an internal determinant of role behavior.

Personality and role are related inextricably. In the first instance, personality influences the selection of an occupational role. Beyond this, the ability to take on a role, to perceive of the expectations associated with the role, and to interpret the attitudes and values related to the role are all a function of personality. The unique style with which a role is enacted and the measure of satisfaction derived from playing the role also are determined to varying degrees by personality. Thus, without a consideration of the personality characteristics of the subjects in this research, only a partial understanding of the dynamics of the socialization process for the police recruit can be gained.

Over and above the necessity of considering personality within the context of role theory, there are two other compelling reasons which call for a rather detailed description of the personalities of the subjects of this research. First, it has been recognized that the members of some occupational groups:

> " . . . are not the men whose personality would, and could, be
> defined in terms of objective psychological interpretations. They
> are rather individuals who evoke certain responses, interpretations,
> and evaluations in other people, and who therefore impress them in
> a certain way."[1]

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[1]Gustav Ichheiser, Appearances and Realities (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), p. 37.

Without a doubt, the police are one occupational group which seems to evoke a highly subjective response from the public. Why this is so is expressed in the opinion of one astute observer of the police.

> "The policeman is a 'Rorschach' in uniform as he patrols his beat. His occupational accouterments--shield, nightstick, gun and summons book--clothe him in a mantle of symbolism that stimulates fantasy and projection."[2]

Clearly, the police are one of the occupational groups which are viewed primarily in terms of subjective impressions rather than objective reality.

Despite the aforementioned caution about objective statements on the personality characteristics of certain occupational groups such as the police, the unconscious and unsystematic interpretations that commonly are made about the police make it all the more necessary to undertake a rational approach in describing some of the general features of the police personality. More often than not, the general public's perception of the personality of the police is pieced together from highly subjective impressions, limited observations of occupational behavior, and a variety of other false cues. From such glimpses, interpretations of the police personality are inferred loosely. The intrinsic nature of the job, the equipment the officer carries, the uniform he wears, and the trained behaviors prescribed by the role all combine to mask the real character of the man who holds the position of police officer. The affectively-charged nature of many of the encounters between the public and the police make it even more difficult for an observer to arrive at valid conclusions. As has been said, inferences drawn from these impressions yield illusions which may affect not only the beliefs but also the interactions of the public and the police. Thus, it is hoped that to some extent, the following discussion of the personality characteristics of the research subjects can dissipate some of the illusions about the "police personality" which tend to exacerbate relationships between the police and the members of the community they serve.

The second reason which calls for a rational discussion of the personality features of the recruit subjects in this research is the general reluctance on the part of psychologists who have been involved in the assessment of the police personality to publish their data. One observer noted that this reluctance probably was traced to the psychologists' awareness of a desire on the part of a community and its police department to avoid negative public opinion which might arise from uninformed interpretations of deviant personality characteristics found within their research.[3] If this explanation is true, it reinforces the view that the publication of research findings can influence public opinion. Thus, we have all the more reason for considering personality in some detail within this research, assuming, of course, that valid interpretations will be made of the data.

A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR VIEWING PERSONALITY

The literature of the behavioral sciences contains as many definitions of personality as the number of people who have written on the subject. Though there are numerous differences among these definitions, most people could agree with

the basic statement that personality is an organized, internal structure that has the capacity to influence the attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and behavior of a person. To this over-simplified definition others would be quick to add their specific comments on the nature of the organization of personality, its rationality or irrationality, its past, present and future orientation, its modifiability, and its uniqueness. Within this research there is no need, however, to seek any consensus on a definition of personality. Rather, the need is to choose a definition of personality which is both consistent with role theory and usable for research purposes.

With these two conditions in mind, the concepts of H. A. Murray were selected to serve as the theoretical base for the discussion of personality.[4] The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), which was selected as the instrument to provide measures of selected personality variables, has its origins in the list of manifest needs described within Murray's personality theory. Because of this relationship of theory to the research instrument, it is necessary to understand some of the essential features of Murray's concepts of personality in order to make reasonable interpretations of the EPPS data originating in this research.

To paraphrase Murray's definition, personality can be viewed as a hypothetical structure of the mind, the parts and processes of which are evidenced repeatedly in the internal and external patterns of behavior of the individual.[5] This general definition obviously requires further elaboration. The parts of personality, as distinguished from its processes, were described by Murray in the following way:

> ID--inborn tendencies of varying strength which are both acceptable and unacceptable to society.

> SUPEREGO--an internalized value system derived from the individual's society which serves to judge and discipline the self.

> EGO-IDEAL--a continually developing idealized concept of the self which guides the functions of the ego.

> EGO--The active guiding part of personality which determines psychological growth through the expression of blocking of id tendencies which are acceptable or unacceptable to both the superego and society.

Viewed developmentally, an individual at birth has id impulses which form the basis of his personality. Early socialization brings the establishment of the ego, followed by the emergence of the superego. Later, the ego-ideal gradually develops within the potential limits and experience of the individual. Beyond childhood, personality continues to show considerable development, assuming that it is not fixated by frustrating external forces. In brief, through social learning, personality acquires both a structure and a content during childhood which is capable of varying degrees of modification on into adulthood. From birth on, personality continues to be altered through conflict with a variety of socializing forces.

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[2] Arthur Niederhoffer, op. cit., p. 1.

[3] Jay Gottesman, op. cit., p. 132.

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[4] H. A. Murray, Explorations in Personality (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938), and H. A. Murray and C. Kluckhohn, "Outline of a Conception of Personality" in C. Kluckhohn and D. M. Schneider, eds., Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, 2nd Ed. (New York, Knopf, 1956).

[5] Murray and Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 30.

Central to Murray's theory is the concept of a need. Again, to paraphrase Murray, a need can be regarded as a force or drive which organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation, and action in such a way as to change an existing unsatisfying situation. Needs may be aroused directly by an internal process or indirectly by an external condition. Once aroused, a need manifests itself by leading the individual to seek out or to avoid certain kinds of situations. [6]

It is important to note that Murray believes that some needs are inborn as part of the id. These form the base from which the socially-learned needs develop. For him, the more important needs are those which are learned in a social context. Though the superego and the ego-ideal are considered learned aspects of personality, needs are considered most properly to be a part of the ego. In fact, it has been suggested by Murray that general systems of learned needs may constitute the ego which is considered to be the essence of personality. [7]

Needs have certain other important characteristics which add to their researchability. Because these needs exist at a relatively surface level of personality, they are capable of being expressed consciously on a psychological test. Also, since these needs exist in a condition of readiness and are modifiable through experience, changes in the arrangement of needs will reflect the impact of the social environment on the individual. Basic to their researchability is the fact that needs are not considered to be unique to an individual. Rather, each of us is assumed to have needs which are common to all individuals. Thus, it is possible to list the common personality needs and to generalize about the relative strengths of these needs at any one point in time. Essentially, this is what the EPPS was designed to do.

Murray originally listed twenty-eight socially-based needs which were thought to be common to people in a given society. [8] He reasoned that the arrangement or hierarchical ordering of these needs reflects the most significant aspects of personality. Therefore, an assessment of the relative amounts of each need and the manner in which the needs become organized is seen as a guide to personality diagnosis. Edwards recognized this and designed the EPPS as a research instrument which provides measures of fifteen of the variables which had their origin in Murray's more extensive list of needs. The variables and their descriptions are set forth below:

1. Achievement: To do one's best, to be successful, to accomplish tasks requiring skill and effort . . .

2. Deference: To get suggestions from others, to follow instructions and do what is expected, to let others make decisions . . .

3. Order: To make plans before starting on a difficult task, to have things arranged so they run smoothly without change . . .

4. Exhibition: To say witty and clever things, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to talk about personal achievements . . .

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[6] Murray, op. cit., pp. 123-4.

[7] Murray and Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 31.

[8] Murray, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

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5. Autonomy: To be able to come and go as desired, to be independent of others in making decisions, to avoid situations where one is expected to conform . . .

6. Affiliation: To be loyal to friends, to participate in friendly groups, to do things with friends rather than alone . . .

7. Intraception: To analyze one's motives and feelings, to put one's self in another's place, to judge people by why they do things rather than by what they do . . .

8. Succorance: To have others provide help when in trouble, to assist others less fortunate, to treat others with kindness and sympathy, to forgive others . . .

9. Dominance: To argue for one's point of view, to be regarded by others as a leader, to settle arguments and disputes between others . . .

10. Abasement: To feel guilty when one does something wrong, to feel that personal pain and misery suffered does more good than harm, to feel the need for punishment for wrong doing . . .

11. Nurturance: To help friends when they are in trouble, to assist others less fortunate, to treat others with kindness and sympathy, to forgive others . . .

12. Change: To do new and different things, to meet new people, to try new and different jobs, to move about the country and live in different places . . .

13. Endurance: To keep at a job until it is finished, to complete any job undertaken, to put in long hours of work without distraction . . .

14. Heterosexuality: To go out with members of the opposite sex, to engage in social activities with the opposite sex, to be regarded as physically attractive by those of the opposite sex . . .

15. Aggression: To attack contrary points of view, to tell others what one thinks about them, to become angry . . . [9]

In addition to these, a consistency score gives an indication of the degree to which chance alone determined the responses given by the subject throughout the schedule. The consistency scale is made up of fifteen items which are listed twice within the test. The consistency score is based upon the number of these duplicated items which are answered in the same way. Generally, consistency scores below nine indicate that the responses given throughout the test should be questioned. [10]

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[9] Allen L. Edwards, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Revised Manual (New York, The Psychological Corporation, 1959), p. 11.

[10] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

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Before considering the EPPS scores made by the subjects and the relationship of these scores to other sets of scores, certain cautions should be stated. First, although the EPPS covers fifteen common personality needs, it does not cover the full list of twenty-eight set forth by Murray. Nor, for that matter, is Murray's list to be considered as exhaustive of all personality needs which people have in common with one another. Moreover, the EPPS does not concern itself with certain other needs which may be unique to any one individual. Thus, the EPPS scores represent only a partial selection of some of the more surface aspects of personality.

Second, needs may be centered on any number of situations in the environment depending on the individual's interests and opportunities. For example, there is no reason why need aggression should be focused on the clients with whom an individual deals in his occupational role. His fellow workers, his supervisors, his friends, or the members of his family may serve as the object through which his aggressive needs are satisfied. Where the superego would not allow the expression of an aggressive need in any of these ways, still another possibility exists. The need might find objective expression through a number of more socially acceptable forms of behavior, active participation in body contact sports to name one. Clearly, more information is necessary before one can make sound inferences about the direction and focus of any single need.

A third caution stems from the fact that a specific behavior may be related causally to a cluster of needs rather than a single need. For example, active participation in a discussion on patrol procedures at roll call might result from the interplay of several needs, achievement, exhibition, affiliation, or aggression. The desire for educational attainment might originate from a combination of such socially acceptable needs as achievement, intraception, and change, or from less socially acceptable needs as exhibition, dominance, and aggression. Therefore, one cannot easily infer a direct relationship between a given need score and a specific behavior.

Despite these and other possible shortcomings, the EPPS does yield useful data from which some significant conclusions can be drawn about the group of subjects in this research. However, we should be cautious in assigning precise meanings to any set of test scores. At the start, it should be recognized that any set of scores is of little value unless they are compared to other known scores or norms. Thus, we face the problem of making comparisons between equivalent groups.

THE CHOICE OF A NORMATIVE GROUP

The subjects of this research are in a state of transition. From a variety of civilian occupational roles, from the military, and from college campuses, they enter into law enforcement through a transitional role as they move toward becoming police patrolmen. Hence, in analyzing their scores, they could be compared to the civilian group which they are leaving or to the occupational group which they are entering. The problem then is one of finding EPPS scores which are representative of both of these groups and are suitable for use as norms in making a comparative analysis.

The test manual supplies normative data for men and women within a general adult sample and a college sample. At first glance, the scores of the male college sample seem best suited for an initial comparative analysis with the scores of the subjects of this research. The 760 males in the Edwards sample are high school graduates, enrolled in day and evening liberal arts classes at various colleges and

universities throughout the country. The recruit sample consists of high school graduates, some of whom have attended college. This difference in educational attainment between the two samples is but one evidence of their non-equivalence.

The problem of comparability becomes even more knotty if one considers the observation that the Edwards college sample is not even representative of college students.

"In all likelihood, the normative group probably has a higher proportion of students enrolled in psychology courses than the general student bodies involved. We cannot assume that students enrolled in any course, unless it is a course taken by all, are representative of the whole."[11]

Furthermore, there are differences in age composition of the two groups. The Edwards college sample had an estimated mean age of 22.5 years as compared to the mean age of the recruits of 23.6.[12] The age range of the Edwards group was estimated to be from 17-52 while the age range for the recruits was estimated to be from 21-32 years. This again necessitates caution in making comparisons.

"A normative age group can be misleading unless it is truly representative of the particular age group . . . If a sample were drawn for an age group that was not representative of that age group in education and other factors as well, the norms would not be a true reflection of the universe."[13]

Furthermore, each group has passed through a different selective process in order to gain its present position. The process of self-selection has directed the two groups along different career paths. The anticipatory reactions which have preceded each of these roles would be markedly different. So, too, would the formal selection procedures differ. College students have been selected according to certain admission standards based primarily on previous academic performance. Police recruits have been selected according to certain physical, mental, moral and psychological standards based on the experience of the civil service commissions and police agencies in screening applicants. These different filter systems would tend to produce qualitatively different groups. This conclusion is supported by the data in Table 3.1 which compares the mean scores for the 760 males in the EPPS student sample with those of the 152 police trainees. Statistically significant differences between the two groups were found at the .01 level of confidence on all variables except achievement, exhibition, intraception, nurturance, and aggression. A similar comparison was made between the scores of the police trainees and the 4031 males in the EPPS general adult group. In this case, the two groups differed on all variables but achievement, nurturance, change, and aggression. Though a more detailed comparison between these two groups and the subjects holds considerable intrinsic appeal, such a discussion would be founded upon an inappropriate normative base. All things considered, this normative data is not suitable for comparative purposes within the framework of this research.

[11] A. Koponen, "The Influence of Demographic Factors on Responses to the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1957), p. 41.

[12] Edwards, op. cit., p. 9.

[13] Koponen, op. cit., p. 40.

Table 3.1

The Significance of the Difference Between Mean Scores ($\overline{X}$) of 152 Police Recruits and Those of the EPPS Normative Samples*

Personality Variable	EPPS Male College Sample (N=760)	t Values	Recruit Subjects (N=152)	t Values	EPPS Male General Adult Sample (N=4031)
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=15.66 s= 4.13	t=2.53	$\overline{X}$=14.81 s= 3.70	t=0.06	$\overline{X}$=14.79 s= 4.14
Deference	$\overline{X}$=11.21 s= 3.59	t=4.26*	$\overline{X}$=12.45 s= 3.21	t=6.69*	$\overline{X}$=14.19 s= 3.91
Order	$\overline{X}$=10.23 s= 4.31	t=5.49*	$\overline{X}$=12.51 s= 4.74	t=5.45*	$\overline{X}$=14.69 s= 4.87
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=14.40 s= 3.53	t=1.39	$\overline{X}$=14.84 s= 3.57	t=7.21*	$\overline{X}$=12.75 s= 3.99
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=14.34 s= 4.45	t=6.73*	$\overline{X}$=11.72 s= 4.37	t=6.39*	$\overline{X}$=14.02 s= 4.38
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=15.00 s= 4.32	t=5.86*	$\overline{X}$=13.09 s= 3.52	t=4.73*	$\overline{X}$=14.51 s= 4.32
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=16.12 s= 5.23	t=0.84	$\overline{X}$=16.45 s= 4.25	t=6.49*	$\overline{X}$=14.18 s= 4.42
Succorance	$\overline{X}$=10.74 s= 4.70	t=3.61*	$\overline{X}$= 9.42 s= 3.99	t=4.12*	$\overline{X}$=10.78 s= 4.71
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=17.44 s= 4.88	t=4.65*	$\overline{X}$=15.70 s= 4.07	t=3.53*	$\overline{X}$=14.50 s= 5.27
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=12.14 s= 4.93	t=9.11*	$\overline{X}$=15.68 s= 4.10	t=3.21*	$\overline{X}$=14.59 s= 5.13
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=14.04 s= 4.80	t=1.94	$\overline{X}$=14.82 s= 4.47	t=2.30	$\overline{X}$=15.67 s= 4.97
Change	$\overline{X}$=15.51 s= 4.74	t=3.43*	$\overline{X}$=14.27 s= 3.92	t=1.21	$\overline{X}$=13.87 s= 4.76
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=12.66 s= 5.30	t=6.83*	$\overline{X}$=15.63 s= 4.81	t=3.35*	$\overline{X}$=16.97 s= 4.90
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=17.65 s= 5.48	t=3.29*	$\overline{X}$=15.93 s= 5.97	t=9.44*	$\overline{X}$=11.21 s= 7.70
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=12.79 s= 4.59	t=1.14	$\overline{X}$=13.22 s= 4.27	t=0.47	$\overline{X}$=13.06 s= 4.60
Consistency	$\overline{X}$=11.53 s= 1.88	t=4.71*	$\overline{X}$=10.73 s= 1.91	t=3.88*	$\overline{X}$=11.35 s= 1.96

*Statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.
Source: Allen L. Edwards, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Revised Manual, (New York, The Psychological Corporation, 1959), p. 10.

The solution to the problem of finding suitable normative data is suggested in the following statement:

> "The best way of achieving a representative normative group, be it an age group, educational group, institutional group, or the general population, is by a random selection of respondents drawn from the universe in question."[14]

In this case, the universe in question is the police. Thus, we are led to seek out a set of EPPS scores recently obtained from a representative sample of urban patrolmen. A recent study of experienced police officers in the city of Chicago provides suitable data.[15] During mid-1967, the EPPS was administered to 188 white patrolmen participating in an extensive research project in that city. As explained within the report of this research,

> "This study was focused upon a specific population: Chicago Police Department patrolmen, in the Patrol Division, who had at least one year of service and who were currently assigned to uniformed street patrol. This group was thought to be typical of officers employed in large cities throughout the country."[16]

Since no better data is known, this assertion of the typicality of this sample of patrolmen is accepted as valid. Thus, for purposes of this analysis, the EPPS scores of this group of Chicago patrolmen are considered to be suitable norms for the occupational group that the trainees are entering.

GUIDELINES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF NEED SCORES

At the start, it is useful in making interpretations from EPPS scores to consider in a general way the pattern of need scores which typify certain groups of people. Ordinarily, need scores tend to be higher among the more active, dominant, and successful groups in our society. Conversely, need scores tend to be lower among the less dominant groups in our society, i.e., females, the elderly, the less educated, those with low incomes, and those who live in small towns and rural areas. College-educated individuals tend to be higher on dominance, achievement, and intraception while persons with less education tend to be higher on abasement. On a more specific level, occupational groups tend to have need scores which appear to be related functionally to their occupational role. For example, psychiatry students tend to have high intraception scores. Nurses see themselves as having high needs in order and deference combined with low needs in dominance. College over-achievers score significantly higher than others on achievement and order. Management personnel with high leadership ability tend to have high need scores on dominance and intraception coupled with low scores on abasement and nurturance. A group of inmates in a federal prison tallied high scores in deference, order, abasement, and endurance which balanced against low scores in exhibition and dominance.[17] Generally, there is an apparent logic

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[14] Ibid., p. 48.

[15] Baehr, Furcon and Froemel, op. cit., p. VII-34.

[16] Ibid., p. I-3.

[17] Oscar Krisen Buros, ed., The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey, The Gryphon Press, 1959), pp. 113-120; and Oscar Krisen Buros, ed., The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey, 1965), pp. 190-207.

in the relationship of the intrinsic nature of a role to the pattern of reported need scores of a group of subjects who enact that role. In a very real sense, the personality need scores of the subjects can be regarded as reflecting their "techniques for handling life situations."[18] With these general considerations in mind, it will be useful to characterize briefly the life situation of the subjects at the two points in time when they responded to the EPPS schedule.

The beginning of recruit school marks not only the actual entry of the subject into law enforcement, but also the end of a lengthy period of doubt and uncertainty related to the selection process for initial appointment. However, once in recruit school, new uncertainties are experienced. These arise from an awareness of the overwhelming breadth of subject matter to be covered within a short time span, a general lack of recent experience in academic endeavors, doubts concerning their ability to respond to the immediate demands and expectations of the trainee role, and their anticipatory concern over whether or not they eventually can perform the patrolman's role. For the first time, they have become aware of the low status in the police hierarchy accorded to recruit trainees. This, then, is the present life situation faced by the subjects as they enter the police profession. Their personality needs will reflect the techniques which they employ for dealing with this situation.

By the end of 18 months in the field, the subjects' personality needs will reflect their new life situation. Preconceptions about their occupational role and the people with whom they deal will have been reinforced or replaced by perceptions of reality. They now know that they can perform the patrolman's role with some degree of effectiveness. Even though they can exercise the powers of their office and act with authority, nevertheless, they are awed by the value of police experience. Although their intra-department status has increased, they are not yet fully accepted as peers by the older men who tend to value firsthand police experience as the ultimate method of learning the job. Hence, the subjects actively seek opportunities to gain experience and at the same time enhance their status. As a consequence, they often are thought to be too aggressive. Their awareness of rigidities in the rank structure serves to heighten their concern over their own relative status in their department. In essence, they are no longer seen by others as men who are merely learning a role. Rather, they are now expected to be able to act independently in the performance of the police patrolman's role. Simply, the subjects now are emerging from a lengthy period of initiation into full group participation.

Another preliminary consideration which should be discussed before making any descriptive interpretations of the subject's scores is the relationships of the personality variables to one another. As a general rule, the relative strength of a single personality need means less than the relative strength of a cluster of psychologically related needs. Moreover, when some need scores are high, the meaning holds greater significance if certain other need scores are low. The overall pattern of interrelationships among the variables is that which brings more meaning to the interpretation of the scores.

Correlation coefficients are used as measures of the relative closeness of the relationship between variables. As has been said, these coefficients may range theoretically from +1.00 indicating perfect positive correlation to -1.00

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[18]Edmund D. Cohen, Some Related Variables in the Interpersonal Risk (IR) Theory (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, 1969), p. 38.

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indicating perfect negative correlation. Within this discussion, coefficients which can be considered statistically significant fall at or above the levels of +0.30. Table 3.2 lists those intercorrelations between personality variables at or beyond the level of +0.30 which were obtained from the scores of the EPPS college sample or either set of recruit scores. In all instances, the three correlation coefficients are in the same direction, either positive or negative. Overall, the coefficients between any two variables for the three sets of scores are remarkably similar.

Table 3.2

Comparison of Intercorrelations of Variables
(.30 or more on any administration)

PERSONALITY NEEDS		EPPS* (college sample) N=1509	Police Subjects T_1 N=113	Police Subjects T_3 N=113
Achievement	- Affiliation	-.33	-.22	-.19
Achievement	- Nurturance	-.30	-.23	-.30
Deference	- Order	.26	.22	.39
Deference	- Autonomy	-.30	-.32	-.33
Deference	- Change	-.09	-.16	-.43
Deference	- Heterosexuality	-.28	-.37	-.31
Deference	- Aggression	-.31	-.18	-.21
Order	- Nurturance	-.16	-.09	-.30
Order	- Endurance	.33	.34	.39
Order	- Heterosexuality	-.16	-.41	-.36
Exhibition	- Nurturance	-.17	-.34	-.20
Autonomy	- Affiliation	-.33	-.23	-.12
Autonomy	- Nurturance	-.36	-.24	-.14
Autonomy	- Aggression	.29	.14	.33
Affiliation	- Nurturance	.46	.39	.53
Affiliation	- Endurance	-.15	-.22	-.30
Affiliation	- Aggression	-.33	-.24	-.10
Intraception	- Succorance	-.16	-.22	-.36
Intraception	- Aggression	-.20	-.08	-.35
Succorance	- Nurturance	.16	.12	.31
Succorance	- Endurance	-.31	-.18	-.32
Dominance	- Abasement	-.34	-.30	-.20
Abasement	- Nurturance	.23	.32	.20
Nurturance	- Endurance	-.12	-.24	-.41
Nurturance	- Aggression	-.33	-.32	-.15
Endurance	- Heterosexuality	-.27	-.44	-.30

*Source: Allen L. Edwards, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Revised Manual (New York, The Psychological Corporation, 1959), p. 20.

In examining the meaning of the correlations between need scores, it is important to consider that, in some instances, common sense supports the relationship indicated by the correlation coefficient. For example, autonomy (". . . to say what one thinks about things . . .") is positively correlated with aggression (". . . to attack contrary points of view . . ."). That relationship is in accord

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with common sense. Similarly, dominance (" . . . to argue one's point of view . . . ") would logically be inversely related to abasement (" . . . to feel better when giving in and avoiding a fight . . . "). There are other relationships indicated in Table 3.2 which are not so apparent. The positive correlations between deference (" . . . to get suggestions from others . . . ") and order (" . . . to keep things neat and orderly . . . ") do not immediately reflect a common sense relationship. Beyond this, there are other apparently logical relationships between personality needs which do not appear in Table 3.2. For example, achievement (" . . . to be able to do things better than others . . . ") and exhibition (" . . . to talk about personal achievement . . . ") would, on the face of it, seem to be closely related. Yet, this relationship is not found in Table 3.2 because the correlation coefficient was consistently less than $\pm .30$. [19]

AN INTERPRETATION OF NEED SCORES, T_1

At the beginning of recruit training, how do the EPPS scores of the unselected group of 152 police trainees compare with the normative data derived from the scores of the representative sample of experienced patrolmen? Table 3.3 compares the trainees mean scores ($\overline{X}$) and standard deviations (s) on the 15 personality variables with the scores of the 188 experienced Chicago patrolmen. The results of a statistical test of the significance of the difference between the mean scores of the recruit subjects and those of the normative group of patrolmen on any single variable is indicated in the table by the values of t. In order for the difference between the means of two groups larger than 30 in size to be considered statistically significant, a t value of 2.58 or higher is necessary. Such t values, denoted by an asterisk, indicate that the chances are one in 100 that the difference between two means could have occurred on the basis of chance variations in score. [20] Statistically significant differences at the .01 level found between the recruits and the sample of experienced patrolmen on only four personality variables. On needs achievement and autonomy, the recruits were significantly lower than the normative group of patrolmen. In the case of abasement and nurturance, the recruits were significantly higher.

As a rule of thumb, personality needs can be viewed as indicators of the characteristic way in which the subjects respond to their immediate personal and social environments. The lower need score on achievement (to be successful, to accomplish something of great significance) is associated typically with persons in low power positions. The trainees are, in fact, devoid of any police power while in training. Moreover, they are aware of their relatively low status within their respective departments. They also are increasingly conscious of the relationship between their real and imagined ignorance regarding the specifics of law enforcement and the necessity for extensive knowledge in order to exercise police power properly. In another sense, the relatively low achievement score also can be viewed as a result of their acceptance and actual entry into their desired occupation. Thus, for the moment, their need for achievement has been satisfied; they have achieved their ambition.

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[19] The full array of correlation coefficients for these variables can be found in the correlation matrix shown in the Appendix as Table A-1.

[20] A t value of 1.96 or more indicates that the difference between the mean scores was significant at the .05 level of confidence. This was true for the variables of deference, intraception, and change. Since the meaning of such differences is less certain than those which occurred at the .01 level, they are not included in the discussion.

Table 3.3

The Significance of the Difference Between Mean Scores ($\overline{X}$) of 152 Police Recruits and Those of 188 Experienced Patrolmen

Personality Variable	Unselected Recruit Subjects (N=152)	t Values	Experienced Chicago Patrolmen (N=188)
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=14.81 s= 3.70	t=3.33*	$\overline{X}$=16.21 s= 4.02
Deference	$\overline{X}$=12.45 s= 3.21	t=2.19	$\overline{X}$=13.26 s= 3.64
Order	$\overline{X}$=12.51 s= 4.74	t=0.78	$\overline{X}$=12.90 s= 4.40
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=14.84 s= 3.57	t=0.38	$\overline{X}$=14.69 s= 3.76
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=11.72 s= 4.37	t=2.94*	$\overline{X}$=13.10 s= 4.22
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=13.09 s= 3.52	t=1.10	$\overline{X}$=12.65 s= 3.89
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=16.45 s= 4.25	t=2.31	$\overline{X}$=15.34 s= 4.57
Succorance	$\overline{X}$= 9.42 s= 3.99	t=0.05	$\overline{X}$= 9.40 s= 4.11
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=15.70 s= 4.07	t=1.15	$\overline{X}$=16.24 s= 4.65
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=15.68 s= 4.10	t=7.27*	$\overline{X}$=12.12 s= 5.11
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=14.82 s= 4.47	t=3.10*	$\overline{X}$=13.30 s= 4.68
Change	$\overline{X}$=14.27 s= 3.92	t=2.20	$\overline{X}$=15.28 s= 4.57
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=15.63 s= 4.81	t=1.73	$\overline{X}$=16.53 s= 4.73
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=15.93 s= 5.97	t=0.18	$\overline{X}$=15.81 s= 6.42
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=13.22 s= 4.27	t=0.88	$\overline{X}$=13.18 s= 4.03
Consistency	$\overline{X}$=10.73 s= 1.91	t=0.10	$\overline{X}$=10.77 s= 5.03

*Statistically significant difference at .01 level of confidence.

From the Table of Intercorrelations (Table 3.2) achievement is negatively correlated with nurturance (" . . . to help friends . . ., to treat others with kindness and sympathy . . ."). At T_1, the correlation coefficient is -.23. Consequently, we would expect that the subjects' low achievement score would tend to be coupled with a high nurturance score. The relatively high need for nurturance may be related to the subjects' desire for camaraderie, mutual support, and understanding from the other recruits as they face their common challenge of completing their training.

Table 3.2 also shows that at T_1 autonomy (" . . . to say what one thinks . . . to be independent of others . . ."), is correlated negatively with nurturance. The coefficient of correlation between these two variables is -.24. The relatively low score on autonomy reflects the immediate environment of the recruit training school. The subjects' freedom to do and say what they want has been restricted severely by the regimen imposed on them from the start of training. The semi-military tone which pervades the police routines in and out of school also tends to restrict the independence of the subjects to do and say what they please.

The correlation coefficient for nurturance and abasement is +.32 at T_1. Abasement (" . . . to feel inferior to others . . . ") would seem to be related to the subjects' subordinate role relative to their trainers. Beyond this, they are also increasingly aware of their low status within the overall police rank structure. Compared to experienced police officers, the recruits are more dependent, more in need of group support, and more aware of their subordinate position within the police ranks. In summary, these relative need scores and their interrelationships combine to portray the subjects as having personality needs which are functionally consistent with their immediate task, the completion of recruit training. Notwithstanding these differences, we should not loose sight of the fact that the two groups are remarkably similar in terms of their personality needs.

If we accept the Chicago police sample as representative of the generalized police occupational group, then the recruit subjects appeared to be notably similar in terms of personality needs to the members of the occupational group which they were entering. Especially does this seem to be the case if one considers the larger number of differences on personality variables between the recruits and the two EPPS normative groups as shown in Table 3.1. Other research has noted also that individuals with certain personality characteristics tend to be attracted to and satisfied with an occupation because their personalities are compatible with the demands and expectations associated with that occupation. This view, for example, is supported by an earlier study of metropolitan police officers in which the authors concluded:

"There is an astonishing similarity between the recruit and veteran patrolman groups which suggests that the recruit shares the distinctive personality traits of the experienced officer before he ever dons a uniform; thus, the police candidate may select himself for the job because he senses that the police orientation is congenial to him."[21]

Though the findings of this analysis appear to substantiate the theory of occupational self selection, the matter will be explored more fully in a later section.

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[21] R. B. Mills, R. J. McDevitt, and S. Tonkin, "Selection of Metropolitan Police Officers" (Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention, Los Angeles, California, September, 1964), p. 10.

The Personality Profile of Successful Recruit Trainees

The 113 men who remained as subjects at the time of the third testing after 18 months field experience constitute the primary sample of subjects in this research. The immediate question that arises is the degree to which this selected group compares with the normative Chicago police group used in the previous analysis. The data related to this question is arrayed in Table 3.4 in the same format as Table 3.3 showing the comparison with 152 unselected recruit trainees.

In this analysis, statistically significant differences were found between the selected group of 113 recruit trainees at T_1 and the sample of experienced patrolmen on the same four variables as in the previous analysis: achievement, autonomy, abasement, and nurturance. In addition, the difference between the mean scores on the need change was found to be statistically significant. In this case, the trainees' relatively lower score on the need for change (" . . . to do new and different things . . ., to try new and different jobs . . . ") invites the interpretation that the desire for change has been satiated by their recent entry into law enforcement. The all-encompassing newness of this role would tend to overwhelm the subjects with the changes in their life styles.

The similarity in the findings of this analysis with those of the previous comparative analysis between the unselected group of 152 recruit subjects and the sample of experienced patrolmen indicates that the reduction in the size of the original group by 39 men did not alter the composition of the recruit group in terms of personality need scores. Thus, we can draw the same general conclusion as before, i.e., the 113 recruit trainees at T_1 appeared to be remarkably similar in their personality needs to the experienced members of the occupational group they have just entered.

CHANGES IN PERSONALITY NEEDS OVER TIME

One commonly accepted view of personality development holds that the essential elements of personality emerge and become relatively fixed during infancy and early childhood. Beyond the preschool period, the basic personality characteristics are held to be enduring traits that produce certain behavioral regularities in all situations throughout the life of the individual. Personality change, when and if it is discussed within this theoretical approach, is something which does not occur naturally. Rather, change is sought intentionally within a therapeutic framework wherein a belief in the importance of early developmental experiences is held as the key to achieving any significant measure of personality modification. Within this view, recognition also is given to the idea that personality change can also result from a severe traumatic experience which may be physical, psychological, or social in nature.

Modifications of this body of theory sometimes extend the developmental period through latency, adolescence, and adulthood. Other theoretical variations involve distinctions between personality structure and content or among multiple levels of personality, from those which are deep and basic to those which are relatively surface and transitory. In the one instance, personality structure is said to be fixed, while the content of personality is conceptualized as subject to constant change. In the other instance, the deeper levels of personality are thought of as becoming permanent early in life while the surface levels of personality are thought of as capable of modification.

If one accepts a deterministic view of the relative permanency of personality, then certain other things follow in connection with occupational selection. For

Table 3.4

The Significance of the Difference Between Mean Scores ($\overline{X}$) of 113 Recruits Beginning Training and Those of 188 Experienced Patrolmen

Personality Variable	Scores at Start of Training (N=113)	t Values	Scores of Experienced Patrolmen (N=188)
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=15.04 s= 3.73	2.60*	$\overline{X}$=16.21 s= 4.02
Deference	$\overline{X}$=12.57 s= 3.13	1.73	$\overline{X}$=13.26 s= 3.64
Order	$\overline{X}$=12.54 s= 4.73	0.65	$\overline{X}$=12.90 s= 4.40
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=15.30 s= 3.67	1.39	$\overline{X}$=14.69 s= 3.76
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=11.57 s= 4.70	2.83*	$\overline{X}$=13.10 s= 4.22
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=13.23 s= 3.61	1.32	$\overline{X}$=12.65 s= 3.89
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=16.16 s= 4.28	1.58	$\overline{X}$=15.34 s= 4.57
Succorance	$\overline{X}$= 8.95 s= 4.00	0.94	$\overline{X}$= 9.40 s= 4.11
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=16.08 s= 3.98	0.31	$\overline{X}$=16.24 s= 4.65
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=15.50 s= 4.10	6.26*	$\overline{X}$=12.12 s= 5.11
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=14.89 s= 4.72	2.84*	$\overline{X}$=13.30 s= 4.68
Change	$\overline{X}$=13.93 s= 3.77	2.76*	$\overline{X}$=15.28 s= 4.57
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=15.92 s= 5.23	1.02	$\overline{X}$=16.53 s= 4.73
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=15.65 s= 6.10	0.22	$\overline{X}$=15.81 s= 6.42
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=13.12 s= 4.32	0.12	$\overline{X}$=13.18 s= 4.03
Consistency	$\overline{X}$=10.88 s= 1.94	0.27	$\overline{X}$=10.77 s= 5.03

*Statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence.

the individual, a process of preselection would take place. Assuming relatively unchanging personality attributes, a person purposely would seek out an occupational role wherein his personality needs could best be satisfied. This presupposes some degree of self-knowledge. For the personnel officer, the task would be to select men whose personality was, at one point in time, consistent with a given occupational role. Once these selective procedures have resulted in an occupational choice, there is little need to reconsider personality since the characteristics an individual brings to the job are assumed to be enduring.

This conception of personality as being relatively unchanging beyond the formative years is not compatible with role theory. Basically, personality is not considered intrinsic to the person. Rather, it is seen as a characteristic mode of responses structured by a specific role. Thus, when one discusses roles, he is talking about those uniformities in the attitudes and behavior of people who enact a particular role. On the other hand, when one talks about personality, he commonly assumes its permanency and refers to uniformities in the attitudes and actions of the individual as he enacts various roles.

A personality that is fixed rigidly cannot remain in adjustment to a changing environment. This statement is consistent with role theory which holds that certain aspects of personality are altered as a consequence of taking on and enacting a new role. Changes in behavior, goals, motives, satisfactions, self-concept, world view, and in the hierarchy of personality needs are considered related to role performance. As will be recalled, needs exist in a state of readiness. In the continual compromise between the individual's own desires and impulses with the demands and expectations of others, it can be anticipated that the overall pattern of personality needs will change. In the case of our police subjects, newly ascendant needs will become the active determinants of their role behavior. Therefore, our attention is directed to modifications in the arrangement of the personality needs of the subjects which have occurred in connection with the enactment of their new occupational role, that of police patrolman.

A Time Related Comparison of Personality Needs

Has the hierarchy of needs as reflected by the subjects' EPPS scores changed over time? If one accepts that personality needs are modifiable by experience, and recognizes the extensive differences between the role of recruit trainee and probationary patrolman, he is led to assume that there will be some rearrangement in the personality need pattern of the subjects. In the move from the highly-structured classroom situation to the unstructured street environment, the subjects have experienced a number of dramatic role-related changes.

At the point in time when the EPPS was first administered, the subjects had been in recruit school for several days and were already aware of the expectations of their trainers. Behavioral prescriptions and proscriptions for the trainees were expressed clearly both in verbal and written form. The subjects already had formed general impressions about the extensiveness of the curriculum and the tone of their training. They were aware of the superordinate and subordinate relationships which would exist until the end of the training. As patrolmen, the men now must act decisively in the face of unusual, complex, and stressful interpersonal situations. The role they now enact requires the active exercise of legal and social authority rather than the passive acceptance of the authority of their trainers. Superordinate and subordinate relationships are not agreed upon consensually within the wider circle of role reciprocals which includes the general public. Since the prescriptions for the patrolman's role are not all inclusive, there is much latitude for discretion in the exercise of police power. The police uniform and related equipment, as visible symbols of the role, introduce an unusual

emotional tone to encounters with the public. By its very nature, their new police role makes heavy personal demands on the subjects which may encroach on their other family and community roles. Overall, the new role of police patrolman should cause some reorganization in the general structure of the subject's personality needs.

As an initial effort in the interpretation of scores obtained from the subjects after 18 months of field experience, it again will be useful to compare the scores of the subjects with those of the group of experienced Chicago patrolmen. Table 3.5 displays the data making these comparisons. As shown, differences between the mean scores of the two groups were found at the 1% level of confidence on only three variables; deference, abasement, and aggression. Abasement was the only personality need which appeared at both points in time as a statistically significant difference between the two groups. While deference and aggression appeared at T_3 as new differences between the two police samples, differences at the .01 level which were present at T_1 were lost on achievement, autonomy, nurturance, and change. As would be expected, the two police groups differed in fewer ways as the subjects acquired actual experience in performing the common police role.

From Table 3.2 which shows the intercorrelation of need scores, aggression is correlated negatively with deference. The inverse relationship of these two needs is found generally among persons who are in positions of power. Thus, relative to the normative group of experienced patrolmen, we would expect the tyro patrolmen who describe themselves as having higher needs for aggression (" . . . to attack contrary points of view, . . . to criticize others publicly, . . . to become angry, to blame others . . .") to also have a lower need for deference (" . . . to follow instructions . . ., to accept the leadership of others . . ., to conform to custom . . ."). The data, of course, supports this expectation. Not only is this relationship psychological but also it conforms with the general view of the tyro held by an experienced officer.

"These kids are too aggressive! You have to hold them back or they'll get into trouble. They take too many chances."

At both T_1 and T_3, the subjects had significantly higher scores on abasement (" . . . to feel guilty . . ., to accept blame . . ., to feel inferior . . .") than the group of experienced Chicago patrolmen. At the start of recruit school, abasement was described tentatively as being related to the generally subordinate position held by the recruit trainees. After 18 months of field experience, the relatively low abasement score can be explained as being based in the subjects' high valuation of experience and their relative lack of this attribute. The subjects' relatively low status position within their respective departments and their communities may be related also to the abasement score. However, when the relatively higher abasement score is combined with the relatively higher aggression score, some psychological confusion results. Usually, these two personality needs are correlated negatively. [22] Thus, high aggression ordinarily is accompanied by low abasement. Why this is not true in this instance defies easy explanation. It should be repeated here that interpretations of EPPS scores are difficult because any need can be satisfied in a variety of ways. Though this apparent incongruity could be explained by relating the higher aggression and lower

[22]Appendix Table A-1 shows abasement and aggression as having a negative correlation of -.26 at T_1 and -.24 at T_3. Moreover, the EPPS correlation between these two variables is shown at -.25.

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Table 3.5

The Significance of the Difference Between Mean Scores ($\overline{X}$) of 113 Police Subjects After 18 Months Experience and Those of 188 Experienced Patrolmen

Personality Variable	Scores After 18 Months of Experience (N=113)	t Values	Scores of Experienced Patrolmen (N=188)
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=15.31 s= 3.81	t=1.96	$\overline{X}$=16.21 s= 4.02
Deference	$\overline{X}$=11.44 s= 3.03	t=4.67*	$\overline{X}$=13.26 s= 3.64
Order	$\overline{X}$=11.63 s= 4.96	t=2.23	$\overline{X}$=12.90 s= 4.40
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=14.87 s= 3.63	t=0.42	$\overline{X}$=14.69 s= 3.76
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=12.96 s= 3.57	t=0.30	$\overline{X}$=13.10 s= 4.22
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=11.94 s= 3.96	t=1.54	$\overline{X}$=12.65 s= 3.89
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=15.95 s= 4.62	t=1.11	$\overline{X}$=15.34 s= 4.57
Succorance	$\overline{X}$= 9.73 s= 4.97	t=0.59	$\overline{X}$= 9.40 s= 4.11
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=16.49 s= 4.39	t=0.47	$\overline{X}$=16.24 s= 4.65
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=14.26 s= 4.63	t=3.75*	$\overline{X}$=12.12 s= 3.11
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=13.26 s= 4.36	t=0.60	$\overline{X}$=13.30 s= 4.68
Change	$\overline{X}$=14.51 s= 4.20	t=1.48	$\overline{X}$=15.28 s= 4.57
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=15.27 s= 5.42	t=2.07	$\overline{X}$=16.53 s= 4.73
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=17.50 s= 6.46	t=2.19	$\overline{X}$=15.81 s= 6.42
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=14.73 s= 3.87	t=3.30*	$\overline{X}$=13.81 s= 4.03
Consistency	$\overline{X}$=11.13 s= 1.86	t=0.88	$\overline{X}$=10.77 s= 5.03

*Statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

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deference scores to external interpersonal relationships, and the higher abasement score to internal departmental relationships, this interpretation must be considered merely plausible.

A Comparative Interpretation of the Differences Between T_1 and T_3 Scores

Up to this point, the interpretations of EPPS scores have been based on their values relative to the scores of a representative sample of experienced urban patrolmen. Though this approach is useful in arriving at certain general conclusions, a more precise meaning can be obtained from a direct statistical comparison of the subjects' scores at T_1 with their scores at T_3. From the discussion thus far, we would expect that any changes in personality need scores appearing over time would be in the direction of an ordered need structure more congruent to the role of patrolman and less congruent to the role of recruit trainee. This supports the theoretical view that taking on the new role will tend to restructure the hierarchy of needs. Table 3.6 displays the data related to the analysis of this hypothesis.

After 18 months of enacting the police patrolman's role, the subjects' scores indicated higher needs in autonomy (". . . to say what one thinks . . ., to be independent of others . . ."), heterosexuality (". . . to engage in social activities with the opposite sex . . ."), and aggression (". . . to attack contrary points of view . . ., to criticize others publicly . . ., to become angry . . ., to blame others . . ."). On the other hand, the subjects obtained lower need scores for deference (". . . to follow instructions . . ., to accept the leadership of others . . ., to conform to custom . . ."), affiliation (". . . to be loyal to friends . . ., to form new friendships . . ."), abasement (". . . to feel inferior to others . . ."), and nurturance (". . . to help friends . . ., to treat others with kindness and sympathy . . ."). The higher scores on autonomy and aggression, when coupled with the lower scores on deference and abasement, suggest that the general conformity and dependency which characterized the subjects in recruit school was diminished. The subjects' personality needs have shifted toward a more active, assertive, and self-directing orientation. The higher heterosexuality score reflects this newly emergent independence within the framework of a specific kind of interpersonal relationship. The reduction in the need to affiliate with others in friendship groups is also a manifestation of the subjects' increased independence and self-reliance.[23] The decrease in the score for nurturance suggests that the need to help others and treat them with sympathy has diminished since the start of recruit school. This decrease in the nurturance score is consistent with the negative correlations for this variable with autonomy and aggression shown in the correlation matrix contained in the Appendix as Table A-1.

A Summary View of Personality Need Modifications Over Time

From a theoretical standpoint, among the needs which would lend themselves to a cooperative and understanding approach to dealing with people are

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[23]Like other needs, the focus of the need to affiliate cannot be inferred directly from the EPPS score. The decrease in the need to affiliate may be related to the formation of new friendships with persons in the subject's present occupational group or to the maintenance of existing friendships with civilians.

Table 3.6

Analysis of the Differences in the Mean EPPS Scores of 113 Subjects Obtained at the Start of Recruit Training and After 18 Months of Experience as Patrolmen

Personality Variable	Scores At T_1	t Values	Scores At T_3	Correlation Coefficient T_1 - T_3
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=15.04 s= 3.73	t=0.67	$\overline{X}$=15.31 s= 3.81	.35
Deference	$\overline{X}$=12.57 s= 3.13	t=3.77*	$\overline{X}$=11.44 s= 3.03	.47
Order	$\overline{X}$=12.54 s= 4.73	t=2.17	$\overline{X}$=11.63 s= 4.96	.58
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=15.30 s= 3.67	t=1.30	$\overline{X}$=14.87 s= 3.63	.54
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=11.57 s= 4.70	t=3.16*	$\overline{X}$=12.96 s= 3.57	.39
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=13.23 s= 3.61	t=3.31*	$\overline{X}$=11.94 s= 3.96	.40
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=16.16 s= 4.28	t=0.41	$\overline{X}$=15.95 s= 4.62	.48
Succorance	$\overline{X}$= 8.95 s= 4.00	t=2.05	$\overline{X}$= 9.73 s= 4.97	.62
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=16.08 s= 3.98	t=1.00	$\overline{X}$=16.49 s= 4.39	.46
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=15.50 s= 4.10	t=3.26*	$\overline{X}$=14.26 s= 4.63	.57
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=14.89 s= 4.72	t=2.89*	$\overline{X}$=13.62 s= 4.36	.47
Change	$\overline{X}$=13.93 s= 3.77	t=1.57	$\overline{X}$=14.51 s= 4.20	.51
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=15.92 s= 5.23	t=1.33	$\overline{X}$=15.27 s= 5.42	.53
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=15.65 s= 6.10	t=3.43*	$\overline{X}$=17.50 s= 6.46	.59
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=13.12 s= 4.32	t=3.74*	$\overline{X}$=14.73 s= 3.87	.37

*Statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

deference, affiliation, intraception, succorance, abasement and nurturance.[24]
Ideally, people who reflect these needs in their interpersonal relationships tend
to approach others with a feeling of mutuality. The open communication in their
social exchanges tends to produce few conflicts. With this in mind, it is impor-
tant to note that statistically significant decreases in the scores for three of these
variables (abasement, deference and affiliation) occurred for the subjects between
the start of recruit training and after 18 months field experience. This suggests
that after actual experience in the patrolman's role, the contacts of the subjects
with the people they encounter while working will be less cooperative and trouble-
free than they would have been at the time they began recruit training.

On the other hand, autonomy, dominance, and aggression would tend to
produce conflict in relationships with people. Again, it should be noted that there
were statistically significant increases in the group scores for two of these three
needs (autonomy and aggression) over the time span of this research. Thus, it
can be inferred from the changes in personality need scores that the subjects'
general orientation toward people would be more conflict-producing after 18
months of field experience than it was at the time they originally entered into
law enforcement.

EPPS Intercity Differences

Although the four recruit groups appeared to be noticeably similar in terms
of their general background characteristics, the question of whether or not the
separate groups have similar personality needs insofar as they are reflected by
EPPS scores has not really been considered. Up to this point, it merely has been
assumed that the groups are similar and therefore could be treated properly as a
single homogeneous group. In dealing with this question, attention focuses not
only on the differences in group EPPS scores among the four cities, but also on
learning if the group of 32 unsuccessful recruits differed from those who succeed-
ed in remaining on the job.

To explore this question, it is necessary to test the significance of the inter-
group differences among the mean scores on each variable. The data in Table
3.7 shows, among other things, the mean score ($\overline{X}$) and the standard deviation (s)
for each variable for each group. Though inspection of the data shows consider-
able similarity in scores among the five groups, there are some apparent
differences. The mass of data and the large number of possible differences
among the five groups on each of the fifteen variables suggests the need for an
efficient statistical approach to treating the data in summary form. The appro-
priate technique selected for this purpose is called analysis of variance. Simply
put, this procedure tests whether or not all group means were drawn from the
same sample population. Specifically, analysis of variance provides for the test-
ing of the significance of the differences among a set of mean scores on a single
variable in such a way that every combination of means is considered simultane-
ously. The assumption underlying this procedure is that the variability will be
the same in all five groups being compared since, assumably, they all are drawn
from the same sample population, i.e., police recruits. If the probability is such
that a difference is found to be significant, we then would conclude that not all of

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[24]This approach to the interpretation of EPPS scores is based on a consideration
of personality need structure and "interpersonal risk" as set forth by Cohen,
op. cit., pp. 33-44.

Table 3.7

Probabilities Derived from Analysis of Variance of EPPS Scores of Five
Groups of Police Recruits at the Start of Training

Personality Variable	Balt. (N=20)		Cin. (N=37)		Col. (N=24)		Ind. (N=32)		Unsuccessful (N=32)		
	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	Probabilities
Achievement	14.60	4.52	14.30	3.02	15.08	3.99	16.13	3.66	13.78	3.77	.13
Deference	12.05	2.89	12.76	3.33	13.00	3.39	12.34	2.93	11.94	3.28	.69
Order	12.90	6.03	12.11	4.39	12.58	5.51	12.56	3.64	12.41	4.70	.97
Exhibition	15.20	4.05	15.81	3.92	14.00	3.43	15.75	3.20	13.53	3.12	.24
Autonomy	13.05	5.43	10.49	4.91	12.29	5.02	11.34	3.45	12.31	3.51	.22
Affiliation	12.00	3.67	13.68	2.96	14.00	4.34	12.91	3.60	12.06	3.21	.34
Intraception	16.55	3.65	16.35	4.26	14.67	4.94	16.81	4.08	16.94	4.29	.32
Succorance	8.20	3.05	9.05	4.49	8.58	4.60	9.56	3.50	11.13	3.69	.65
Dominance	15.40	3.47	15.27	4.29	17.00	3.81	16.75	3.95	14.75	3.88	.13
Abasement	14.90	2.90	15.65	4.27	16.71	4.65	14.81	4.06	15.84	4.30	.47
Nurturance	14.45	4.74	14.32	4.88	16.00	4.63	15.00	4.64	14.63	4.02	.69
Change	13.75	3.78	13.84	3.93	13.29	4.70	14.63	2.73	15.53	4.37	.22
Endurance	14.85	5.31	17.08	5.70	16.58	5.58	14.75	4.08	14.13	4.15	.11
Heterosexuality	18.95	6.47	15.73	5.89	14.04	6.46	14.69	5.23	16.97	6.15	.04
Aggression	13.80	2.86	13.78	5.12	11.96	3.62	12.78	4.51	13.25	3.32	.46

the means are drawn from the same sample population. Hence, on that particular
variable, a statistically significant difference among the groups would exist. The
right hand column of Table 3.7 shows the probabilities in 100 that the differences
among the means could have occurred by chance. Only in the case of the need
heterosexuality are the differences among the means of such magnitude that they
could be termed statistically significant. In this case, the level of probability was
four chances in 100 that the differences among the mean scores could have occur-
red by chance alone. The high mean score of 18.95 on that personality need for
the Baltimore trainees appears to account for the variance among the scores.
Overall, the remarkable similarity among the four groups of trainees serves to
support the methodological procedure of combining the four groups into a single
group. Also, it is significant to this specific analysis that the group of unsuccess-
ful recruits were undifferentiated from the other groups of successful recruits in
terms of need scores. This analysis of intercity differences supports the view
that the initial screening process in each of the four cities tends to select men
with similar kinds of personality needs.

Are both the enactment of the police role and the working environment so
different in the four cities that the groups show differences in need scores after
18 months of field experience? To deal with this question, the need scores ob-
tained from the subjects in each of the four cities at T_3 were subjected to the
analysis of variance procedure. Table 3.8 displays the data derived from the
analysis. In this instance, endurance was the only need in which the mean scores
among the four cities were found to differ significantly. Inspection of the data
suggests that the high score of the Columbus group accounts for the variance
among the cities. Again, it would appear that the four groups of subjects remain
remarkably similar in terms of need scores after 18 months experience in the
field as patrolmen. From a theoretical view, this supports the existence of a
common police role which tends to restructure the personality needs of patrolmen
in the same way. From the standpoint of research procedure, finding a significant

Table 3.8

Probabilities Derived from Analysis of Variance of EPPS Scores of Police Subjects in Four Cities After 18 Months' Experience as Patrolmen

Personality Variable	Balt. (N=20)		Cin. (N=37)		Col. (N=24)		Ind. (N=32)		Probabilities
	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	$\overline{X}$	s	
Achievement	16.40	4.43	14.68	3.85	15.38	3.88	15.31	3.30	.45
Deference	12.00	3.04	11.11	3.10	11.98	2.85	11.16	3.11	.60
Order	13.95	5.12	10.51	4.27	12.21	5.71	11.03	4.67	.07
Exhibition	14.30	4.27	14.16	2.88	14.96	3.43	15.97	4.00	.18
Autonomy	12.65	4.21	13.30	3.21	12.50	3.95	13.13	3.35	.82
Affiliation	11.95	3.33	12.78	4.06	10.96	4.38	11.69	3.86	.35
Intraception	16.45	4.02	16.46	4.75	15.08	4.58	15.69	4.93	.66
Succorance	8.00	5.19	10.03	5.13	9.50	4.65	10.63	4.80	.30
Dominance	15.90	4.85	16.65	4.95	16.75	4.28	16.47	3.60	.92
Abasement	14.45	4.14	13.65	5.16	15.13	4.36	14.19	4.58	.68
Nurturance	12.35	3.54	14.00	5.04	13.88	4.37	13.78	3.54	.56
Change	15.00	4.65	14.46	4.39	13.25	4.51	15.22	3.33	.34
Endurance	15.20	5.84	15.19	4.97	17.92	4.76	13.44	5.56	.02
Heterosexuality	18.10	7.34	17.95	6.65	17.00	6.07	17.00	6.17	.88
Aggression	13.40	3.56	15.32	3.82	13.79	4.25	15.56	3.60	.10

difference on only one of 15 personality variables confirms the propriety of using a single combined group of subjects within this research.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL SELF-SELECTION THEORY

An analysis of inter-group differences indicates that the personality characteristics of the men entering police work in the four cities included within this research do not differ in any appreciable way. In terms of their personality needs as indicated by the EPPS scores, they are a relatively homogeneous group. At first glance, this would lend further support to the view that men of a certain personality type tend to be attracted into law enforcement. However, a more careful consideration of the matter should allow that this similarity may not be merely the result of men with certain kinds of personality needs being naturally attracted to police work. Rather, it also results from the intentional selection of men.

For the police, the selection process may take two forms, the formal and the informal. With regard to the obvious formal selection procedures, psychological tests, interviews, and other related examinations are used to screen out applicants who appear to be unsuited for the work. This is a definite procedure for narrowing down the range of personality characteristics of the men entering into police work.

Preliminary to the application of formal selection procedures are the less obvious informal mechanisms which effectively sort out men who are, for one reason or another, different in their personality need structure. At the beginning, a group of "unselected" applicants may be homogenized already by age, educational attainment, income requirement, size of their city of residence, and the geographical region in which they live. Statistically significant differences in some

personality needs have been noted between groups sorted on these factors.[25] Moreover, it is entirely possible that the personality characteristics of an applicant group may be restricted further by the use of criteria related to body types and physical characteristics, the findings of background investigations, or the effect of the time lag between initial application and appointment.

Another informal mechanism of selection which may restrict further the need characteristics of a police applicant group may originate from a common method of police recruitment. Many police departments depend quite heavily upon their present personnel to recruit promising young men. Those departments that do, usually have offered their employees incentives in the form of cash or time off for each qualified candidate they recruit. Experience seems to show that this means of recruitment is a primary source of new men; nevertheless, it may serve as a selective device in ways which are unintended. The police officer seeking to recruit men must decide upon the kind of man whom they themselves consider to be suitable to the police role. Part of this judgment will include a consideration of the overt manifestations of personality characteristics. For example, if an officer holds the view that a young man who exhibits the characteristics of high achievement, autonomy, and aggression is unsuitable to police work, more than likely the man who displays these characteristics in his personal contacts will not be encouraged by a police officer to consider a law enforcement career. We should recognize that recruitment programs which are based primarily on the efforts of present police personnel may have the unintended result of narrowing the range of the personality types of men entering police work.

All things considered, the matter of occupational self-selection is neither strongly supported nor invalidated by the findings of this research. If an equivalent degree of homogeneity was found in a group of initial applicants for the job of patrolman as was found for the subjects of this research, then the self-selection theory would gain some measure of substantiation. However, even then the matter still would be open to question because initial applicants are not in fact an unselected group. The remarkable finding here is the similarity of the personality need structures of the recruit groups in each of the four cities. The data suggests that, knowingly or unknowingly, the system of screening applicants for the police role in each of the four cities tends to select men with similar kinds of personality needs. This conclusion presupposes that there exists a consensually held view of the police role.

FRIENDSHIP FORMATION AND PERSONALITY

Some people are more friendly than others, and the gregarious person easily makes new friends as he moves from one relationship to another. Other individuals, though not unfriendly, tend to develop friendships with considerably more caution or difficulty. Generally, these differences in the formation of friendships commonly are thought to be related to personality.

Within the supplementary data, the pattern of the changing friendships of the subjects was discussed in some detail. The central focus in the discussion was on the development of friendship ties with other police officers. As with other people, it would be expected that some of the subjects would make many friends from among the men in their new occupational group. Others would develop few friendships with other police officers. Banton noted these different orientations in his study of experienced Scottish police officers.

[25] Koponen, op. cit., p. 40.

"Some men said that when they had finished the day's work the last person they wanted to see was another policeman. Others implied either that there were fewer occasions for embarrassment in associating with fellow policemen or that it was safer to do so, or that they were ostracized by many non-police families."[26]

Either of these two extreme positions regarding friendships with other policemen can be attributed to personality differences.

Whatever their reasons, there was considerable variation in the formation of police friendships among the 113 subjects in this research over the time span of twenty-one months. Recognizing these variations, it is assumed for purposes of discussion that personality differences are related to the patterns of friendship formation.

Table 3.9

Division of 113 Subjects into Sub-Groups Based on the Number of Friendships Formed with Other Police Officers Between the Start of Police Training and the Completion of 18 Months Experience as Patrolmen

	Numerical Description	Number	% of Total
1.	Listed no policemen among three closest friends as T_1 and T_3	16	14.2
2.	Maintained the same number of close police friends between T_2 and T_3	19	16.8
3.	Increased the number of close police friends by one between T_1 and T_3	33	29.2
4.	Increased the number of close police friends by two between T_1 and T_3	23	20.4
5.	Listed no policemen among three closest friends at T_1 but listed all policemen at T_3	13	11.5
6.	Decreased the number of close police friends between T_1 and T_3	9	8.0
	Total	113	100.0

As a research hypothesis, we logically would expect that the gregarious person who formed close friendships with a number of other police officers over the time span of this research would exhibit higher need scores on such variables as affiliation (to participate in friendly groups, to form new friendships), succorance (to seek encouragement from others, to have others be sympathetic and understanding), and nurturance (to help friends when they are in trouble, to treat others with kindness and sympathy). Accordingly, the EPPS personality scores of the subjects in each of the six friendship sub-groups were compared with the

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[26] Banton, op. cit., p. 248.

mean score for the total population to test for differences. The statistical procedure of analysis of variance was utilized to determine if a personality variable had any significant effect on the variable of friendship formation. For the sake of brevity, only the probability values derived from this analysis are presented below in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10

Probability Values Derived from Analysis of Variance of EPPS Scores of Six Sub-Groups of Subjects Based on the Formation of Friendships with Other Police Officers

Personality Variable	T_1 Probabilities	T_3 Probabilities
Achievement	0.15	0.21
Deference	0.21	0.93
Order	0.99	0.88
Exhibition	0.94	0.81
Autonomy	0.22	0.83
Affiliation	0.75	0.35
Intraception	0.64	0.06
Succorance	0.35	0.24
Dominance	0.41	0.06
Abasement	0.31	0.22
Nurturance	0.91	0.60
Change	0.85	0.63
Endurance	1.00	0.84
Heterosexuality	0.82	0.17
Aggression	0.20	0.15

Within the foregoing data, it can be seen that the variables having an apparent relationship to friendship formation had probability values far beyond the level considered to be statistically significant. At T_1, affiliation, succorance, and nurturance had probability values of 0.75, 0.35 and 0.91. Although all three values moved toward a probability value of greater significance at T_3, the values were still beyond the level where chance variations could be ruled out; .35, .24 and .60 respectively.

A glance at the data shows that intraception and dominance were the only two personality variables for which a statistically significant level of probability was approached. The 0.06 probability values for both variables indicates that there were six chances in 100 that the differences among the mean scores of the six friendship sub-groups could have been caused by chance alone. Though the level of probability is beyond the arbitrary 0.01 and 0.05 level previously discussed, nevertheless, it is worth exploring this possible relationship further.

To do so, it is necessary to consider the mean scores for each of the six friendship sub-groups on these two variables. These scores are shown in Table 3.11. In considering these scores, it should be restated that personality, as we have defined it, is a characteristic mode of response to the enactment of a specific role. Thus, both personality and the nature of friendships are changing in some respects over time.

Table 3.11

Mean Scores of Friendship Sub-Groups on Two EPPS Personality Variables

EPPS Personality Variable	Time	1. No Police Friends	2. Maintained Same Number	3. Increased by One	4. Increased by Two	5. Increased by Three	6. Decreased Police Friends
Intraception	T_1	17.00	15.89	15.76	17.22	15.00	15.67
	T_3	15.25	18.63	14.61	16.70	15.23	15.56
Dominance	T_1	16.06	15.95	16.00	17.48	15.15	14.44
	T_3	16.06	14.79	17.39	18.13	14.46	16.22

Though a number of the need scores for each of the six sub-groups shown in Table 3.11 appeared to differ somewhat over time, in only one instance was there a statistically significant difference. For the group who maintained the same number of police friends between T_1 and T_3, there was a statistically significant increase in the intraception score over time (significant at the .02 level, t=2.84). Thus, the men who maintained the same number of police officers among their three closest friends during the first twenty-one months of enacting the police role became significantly more intraceptive. It is logical that the person who is becoming more intraceptive (to understand how others feel, to analyze the behavior of others, to analyze the motives of others) would tend to form more enduring friendships based on an analysis of intrinsic characteristics and values of a person rather than on more surface considerations, such as membership in a common occupational grouping. Thus, for the intraceptive person, changes in friendships would occur more slowly than would be the case for the less intraceptive person.

If we assume that the relationship between intraception and friendship formation is valid, then we can form a tentative explanation for the relatively rapid increase shown by the subjects in the number of close friendships formed with other police officers. As a group, the subjects were not highly intraceptive persons although they were significantly more so than the EPPS male general adult sample. Further, a numerical decrease in the need score for intraception occurred over the time span of this research for the total group. Consequently, in terms of their personality needs, one can reason that the subjects were able to enter easily into friendships with other people on the basis of such general considerations as membership in a common occupational group. Conversely, they were able to end existing friendships with non-police people more quickly. All things considered, it appears that an explanation for the development of extensive friendship ties among the police related to the general personality characteristic of intraception merits a place in the list of tentative explanations discussed earlier.

CHAPTER IV

ROLE CONFLICT

One of the most important concepts within role theory is that of role conflict, the exposure to and awareness of conflicting role expectations. In this regard, one of the most frequently mentioned views of the police officer is that he is a man in the middle, caught in a chaos of conflicting expectations.

"He is truly the 'man in the middle.' He stands between the lawless and the law abiding and between the rioter and society. And no matter what course of action he takes he is between Scylla and Charybdis for one side will always take him to task."[1]

Though it is obvious that the lawless and the lawful hold differential expectations for the police, it is not so apparent that various segments of the lawful public may also express conflicting expectations regarding the role performance of the police. These dissimilar expectations create the potential for intra-role conflict.

The police, like all other occupational roles, have certain prescriptions and proscriptions governing the performance of the role. Some of these directions are written and codified in detail while others are implicit and vague. However, if we view the on-the-job conduct of an officer as being directed wholly by the formalized do's and don't's related to the job, then we are accepting a view of behavior which is both mechanistic and simplistic. Realistically, the rules and regulations of a department and the orders of supervisors are not the only determinants of the way in which the man does his job; many other factors influence job performance. Role theory stresses the more conscious aspects of human behavior. It assumes that job performance is affected considerably by the process in which a person shapes and controls his role behavior through the influence of the behavioral expectations of others with whom he interacts.

Within this theoretical framework, the expectations of a role reciprocal who is considered significant by the actor exert a degree of influence upon his occupational role behavior. Beyond the two people directly involved in a reciprocal role relationship, there is always a third person who observes the interaction. This

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[1] Thomas Reddin, "Law Enforcement in a Complex Society" (Santa Monica, General Telephone Company of California, undated pamphlet), p. 2.

third person is the audience.* Thus, cues for role behavior are taken also from real or imagined audiences who observe the interaction between two active participants.

As a public agency, the police are responsive to many external edicts, pressures and influences. Legislative bodies enact laws which directly affect the structure and the powers of police agencies, the amount of money they have available to them, and the nature of the laws they are expected to enforce. Judicial decisions are another important source of influence on the behavior of the police. Executive actions also may have direct or indirect effects upon the policies and the procedures followed by the police. Moreover, executive decisions can determine the personnel in the command structure of police agencies.

Underlying these influences is the voice of the public. The expectations expressed by individuals and the collective public influence the actions of police to a considerable degree. In a very real sense, the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government serve as an institutionalized means by which the general public can exert control over the conduct of the police.

"Despite a great deal of political alienation on the part of the
U. S. Citizen, he is still the effective arbiter of governmental
function . . . . Citizens as individuals can and do influence
their government at all levels--federal, state, and local . . . .
At the local level, the interest and stated convictions of influ-
entials can be and frequently are considered very seriously by
police administrators at vital points in the decision-making
process.

But in our pluralistic society, private citizens also exert pressure
on governmental agencies, the police among others, through
membership in organizations designed specifically for that
purpose . . . . In numbers there is strength, and that strength
must be considered in a government which, like that of the United
States, relies ultimately on the support of its citizens for legiti-
macy and source of authority."[2]

Even at the face-to-face level, a citizen may convey in explicit and implicit ways the behavioral expectations he holds in a specific role relationship involving a police officer.

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*An audience need not be physically present to exert some control over the role enactment of another person. It has been pointed out that in a two-person relationship, the role reciprocal may serve also as an audience observing and evaluating the role performer. This audience function may shift back and forth during the interaction. Another variation of the concept of the imagined audience occurs when the performer views his own role behavior and becomes his own evaluating audience. For a discussion of the distinction between real and imagined audiences, see Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon L. Allen, "Role Theory" in The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I, Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds. (Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley, 1968), pp. 527-529.

[2]Richard A. Myren, "The Role of the Police" (Draft of paper submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967), p. 2.

The police themselves hold certain expectations about their own job performance. The police executive must interpret the expectations expressed by the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government, and select certain views of the general public worth attention. At the next level, police commanders, supervisors, and trainers also contribute their conceptions of what role behavior is expected of the police patrolman. At bottom, the police patrolman faces a bewildering array of behavioral expectations which tend to define his role and structure his role performance. Ultimately, he must decide which expectations he will attend to.

Individually, the police are alert to the behavioral expectations of the general public. It has been noted that " . . . the police reflect, with surprising sensitivity, the attitudes of the larger society."[3] These attitudes, in turn, affect police role enactments. For example, a police officer from a large urban department stated in a display of uncommon introspection,

"If there was a real bad murder, you would get the feeling that the
public wanted the killer and they didn't care how we caught him . . . .
We also used to have the feeling that the public wanted us to keep
pushing around homosexuals and other perverts."[4]

In this case, the general public served as a reference group for the role enactments of the police officer.

In another form, the police are particularly attuned to the expectations of other police officers. For example, a former member of a state highway patrol recalled his feelings at the time he was assigned to work in a Negro urban area.

" . . . I found myself roughing up Negroes routinely in the back
seat of the patrol car--not because I disliked Negroes, but be-
cause in the police group it was the thing to do."[5]

In this example, other police officers functioned as the reference group for the occupational role behavior of this patrolman.

These two examples should portray quite clearly the nature of role conflict for the police officer. In the first instance, the police officer demonstrated awareness of an expectation held by the general public to engage in extra-legal activities in the enforcement of the law. In the second instance, the police officer testified to an expectation held by some of his fellow officers that he should engage in behavior which violates the very laws he is sworn to enforce. In both instances, the officer is caught between two conflicting conceptions, with both expectations contradicting one another. This is the nature of the role conflict we are concerned with in this section.

Before a police officer can experience intra-role conflict, he first must identify role-related reference groups. As has been said, a reference group is one which an actor considers significant to him in the enactment of a particular

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[3]Paul Chevigny, Police Power (New York, Pantheon, 1969), p. 134.

[4]David Burnham, "Police, Violence: A Changing Pattern," The New York Times, July 7, 1968, p. 34.

[5]William W. Turner, The Police Establishment (New York, G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1968), p. 317.

role.* He believes that his performances are observed and evaluated by the group and he therefore attends to their expectations. Thus, an important part of occupational socialization involves learning which audience groups are significant to the police. It has been said that ". . . the whole civilian world is an audience for the policeman."[6] Though everyone may give attention to the police, the police cannot and do not attend to the expectations of the entire civilian world. The police must distinguish among audience groups. They must be able to categorize the lawful and the unlawful, the powerful and the powerless, and the threatening and the non-threatening in order to function in their occupational role.

Such ability constitutes an important part of the initial phase of occupational socialization.

"To say that a person is socialized is to make the statement that he has learned both appropriate role behavior and the appropriate identification of the role relevant reference groups . . ."[7] Over time, he must develop a hierarchy of audience groups."

Once the man identifies the audiences to which he should attend, he must become aware of the expectations they hold regarding his role performance.

"The individual upon joining the police force begins developing a body of conceptions about what the public expects of him. The mechanism by which he becomes aware or learns these expectations is the socialization process."[3]

Theoretically, intra-role conflict cannot be experienced by the subjects of this research until they have learned through occupational socialization to identify role-related reference groups and to be aware of the specific expectations held by the various groups about police behavior. These are the preconditions to role conflict.

In the case of the 113 subjects of this research, their police instructors and the other trainees were the primary members of their initial reference group. Consequently, there is a limited possibility for role conflict to arise during formal recruit training. Nevertheless, conflict may originate from differing expectations of various members of the training staff or from conflicting expectations expressed by any one trainer. There is also the possibility for role conflict in connection with differing expectations voiced by other recruits and those of their trainers. In any event, on the first day of training, the recruit need not undergo any lengthy learning process to identify his role-related reference groups. His trainers and his fellow recruits are clearly the most important reference groups for him. They are his generalized other. Inherent in the role of the police trainer is the direct communication of behavioral expectations to his role reciprocal,

*Although there was a distinction drawn between audience and reference groups in the basic definitions within role theory presented in Chapter I, both terms are used interchangeably by others and by the author in this discussion.

[6]Skolnick, op. cit., p. 44.

[7]Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory (Lincoln, Nebraska, The University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 169.

[8]John C. Dempsey, "Isolation of the Police Officer" (M. A. thesis, Colorado State University, 1967), p. 38.

the police trainee. Thus, were one to hypothesize about the nature and extent of role conflict experienced by the subjects at the start of training, it would be expected that conflict, if it existed, would be quite limited and of low intensity. Training assumably would expand the possibility of conflict and increase its intensity since one of its functions is to increase the sensitivity of the trainee to the behavioral expectations of other reference groups. Later, when the subjects assume the role of patrolman, the number of reference groups would increase further. So, too, would the potential for role conflict increase.

THE ASSESSMENT OF ROLE CONFLICT

The role conflict instrument employed within the role perception battery was modeled after the form devised by Gross, Mason, and McEachern.[9] The modified form allows an assessment to be made of the subjects' awareness of the nature of the expectations held by different audience groups, the extent to which these varying expectations are not yet perceived by the subjects, and the degree to which conflicting expectations bother them.

One of the major concerns in the preparation of the role conflict instrument was the selection of the specific conflict situations to be presented to the subjects. The choice was based upon an extensive search of the police literature for contemporary issues exemplifying most clearly the problem of conflicting behavioral expectations for the police. From this list, items were chosen which were considered most problematical for the beginning police patrolman and yet consistent with the dominant themes underlying this research. In the final analysis, five conflict situations were utilized. These situations concerned learning the police role, dealing with the public, handling arrests, stopping the rise in crime, and undergoing personal change as a consequence of police experience.

The second major problem in the design of this instrument was the determination of the audience groups which were thought to be the most significant to the police. Initially a list of 22 groups which were believed to be influential was compiled from the opinions of a group of men with extensive police experience at the command and supervisory level. This preliminary list was then submitted to a large number of experienced police officers of all ranks. They designated those groups in the list which they felt had the greatest impact on police behavior. From the rank order of these responses, a final list of 15 audience groups was derived for use in the role conflict instrument. These 15 groups have been categorized as police audiences, court related audiences, public leaders, and friends and family.

The extent to which the behavior expectations of each of these reference groups would influence the role performance of the subjects would vary over time. At the point of their entry into law enforcement, the subjects already had some vague conceptions of what would be expected of them in the performance of their new role. These conceptions, developed during the period of anticipatory socialization, were not based on actual contact with many of the audiences with whom they would interact in their future police role. Though these conceptions may have been ill-defined and not in accord with objective reality, they nevertheless constituted a major force in determining the way in which the subjects enacted the preparatory role of police trainee. The results of the initial testing reflected these views. At this point in time, attention would have been given by the subjects to the expectations of an imagined and highly generalized police audience as well as those of their friends and families.

[9]Gross, et. al., op. cit., pp. 254-256.

By the end of formal recruit training, the behavioral expectations conceived by the subjects would have been structured primarily by the views expressed directly to them by two significant role reciprocals, other new patrolmen and their trainers. Under the control of their trainers, the subjects also would have been exposed to the expectations of other police audiences through various training activities. Their study of state and local laws, department orders, and rules and regulations would have imparted an idealized version of the more formal prescriptions and proscriptions which define the police role. Moreover, interpretations of the expectations held by court-related audiences and public leaders would have been referred to directly or expressed as incidental to other topics. Thus, the responses of the subjects at the end of recruit training would have been dominated by the views and interpretations of their trainers. Though of reduced importance, the expectations of the friends and families of the subjects would have continued an influence in defining the police role.

After 18 months of field experience as a police patrolman, the subjects would have learned to attend closely to the expectations voiced by police supervisors as well as those of other police patrolmen. Lacking any direct and continuing contact with police trainers, their influence on the subjects would be relatively less than before. The subjects also would have to recognize the significance of the expectations held by the court related audiences; judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and probation officers. At the same time, specific public leaders such as businessmen, civil rights leaders, clergymen, newspapermen, and politicians would have emerged as important in influencing the nature of police role enactments. The subjects also would have continued to give attention to the expectations of their friends and families. Therefore, at this point in time, the subjects would have drawn upon their awareness of the behavioral expectations of the full list of audience groups in making responses to the role conflict items.

LEARNING THE ESSENTIALS OF POLICE WORK

The first conflict situation deals with the subjects' perceptions of the way in which the members of various reference groups expect the police to learn the essentials of their work.* The nature of police work is such that the beginner needs both formal classroom training coupled with certain kinds of practical experiences to become an effective police officer. This is the typical approach to professional training. Nevertheless, depending on what are considered the essentials of police work, expectations frequently are voiced in support of an academic or an experiential approach to learning as the most important method.

If police work is regarded primarily as service-oriented--as a peacekeeping activity which requires the frequent exercise of discretion--then a classroom program would be seen as the more effective means of providing the essential intellectual preparation. Conversely, if the essence of police work is defined narrowly as strict law enforcement through the use of manipulative and physical skills coupled with the ability to be "street wise," then this kind of an active craftlike conception of the police role would emphasize on-the-job training. In short, the issue is one of education or training or both.

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*The reader is advised to examine the instructions and the five forms administered to the subjects in order to appreciate better the responses made to this and the other four conflict situations. These are contained in the Appendix as item B-3.

Figure 4.1 depicts the responses of the combined group of 113 subjects which pertain to police audiences. At the start of recruit school, 52.2% of the subjects believed that experienced patrolmen expected the essentials of police work to be learned through both classroom training and field experience. A lesser proportion of the subjects, 40.7%, felt that experienced officers expected the important aspects of police work to be learned in the field. Only 6.2% of the subjects believed that experienced patrolmen expected formal classroom training to provide them with the essentials of police work. No one believed that experienced officers were unconcerned about the way in which they would learn police work. A single subject responded that he had no idea what the expectations of experienced patrolmen were regarding this particular item.

By the end of training, there was a striking increase in the number of subjects who reported that they believed experienced patrolmen expected police work to be learned mainly through experience in the field. At this time, 63.7% held that expectation. Conversely, the percentage of subjects who responded that experienced patrolmen expected them to learn police work by both classroom and field experience or solely in the classroom decreased to 32.7% and 2.7% respectively.

After 18 months experience in the role of patrolman, a still greater proportion of the subjects, 70.8%, believed that experienced patrolmen expected the essentials of police work to be learned through actual police experience. Fewer subjects reported the perception of the other two alternatives to learning.

Over the 21 month time span of this research, the expectation of experienced patrolmen as perceived by the majority of subjects, shifted from the initial choice of both classroom and field experience to the choice of field experience alone. The same tendency held in the case of other police audiences, as well as the collective responses of the subjects themselves. As time passed, the subjects increasingly viewed police audiences as holding the expectation that the essentials of their work would be learned from actual job experience. This tendency was greatest for the two groups which were most significant to the subjects during field experience: supervisors and experienced patrolmen. On the contrary, it should be noted that the two police groups with which the subjects no longer interacted on a regular basis during field experience, other new patrolmen and instructors, were the only police audiences which a considerable proportion of the subjects perceived as holding the classroom expectation at T_3. The figures were 26.5% and 30.1% respectively.

Within police audiences, the potential for conflict regarding learning the essentials of the police role arises from a contrast between the subjects' perception of the expectations of supervisors and experienced patrolmen and those of police instructors and other new patrolmen. For supervisors and experienced patrolmen, experience became the dominant expectation over time. The self-designation of the expectations of the subjects closely paralleled the pattern of supervisors and experienced patrolmen. By T_3, there was little evidence of conflicting expectations in the case of these two groups and those of the subjects. However, this was not so with instructors and other new patrolmen. As shown, a considerable proportion of the subjects expressed an awareness of these two groups as holding the classroom expectation. This was true particularly with police instructors. From another view, only 21.2% of the subjects regarded their instructors as holding the experience expectation at T_3. When compared to experienced patrolmen, the fact that 70.8% of the subjects regarded this group as holding the experience expectation reflects the nature of the conflict which the subjects conceived. It should be remembered that supervisors and experienced

Figure 4.1 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY POLICE AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

1. Learning the Essentials of Police Work

Self · Supervisors · Instructors/trainers · Other New Patrolmen · Experienced Patrolmen

Legend:
- Both Classroom Training and Field Experience
- Experience in the Field
- Formal Classroom Training
- "Unconcerned" or "No idea"

patrolmen constitute the primary role reciprocals for the subjects at the time of the third testing. Therefore, at this time, the expectations of the subjects would be influenced strongly by these two groups.

The Expectations of Court Related Audiences

At the outset, it should be noted that the subjects will have had little or no direct contact with court-related audiences until they have completed their trainee role and begun the enactment of the patrolman's role. Thus, their perceptions of the expectations of these audiences as shown in Figure 4.2 will have been formed vicariously at T_1 and T_2. As was true with police audiences over the time span of this research, an increasing percentage of the subjects saw court-related audiences as holding the experience expectation for learning the police role. Yet, at no time did the majority of subjects see court audiences as holding this expectation. Despite this general similarity, there are some notable differences in the expectations of court related audiences as perceived by the subjects. A far greater percentage of subjects reported a classroom expectation for the court-related audiences than was the case for police audiences. Also, for the first time, a significant number of subjects expressed belief that a particular audience was either unconcerned about the conflict situation or had no idea what the expectations of the group were in regard to the conditions presented. This was particularly striking in the case of probation officers.

The courtroom is the locus in the criminal justice system where the actions of the police are reviewed carefully by non-police audiences. Here the ultimate success or failure of police work is legally determined. From the standpoint of the court, an understanding of the law is the essence of police work. Like judges, lawyers and prosecutors, law is a subject which the police must learn in the classroom. This orientation is reflected in the subjects' perception of court-related audiences.

The responses of the subjects reflect the greatest potential for conflict at T_3 when the perceived expectations for lawyers are compared with those reported for police supervisors and experienced patrolmen. The expectations assigned to these two police groups reflect the perceived importance of field experience in learning police work. The respective percentages at T_3 are 70.8% and 56.6%. On the other hand, lawyers are seen by only 24.8% of the subjects as holding the experience expectation. The classroom expectation dominated the subjects' expectations for lawyers. This was the response for 41.6% of the subjects at T_3.

The Expectations of Public Leaders

The opinions of public leaders on selected issues commonly are given widespread public attention. One of the issues which has received considerable public notice concerns police professionalism. Those who speak out for police professionalism would favor the classroom approach to learning and advocate extending the length of the formal recruit training program. Others, supporting the "learning by doing" approach, would favor police experience and minimize the academic aspects of learning.

Although the subjects may have had little personal involvement with public leaders before entry into police work, they would nevertheless have been exposed indirectly to their public opinions. Thus, during the period of anticipatory socialization, the subjects would have attended to the attitudes of public leaders about police training. The striking finding depicted in Figure 4.3 is that for all five groups of public leaders at all three points in time, a considerable proportion of the subjects indicated that they believed that these groups were either unconcerned

Figure 4.2 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY COURT RELATED AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
1. Learning the Essentials of Police Work

Figure 4.3 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY PUBLIC LEADERS AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
1. Learning the Essentials of Police Work

about the matter of police training or they had no idea what expectations were held by the groups. Of particular concern is the fact that at T_3, 42.4% of the subjects were unable to indicate what expectation they perceived as being held by politicians.

In general, the subjects attribute the classroom expectation to the public leaders to a greater degree than was true for court related audiences. Especially was this the case for the subjects' perceived expectations of civil rights leaders. At T_1, 26.5% of the subjects reported that civil rights leaders held the classroom expectation. By T_3, 55.8% of the subjects responded that civil rights leaders expected that the essentials of police work would be learned in the classroom. Once again, the subject's perceptions of the expectations of police supervisors and experienced patrolmen stand in marked contrast to those of civil rights leaders and politicians. For these two police groups, the experience expectation was chosen by the subjects with greater frequency over time. For civil rights leaders, clergymen and politicians, the classroom expectation was chosen by an increasing percentage of subjects between T_1 and T_3. In the case of politicians who are able to affect the nature and extent of police training to a considerable degree, these contrasting perceptions of expectations about police training hold considerable potential for role conflict.

The Expectations of Friends and Family

The group which has had the closest and most enduring contact with the subjects over the time span of this research consists of personal friends and families. Friends and families usually may not have a strong influence on matters related to occupational behavior; nevertheless, the work of a police officer tends to intrude upon his personal life to a greater degree than is true with other occupations. Consequently, the friends and families of the subjects would form opinions and hold expectations about various aspects of police work.

As shown in Figure 4.4, the subject's perceptions of the expectations of their friends and families follow the same general trend as that of police audiences, court-related audiences, and public leaders except for civil rights leaders and politicians. As time passed, more subjects tended to see these audiences as holding the expectation that the essentials of police work would be learned through on-the-job experience. Conversely, over time, fewer subjects attributed the alternative expectations to these two groups. It is of interest to note the relatively high percentage of subjects who reported the perception of the expectation for their wives and families that the essentials of police work would be learned through both field experience and classroom training. At T_3, the percentage figure for this audience group was 41.6%. This exceeded the comparable figure for all other groups except judges, police instructors, and the subjects themselves.

General Trends

In summary, with the exception of civil rights leaders and politicians, over time, an increasing proportion of subjects regarded all other audiences as holding the expectation that the essentials of police work would be learned through practical experience in the field. Since the subjects themselves were influenced by the expectations thought to be held by various audience groups, the self-designation of the subjects' own feelings about learning the police role tended to parallel those of other audiences. Over time, corresponding decreases were evidenced in the expectation combining classroom training with field experience. This was true for all audience groups. Contrary to the general trend between T_1 and T_3 of a decreasing percentage of subjects reporting the classroom expectation were the responses given for civil rights leaders, clergymen and politicians. Only in the

Figure 4.4 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY FRIENDS AND FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
1. Learning the Essentials of Police Work

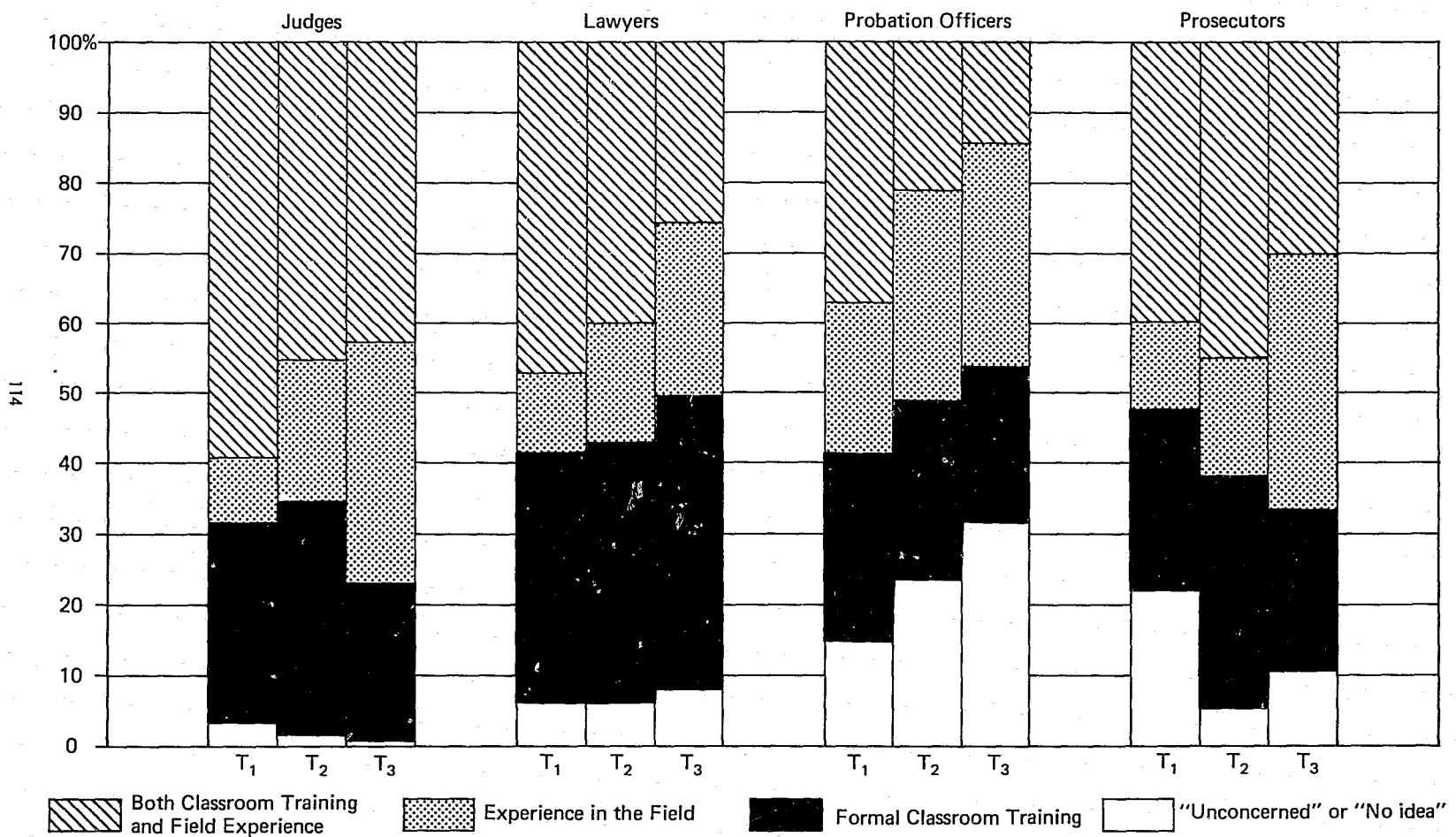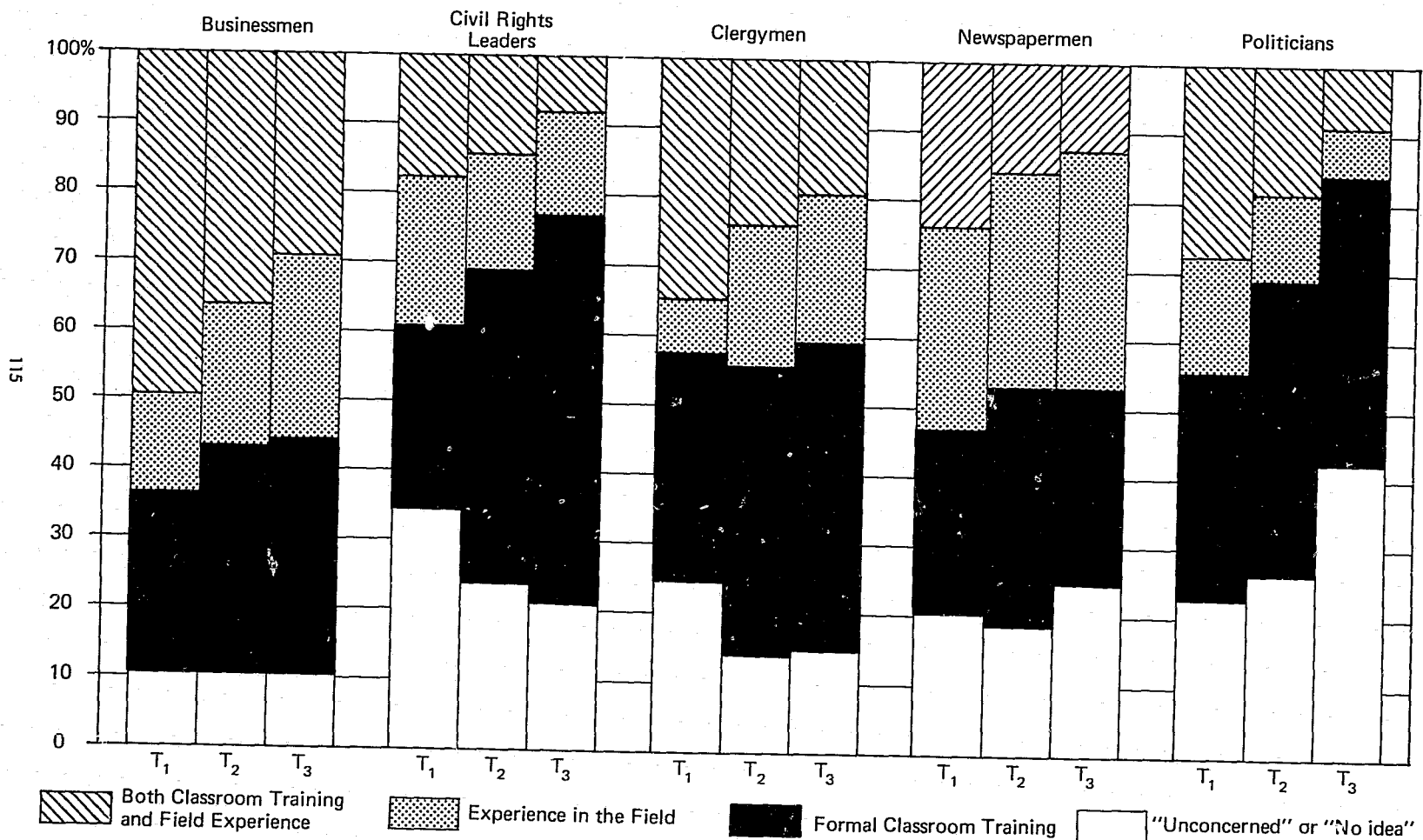case of these three audiences did an increasing number of subjects indicate the perception of the classroom expectation.

By the time the subjects had completed eighteen months in the field as patrolmen, the potential for role conflict had emerged with respect to learning the police role. The subjects' primary role reciprocals, experienced patrolmen and police supervisors, were viewed by a large majority of the subjects as expecting the essentials of police work to be learned through police experience. The collective expectations held by the subjects mirrored the expectation of their reciprocals. In contrast, more subjects regarded lawyers, civil rights leaders, clergymen and politicians as holding the classroom expectation than was the case for the other alternatives to learning the police role.

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC

Impersonality in dealing with the public is one of the hallmarks of professionalism. Certainly, this manner of dealing with people generally is considered an essential characteristic of our criminal justice system. As the central figures in this system, judges embody the impersonal law. The actions of other functionaries within the criminal justice system are expected to reflect this same impersonality.

Much about law enforcement lends itself to impersonality.[10] The codified law which the police enforce is impersonal. The wearing of a uniform and working within a setting where assignments, badges, beats and cars are numbered contribute to this quality. Rules and regulations, reinforced by supervisory actions, control occupational conduct so as to minimize individualistic forms of behavior. Further, the routine-emergency nature of police work may contribute to an impersonal approach.

> "In many occupations, the . . . practitioners . . . deal routinely with what are emergencies to the people who receive the services . . . . His very competence comes from having dealt with a thousand cases of what I like to consider my unique trouble. The worker thinks he knows from long experience that people exaggerate their troubles. He therefore builds up devices to protect himself to stall people off."[11]

Impersonality is one of these devices. Moreover, in terms of the nature and number of contacts which the police have with people in emergency situations, a blunting emotional tone is a likely occupational characteristic.

This does not mean that an impersonal and reserved tone to police-community relationships is necessarily desirable. In fact, it has been cited that while a police department may function fairly, effectively, and honestly, an impersonal style of behavior on the part of the members of that department can antagonize the citizens.

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[10]Though enforcing the law may call for an impersonal approach, it has been pointed out that "handling the situation" may require the assertion of personal authority by the police patrolman. See James Q. Wilson, op. cit. (1970), pp. 31-34.

[11]Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Work and the Self," in Social Psychology at the Crossroads, J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif, eds. (New York, Harper & Row, 1951), p. 322.

> "The city's . . . force won a justifiable reputation as a highly efficient, untouchable operation . . . . It is, in fact, this very efficiency, brusque as it often is, that seems to bother minorities, particularly Negroes."[12]

Perhaps the development of a general feeling of this kind on the part of a minority group can be understood better within the context of a specific incident involving a civil rights leader and a command level police officer at the scene of a racial demonstration. While the impassioned demonstrators marched and chanted close to a cordon of stone-like uniformed police, the two men conversed with one another. Since the men had seen one another a number of times before in a similar situation, they shared a degree of trust and were able to talk quite openly. The civil rights leader asked a rhetorical question, "Do you know what irritates these demonstrators the most?" He continued by saying that it was the fact that the police did not react as human beings. Quite simply, they did not react to the taunts of the demonstrators. Though the police behaved properly, they were impassive and appeared almost non-human.

The situation set forth in the second conflict situation concerns the manner in which the subjects believe the various audiences expect them to deal with the public. To be impersonal and reserved is to act in accord with the underlying concepts of the criminal justice system. This system is founded on an impersonal, codified law. Accordingly, the personal beliefs and feelings of the people who work within the system are not to affect the forms of justice afforded those who become enmeshed in the system. From this base, an impersonal and reserved approach to dealing with people tends to permeate the role concepts of the police. Moreover, as a practical measure, an impersonal approach would minimize entanglements between the police and the public. The statement, "I'm not out here to win friends. I've got a tough job to do and I do it in a way which avoids unnecessary arguments," reflects this orientation.

However, it is recognized by others that a good-natured and friendly approach to people has some very real benefits. As a way of enlisting public support, gaining citizen cooperation, and enhancing police-community relations, a friendly manner is desirable. In a figurative sense, this response reflects the underlying concept, "If I can make a friend while doing my job, so much the better. I don't have too many friends out on the street to begin with."

The Expectations of Police Audiences

The response of the subjects which relate to police audiences are depicted in Figure 4.5. At the beginning of police training, 58.4% of the 113 subjects expressed the belief that experienced patrolmen expected them to be impersonal and reserved. At the end of training, 54.9% of the subjects assigned the impersonal expectation to experienced patrolmen. After field experience, 64.6% of the subjects responded that they believed experienced patrolmen expected them to be impersonal in dealing with the public. For each of the other police audiences, the most frequently indicated response at all three points in time was the impersonal and reserved expectation. Overall, the expectation attributed to police audiences by the majority of subjects was for impersonal behavior toward the public. It should be noted that the percentage of subjects indicating the impersonal response for the police audience remained relatively constant over time. The next largest proportion of subjects indicated at all three points in time that the

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[12]"Magnet in the West," Time, Vol. 88 No. 10, September 2, 1966, p. 18.

Figure 4.5 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY POLICE AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
2. Dealing with the Public

(Legend: Impersonal and reserved / Good-natured and friendly / Both "Impersonal" and "Good-natured" / "Unconcerned" or "No idea")

(Categories: Self, Supervisors, Instructors/trainers, Other New Patrolmen, Experienced Patrolmen; each with T₁, T₂, T₃)

good-natured style of dealing with the public reflected the expectations of police audiences. A still smaller percentage of the subjects responded that both methods for dealing with the public were expected by police audiences. Few subjects chose the response category that indicated that they believed police audiences were either unconcerned about the situation or the expectations of police audiences were unknown to them.

Also of interest are the self-designations of the subjects' collective feelings about dealing with the public. Over time, a decreasing proportion of the subjects felt that they should be impersonal and reserved. At the start of training, 44.2% of the subjects felt that they should be impersonal in dealing with the public. After field experience this percentage shifted downward to 36.3%. Contrarily, an increasing number of the subjects felt that they should be good-natured and friendly in their relationships with the public. The percentage rose from 29.2 at the first testing to 39.8 at the time of the third testing. In this situation, the feelings of the subjects regarding the proper way of dealing with the public did not follow the general pattern of the expectations perceived to be held by police audiences. Particularly was this true in the case of the expectations attributed to experienced patrolmen. After 18 months of field experience, 64.6% of the subjects responded that they believed experienced patrolmen held the impersonal expectation. At this point in time, only 36.3% of the subjects themselves felt that they should behave impersonally toward the public.

The Expectations of Court Related Audiences

Figure 4.6 depicts the responses given by the subjects for court related audiences. Judges, lawyers, and prosecutors were seen by an even greater proportion of the subjects than was the case with police audiences as holding the impersonal expectation. Overall, the impersonal expectation dominated the responses of the subjects for the court-related audiences. This was the case particularly for the subjects' responses for judges and lawyers. At the time of the initial testing, 68.1% of the subjects indicated that they felt judges expected them to be impersonal in dealing with the public. After a year and a half of field experience, the figure was again 68.1%. For lawyers, 60.2% of the subjects perceived of the impersonal expectation at the start of training. After field experience, 62.8% of the subjects indicated the impersonal expectation. In combination, the impersonal expectation attributed to judges and lawyers represents the greatest degree of consensus for the subjects. The subjects' responses for prosecutors also reflected the dominance of the impersonal expectation among court related audiences.

Probation officers appear to differ from the other court related audiences in two notable ways. First, among court-related audiences, fewer subjects regarded probation officers as holding the impersonal expectation at all three points in time. Second, an increasing proportion of the subjects indicated that they felt that probation officers were either unconcerned about the way in which the police deal with the public or they had no idea of the expectations held by probation officers. By the end of 18 months' experience as patrolmen, 28.3% of the subjects give the "unconcerned or no idea" response for probation officers.

The Expectations of Public Leaders

The majority responses of the subjects for the group of public leaders differs markedly from those for police and court-related audiences. As shown in Figure 4.7, the greatest proportion of subjects indicated at each of the three points in time that they felt that businessmen, civil rights leaders, clergymen, newspapermen, and politicians expected them to be good-natured and friendly in dealing with

Figure 4.6 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY COURT RELATED AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
2. Dealing with the Public

| Judges | Lawyers | Probation Officers | Prosecutors |

| Impersonal and reserved | Good-natured and friendly | Both "Impersonal" and "Good-natured" | "Unconcerned" or "No idea" |

Figure 4.7 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY PUBLIC LEADERS AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
2. Dealing with the Public

| Businessmen | Civil Rights Leaders | Clergymen | Newspaperman | Politicians |

| Impersonal and reserved | Good-natured and friendly | Both "Impersonal" and "Good-natured" | "Unconcerned" or "No idea" |

the public. Within the group of public leaders, the greatest proportion of subjects felt that clergymen held the good-natured expectation. This expectation was reported by 67.3% of the subjects at the start of training. At the third testing after field experience, 71.7% of the subjects indicated the good-natured expectation for clergymen. The increasing proportion of subjects over time who report the "unconcerned or no idea" response for politicians also is noteworthy.

The Expectations of Friends and Family

Figure 4.8 shows that at the beginning of recruit training, 66.4% of the subjects felt that their personal friends expected the police to be good-natured and friendly in dealing with the public. By the end of recruit training, this percentage figure had increased to 69.0. The same percentage held through the third testing after 18 months' experience. Thus, a remarkably consistent majority of subjects felt their friends expected them to be good-natured and friendly in dealing with the public.

In contrast to their personal friends, fewer subjects felt that their wives and families held the good-natured and friendly expectation. At the beginning of training, 49.6% of the subjects held this belief. The same percentage held for the second testing. Following field experience, the comparable percentage decreased to 46.9. Regarding the impersonal and reserved expectation, at the start of recruit school, 19.5% of the subjects felt their wives and families held this expectation. By the completion of training, this percentage had increased to 29.2. After field experience, the comparable figure had decreased only slightly to 28.3%.

The necessity to be impersonal and reserved in some situations and good-natured and friendly in others is a compound expectation that relatively few subjects felt others expected of them. It is of interest to note that at the start of their training 25.7% of the subjects perceived of their wives and families as holding this dual expectation. This percentage figure was exceeded only in the responses given for police instructors. In this case, 26.5% of the subjects felt that police instructors expected them to deal with the public in both ways. Although the percentage of subjects who believed their wives and families held this dual expectation decreased to 15.9 at the completion of training, the percentage increased to 19.5% after field experience. This equalled the percentage who assigned the dual expectation to police instructors--the highest proportion of subjects to do so for all audience groups. It should be noted that 23.9% of the subjects reported at the time of the third testing that they felt they should be both impersonal and reserved as well as good-natured and friendly in dealing with the public. Thus, after having enacted the patrolman's role for 18 months, almost one-quarter of the subjects recognized the necessity to deal with the public in more than one way. Only in the case of the police audiences of experienced patrolmen, instructors, and supervisors did a significant proportion of the subjects indicate this dual expectation. For all others, an insignificant percentage of subjects felt that these audience groups held the expectation to act toward the public in both ways. With regard to this compound expectation, wives and families were regarded by the subjects in a way which was similar to police audiences.

General Trends

Though there were shifts in the responses of the subjects over the time span of this research for each of the audience groups, such shifts were not so marked as in the previous example. Conflicting expectations which existed among the various audience groups at the beginning of training apparently were modified only

Figure 4.8 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY FRIENDS AND FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
2. Dealing with the Public

slightly by recruit training or by police experience. The majority of subjects regarded police audiences as expecting them to be impersonal and reserved in dealing with the public. The same was true for the court-related audiences of judges, lawyers, and prosecutors. However, the greatest proportion of the subjects responded that public leaders expected them to be good-natured and friendly in their relationships with the public. In addition, more subjects indicated that they felt their personal friends as well as their wives and families held the good-natured and friendly expectation than was the case for any of the other responses. In a general way, the expectations perceived by the subjects as being held by police and court related audiences tended to conflict with those held by public leaders, their friends, and their wives and families. For the former, the predominant response was to be impersonal and reserved in dealing with the public. For the latter, the majority response was good-natured and friendly.

This conflict was mirrored in the responses of the subjects which indicated their feelings about dealing with the public. At the beginning of recruit training more subjects gave the impersonal and reserved response than the good-natured and friendly response, 44.2% as compared to 29.2%. After field experience, approximately equal proportions of subjects gave these responses, 36.3% as compared to 39.8%. By this time, there was no clear majority response.

Although the wide range of relationships into which the police and the public enter seemingly require a number of personal approaches on the part of the police in dealing with the public, relatively few of the subjects indicated that they felt they should be both impersonal and reserved, and good-natured and friendly. Only in the case of police audiences, and their wives and families did a significant percentage of subjects indicate the perception of this dual expectation.

At all three points in time, few of the subjects indicated that they felt police audiences were either unconcerned about the way in which the police deal with the public or that they had no idea how these police audiences felt about the matter. The same was true for judges, personal friends, and wives and families. At the other extreme, a relatively large proportion of the subjects felt that probation officers, civil rights leaders, newspapermen, and politicians were unconcerned about the matter or they had no idea what expectations were held by these audiences.

This finding is of particular importance with regard to politicians. At the start of recruit training, 7.1% of the subjects felt that politicians were unconcerned about the way in which the police deal with the public. After 18 months' field experience, this figure had risen to 17.7% while another 8.8% of the subjects felt they had no idea what the expectations of politicians were. Though the way the police deal with the public is at the heart of police-community relations, a surprisingly large percentage of subjects feel that the politicians in their cities are either unconcerned or they have no idea what expectation is held by this important audience group.

HANDLING THE ARREST OF A DRUNK

Throughout our history, an ethos of equality has pervaded our way of life. "All men are created equal," and "equal in the eyes of God and in the eyes of the state" are phrases which have been affirmed since the founding of our nation. These words are known by all and constitute an important influence in the affairs of our government, the structure and interpretation of our laws, the operation of our criminal justice system, and in the determination of individual behavior. Thus, the uniform application of the law stands as a guiding principle for the police and the courts. Even in the arrest of a drunk, this would be true.

For the police, justice and equality are ideally inseparable. Thus, they must act impartially in terms of the decision to make an arrest and in terms of the ensuing treatment given an individual during the arrest process. Beyond the legal and philosophical basis for equality is the professional ethic which calls for universality of treatment. Moreover, departmental rules and regulations, reinforced by inspectional and supervisory procedures, stand as practical means for assuring that the treatment of people who come into contact with the police will be the same. This sameness usually is thought to apply to such variables as race, sex, socioeconomic class, style of dress, and occupation.

Despite the forces which dictate uniformity in the performance of their duty, some police officers discriminate in the way in which they handle a particular person. It would be an error to try to explain fully such discrimination in terms of racial prejudice, social class bias, a generation gap, xenophobia, or general malevolence on the part of the police. At least part of the explanation is that the police perceive different expectations from various audiences and they structure their behavior according to these expectations.

"You have to treat people different depending on where you work. With some you have to be more firm than others. Even the way of talking to them must change."

Such advice leads the newly assigned police officer to seek out and respond to cues on how to treat various kinds of people. This role conflict situation deals specifically with the way in which the subjects perceive the expectations of others as they apply to handling the arrest of a drunk. The variable set forth in the conflict situation is that of occupation. Specifically, should the police handle the arrest of a drunken school teacher in the same way as a drunken laborer.

The Expectations of Police Audiences

In Figure 4.9, the responses of the subjects which pertain to police audiences are shown. In general, at the start of training, the great majority of subjects perceived police audiences to believe that the arrest of a drunken school teacher should be handled in the same way as the arrest of a drunken laborer. Of the full group of subjects, 77.9% of them felt that experienced patrolmen and other new patrolmen expected these arrests to be accomplished in the same way. An even greater percentage of the subjects, 82.3%, felt that their instructors and supervisors expected that a school teacher and a laborer would be treated equally during the course of an arrest. A still greater proportion of the subjects themselves felt that an arrest should be accomplished without distinctions on the basis of occupational class. This was the case for 85.8% of the subjects at the beginning of their recruit training.

At the completion of their training, the great majority of subjects still felt that the police audiences expected them to handle the arrest of a drunken school teacher in the same way as a drunken laborer. Yet, in the case of each police audience, the percentage of subjects reporting this perception decreased by approximately 10%. Even the responses of the subjects which expressed their own feelings about the way in which the arrests should be made showed a noticeable decrease. At the start of training, 85.8% of the subjects felt the arrestees should be treated equally regardless of occupational class. By the end of training, this figure decreased to 72.6%.

After enacting the patrolman's role for 18 months, the subject's responses shifted back to the approximate level recorded at the start of recruit training. By and large, the subjects overwhelmingly indicated that they felt police audiences expected them to handle the arrests of a drunken school teacher and a drunken

Figure 4.9 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY POLICE AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
3. Handling the Arrests of a Drunken School Teacher and Laborer

laborer in the same way. Thus, over time, the subjects' responses regarding police audiences reflected a concern for equal treatment of offenders.

The Expectations of Court Related Audiences

The pattern of responses shown in Figure 4.10 indicates that the majority of subjects generally viewed court related audiences as expecting the school teacher and the laborer to be arrested in the same way for drunkenness. This was the case particularly for judges. At the beginning of training, 73.5% of the subjects believed that judges expected standard treatment for the two arrestees. By the end of training, this figure had decreased slightly to 66.4%. After field experience, 68.1% of the subjects indicated that they thought judges expected them to accomplish the arrests in the same way.

To a lesser degree, the subjects indicated that they thought prosecutors expected the arrest of a school teacher and a laborer should be carried out in the same way. At the time of the first administration of the instrument, 67.3% of the subjects reported the perception of the expectation for sameness in arrest procedures. At the second testing, this figure was slightly reduced to 63.7%; at the third testing, 66.4% of the subjects indicated that they thought prosecutors expected them to conduct the arrests in the same way.

A different pattern of responses emerged in the analysis of the subjects' responses regarding their perceptions of lawyers. A slight majority of the subjects indicated at both the first and second testing that they thought lawyers felt the arrests should be carried out in the same way. The figures were 54.0% and 53.1% respectively. By the third testing, 46.9% of the subjects reported this expectation while an identical proportion reported that they thought lawyers expected the two arrest to be executed in a different way. Thus, lawyers are the first audience group which the majority of subjects do not see as holding a behavioral expectation based upon the principle of equal treatment under law.

Once again, probation officers were considered atypical among the court-related audiences. With the passing of time, fewer and fewer of the subjects believed probation officers held the expectation that school teachers and laborers should be treated equally in an arrest for drunkenness. By the time the subjects had served as patrolmen for 18 months, only 40.7% of them indicated that they felt probation officers held the equal treatment expectation. At that time, it should be noted that 31.9% reported that they felt probation officers felt the arrests should be made in a different way. Almost the same proportion of subjects, 27.5%, felt that probation officers were either unconcerned about the way in which the police should accomplish the arrests or they had no idea what expectations were held by probation officers.

The Expectations of Public Leaders

The most striking impression gained from Figure 4.11 concerned the reported perceptions of the subject for businessmen. At all three points in time, the vast majority of subjects responded that they felt businessmen held the expectation that a school teacher should be arrested in a different way than a laborer for drunkenness. The percentage figures are 60.2% at the start of training, 76.19% at the end of training, and 70.8% after field experience. The reported perception for this audience group stands in remarkable contrast to police and court-related audiences.

To a slightly lesser degree, politicians also were seen by the majority of subjects as expecting arrests to be conducted differently. At the start of training,

Figure 4.10 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY COURT RELATED AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

3. Handling the Arrests of a Drunken School Teacher and Laborer

Figure 4.11 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY PUBLIC LEADERS AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

3. Handling the Arrests of Drunken School Teacher and Laborer

51.3% of the subjects indicated that they thought politicians held the differential expectation. By the time of the second administration, the percentage had increased to 55.8. The percentage decreased slightly to 53.1 after field experience.

The responses given by the subjects for politicians are also noteworthy. Despite our continued emphasis on equality in the affairs of government, only a small percentage of the subjects report their perception of politicians as expecting equal treatment of a school teacher and a laborer when arrested for drunkenness. At the start of training, 29.2% of the subjects indicated that they thought politicians felt the two arrests should be carried out in the same way. By the end of training, this figure decreased to 21.2%. After 18 months' experience, only 18.6% of the subjects felt that politicians held a behavioral expectation for the police in this situation based on the principle of equal treatment. Furthermore, despite the many public pronouncements by politicians intended to express their views on law and order, 27.5% of the subjects reported that they feel politicians were unconcerned about this aspect of equal treatment under law or they had no idea about the feelings of this central public figure on this issue.

Regarding newspapermen, a greater proportion of subjects see this audience group as holding the expectation for different treatment in the arrest of the two offenders. At the outset, 52.2% of the subjects reported the expectation for different treatment. At the completion of training, the comparable figure was 47.8%. After experience as a patrolman, 49.6% of the subjects thought that newspapermen felt that a school teacher and a laborer should be processed for arrest in different ways.

The pattern of responses for clergymen and civil rights leaders is quite similar. Although the majority of the subjects felt that these two audience groups at all three points in time expected identical treatment in the arrest of a school teacher and a laborer, a significant proportion of the subjects opted for the expectation of different arrest procedures based on the occupation of the arrestee. Despite the fact that these two audience groups frequently express an ideal of equality, nevertheless, more than one-third of the subjects thought that clergymen and civil rights leaders expected differential treatment in the conduct of a minor arrest for drunkenness.

The Expectations of Friends and Family

At the start of training, an equal proportion of the subjects reported their perception of the two conflicting expectations. Figure 4.12 shows that 46.0% of the subjects reported the expectation that the arrests should be executed equally, while an equal proportion reported that the arrests should be carried out in different ways. After recruit training, the majority of subjects, 53.1%, thought that their friends felt that the arrest of a school teacher and a laborer for drunkenness should be carried out differently. After experience as a patrolman, a greater proportion reported the expectation for sameness. The figure was 48.7% as compared to 41.6% for the expectation of different treatment.

The wives and families of the subjects were perceived of in a way which differed from their personal friends. At the time of the first testing, 61.9% of the subjects reported the expectation that the arrests should be carried out in the same way. After training, this percentage decreased to 48.7. Field experience tended to cause a significant shift toward the expectation for sameness in police processing. At this time, 63.7% of the subjects reported they thought that their wives and family expected them to carry out the arrests of a school teacher and a laborer for drunkenness in the same way.

Figure 4.12 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY FRIENDS AND FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
3. Handling the Arrests of a Drunken School Teacher and Laborer

General Trends

Overall, the great majority of the subjects indicated that they felt that the four police audiences held the expectation that a drunken school teacher and a drunken laborer should be handled during an arrest in the same way. Although recruit training tended to decrease the proportion of subjects who perceived of this expectation by approximately 10% in each case, the responses of the subjects tended to retu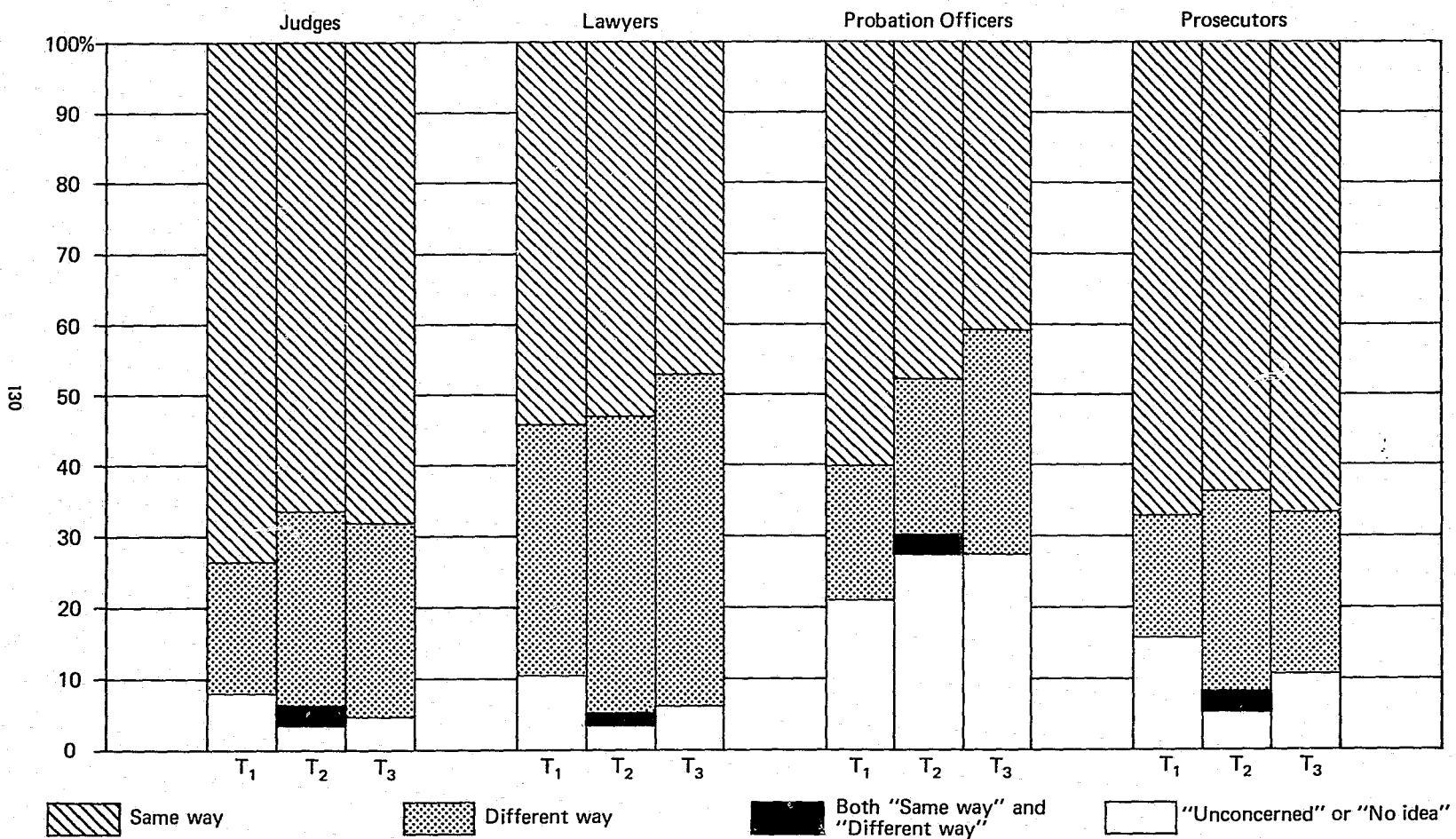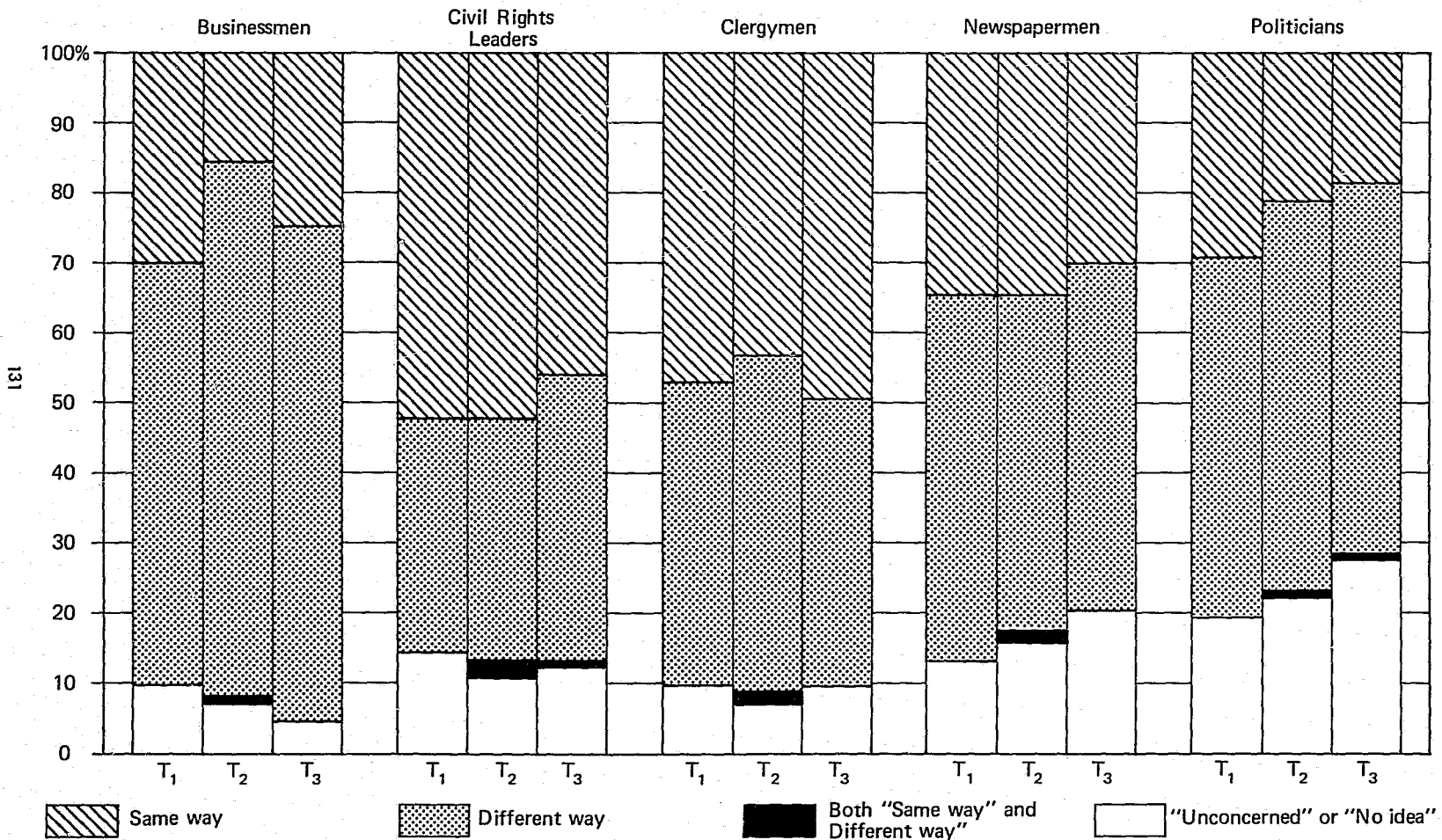rn to their original level after police experience. Again, the majority of subjects reported an expectation that arrest procedures should be carried out in the same way, regardless of the occupation of the arrestee. Moreover, the self-designations of the subjects' collective feelings about the arrests closely paralleled those of the other police audiences. Thus, the potential for role conflict arising out of the perception of differential expectations between police audiences appears to be minimal.

To a large extent, the subjects believed that judges and prosecutors held the same expectations as the police. Since these two audience groups exert maximum control over courtroom procedures, the lack of conflicting expectations with those of the police would appear to minimize the overall possibility for the subjects to experience role conflict regarding this situation. However, in the case of lawyers, there was no clear-cut majority view of their expectations at any one point in time. The group of subjects was divided almost equally at each point in time on the perception of the expectations thought to be held by lawyers. As an audience group which holds an important position in the criminal justice process, the subjects' divided perceptions of the expectations attributed to lawyers might be productive of conflict. It is notable that lawyers, as advocates of equality under law, are not perceived of by the subjects as expecting the arrests to be conducted in the same way to the degree that existed for the police, judges, and prosecutors. Probation officers also are unique among court related audiences. As an important functionary in the criminal justice system, it is significant to note that the theme of equal treatment under law was not reflected more strongly in the responses of the subjects for this audience group.

Outside the criminal justice system, there was a greater tendency for the subjects to perceive of these audiences as expecting a school teacher and a laborer to be arrested in different ways for drunkenness. This included the audience group made up of the personal friends of the subjects. This was the case particularly for the subjects' perceptions of the feelings of businessmen. To the contrary, their wives and families were seen by the subjects as having the expectation that the arrests should be accomplished in the same way.

At the start of this discussion, it was stated that at least part of the explanation why the police act toward various groups in different ways during the arrest process was the perception of different behavioral expectations expressed by others in positions of power. Within the criminal justice system, the most significant groups in the occupational lives of the subjects were seen by them as holding the expectation that they, the police, should conduct arrests in the same way. This is consistent with the theme of equality which runs through much of the legal, political, and social thought expressed in our society. However, outside the criminal justice system, the majority of subjects generally perceived of a different behavioral expectation. These audiences were seen as holding the expectation that the arrests of a school teacher and a laborer for drunkenness should be carried out in different ways. More generally, they are seen by the subjects as believing that the police should discriminate among people on the basis of occupation.

To what extent the perceived expectations related to audience groups outside the criminal justice system influence the actual role behavior of the subjects is

unknown. Clearly, these expectations would be neither so strong nor so direct a determinant of behavior as the expectations expressed by other patrolmen, police instructors, police supervisors, judges, and prosecutors. Nevertheless, these expectations can determine in part this particular aspect of the enactment of the police role. To the extent that they do, these expectations will conflict with those held by others within the criminal justice system with whom the subjects must inevitably interact.

STOPPING THE RISE IN CRIME

There probably is no conflict within the field of law enforcement which is argued more heatedly by both the police and the public than that which is presented in this conflict situation. One author addressed himself to this point by saying,

> "Two distinct views are current in American society about the role of police. The most widely held is based on the belief that maximum efficiency in enforcing the law is impossible without the sacrifice of some constitutional guarantees: that law enforcement is impossible without a certain amount of secrecy on the part of the police . . . that law violators, in effect, give up their civil rights; and that it may sometimes be necessary for the police to violate laws in the interests of effectively protecting the broader interests of society.

> Basically, this has been the dominant view. Most policemen reject or only reluctantly accept the concept that constitutional guarantees against coerced or otherwise illegally obtained confessions or admissions, against unwarranted search and seizure, against illegal arrests and confinements are among the most importnat elements of a free society, even though these guarantees may be barriers to an 'efficient' police service."[13]

This same controversy has been described as the central problem of police-community relations. Wilson expressed this view in more succinct terms when he said:

> "Some persons feel strongly that crime among minority groups ought to be stamped out even at a high cost in the violation of civil liberties; others feel that civil liberties ought to be safeguarded even at a high cost of crime."[14]

Although these two views take polar positions, in framing the conflict situation in the instrument, it was felt that there was a realistic middle position which could be held by the police, i.e., to stop the rise in crime but, at the same time, respect civil liberties.

The Expectations of Police Audiences

At the start of training, the great majority of the subjects felt that the various police audiences believed that although the rise in crime should be stopped, civil liberties should nevertheless be respected. The responses shown in Figure 4.13 ranged from 74.3% of the subjects attributing this expectation to experienced

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[13] Paul Jacobs, _Prelude to Riot_ (New York, Random House, 1967), p. 20.

[14] James Q. Wilson, _A National Survey of Police and Community Relations_ (East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1967), p. 385.

Figure 4.13 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY POLICE AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
4. Stopping the Rise in Crime

patrolmen up to 85.0% of the subjects perceiving that their trainers held this view. At the time of their entry into law enforcement, a much smaller proportion of the subjects perceived of police audiences as holding the expectation that the police should stop the rise in crime even if certain civil liberties are sacrificed. In this instance, the responses of the subjects varied from a high of 23.9% reporting this expectation for experienced patrolmen down to 12.4% of the subjects holding this view of the views expressed by their trainers. An insignificant proportion of the subjects perceived of police audiences as holding the expectation that civil liberties should be respected even if it results in increasing crime.

Over the time span of this research, there was a clear trend for an increasing proportion of the subjects to perceive of their fellow officers as holding a behavioral expectation based on the mandate that the police should stop the rise in crime even if it required them to sacrifice certain civil liberties. Again, experienced patrolmen and trainers represented extremes in this trend. At the time of the first administration of this instrument to the subjects, 23.9% of them perceived of experienced patrolmen as feeling that crime should be stopped whatever the sacrifice in civil liberties. This percentage increased to 37.2 by the end of recruit training. By the time of the third testing, 52.2% of the subjects reported that they thought experienced patrolmen felt this way. The comparable percentages related to police trainers were 2.4 and 23.9 respectively.

The tendency over time for an increasing proportion of the subjects to think that police audiences felt that crime should be stopped even if certain civil liberties were sacrificed was reflected also in the way in which the subjects felt they ought to act. At the start of their training, 81.4% of them reported that they felt crime should be stopped, but civil liberties should be respected. By the time the subjects had worked for 18 months as patrolmen, this figure was reduced to 65.5%. Conversely, the belief that crime should be stopped even if certain civil liberties were sacrificed increased from 16.9% at the start of training to 32.7% after field experience. All things considered, increased police experience appeared to be related to an increase in the subjects' perception of the behavioral expectation that certain civil liberties may be sacrificed in the effort on the part of the police to stop the rise in crime.

The Expectations of Court Related Audiences

A comparison of Figure 4.14 with the previous one for police audiences shows that at the start of training, the proportion of the subjects who perceived of court related audiences as holding the expectation to stop crime but respect civil liberties was only slightly less than that for police audiences. However, as time passed, this relationship changed. Whereas the subjects perceived of a decreasing proportion of all police audiences as holding the expectation to stop crime but respect civil liberties, the proportion of subjects reporting this expectation for court-related audiences remained relatively constant over time. Thus, by the time the subjects had become experienced patrolmen, a greater overall number of them perceived of court-related audiences as feeling that civil liberties should be respected in the effort to reduce crime than was the case for police audiences. The notable exception among the police audiences was the trainer. At the time of the third testing, 70.8% of the subjects reported that they felt that police trainers expected them to stop crime and respect civil liberties. This exceeds the proportion of subjects who reported this expectation at the third testing for lawyers, probation officers, and prosecutors.

The responses of the subjects for court related audiences differed from those for the police audiences in another way. The proportion of subjects who thought that court-related audiences felt that the police should stop the rise in crime even

Figure 4.14 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY COURT RELATED AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

4. Stopping the Rise in Crime

Prosecutors Probation Officers Lawyers Judges

T_1 T_2 T_3

100% 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0

"Unconcerned" or "No idea"

Respect civil liberties even if it increases crime

Stop rise in crime even if certain civil liberties are sacrificed

Stop rise in crime but respect civil liberties

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if it required the sacrifice of certain civil liberties tended overall to diminish as time passed. In the case of police audiences, this proportion increased over time.

A third notable difference between these two audiences within the criminal justice system existed. Although an insignificant proportion of the subjects indicated that they thought police audiences felt that civil liberties should be respected even if it increased crime, a much larger proportion of the subjects attributed this expectation to court related audiences. Among these court related audiences, lawyers were regarded as holding this expectation to a greater degree than the other three audiences. At the time of the first testing, 10.6% of the subjects indicated that they thought lawyers held this expectation. By the time of the third testing, this proportion had increased to 24.8%--more than double that reported for any other court related audience.

Once again, it is noted that a significant proportion of the subjects reported that they thought probation officers were either unconcerned with this vital matter or they had no idea what expectations this group held.

The Expectations of Public Leaders

The responses given by the subjects regarding public audiences are presented in Figure 4.15. One is drawn immediately to the responses given by the subjects for businessmen. At the start of training 38.9% of the subjects thought that businessmen expected the police to stop the rise in crime even if it required the sacrifice of certain civil liberties. This percentage increased to 50.4 by the end of recruit training. After field experience 61.1% of the subjects indicated that they thought businessmen expected them to stop crime even at the expense of certain civil liberties. This pattern of response stands in marked contrast to those given by the subjects for all other audiences.

Another strikingly different pattern of responses relates to those given by the subjects for civil rights leaders. At all three points in time, the greatest proportion of subjects attributed the view to civil rights leaders that civil liberties should be respected even if it resulted in an increase in crime. At the start of training, this was the case for 46.9% of the subjects. At the end of recruit training, 51.3% of the subjects responded in this way. After 18 months of field experience, 63.7% of the subjects indicated that they thought civil rights leaders expected the police to respect civil liberties even if it resulted in increased crime. At the start, and even more so as time passed, businessmen and civil rights leaders were seen by the subjects as polar opposites. For businessmen, crime reduction was seen as the most important. For civil rights leaders, civil liberties were thought to be most highly valued.

The patterns of response given for clergymen, newspapermen, and politicians were relatively similar to one another. At all three points in time the majority of subjects indicated that they thought these three audience groups expected the police to stop the rise in crime but, at the same time, respect civil liberties. As this majority response tended to decrease over time, the subjects' responses for these groups which indicated a respect for civil liberties even if it resulted in increased crime tended to increase over the time span of this research.

The Expectations of Friends and Family

At the outset of training, the friends and families of the subjects tended to be perceived by them in a similar way. A large majority of the subjects indicated that they thought these two audiences felt that the police should stop the rise in crime, but, at the same time, respect civil liberties. The percentages shown in Figure

Figure 4.15 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY PUBLIC LEADERS AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

4. Stopping the Rise in Crime

Legend:
- Stop rise in crime but respect civil liberties
- Stop rise in crime even if certain civil liberties are sacrificed
- Stop rise in crime even if it increases crime
- Respect civil liberties even if it increases crime
- "Unconcerned" or "No idea"

4.16 are 70.8 and 73.5. Also, an approximately equal percentage of the subjects perceived of the expectation that the rise in crime should be stopped even at the expense of certain civil liberties. In this instance, the respective percentages were 19.5 and 15.9. However, by the completion of recruit training, the pattern of responses related to these two groups diverged. Whereas the majority response given by the subjects for their friends decreased, the majority response attributed to wives and families increased. At this time, 82.3% of the subjects indicated that they felt their wives and families expected them to stop crime but respect civil liberties. After police experience, the subjects' responses for these two audience groups were again noticeably different. Whereas only 45.1% of the subjects attributed the expectation to stop crime but respect civil liberties to their personal friends, 62.8% of them attributed this expectation to their wives and families. At T_3, a considerable proportion of the subjects, 37.2%, indicated that they felt their friends expected them to stop crime at the expense of civil liberties. In a remarkable way, the response pattern given by the subjects for their perception of the expectations of their personal friends was akin to the pattern of responses for other new patrolmen while the pattern of responses given for their wives and family resembled that of the collective responses of the subjects themselves.

General Trends

Overall, there was considerably more diversity in the pattern of responses given to this conflict situation than for the preceding three. For those groups within the criminal justice system, there were pronounced differences. Outside the formal system of justice, there were also some notable differences among the various audience groups.

Within the group of police audiences, there was a tendency for the subjects to perceive of experienced patrolmen and police trainers in a different way. Though the perceived differences between these two groups was not wide at the start of training, by the time the subjects had become experienced patrolmen, the difference was considerable. After police experience, 23.9% of the subjects felt that their instructors believed that the rise in crime should be stopped even though some civil liberties might be sacrificed. On the other hand, the majority of subjects, 52.2%, reported that they thought that experienced patrolmen held this expectation. Although at this point in their police careers, the perceived expectations of experienced patrolmen were probably a more significant determinant of police behavior than the expectations of their former trainers, this situation would probably be productive of role conflict. The conflict would arise from the differential expectations of what ideally should be done as expressed by police trainers and what is done in reality as reflected in the views of experienced patrolmen.

Within the wider criminal justice system, different trends in the responses given by the subjects over time revealed another source of potential role conflict. The responses given by the subjects for the police audiences reflected a general decrease over time in the perception of the expectation to stop rising crime but respect civil liberties. Contrariwise, the subjects' responses showed a general increase in the reported perception of the expectation to stop the rise in crime even if certain civil liberties were sacrificed. However, these general trends were not paralleled in the subjects' responses for court-related audiences. Thus, as time passed, a greater proportion of the subjects viewed police audiences as expecting a crime reduction at the expense of certain civil liberties. But during the same time span, a lesser and slightly decreasing proportion of the subjects perceived of this expectation for court related audiences. It would appear that these conflicting trends in perceived expectations would be productive of role conflict.

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Figure 4.16 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY FRIENDS AND FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

A. Stopping the Rise in Crime

Wife/family — T_1, T_2, T_3
Friends — T_1, T_2, T_3

100% 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0

Legend:
Stop rise in crime but respect civil liberties

Stop rise in crime even if certain civil liberties are sacrificed

Respect civil liberties even if it increases crime

"Unconcerned" or "No idea"

The most significant source of conflicting expectations was found within the public audiences. While the majority of subjects perceived of businessmen as holding the expectation that rising crime should be stopped even if it requires sacrificing certain civil liberties, the majority of the subjects perceived of civil rights leaders as holding the view that civil liberties must be respected even if it resulted in increased crime. These two views are in direct conflict with one another and are notably different from the subjects' responses for all other audience groups.

CHANGING AS A RESULT OF POLICE EXPERIENCE

The last conflict situation is one which may appear at first glance to be relatively inconsequential. Perhaps it is of little importance in terms of a public issue. One school of thought reasons that there is no real benefit in selecting good men for the police job since after a few years of experience in the field, they become like all the rest of them. This view would argue that the self emerges out of the performance of a role. The contrary position is that role enactments are shaped by a relatively immutable self. Therefore, high quality personnel at the point of entry into police service will be of great help in improving law enforcement.

More to the purposes of this research is the fact that an individual who feels that others hold the expectation that he as a person will change is in a different psychological environment than another individual who perceives the expectation that he will not necessarily change. Katz and Kahn add another dimension to this discussion.

" . . . people who were flexible rather than rigid were subjected to greater pressures to change by their role senders. The behavior of role senders toward extremely rigid focal persons seemed to reflect a judgment of futility and acceptance and the abandonment of continuing attempts to influence behavior in the direction of ideal performance."[15]

Here people are categorized by role reciprocals according to their personality characteristics, and, depending on whether they are thought to be flexible or rigid, are then subjected to appropriate expectations for change.

The Expectation of Police Audiences

The responses of the subjects which pertain to police audiences are shown in Figure 4.17. At all three points in time, the majority of the subjects reported the perception of the expectation that police experience would make them a changed person although there was a slight tendency for this response to decrease over time for all police audiences. Inversely related to this decreasing trend was an increase in the proportion of responses which indicated the perception of the expectation that police experience would have little effect on them. The same pattern was evidenced in the responses of the subjects themselves to the question of how police experience might affect them. Thus, the subjects responses for all police audiences reflected the dominant view that police experience would make them a changed person.

[15] David Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 193.

Figure 4.17 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY POLICE AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

5. Changing as a Result of Police Experience

The Expectations of Court Related Audiences

Although the dominant response given by the subjects for court related audiences indicated the perception of the view that police experience would change them as a person, significant numbers of subjects also indicated the perception of the expectation that police experience would have little effect on them as a person. The data is displayed in Figure 4.18. Also of interest is the observation that a considerable proportion of the subjects indicated that they felt that court related audiences were either unconcerned about the matter or they had no idea what the expectations of the various audience groups would be. This was particularly true for probation officers. By the end of training, 37.2% of the subjects believed that this group was unconcerned with this matter or they had no idea what expectations probation officers held.

The Expectations of Public Leaders

The greater proportion of the subjects indicated that they felt that the various public audiences expected police experience to change them. With the exception of clergymen, smaller proportions of subjects reported the expectation that police experience would have little effect on them as a person. It should be noted that clergymen were regarded by the subjects as almost evenly divided between these two positions. A sizable number of subjects reported the view that public audiences were either unconcerned or they had no idea what response to indicate. Regarding politicians, the greatest proportion of subjects gave this form of non-response. Figure 4.19 shows that at the beginning of training, 36.3% of the subjects responded in this way. At the end of training, this percentage was reduced to 31.0. After field experience, 43.4% of the subjects gave this response. Thus, to a large proportion of the subjects, public audiences generally were viewed as being disinterested in the impact of police experience as a force for personal change.

The Expectations of Friends and Family

The personal friends of the subjects as well as their families were considered somewhat different from the other audience groups. Initially, the subjects were divided evenly in their responses regarding the perceptions of their friends expectations. Figure 4.20 shows that at the time of the first testing, 46.9% of the subjects believed that their friends expected police experience to change them, while 45.1% chose the expectation that experience would have little effect on them. By the time of the third testing, 54.0% of the subjects perceived of the expectation for change while 40.7% of them reported the contrary view. Thus, as time passed, the majority of the subjects came to regard their friends as expecting police work to change them.

The responses given by the subjects concerning their wives and families were significant in that this audience was seen as expecting to a greater degree than any other, police experience to have little effect on the subjects. The percentages of subjects indicating this perception at the three points in time were 55.8, 51.3 and 53.1. Thus, in this case alone, a majority of the subjects reported the perception of an expectation of personal stability rather than change.

General Trends

In a social situation, where the expectation for change is perceived widely, conditions are favorable for change in the individual. On the other hand, where the expectation is perceived that experience will not change a person, conditions are less favorable for modification. In this situation, a person may be relatively immune to changes of various kinds.

Figure 4.18 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY COURT RELATED AUDIENCES AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
5. Changing as a Result of Police Experience

Figure 4.19 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY PUBLIC LEADERS AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
5. Changing as a Result of Police Experience

Figure 4.20 EXPECTATIONS HELD BY FRIENDS AND FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY 113 POLICE SUBJECTS

5. Changing as a Result of Police Experience

Legend:
- (hatched) Make me a changed person
- (dotted) Have little effect on me as a person
- (black) Both "Change me" and "Have little effect"
- (white) "Unconcerned" or "No idea"

In the case of almost all audience groups, the majority of subjects reported the perception of the expectation that police experience would make them a changed person. Clergymen as well as wives and families were the only groups which the majority of subjects perceived at all three points in time as holding an expectation of immutability. In summary, the overall effect of police experience as a force for personal change in the subjects would be heightened by the widespread perception of the expectation that change will occur. The responses of the subjects themselves supported this summary view. At all three points in time, the majority of subjects reported that they felt police experience would make them a changed person. The responses were relatively stable over time--58.4% at the start of training and 54.9% after field experience.

When we speak of change in a person, such modification can take a variety of forms. The foregoing discussion of personality focused on one aspect of change: changes in personality needs over the time span of this research. Beyond this, aspirations, attitudes, behaviors, and values are also subject to modification by experience. Because of the relationship between attitudes and actions, an examination of changes in attitudes over time is central to this research. In a discussion of job-related opinions which appears in Chapter VII of this report, the responses of the subjects regarding their own expectation for personal change as a consequence of police experience served as a practical means for categorizing the subjects and analyzing their responses.

THE EFFECT OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS

The foregoing analysis suggests that the potential for role conflict exists in each of the five situations presented. The perceptions of the expectations of various audiences in these situations may or may not lead to role conflict depending on whether attention is given to the expectations of a particular audience, the nature of the perceived expectation, and whether the audience is in a position to influence the subjects' occupational role enactments. An examination of the complex interrelationship is beyond the scope of this analysis. However, inferences could be made regarding the extent of role conflict experienced by the subjects by asking them to report the degree to which they felt they were troubled by a particular conflict situation.

In the case of each of the conflict situations presented, the subjects were asked to indicate the extent to which they were disturbed by the awareness that certain audience groups held views which conflicted with those of other audience groups, or with those views held by the subjects themselves. The possible responses ranged from "a great deal" to "not at all." By assigning scores from one for the response of "a great deal" to five for the response of "not at all," mean scores could be computed for each group response. In this instance, the lower the score, the greater the degree that the subjects felt they were bothered by the conflict situation.

As shown in Table 4.1, all of the group mean scores fell within a narrow range of scores between 3.40 and 3.87. Generally, these responses indicated that the subjects were disturbed "to some degree" or "hardly at all" by the situations presented to them. Inspection of the data shows that the differences between the mean scores obtained at the start and the end of recruit school were of lesser magnitude than the differences between the mean scores obtained at the end of training and after field experience. In only two of the five situations did the difference between the mean scores approach a level of statistical significance. Both of these instances occurred in the comparison of data obtained at the end of recruit school with the data obtained from the subjects after field experience. The analysis shows that the subjects were more troubled after field experience by the issue of how they were

expected to learn the essentials of police work than they were after recruit training. Also, the subjects were more troubled after field experience by the question of whether police experience would change them as a person than they were after the completion of formal training. It is of interest to note that both of these situations were related directly to the individual as a whole rather than to only a specific aspect of his occupational role performance. The other three items, though they may be at the heart of public controversy about the police, did not cause the subjects to become more troubled over the time span of this research. Thus, it would appear that personal issues rather than public issues produced more conflict for the subjects of this research.

Table 4.1

A Test of the Significance of the Difference Between Grand Mean Scores Derived from the Responses of 113 Police Subjects to Items Assessing the Degree to Which They Were Bothered by Five Role Conflict Situations

	Mean Score at T_1	t Score (T_1-T_2)	Mean Score at T_2	t Score (T_2-T_3)	Mean Score at T_3
1. Learning the Essentials of Police Work	3.61	-.50	3.66	2.36*	3.40
2. Dealing with the Public	3.83	.84	3.74	1.56	3.58
3. Handling the Arrest of a Drunk	3.73	.82	3.64	.93	3.53
4. Stopping the Rise in Crime	3.74	.90	3.64	1.65	3.42
5. Changing as a Result of Police Experience	3.83	-.31	3.87	2.02*	3.63

*Statistically significant difference at the 5% level of confidence.

AWARENESS OF EXPECTATIONS

One of the goals of occupational socialization for the beginning police officer is the development of an awareness of and a sensitivity to the expectations of role-related audience groups. In this sense, if a subject responded that he had "no idea" concerning the expectations of a particular audience group regarding a conflict situation, it indicated that this fundamental goal of socialization had not yet been achieved. Thus, by analyzing the "no idea" responses, a measure of the real or imagined awareness which the subjects have of the expectations of others can be obtained.

Table 4.2 shows the percentage relationship of the "no idea" responses to the total responses given by the 113 subjects to all five conflict situations at the start of training, the end of training, and after active experiences as a patrolman. The

expectations of experienced patrolmen and police trainers were viewed as being the least unknown by the subjects at the start of training; whereas the expectations of probation officers were the most unknown at this time. Logically, the expectations of police and personal audiences would be reported as being least unknown by the subjects. By the same token, the expectations of the other audience groups would be expected to remain relatively unknown to the subjects until they had been given acceptable information about these views, or until they had entered into the role of patrolmen and actually begun to interact directly or symbolically with these groups. Accordingly, the percentage of "no idea" responses decreased over time as new information was acquired through training and job experience.

Table 4.2

Percentage of No Idea Responses to Total Responses Given for Fifteen Audience Groups by 113 Police Subjects

	Percentage of Total Responses		
Audience Group	Start of Recruit Training	End of Recruit Training	After Field Experience
Police			
Experienced Patrolmen	1.4%	1.4%	1.0%
Other New Patrolmen	2.8	3.4	1.8
Instructors/Trainers	1.4	1.1	1.1
Supervisors	1.8	1.2	1.0
Court			
Judges	3.7	2.5	1.4
Lawyers	4.6	2.8	1.8
Probation Officers	11.2	13.6	11.9
Prosecutors	9.4	3.7	5.0
Public			
Businessmen	4.4	3.7	1.9
Civil Rights Leaders	9.7	5.5	4.1
Clergymen	10.8	5.8	5.1
Newspapermen	7.1	5.8	5.0
Politicians	10.1	8.3	9.4
Personal			
Friends	3.2	2.8	2.1
Wife/Family	3.2	4.2	1.6

Across time, the expectations of probation officers were reported to be the most unknown by the subjects. In large part, this can be explained by the fact that these court officers function in a role which is segmented from and least visible to the subjects. Although both work within the criminal justice system and with the same clients, personal contacts between the two are usually brief and limited in scope.

Despite the widespread attention given to the pronouncements of political leaders, the expectations of politicians were reported to be the next most unknown

by the subjects. At the start of training, over 10% of the responses given by the subjects regarding their perceptions of the expectations of politicians were "no idea" responses. Exposure to training and field experience did not make the expectations of politicians appreciably more known to the subjects. This finding supports the general proposition that politicians have been reluctant to let the police know where they stand in terms of the substantive issues which the police confront. Goldstein has observed that this was the case for most mayors and city managers.

"Most mayors and city managers have had no reluctance to take the responsibility for final decisions relating to the hardware and mechanics of policing (e.g., facilities, communications, vehicles, and supplies); nor have they hesitated to supervise the personnel practices of a police agency in the same manner in which they direct such practices in other agencies (e.g., recruitment, screening, and promotion). But there has been a general reluctance on the part of both managers and mayors to become directly involved in decisions relating to the substance of policing--in deciding, for example, how a given law is to be enforced, in deciding how violators are to be processed, and in determining how the police should respond to a given category of incidents."[16]

In light of this, it would seem appropriate for political leaders to express their views on the relationship between the police and the political structure, the general political context within which the police must function and the specific expectations they hold regarding certain forms of police behavior. As suggested in Goldstein's comments, ideally political leaders ought to convey their expectations more clearly and directly to the police. These expectations should be expressed routinely rather than in reaction to a crisis situation.[17]

AN OVERVIEW OF ROLE CONFLICT

Underlying this discussion is the concept that role behavior is influenced by the expectations of role reciprocals who are perceived by a role incumbent as being significant to him. Who is significant to an actor varies with the situation. In the case of the subjects in this research, police trainers were the most significant role reciprocals during their training period. After the subjects undertook the performance of the patrolman's role, other experienced officers and police supervisors became most significant to them.

The role of the police patrolman may be influenced by far more audience groups than those within the police ranks. Although everyone seems able to voice his views on expected police conduct, the police simply do not attend nor do they know of every behavioral expectation related to their role. To do so would be overburdening and would expose them to a tangle of conflicting expectations. Thus, the police selectively attend to the expectations of others in an effort to maximize support for a given behavior and to minimize discordant views.

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[16]Herman Goldstein, "Who's in Charge Here?" Public Management (Washington, D. C., International City Management Association, December 1968), p. 306.

[17]The involvement of political leaders in the affairs of the police typically is not supported by police administrators. For an understanding of the justification for this view, a full reading of the Goldstein article mentioned above is suggested.

When conflicting expectations are perceived, a potential for role conflict is present. Such role conflict can give rise to uncertain behavior or inaction. Or the conflict can be resolved in terms of the relative potency of the role reciprocals. For example, even though a businessman is regarded as holding an expectation in conflict with that of a police supervisor, the greater relative potency of the supervisor in terms of the patrolman's role ordinarily would cause the actor to disregard the expectations of the businessman.

In this analysis, it was shown that the subjects perceived conflicting behavioral expectations held by various audience groups regarding the five conflict situations. Conflicting expectations were discerned among the views of police officers, court personnel, public leaders, friends, and families. In some instances, conflicting expectations were perceived within the police group. It should be noted that the audience groups which were viewed as holding conflicting expectations tended to vary with the conflict situation. This finding is contrary to the view of Preiss and Ehrlich who found that the audience groups which were believed to hold conflicting views to the police position remained constant regardless of the nature of the situation presented to the subjects. They stated,

". . . it was not the situation (or situational pressures) which were determinative of deviance but rather that audiences perceived as deviant were perceived as such in all situations."[18]

The present research supports the view that the perception of conflicting role expectations was a function of the nature of the situation rather than an underlying conceptualization of the group as deviant. Hence, the perception of expectations in conflict with those of the police was not universal for a particular group.

Throughout this discussion, we have omitted any concern for the accuracy of the subjects' perceptions of the expectations of others. It is entirely possible that the subjects were grossly in error. However, role conflict can originate from the perception of both real and imaginary contradictory expectations.

The subjects do not inevitably experience debilitating role conflict whenever they perceive of conflicting behavioral expectations related to their role. This is true even if these conflicting views are expressed by persons who are considered significant to them. For example, the clashing expectations perceived by the subjects for businessmen and civil rights leaders with regard to stopping the rise in crime and respecting civil liberties may not give rise to any role conflict whatsoever. When the behavioral demands of businessmen to stop the rise in crime are in strong conflict with the demands of civil rights leaders to respect civil liberties, the police may gain temporary relief from the responsibility for the resolution of this conflict. In theoretical terms,

". . . the occupant of the status subjected to conflicting demands and expectations can become cast in the role of the tertius gaudens, the third (or more often, the nth) party who draws advantage from the conflict of the others. The status-occupant, originally at the focus of the conflict, virtually becomes a more or less influential bystander whose function it is to high-light the conflicting demands by members of his

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[18]Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 108.

role-set and to make it a problem for them, rather than for him to resolve their contradictory demands."[19]

It is entirely possible that this theoretical explanation may be related to the reason why the subjects indicated that they were so little troubled by the conflict situations presented to them. The questions of how the subjects were expected to learn the essentials of police work and whether police experience would change them personally were not heated public issues. They were personal issues which the subjects themselves must resolve. Thus, police experience heightened the degree to which these two matters troubled the subjects. On the other hand, the way in which the police deal with the public, the way in which they handle the arrests of different classes of people, and the way in which they regard civil liberties in their effort to stop the rise in crime all are strongly contested public concerns. Perhaps in these three instances, the police have taken on the role of the third party.

[19] Robert K. Merton, "Instability and Articulation in the Role Set," in Role Theory, Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, eds. (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 235.

CHAPTER V

THE PERCEPTION OF ROLE RELATED AUDIENCES

Socialization for the police recruit includes both the adoption of normative modes of police behavior and the extinction of certain other behaviors which were appropriate to previous civilian roles. In assuming the new role, the police recruit undertakes a complex process of learning which encompasses more than just knowledge and skills. He also will learn a system of attitudes, beliefs, values and perceptions. The most important perceptual learning concerns the identification of role relevant reference groups and the development of a sensitivity to their expectations and evaluations. Fundamental to this learning is the perception of people singly and in groups.

In examining the police role, attention usually is given to the more active components of behavior--directing, preventing, enforcing, helping, searching, arresting, questioning and shooting. However, underlying all of these actions is a more passive element--that of observing both objects and people!

The police have given a great deal of attention to the process of perceiving inanimate objects and the physical characteristics of people. As a consequence, most police officers are aware of the many problems attendant to the mere observation of the physical properties of objects and people. However, beyond this surface consideration, little or no attention has been given by the police to the complexity of person perception.

Though the observation of objects is more straightforward than the observation of people, most of us tend to think of ourselves as keen observers of others. This is so because as Tagiuri pointed out, "in person perception the similarity between the perceiver and the perceived object is greater than in any other case."[1] Though the observation of people starts with this fundamental similarity between the observer and the observed, the overall process is in fact highly complex. The observation of others includes both the perception of present actions, characteristics and events as well as the active recall of conceptions of previous encounters and judgements relevant to the observed. The observation of people is made more difficult by the fact that perceptions necessarily include both external and internal characteristics.

[1] R. Tagiuri, "Person Perception," The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. III, 2nd Ed., Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds. (Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 396.

For the police officer, the observation of people is worsened further by the fact that the majority of his perceptions of people are negative. As has been said, the police

"... observe and study the people who act queerly, differently. They have an eye opened to trouble, to friction, to rule-breaking. They are the observers and the apprehenders. They see human nature at its worst."[2]

In turn, these negative perceptions may become the background information for his conceptions of other similar people. Later, when these conceptions are called into play, a cycle of negativism may occur. It should be noted that Niederhoffer included an element of misanthropy within his definition of police cynicism. He stated that the experienced police officer often develops "a loss of faith in people."[3]

Probably no aspect of the police role is more critical to effective role performance than is the ability to perceive accurately and make judgements about other people. Despite this, there has been little research effort directed toward a study of the process of people perception in this expanded sense by the police. One of the rare explanations of the way in which the police analyze and evaluate other groups of people was offered by Westley.

"Policemen seem to distinguish and define these groups on the basis of their supposed attitude toward the police, their values . . . , their political power and their relationship to the ends of the police. In their concern for public approval they analyze these groups in terms of the degree of influence which they have over the police and the way in which they must be treated in order to obtain respect and other social goals of the police."[4]

Though this statement is discerning, it does not yield information about the way in which the police learn to perceive people. The process by which the police learn to perceive and evaluate various reference groups is the subject of this section of the research.

A THEORETICAL MODEL

The process of observing people can be conceptualized in a number of ways. However, for purposes of this analysis, it is desirable to consider perception in a way which is consistent with the general theoretical framework of this research. Such a theoretical view was set forth by Warr and Knapper.[5] They isolate three components in people perception--attributive, expectancy, and affective. An understanding of the various steps involved in each of these components can be gained from Chart 5.1. Assume that the observer is a police trainer and that the stimulus person is a police recruit. The steps which the trainer follows in his perception of the recruit are described in both general and theoretical terms.

[2]Karl A. Menninger, "A Psychiatric View of the Police," The Police Chief, December 1956, p. 44.

[3]Neiderhoffer, op. cit., p. 91.

[4]Westley, op. cit., p. 163.

[5]Peter B. Warr and Christopher Knapper, The Perception of People and Events (London, John Wiley and Sons, 1968), pp. 1-46.

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Chart 5.1

Descriptive Representation of the Process of Person Perception

Component	Thought Process	Theoretical Term
I. ATTRIBUTIVE	The police recruit is sitting in class.	Episodic judgement of overt fact.
	The recruit is sitting idly in class.	Episodic judgement of covert fact.
	He is habitually inattentive in the classroom.	Dispositional judgement of overt characteristic.
	He is inattentive and negligent.	Dispositional judgement of covert characteristic.
II. EXPECTANCY	I believe his behavior will be consistent.	Assumption of constancy of behavior.
	He will be inattentive and negligent in his police duties.	Formulation of behavioral expectation consistent with stimulus person's role.
III. AFFECTIVE	I dislike patrolmen who are inattentive and negligent.	Emotional responses and reactions.

In explanation, episodic judgements are made on the basis of a particular segment of behavior or episode which may change at any time. For example, the basic concerns of the police with the actions and intents of others involve episodic judgements. If the perception of people could be confined to episodic judgements alone, the problems posed by this perceptual process would be simplified greatly for the police. However, people perception inevitably proceeds to the formation of more permanent dispositional judgements, the development of behavioral expectations, and the shaping of emotional responses. It is these processes that give rise to the many problems the police face in dealing with other people. Once we move beyond mere episodic judgements, the perceptual process brings assumptions, generalization, inference, recall, and selection into play. And these are influenced by previous training and experience.

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

In any study of the perception of people, a selection must be made of those aspects of the perceptual process to be examined. Consistent with the overall intent of this research to examine the various aspects of the socialization process, a decision was made to focus on the dispositional judgements related to the covert characteristics of a person. Our interest is in the final step in the attributive component of person perception. Simply put, the focus is on the connotative meaning assigned by an observer to the observed.

The semantic differential is an instrument suitable for the specific purpose of assessing connotative meaning. As the originators of the instrument described it,

"The semantic differential is essentially a combination of controlled association and scaling procedures. We provide the subject with a concept to be differentiated and a set of bipolar adjectival scales against which to do it, his only task being to indicate for each item (pairing a concept with a scale), the direction of his association and its intensity on a seven-step scale."[6]

[6]Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1957), p. 20.

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Within this framework, the task of designing an instrument appropriate for the goals of this research includes the choice of stimulus concepts and the selection of bipolar adjectival scales. First, it was necessary to compile a list of those groups of people who were thought to be most significant to those who enact the police role. To do so, the author initially drew from his eleven years of police experience and compiled a list of those groups who were remembered as being important to the police. Next, a search of the literature was undertaken to corroborate and expand the initial inventory. The result was a list of twenty-two groups which were believed able to significantly affect the role performance of the police. Lastly, this list was submitted to a number of police groups which included administrators, trainers, and patrolmen. They were asked to rank the groups in the order of their perceived importance to the police. On the basis of an analysis of these rankings, the number of reference groups included on the final form of this instrument was reduced to fifteen. These 15 groups were considered to be stimulus concepts.

The second problem in the design of the research instrument was the choice of adjectival scales. The need, in this instance, was to choose adjectives which would be relevant to the groups already selected, and further, would yield scores representative of the major dimensions of connotative meaning. The basic research on the dimensions of semantic space isolated three factors--evaluative (good-bad), potency (strong-weak), and activity (active-passive).[7] In the final analysis, the choice of the adjectival pairs was based upon the relevance of the bipolar terms to the stimulus concepts and the apparent conformance to the evaluative-potency-activity factor structure. The final form of the semantic differential instrument with 15 stimulus concepts and 10 adjectival pairs is shown in the Appendix as item B-4. Since the subjects were asked to rate each of the 15 stimulus concepts or reference groups on the 10 bipolar scales, this form represents a 150 item test of connotative meaning.

The Method of Reporting Scores

The need for brevity in reporting the 150 scores of the subjects obtained at each of the three points in time prompts one to consider reporting scores by factors or clusters of scales rather than individually. While this appears to be an efficient way of reporting the data, still there are some methodological problems involved in this approach. Though some theoretical questions exist regarding the stability of the evaluative-potency-activity factor structure with different stimulus concepts, Warr and Knapper conclude that concept-scale interaction may not be a serious problem when concerned only with obtaining judgements of people.[8] Accordingly, the data was factor-analyzed. Without going into the details of this statistical analysis, it will suffice to say that there was considerable variation in the composition of the factors according to the stimulus concept and the time at which the data was obtained. Moreover, this analysis produced a more complex factor structure than the usual three-part evaluative-potency-activity factor structure. Because of this variation in factors by stimulus concept and across time, a decision was made to report scores for individual scales rather than factors. This approach is in conformance with the informed judgement of Warr and Knapper who conclude that it is unwise to present results of the semantic differential merely by factor scores. They believe that factor scores suffer from the following disadvantages:

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[7]Ibid., pp. 31-75.

[8]Warr and Knapper, op. cit., pp. 63-74.

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1. considerable information is lost in the summation to factor scores
2. factors are often ad hoc constructs of little general importance
3. complete reliance on factor scores makes comparisons between investigations almost impossible
4. factor scores may not be comparable for all individuals within a group of subjects.[9]

THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF AUDIENCE GROUPS

In analyzing the responses of the subjects for each audience group, mean scores were calculated for each scale at the start of training, the end of training, and after eighteen months as a patrolman. These scores were arrayed in tabular form. A statistical test of the significance of the differences in mean scores over the full time span of the research was made and the levels of significance were computed. The mean scores for each adjectival pair were also graphically portrayed within the dimensions of the semantic scales used on the original instrument. In examining this graphic presentation, a score of four on any scale was considered to be the mid-point. In the case of the cooperative-uncooperative adjectival pair, a mean score of less than four indicated the degree of cooperativeness associated with the stimulus concept. A score of more than four indicated the degree of uncooperativeness. It should be noted that the order in which the adjectival scales are shown in the presentation of the data varies with the order in which the items were placed on the original instrument given to the subjects. This change was made to make the graphic display of inter-group differences more apparent to the reader.

Perceptions of Police Audiences

Experienced Patrolmen. At the outset of training, the subjects did not necessarily have any direct contact with experienced patrolmen except those who served a training function. Only after the completion of training did they become involved in a continuing role relationship with this reference group. Yet, the subjects consistently saw this group as being highly important. Over the time span of this research, the subjects' perceptions of experienced patrolmen were highly favorable and underwent little modification. However, by the time the subjects themselves had become experienced as shown in Figure 5.1, they saw other experienced officers as significantly less informed and less active than they did at the time they entered training. At a lesser level of confidence, the subjects also saw these experienced men as less cooperative but more familiar.

Other New Patrolmen. To the subjects, other new patrolmen were generally viewed in favorable terms. As evidenced in Figure 5.2 among other things, their colleagues consistently were considered to be highly important. After field experience, the subjects perceived other new patrolmen as being less familiar, less good, and less informed than before. At the .05 level of confidence, the subjects also viewed their colleagues as less cooperative and less strong than they were perceived at the start of training.

Police Instructors/Trainers. During training, police instructors were the most important role reciprocals for the subjects. As indicated in Figure 5.3, at the start of training, these men were perceived of as being very highly important, informed and cooperative. To a slightly lesser degree, instructors were seen as highly familiar, fair, trusting, good, and active. Although police trainers generally were seen by the subjects in favorable terms at all three points in time, noticeable decreases were graphically evident on all scales except familiar-unfamiliar

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[9]Ibid., pp. 72-73.

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Figure 5.1 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS EXPERIENCED PATROLMEN

| | Mean Scores | | | |
Scale	T_1	T_2	T_3	Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	1.56	1.73	1.79	.05
Familiar	2.00	1.87	1.73	.05
Fair	1.85	1.94	2.01	NS
Trusting	2.73	2.94	2.87	NS
Good	1.82	2.02	2.00	NS
Large	2.87	2.73	2.64	NS
Strong	2.31	2.43	2.27	NS
Informed	1.49	1.75	1.80	.01
Active	1.65	2.03	2.06	.01
Important	1.32	1.41	1.24	NS

Figure 5.2 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS OTHER NEW PATROLMEN

| | Mean Scores | | | |
Scale	T_1	T_2	T_3	Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	1.53	1.64	1.77	.05
Familiar	2.55	2.45	2.92	.01
Fair	1.96	2.04	2.19	NS
Trusting	2.24	2.39	2.32	NS
Good	1.83	2.04	2.16	.01
Large	3.28	3.28	3.33	NS
Strong	2.70	2.64	2.96	.05
Informed	2.53	2.57	3.19	.01
Active	1.74	1.91	1.95	NS
Important	1.46	1.42	1.43	NS

Figure 5.3 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
POLICE INSTRUCTORS/TRAINERS

	Mean Scores			
Scale	T_1	T_2	T_3	Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	1.47	1.70	1.95	.01
Familiar	1.80	1.81	2.06	NS
Fair	1.58	2.04	2.14	.01
Trusting	1.98	2.35	2.49	.01
Good	1.52	1.81	2.12	.01
Large	3.12	3.07	3.06	NS
Strong	2.40	2.67	2.74	.05
Informed	1.20	1.47	1.73	.01
Active	1.54	1.74	2.05	.01
Important	1.23	1.30	1.38	NS

and large-small by the end of training. Overall, the subjects perceptions underwent considerable negative modification over the time span of this research. Statistically significant increases in the mean scores of seven of the ten scales occurred. The subjects' responses indicated that they viewed their trainers as being less cooperative, less fair, less trusting, less good, less strong, less informed, and less active than they did at the beginning of training.

    Police Supervisors. Although police supervisors assumably would be the most important role reciprocals to the subjects once they completed their training and began working as patrolmen, still the subjects saw them as less important after field experience as evidenced in Figure 5.4. Additionally, after field experience the subjects also saw their supervisors as less cooperative, fair, trusting, good, strong, informed, active and important than they did at the start of training. Of all the police groups, the subjects' perceptions of their supervisors underwent the greatest number of changes in the unfavorable direction.

Comparisons of Police Audiences

    In order to gain an understanding of how the various police groups were seen in comparison to one another at each point in time, the mean scores of each group were displayed graphically in Figures 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7.

    At the start of training, police instructors and supervisors were seen as being remarkably similar on almost all scales. Understandably, police supervisors were seen as less familiar to the subjects than their trainers. Surprisingly, other new patrolmen were seen by the subjects as the least familiar of all police groups. However, it was not surprising to find that at the beginning of training, other new patrolmen were seen as the least informed of all. Also of interest is the observation that experienced patrolmen were seen by the subjects as the least trusting.

    Overall, the second administration of the instrument to the subjects at the end of recruit training produced a pattern of scores which were remarkably similar to those obtained at the start of training. Despite the fact that the subjects had spent their entire training period in close contact with other new patrolmen, they still perceived of them as the least familiar of all police groups. Other new patrolmen again were seen as the least informed and experienced patrolmen again were seen as the least trusting.

    After field experience, the subjects' responses produced a considerably different pattern of relationships, notwithstanding the fact that other new patrolmen still were seen by the subjects as the least familiar and the least informed. Not surprisingly, experienced patrolmen now were seen as the most familiar, good, large, strong and important audience group. Police supervisors were perceived by the subjects as being the least cooperative, fair, trusting, good, active, and important of all police groups. In terms of an overall impression, it is interesting to note that these six adjectives represent qualities which would be essential for an effective supervisor.

Court Related Audiences

    Judges. By and large, the subjects' perceptions of judges were favorable as indicated in Figure 5.8. From the graphic display of the data related to judges, one gains the impression that the subjects' perceptions of this group remained remarkably similar between the first and second testing except for the shift in the

Figure 5.4 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
POLICE SUPERVISORS

Mean Scores			
Scale	T_1	T_2	T_3	Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	1.72	1.83	2.45	.01
Familiar	2.10	2.03	2.15	NS
Fair	1.63	1.99	2.64	.01
Trusting	2.05	2.63	3.08	.01
Good	1.71	2.01	2.45	.01
Large	2.99	2.88	3.00	NS
Strong	2.49	2.53	2.84	.05
Informed	1.42	1.57	2.03	.01
Active	1.60	1.93	2.62	.01
Important	1.29	1.35	1.63	.01

Figure 5.5 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
POLICE AUDIENCES, T_1

LEGEND
Experienced Patrolmen
Other New Patrolmen
Police Instructors/Trainers
Police Supervisors

Figure 5.6 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
POLICE AUDIENCES, T_2

LEGEND
Experienced Patrolmen ——
Other New Patrolmen ......
Police Instructors/Trainers ••••••
Police Supervisors — — —

Figure 5.7 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
POLICE AUDIENCES T_3

LEGEND
Experienced Patrolmen ——
Other New Patrolmen ......
Police Instructors/Trainers ••••••
Police Supervisors — — —

Figure 5.8 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
JUDGES

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of
	T_1	T_2	T_3	Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	2.36	2.36	2.91	.01
Familiar	2.38	2.27	2.33	NS
Fair	2.19	2.13	2.85	.01
Trusting	2.66	2.57	2.97	.05
Good	1.99	2.19	2.68	.01
Large	3.52	3.10	3.09	.01
Strong	3.19	2.90	2.98	NS
Informed	1.48	1.40	1.93	.01
Active	2.17	2.13	2.54	.01
Important	1.34	1.25	1.48	.05

positive direction on the large-small scale.[10] The many changes that occurred apparently were related to the time span between the end of training and the completion of eighteen months as a patrolman. Statistically significant differences in mean scores over time were found on eight of the ten scales. The two exceptions were familiar-unfamiliar and strong-weak. Seven of these eight statistically significant differences were toward the less favorable dimension. The major shifts in the unfavorable direction after field experience on such adjectives as cooperative, fair, trusting, good, informed and active illustrate the modifications which may develop as a consequence of direct contact with judges in a courtroom setting.

Lawyers. At the start of training, all of the subjects' perceptions of lawyers were on the favorable side of the midpoint. After the completion of training, the subjects viewed lawyers as being noticeably less cooperative, fair, trusting and good. On the trusting-suspicious scale, the mean score fell to the right of the midpoint indicating that lawyers now were perceived as being suspicious. After field experience, lawyers were seen by the subjects as being noticeably less familiar, good, informed, active, and important than they were at the completion of training. They also were perceived by the subjects as being uncooperative and more unfair and suspicious than before. As shown in Figure 5.9, over the time span of this study, statistically significant differences in mean scores at the .01 level were found on seven of the ten scales. Thus, as a consequence of socialization, the subjects' perceptions of lawyers became considerably more unfavorable.

Probation Officers. During training, probation officers generally were perceived by the subjects moderately favorably as shown in Figure 5.10. They were considered highly informed, active, and important. To a somewhat lesser degree, they were seen as cooperative, fair, and good. Probation officers also were considered by the recruit subjects less favorably on the scales familiar-unfamiliar, trusting-suspicious, large-small, and strong-weak. Once again, the pattern of scores obtained at T_2 and T_3 followed the general configuration of scores obtained at T_1. As with other court-related audiences, the subjects registered less favorable responses on all the scales as time passed. Overall, the range of scores assigned to probation officers was considerably less than those for judges and lawyers. The resultant configuration of the graph, showing little horizontal spread, indicates that at the three points in time the subjects held less variable views of this group on the ten scales. The statistical analysis of the significance of the difference in mean scores over the full time span of the research shows that significant changes in mean scores occurred on more scales than for any other audience group (excluding civil rights leaders). Except for the responses to the large-small scale, statistically significant shifts occurred in a less favorable direction on all scales. Thus, on the basis of this evidence, police experience appears to be related to increasingly unfavorable perceptions of probation officers.

Prosecutors. At the start of training, the subjects perceived prosecutors as being highly informed, active, and important. This is shown in Figure 5.11. On the other scales, they were viewed moderately favorably though to a slightly lesser degree on the scales for trusting-suspicious and large-small. At the completion of training, prosecutors were viewed more favorably on seven of the ten scales. This is contrary to the general tendency of the subjects to view the various audience groups less favorably at the end of training than at the beginning. As was true for the scores obtained at T_2, the subjects' scores obtained at T_3 followed the same general pattern as those obtained at the beginning of training. The notable

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[10] Warr and Knapper note that, "This scale is a peculiar one in that responses to it may be either in terms of the physical size of the person or based on a more metaphorical usage of the scale." Warr and Knapper, op. cit., p. 81.

Figure 5.9 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
LAWYERS

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	3.02	3.43	4.03	.01
Familiar	2.60	2.66	2.88	NS
Fair	3.03	3.52	4.12	.01
Trusting	3.56	4.11	4.55	.01
Good	2.81	3.11	3.65	.01
Large	3.50	3.50	3.51	NS
Strong	3.42	3.37	3.50	NS
Informed	1.56	1.70	2.28	.01
Active	2.13	2.15	2.50	.01
Important	1.69	1.80	2.24	.01

Figure 5.10 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PROBATION OFFICERS

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	2.00	2.34	2.65	.01
Familiar	2.53	2.75	3.24	.01
Fair	1.96	2.36	2.93	.01
Trusting	2.55	2.53	2.97	.05
Good	1.99	2.47	2.88	.01
Large	3.30	3.41	3.54	NS
Strong	3.08	3.31	3.49	.01
Informed	1.73	2.13	2.60	.01
Active	1.91	2.47	2.73	.01
Important	1.71	2.04	2.34	.01

Figure 5.11 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PROSECUTORS

	Mean Scores			
Scale	T_1	T_2	T_3	Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	2.24	1.89	2.19	.05
Familiar	2.44	2.20	2.33	NS
Fair	2.19	2.00	2.28	NS
Trusting	3.01	2.49	2.59	.01
Good	2.19	2.21	2.45	NS
Large	3.39	3.19	3.11	NS
Strong	3.09	2.95	3.00	NS
Informed	1.54	1.58	2.12	.01
Active	1.88	1.90	2.22	.01
Important	1.49	1.47	1.53	NS

exception was on the adjectival scale for trusting. The relative closeness of the responses obtained at the three points shown on the graph is reflected also in the few statistically significant differences which occurred in the mean scores for the ten scales. The subjects regarded prosecutors as being more cooperative and trusting after patrol experience than they did at the beginning of their training. This is one of the rare instances where the audience group was perceived more favorably by the subjects after experience as a police patrolman. On the other hand, prosecutors also were seen as being significantly less informed and less active after actual contact with this group through their experience as police patrolmen.

Comparisons of Court-Related Audiences

The mean scores for each court-related audience on each scale are displayed graphically in Figures 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14. As the subjects began their recruit training, they viewed judges, probation officers and prosecutors in almost the same way. As shown in Figure 5.12, the few apparent differences that did exist among these three groups were of little magnitude. Probation officers were considered to be slightly more cooperative, fair, trusting, and large than judges and prosecutors. Prosecutors were held to be the least trusting and good. Among these three groups, judges were seen as the most informed, the least active, and the most important. However, when lawyers are considered within these comparisons, they appear to be notably different. The subjects felt that lawyers were the least cooperative, fair, trusting, good, and strong.

Figure 5.13 shows that by the completion of recruit training, the equivalence of the subjects' perceptions of judges and prosecutors remained while probation officers were now viewed as considerably different. Of these three groups, probation officers were seen now as being the least fair, good, large, strong, informed, active, and important. On the other hand, prosecutors now were considered the most cooperative, familiar, fair, trusting, and active. Judges, in accord with the reality of the courtroom, were perceived as being the most informed and important. The pattern of perceptions related to lawyers followed the same configuration as before but their relative position worsened. They again were seen as being the least cooperative, fair, trusting, good and strong--only more so than before.

After the completion of eighteen months as patrolmen, the equivalent of the pattern of scores among judges, probation officers, and prosecutors diminished dramatically. As Figure 5.14 shows, prosecutors now were thought to be far more cooperative, fair, trusting, good, and active than the other audience groups. The perceptions of lawyers continued to be less favorable than before. Lawyers now were seen as being slightly uncooperative, unfair, and suspicious. Moreover as before, they were rated as being the least good of all groups. Probation officers were thought of as the least familiar, informed, active, and important. The perception of judges as the most informed and important remained as before.

In keeping with the concepts of role theory and the dramaturgical model of social interaction, the courtroom can be conceptualized as a stage setting. By analogy, the judge who is seen by the subjects after patrol experience as the most informed and important is the director of the ongoing drama. The prosecutor is a protagonist who serves as the protector of society in general and the police in particular. He is seen through the eyes of the experienced police officer as the most cooperative, fair, trusting, good, and active of all actors. Lawyers, as antagonists, are seen as uncooperative, unfair, and suspicious persons with little inner goodness. Probation officers are the little known stage hands who work behind the scenes. They carefully handle the props after the on-stage action has

Figure 5.12 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
COURT RELATED AUDIENCES, T_1

COOPERATIVE							UNCOOPERATIVE
FAMILIAR							STRANGE
FAIR							UNFAIR
TRUSTING							SUSPICIOUS
GOOD							BAD
LARGE							SMALL
STRONG							WEAK
INFORMED							UNINFORMED
ACTIVE							PASSIVE
IMPORTANT							INSIGNIFICANT

LEGEND
Judges
Lawyers
Probation Officers
Prosecutors

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Figure 5.13 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
COURT RELATED AUDIENCES, T_2

COOPERATIVE							UNCOOPERATIVE
FAMILIAR							STRANGE
FAIR							UNFAIR
TRUSTING							SUSPICIOUS
GOOD							BAD
LARGE							SMALL
STRONG							WEAK
INFORMED							UNINFORMED
ACTIVE							PASSIVE
IMPORTANT							INSIGNIFICANT

LEGEND
Judges
Lawyers
Probation Officers
Prosecutors

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Figure 5.14 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS COURT RELATED AUDIENCES, T_3

UNCOOPERATIVE — STRANGE — UNFAIR — SUSPICIOUS — BAD — SMALL — WEAK — UNINFORMED — PASSIVE — INSIGNIFICANT

COOPERATIVE — FAMILIAR — FAIR — TRUSTING — GOOD — LARGE — STRONG — INFORMED — ACTIVE — IMPORTANT

LEGEND
Judges
Lawyers
Probation Officers
Prosecutors

been completed. The subjects see this group as the least familiar, informed, active, and important of all. It is unfortunate that we do not have the subjects' perceptions of the central figure in the courtroom drama, the defendant. In this analogy, he is merely a prop.

Public Leaders

Businessmen. As graphically presented, the 113 subjects at the beginning of their training viewed businessmen as being moderately cooperative, familiar, good, informed, active, and important. This audience group was seen in slightly less favorable terms on the remaining adjectival scales. By the completion of training, businessmen generally were perceived in a less favorable way than before. This trend again was manifest in the perceptions indicated by the subjects after police experience. As shown in the data in Figure 5.15, the subjects' scores reflected statistically significant shifts in an unfavorable direction on the cooperative, fair, good, informed, and active scales. By and large, the subjects' experience in a role relationship with businessmen tended to be associated with the formation of significantly less favorable views of this audience group.

Civil Rights Leaders. The pattern of responses graphically portrayed in Figure 5.16 reflects for the first time a number of ratings to the right of the midpoint on the scales. At the start of training, the subjects considered this audience group slightly uncooperative, strange, unfair and suspicious. On the other hand, they saw civil rights leaders slightly favorably on the scales good-bad, large-small, strong-weak, and informed-uninformed. They also perceived civil rights leaders as being moderately important and highly active. Over time, these perceptions worsened. After police experience, the subjects viewed this group in favorable terms for only three adjectives--strong, active and important. At T_3, the subjects perceived civil rights leaders as being slightly strange, bad, small, and uninformed. Beyond this, the subjects also saw this audience group as moderately unfavorable in terms of being uncooperative, unfair and suspicious. The data related to the statistical analysis of the significance of the difference in mean scores over time indicates significant shifts in an unfavorable direction of all scales except active-passive. Once again, police experience produced a view of an audience that was considerably less favorable than that recorded at the outset of training. Overall, civil rights leaders were seen as the least favorable of all audience groups.

Clergymen. As shown in Figure 5.17, at the start of training, the subjects perceived clergymen as being highly cooperative, fair, trusting, good, informed, active, and important. Clergymen also were seen as moderately familiar and strong. A less favorable rating was evidenced on the large-small scale. Though the subjects may have had considerable contact with the clergy in a different kind of reciprocal role relationship before entering police work, their perceptions of this audience group were modified considerably after police experience. As both the graph and the statistical data show, the subjects' perceptions of the clergy generally became less favorable by the end of training and even more so after experience as a patrolman.

Newspapermen. This audience group was the second one to have several scores consistently fall to the right of the midpoint in the scales as evidenced in Figure 5.18. As they started training, the subjects perceived newspapermen to be slightly uncooperative, unfair, and suspicious. Their other perceptions of this group were favorable. At this time, the subjects perceived newspapermen as highly active; moderately familiar, informed, and important; and slightly good, large, and strong. By the end of recruit training, the subjects' scores were remarkably equivalent to those obtained in the initial testing. Only after experience

CONTINUED

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Figure 5.15 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
BUSINESSMEN

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	2.33	2.63	2.80	.05
Familiar	2.86	3.05	3.19	NS
Fair	3.29	3.27	3.71	.01
Trusting	3.70	3.73	3.91	NS
Good	2.90	3.23	3.35	.01
Large	3.67	3.50	3.77	NS
Strong	3.73	3.59	3.60	NS
Informed	2.14	2.42	3.10	.01
Active	2.64	2.83	3.12	.01
Important	2.29	2.35	2.30	NS

Figure 5.16 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	4.81	4.88	5.41	.01
Familiar	4.01	4.07	4.54	.01
Fair	4.61	4.89	5.45	.01
Trusting	4.96	5.10	5.81	.01
Good	3.92	4.34	4.86	.01
Large	3.88	4.12	4.25	.05
Strong	3.52	3.80	3.92	.05
Informed	3.34	3.24	4.06	.01
Active	1.96	2.25	2.30	NS
Important	2.91	3.29	3.81	.01

Figure 5.17 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS CLERGYMEN

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of
	T_1	T_2	T_3	Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	1.46	1.59	2.05	.01
Familiar	2.09	2.36	2.65	.01
Fair	1.58	1.79	2.11	.01
Trusting	1.52	1.73	1.99	.01
Good	1.54	1.63	1.93	.01
Large	3.39	3.34	3.14	NS
Strong	2.94	2.96	2.88	NS
Informed	1.90	2.17	2.78	.01
Active	1.88	1.67	2.09	.01
Important	1.50	1.56	1.63	NS

Figure 5.18 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS NEWSPAPER MEN

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of
	T_1	T_2	T_3	Difference, T_1-T_3
Cooperative	4.27	3.97	4.11	NS
Familiar	2.90	2.98	3.31	NS
Fair	4.31	4.23	4.67	.05
Trusting	4.49	4.52	4.71	NS
Good	3.52	3.57	3.77	NS
Large	3.63	3.58	3.58	NS
Strong	3.53	3.50	3.60	NS
Informed	2.27	2.25	2.88	.01
Active	1.91	1.90	2.50	.01
Important	2.13	2.08	2.54	.01

as patrolmen did the subjects' perceptions of this group become modified. At this point in time, the subjects again perceived of newspapermen as being slightly uncooperative, unfair, and suspicious. More precisely, statistically significant differences in mean scores over time were found at the .01 level on only three scales. An additional difference was found at the .05 level on the mean scores given for the fair-unfair scale. As appears to be a typical pattern, all four of these statistically significant differences were in a less favorable or a more unfavorable direction. As noted earlier, these increasingly negative perceptions appeared to be related to experience as a patrolman.

Politicians. As graphically shown in Figure 5.19, at the start of training, the 113 subjects held relatively unfavorable views of politicians. Although they were perceived of as being highly informed, active, important, and to a lesser degree, familiar, the scores on the other scales were considerably less favorable. Even at T_1, the subjects regarded politicians with some suspicion. With slight exception, the scores obtained at T_2 and T_3 reflect the same graphic configuration though they have shifted noticeably in a negative direction. Related to the acquisition of police experience is the perception of politicians as being less informed, active and important than before. After working as patrolmen for a year and a half, the subjects indicated on the scales that they saw politicians as slightly uncooperative, unfair, suspicious and bad. As shown by the data, statistically significant differences in mean scores were found on eight of the ten scales over the time span of the research. The exceptions were large-small and strong-weak. All of these differences reflected more unfavorable perceptions of political leaders by the subjects.

Comparisons of Public Leaders

As shown in Figure 5.20, at the outset of their training, the subjects' perceptions of public leaders reflected considerable disparity. At one extreme, clergymen were perceived to be the most cooperative, familiar, fair, trusting, good, large, strong, informed, active and important of all public leaders. To the contrary, civil rights leaders were seen as the least favorable group on all scales except strong-weak and active-passive. The subjects' perceptions of businessmen, newspapermen and politicians were generally within the bounds of these two extremes. Of these three groups, businessmen were seen more favorably than politicians or newspapermen. As shown in Figure 5.21, there were no notable changes in the relative patterns of the subjects' scores at the completion of recruit training. Clergymen still were seen as the most favorable group among public leaders while civil rights leaders again were seen as the least favorable group. In this instance, they were so rated on all scales but one, active-passive. Generally, businessmen, newspapermen, and politicians were perceived as being intermediate to these extremes. As was true at T_1, businessmen were seen as the least active of public leaders.

This disparity among the groups of public leaders again was reflected in the data shown in Figure 5.22. At this time, clergymen still were seen as the most favorable group while civil rights leaders were viewed as the least favorable except for the active-passive scale. Within these two extremes, there were some notable shifts in reported perceptions. Next to civil rights leaders, politicians were seen as the most uncooperative and bad as well as the least familiar. Overall, after police experience the subjects viewed politicians relatively more unfavorably.

Figure 5.19 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS POLITICIANS

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	3.44	3.53	4.31	.01
Familiar	2.82	3.25	3.74	.01
Fair	3.72	3.97	4.35	.01
Trusting	4.14	4.35	4.64	.01
Good	3.43	3.63	4.12	.01
Large	3.60	3.48	3.64	NS
Strong	3.48	3.57	3.55	NS
Informed	1.99	2.22	2.96	.01
Active	1.99	2.21	2.41	.05
Important	1.95	2.15	2.57	.01

Figure 5.20 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PUBLIC LEADERS, T_1

LEGEND
Businessmen ——————
Civil Rights Leaders — — — —
Clergy · · · · · · · ·
Newspapermen ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪
Politicians ▬▬▬▬▬▬

Figure 5.21 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PUBLIC LEADERS, T_2

LEGEND
Businessmen ——————
Civil Rights Leaders — — — —
Clergy · · · · · · · ·
Newspapermen ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪
Politicians ▬▬▬▬▬▬

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Figure 5.22 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PUBLIC LEADERS, T_3

LEGEND

Businessmen	
Civil Rights Leaders	
Clergy	
Newspapermen	
Politicians	

Scale (left to right / bipolar):
COOPERATIVE — UNCOOPERATIVE
FAMILIAR — STRANGE
FAIR — UNFAIR
TRUSTING — SUSPICIOUS
GOOD — BAD
LARGE — SMALL
STRONG — WEAK
INFORMED — UNINFORMED
ACTIVE — PASSIVE
IMPORTANT — INSIGNIFICANT

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Private Audiences

Personal Friends. Of all the groups included in this analysis, the responses of the subjects regarding their personal friends remained the most stable across time. As shown in Figure 5.23, when the subjects commenced recruit training, they perceived their friends as being highly cooperative, good and important. Their personal friends were viewed moderately favorably on all other scales except large-small. On this one scale, friends were perceived by the subjects as being only slightly large. As already noted, there were few notable changes over time evidenced in the subjects' responses related to this group. At the .05 level of confidence, the subjects' reported perceptions of their personal friends shifted in an unfavorable direction on the fair-unfair and active-passive scales. In this instance, police experience did not appear to have affected greatly the subjects' perceptions of their personal friends.

Wife and/or Family. Of all the audience groups, the subjects' perceptions of their wife and/or family were based in the most intimate of role relationships. Not surprisingly, as the subjects began recruit training, they perceived of this audience group as being the most familiar of all audience groups. They also saw this group as being highly cooperative, fair, trusting, good, active, and important. Additionally, their wives and/or families were also seen as moderately strong and informed, and to a lesser degree, large. The general configuration of responses displayed in Figure 5.24 remained the same at T_2 and T_3. However, statistically significant differences at the .01 level occurred in two instances: cooperative and trusting. The wives and/or families of the subjects were considered less cooperative and less trusting by the time they had worked as patrolmen for 18 months. At the .05 level, significant differences in mean scores in a negative direction also were noted on four additional scales. Accordingly, we can say with less confidence that after police experience, the subjects perceived of their wives and/or families as being less familiar, fair, informed, and active.

Comparisons of Private Audiences

As shown in Figure 5.25, 5.26 and 5.27, the graphic representations of the data for personal friends and wives and/or families closely paralleled one another at all three points in time. However, in each instance, wives and/or families were seen more favorably than personal friends. The subjects' perceptions of the two groups were most similar on the large-small scale at all three points in time and most divergent on the fair-unfair and trusting-suspicious scales.

AN EXAMINATION OF BIPOLAR SCALES

Another method of conceptualizing the data derived from the analysis of the subjects' responses to the semantic differential scales is to examine the changes in mean scores which occurred for all of the 15 audience groups on each adjectival pair. The ten tables, one for each bipolar scale, are contained in Appendix C. As shown for the cooperative-uncooperative scale, statistically significant shifts in the mean scores were found to have occurred for all audience groups except newspapermen and personal friends. Except for prosecutors, all of these shifts in perceptions were in the unfavorable direction on the scale. In the case of this group, the subjects saw prosecutors as more cooperative at T_2 than at T_1. However, between T_2 and T_3, the perception of prosecutors followed the general trend. They, too, were seen as less cooperative. Within the table showing the data for the informed-uninformed scale, statistically significant differences in mean scores were found to have occurred for all audience groups except personal friends. All of these differences in mean scores over time were in the unfavorable

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Figure 5.23 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS PERSONAL FRIENDS

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	1.86	1.96	2.12	NS
Familiar	2.19	2.21	2.33	NS
Fair	2.30	2.37	2.58	.05
Trusting	2.02	2.19	2.28	NS
Good	1.92	1.96	2.06	NS
Large	3.42	3.31	3.32	NS
Strong	2.96	3.07	3.02	NS
Informed	2.84	2.95	3.14	NS
Active	2.46	2.46	2.77	.05
Important	1.92	1.72	1.84	NS

Figure 5.24 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS WIFE AND/OR FAMILY

Scale	Mean Scores			Significance of Difference, T_1-T_3
	T_1	T_2	T_3	
Cooperative	1.39	1.43	1.74	.01
Familiar	1.53	1.58	1.81	.05
Fair	1.54	1.62	1.87	.05
Trusting	1.27	1.32	1.57	.01
Good	1.23	1.27	1.41	NS
Large	3.35	3.16	3.12	NS
Strong	2.45	2.60	2.50	NS
Informed	2.17	2.31	2.49	.05
Active	1.81	1.90	2.10	.05
Important	1.18	1.15	1.22	NS

Figure 5.25 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PRIVATE AUDIENCES, T_1

LEGEND
Friends
Wife and/or Family

Figure 5.26 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS
PRIVATE AUDIENCES, T_2

LEGEND
Friends
Wife and/or Family

Figure 5.27

Figure 5.27 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE RESPONSES OF 113 POLICE SUBJECTS PRIVATE AUDIENCES, T_3

Top labels: UNCOOPERATIVE, STRANGE, UNFAIR, SUSPICIOUS, BAD, SMALL, WEAK, UNINFORMED, PASSIVE, INSIGNIFICANT

Bottom labels: COOPERATIVE, FAMILIAR, FAIR, TRUSTING, GOOD, LARGE, STRONG, INFORMED, ACTIVE, IMPORTANT

Horizontal axis: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

LEGEND
Friends —————
Wife and/or Family ·········

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direction. Thus, if one was to generalize from the findings in these two tables, one could say that the subjects perceived of the most significant groups in their role set as becoming less cooperative and less informed over the time span of this research.

The generalization that almost all groups were seen as becoming less cooperative and informed than previously is highly significant. One trend appears to be explanatory of the other. Logically, these groups were perceived of as becoming less cooperative because they were also seen as becoming less informed. This explanation is consistent with the rationale for many police community relations programs. People are seen as increasingly uncooperative because they are also believed to be increasingly less informed. As a consequence, emphasis is given to imparting information as a means of gaining public cooperation rather than performing services appropriate to community needs. It has become common to find expressions of the belief that the police see the public as uncooperative. For example, a study of police attitudes in a major city showed that the majority of police sergeants persistently felt that civilians generally did not cooperate with the police in their work.[11] What is important to consider is that the perception of people as uncooperative appears not to be confined to just the public and their leaders. The perception of groups of people as increasingly uncooperative also includes court officials, personal friends, wives and families, as well as a number of groups of police. It would be a matter of some consequences to find that the subjects of this research viewed only certain segments of the public as being increasingly uncooperative. However, it is a far greater matter to consider that the subjects' perceptions of people as increasingly uncooperative are diffused throughout the most significant groups in their occupational role set.

At the other extreme, the fewest number of statistically significant differences in mean scores was found to have occurred on the large-small scale. Differences over time occurred for only two groups--civil rights leaders and judges. Whereas civil rights leaders were seen as becoming smaller, judges were seen as becoming larger. The next fewest number of statistically significant differences over time were found to have occurred on the strong-weak scale. In this instance, civil rights leaders, other new patrolmen, police instructors, police supervisors, and probation officers were the groups seen by the subjects as becoming less strong over time. Were one to generalize from these findings, it could be said that the subjects' perceptions of the most significant groups in their role set were the most stable over time in terms of the size and the strength of the groups. One should note that the connotative meaning of both these scales relates to the potency factor. Thus, while the perceived potency of judges tended to increase over time, the perceived potency of civil rights leaders, other new patrolmen, police instructors, police supervisors and probation officers tended to decrease.

Rank of Groups of Scales

Still further information can be obtained from the data presented in this form by ranking the various audience groups on each scale at each point in time. Wives and/or families were seen not only as the most cooperative of all groups, but they were also seen as the most familiar, fair, trusting, good, and important. Police instructors were seen as the most informed of all audience groups at T_1 and T_3. At T_2 on this scale, judges were seen as the largest and strongest of all groups. Again, one should recall that these two scales relate to the perceived

[11]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

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potency of the group. The active-passive scale was the only one wherein the top ranking varied among groups at each point in time. At T_1, police instructors were seen as the most active. Curiously, clergymen were seen by the subjects as the most active at the time they completed recruit training. After experience as patrolmen, the subjects perceived other new patrolmen as being the most active. Were one to generalize from these observations, it could be said that the subjects perceived of their wives and/or families as the most favorable of all audience groups in their role set. Experienced patrolmen and police instructors were the next most favorably perceived groups.

Of all the audience groups, civil rights leaders received the least favorable rankings. In looking at the various tables, it can be seen that they were perceived by the subjects as being the least informed and important as well as the most uncooperative, strange, unfair, small, suspicious, bad, and weak. Only on the strong-weak scale at T_1 and on the active-passive scale at all three points in time was another audience group seen as less favorable than civil rights leaders. In these few instances, businessmen were seen as the least favorable. In summary, were one to generalize from these findings, it could be said that the subjects perceived civil rights leaders as being the least favorable of all audience groups in their role set. Next in rank order to civil rights leaders in terms of being perceived as the least favorable of all audience groups were newspapermen and politicians.

CHAPTER VI

THE AGGREGATE ROLE OF THE POLICE

Within role theory, the concept of aggregate or group role has been defined as the specific function assigned by society to an organization within that society. The performance of any one role within that organization is directed by specified prescriptions and proscriptions which are consistent with the organization's overall purpose or aggregate role. Thus, to the police, society has assigned the functions of preserving the peace, enforcing laws, preventing crime, investigating criminal offenses and performing a variety of public service activities. All of the positions within a police department contribute in varying degrees to the performance of these culturally determined functions. In fact, we can view a police department as an organization of positions structured expressly for the ultimate purpose of carrying out the various police functions. Each of the positions therein is goal-oriented.

Gross and Mason observed that the prestige of a position within an organization will be higher than that of another to the extent that the position allows the incumbent to make a larger contribution to the group role.[1] Though prestige is a nebulous concept, at bottom it is based in the degree to which the enactment of a given role contributes to the organization's mission. Prestige, power, and wages are a function of the contribution of a single role to the aggregate role or the organization. For example, patrolmen are necessary to the police mission, but their contribution can never be as great as that of the chief. Accordingly, the chief has more prestige, holds more power, and receives more salary than do patrolmen.

Beyond the obvious differences related to rank, the same point applies to men sharing the rank of patrolman. For some, the position of a patrolman assigned to traffic intersection control would be considered less important than the position of a patrolman assigned as a range instructor because of the greater opportunity the latter position holds for contributing to the collective mission of the department.

The methodology underlying this section of the research presupposes that a subject would express his conceptions of the aggregate role of the police if he ranked the importance of a number of positions held by patrolmen in his department. If a patrolman assigned to community relations was designated by the subjects as being among the most important positions in the department, we could

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[1] Neal Gross and Ward Mason, "Intra-Occupational Prestige Differentials," _American Sociological Review_, Vol. XX, 1955, p. 328.

infer that community relations was held to be an essential part of the collective role of the police. As a further example, we also could reason that a man beginning recruit school might assign high importance to the police instructor's position. Later, after some experience in the field, he might assign a lower degree of importance to the position of police instructor. He might now believe that his trainers did not really teach him very much about police work as it is done "on the street." Overall, changes in the ranking of various positions held by patrolmen when measured at selected points in time, would reflect changes in the aggregate role concept of the subjects. The research instrument was designed to assess systematically these time-related changes.

Respondents to the aggregate role instrument were asked to select and rank five positions in a list of 20 which they believed to be most important in accomplishing the overall police function. The subjects' choices by implication would reflect their conception of the aggregate role of the police. At the start one should be aware that similar positions are not titled in the same way in each city included in this research. Further, some positions, though similarly titled, are not strictly comparable in terms of actual function. Hence, the data leads to general conclusions rather than to precise comparisons. It also should be pointed out that the instrument was designed to keep police rank constant in order to eliminate any bias which would be caused by this variable.

Table 6.1

Ranks Assigned by 113 Police Subjects to Selected Positions
Within Police Departments, T_1

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Overall Rank
LINE FUNCTIONS					
Patrol					
Walk	4	3	12	9	5.5
Motor	2.5	2	1	2	1
Tactical	8	13.5	-	14.5	13
Traffic					
Enforcement	9	6	15	17	12
Safety Education	12	16	9	14.5	14
Criminal Investigation					
Robbery	14.5	13.5	7	5	9
Homicide	7	10	4	*	5.5
Vice					
Narcotics	6	12	6	6	7
Prostitution	17.5	19	13.5	12	18
Juvenile	5	7.5	3	8	4
AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS					
Records	16	15	13.5	13	15
Communications	1	4	5	3	3
Detention	17.5	20	20	16	20
Crime Laboratory	13	9	10	10.5	11
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS					
Training					
General Instructor	2.5	1	2	4	2
Range Instructor	14.5	17	8	19.5	16
Inspection	20	18	19	10.5	19
Planning	11	11	17.5	1	10
Personnel	19	7.5	16	18	17
Community Relations	10	5	11	7	8

*Robbery-Homicide combined in Indianapolis

THE RANKING OF POSITIONS

The data derived from the administration of the instrument at the start of recruit training is shown in Table 6.1. In interpreting the data, the function ranked "1" is the most important. The larger the numerical rank, the less important was the function considered. Overall, the subjects viewed motorized patrol (most probably their next assignment) and the radio dispatcher, one of their future role reciprocals, as being the most important. It is of interest to note that in two cities, Baltimore and Cincinnati, motorized and foot patrol were closely ranked. In the other cities, foot patrol was seen as being considerably less important to the police aggregate role than motorized patrol. One should also note that the recruit subjects regarded their present role reciprocal, the police instructor, as being among the most important positions. At the other extreme, positions in vice (prostitution), inspections, and prisoner detention were seen by the subjects as making the least contribution to the aggregate role of the police.

Table 6.2 shows the ranking of positions in each city and for the overall group at the end of their training. At this time, the subjects ranked the positions remarkably similar to the way they did at the beginning of training. Patrol, both motorized and on foot, was seen as the most important. The difference in rank between motor and foot patrol noted at the first administration of the instrument

Table 6.2

Ranks Assigned by 113 Police Subjects to Selected Positions
Within Police Departments, T_2

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Overall Rank
LINE FUNCTIONS					
Patrol					
Walk	2	2	2	4	2
Motor	1	1	1	1	1
Tactical	5	6	-	19	9
Traffic					
Enforcement	7	3	8	17	6
Safety Education	15	13.5	6	17	15
Criminal Investigation					
Robbery	13	9.5	9	5.5	8
Homicide	13	9.5	5	*	7
Vice					
Narcotics	8.5	11.5	11.5	12	10
Prostitution	18.5	18	15.5	11	17
Juvenile	10.5	15.5	10	8.5	11
AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS					
Records	8.5	13.5	17	10	13
Communications	3	5	3	2	3
Detention	16	18	15.5	17	19
Crime Laboratory	13	11.5	13	8.5	12
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS					
Training					
General Instructor	4	4	4	5.5	4
Range Instructor	10.5	18	15.5	20	18
Inspection	20	20	20	13	20
Planning	17	15.5	15.5	3	14
Personnel	18.5	7	19	14.5	16
Community Relations	6	8	11.5	7	5

*Robbery-Homicide combined in Indianapolis

did not appear at this time. The complimentary position of dispatcher in communications was again ranked as third most important. As a consequence of the change in order for foot patrol, the rank assigned to their present role reciprocals, police instructors, was shifted slightly downward from the previous position. Among the least important positions were range instructor, prisoner detention, and inspections. These positions were ranked similarly by the subjects at the start of their training. Of special interest here is the observation that community relations, which was ranked eighth most important at the start of training, was now assigned the rank of fifth most important.

The ranks assigned to the various positions by the subjects after 18 months' experience as a patrolman as shown in Table 6.3 again reflect few significant changes. Motorized patrol and the role reciprocal in communications were ranked as the most important. Foot patrol followed next in order. Their previous role reciprocals, their general classroom instructors, were ranked fourth in importance. Community relations was ranked eleventh. At this time, the subjects ranked the positions of range instructor, vice (prostitution), and personnel as being the least important in carrying out the aggregate role of the police.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RANKINGS

A re-examination of the three tables for intra-city differences over time yields a general impression of similarity in rankings. In order to derive a

Table 6.3

Ranks Assigned by 113 Police Subjects to Selected Positions
Within Police Departments, T_3

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Overall Rank
LINE FUNCTIONS					
Patrol					
Walk	3	2	4	3	3
Motor	1	1	1	1	1
Tactical	11.5	4.5	-	4	5
Traffic					
Enforcement	6	4.5	10.5	9	6
Safety Education	15.5	18.5	12.5	16.5	16.5
Criminal Investigation					
Robbery	19.5	15	6	5	13
Homicide	11.5	7	5	*	7
Vice					
Narcotics	8	12	7	8	8
Prostitution	19.5	15	18	15	19.5
Juvenile	10	8	10.5	13.5	10
AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS					
Records	9	10.5	8	13.5	9
Communications	2	3	2	2	2
Detention	14	18.5	16.5	7	15
Crime Laboratory	13	9	14.5	12	14
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS					
Training					
General Instructor	4	6	3	6	4
Range Instructor	17.5	15	16.5	18	18
Inspection	17.5	20	9	16.5	16.5
Planning	5	17	12.5	10	12
Personnel	15.5	13	20	19	19.5
Community Relations	7	10.5	14.5	11	11

*Robbery-Homicide combined in Indianapolis

measure of the relative closeness of the relationship between the ranks assigned in each city at the three points in time, the rank-difference correlation was calculated from the data and is shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4

Rank Correlation Analysis of Positions Selected by 113 Police
Subjects in Order of Importance

City	Correlation Coefficients T_1-T_2	Correlation Coefficients T_2-T_3
Baltimore	.82	.77
Cincinnati	.84	.85
Columbus	.73	.76
Indianapolis	.88	.59

By and large, these coefficients of correlation indicate a high degree of stability in the ranks assigned to the various positions over time. The relatively lower correlation for the Indianapolis subjects in the rankings assigned at the end of training and the completion of 18 months' experience as a patrolman appears to be based in the notable increases in rank assigned to the positions of tactical patrol, traffic enforcement, and detention as well as the notable decreases in rank assigned to the positions of juvenile and planning.

AN OVERVIEW OF RANKINGS

For the group as a whole, the subjects consistently viewed positions in patrol and the complementary position of a dispatcher in communications as being the most important in accomplishing the collective mission of the police. Positions in traffic enforcement and training also were seen as highly important to the overall police function. At the other extreme, positions in safety education, vice (prostitution), detention, range instructor, inspections, and personnel were seen consistently as least important in accomplishing the collective role of the police.

Generally, people tend to glorify the successful completion of a difficult learning process. As a consequence, a bias of this kind might have influenced the subjects' rankings to some degree. However, the consistency of the ratings among the cities and across time would indicate that the rankings assigned by the subjects to the positions listed actually reflect their conceptions of the degree to which the various positions contribute to the collective police role. Moreover, it should be recalled from the earlier discussion of the subjects' aspirations that patrol was a highly desired position. Hence, one can also infer from that analysis that patrol was viewed by the subjects as an important police function. Further corroboration of the high rank assigned to the patrol function can be found in another study. A group of 192 police officers in a major urban department was asked to respond to the question, "How important are the following areas to police work?" Of the thirteen separate areas of law enforcement listed, the subjects chose patrol as the most important.[2] Detective work was ranked second most important.

[2] Robert D. Finney, "The Bluecoat Syndrome: An Appraisal of Police Officers' Perception of Themselves," mimeographed (Social Research Corporation of Utah, undated), p. 14.

The relative rankings assigned to investigative positions are of considerable importance to this research. Between the start of training and the completion of 18 months as a patrolman, the ranks assigned by the 113 subjects to each of the four investigative positions in the list decreased. At the start of training, homicide was assigned the highest rank of all investigative positions. Overall, homicide and foot patrol were both ranked as fifth most important. Vice (narcotics) and robbery were ranked seventh and ninth, respectively. Vice (prostitution) was among the lowest ranked positions. At this time, the subjects viewed it as eighteenth in the list of twenty.

By the time the subjects had worked as patrolmen for 18 months, homicide was seen as the seventh most important position in enacting the collective police role. Vice (narcotics) was seen as eighth most important, robbery the thirteenth most important, and vice (prostitution) as the least important of positions included in the list. These findings appear to be inconsistent with the widespread view found in the police literature that investigative positions are thought of by the police as the most important and consequently, as having the greatest prestige and status. One expression of this point of view is that

"The bureau, or upstairs, as the men say, is where policemen feel the 'real' police work is done. It is also where the prestige is obtained. It is the center of information about police activities."[3]

The obverse view, that positions in patrol are considered the least important and accordingly, have the least prestige and status is expressed in the following statement:

"The uniformed patrol, and especially foot patrol, has a low preferential value in the division of labor of police work. This is, in part, at least due to the belief that 'anyone could do it.'"[4]

Further, though the statement drawn from Finney's research cited above supports the view that patrol is held to be the most important part of police work, a related finding in the same research indicates that detective work was the most preferred assignment. The subjects in Finney's research also were asked to respond to the parallel question, "If you had your choice, which of the following areas would you prefer as a job assignment?" In this instance, a detective assignment was the most preferred while patrol was the next most preferred.[5]

These inconsistent observations would suggest a need for greater precision in making comparisons between various studies of the police on this topic. First, there may be some instabilities in rankings according to time and place. For example, Westley's observation was based upon research originally published in 1951. Other data was obtained almost two decades later. Secondly, Finney's subjects were "seasoned officers" whereas the 113 subjects in this research hardly could be described as "seasoned" even after 18 months as a patrolman. Thirdly, there may be some inherent characteristics of a detective's position which would make it desirable to an experienced officer which are totally unrelated to the relative importance of the position in executing the overall police function.

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[3]Westley, op. cit., p. 65.

[4]Saunders, op. cit., p. 23.

[5]Finney, op. cit., p. 15.

Wearing citizens dress, receiving less supervision, working more stable hours, receiving additional salary, and not having to be responsive to the radio dispatcher may make the detective's position more desirable regardless of its overall importance to the collective role of the police.

In summary, the finding that the subjects of this research viewed the patrol function as making the greatest contribution to the police mission is accepted as valid. In recent years, the importance of the patrolman's role has been enhanced by the urgency and variety of urban problems with which the police must deal. In response to these contemporary problems, the patrolman's role has been expanded and upgraded. The service functions of the patrolman have been increased. They are able to exercise discretion in a wider range of circumstances. Patrolmen now have an important role in community relations. Their role as peace-keepers, particularly in family disturbances, demonstrations and protests, has been given wide recognition. Additionally, the patrolman's actions in quelling disorders and controlling the various forms of urban warfare have brought new importance to the position. Many technological innovations have brought additional recognition to the patrolman. These innovations, ranging from helicopters to computerized information systems to personal radio transceivers, have allowed patrolmen to attain a new level of effectiveness in crime prevention. The more permanent assignment of patrolmen to geographic areas, the deployment of patrol personnel by mathematical methods, and the utilization of a variety of overlapping and supplemental patrol forces have further upgraded the role. A new breadth of knowledge and skill is now necessary for the effective enactment of the patrolman's role. One cannot help but be impressed with the degree to which the patrolman's position has been enhanced by the many innovations adopted by law enforcement in recent years. Undoubtedly, the subjects' ranking of the relative importance of positions within a police department have been influenced by these changes.

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE POLICE ROLE

Many contemporary observers of the police have been quick to characterize the general attitudes of law enforcers in a number of uncomplimentary ways.[1] Found within the most frequently assigned descriptions are such adjectives as anti-intellectual, authoritarian, conservative or ultra-conservative, cynical, and inflexible. In the face of what amounts to an abundance of impressionistic views and a scarcity of objective studies assessing the attitudinal orientations of the police, additional objective evidence of the validity of these characterizations is needed.

At the outset, it should be stated that overt behaviors do not always correspond to attitudes. Yet, many people act as if attitudes can be inferred directly from actions. Regarding the police, there are numerous job-imposed restrictions on the overt expression of what an individual personally believes. The police role requires the systematic exercise of authority in accord with codified law. Necessarily, this means support for the status quo regardless of one's personal beliefs. The actions of the police must be quick and decisive since the critical situations they frequently confront do not often afford an opportunity for an intellectual consideration of the full consequences of their behavior. Because of the intrinsic nature of the police role and its visibility, it is simple for others to infer the existence of attitudes which are logically consistent with observations of job-related behavior. Yet, at least at the start, personal attitudes may not be congruent with required role behaviors. Recognizing this, it is important for this research to examine selected aspects of role-related attitudes held by the subjects over the time span of this study.

As a necessary preliminary to this analysis, it is important to question why the police collectively hold certain attitudes, regardless of their nature. Either the occupation may attract persons who hold attitudes of a certain type or enactment of the police role over a period of time may bring about certain common attitudinal orientations. In keeping within the framework of role theory as the base of this research, it is held that the police system creates a readiness for attitudinal changes, while enactment of the police role reinforces these changes.

References to the collective attitudes of occupational groups tend to create an impression of great homogeneity. This kind of generalization frequently has been drawn for the police. Obviously, such views represent an oversimplification

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[1]Watson and Sterling, op. cit., pp. 1-7.

which ignores the existence of the number of variables which are related to the heterogeneity of attitudes. The unique background characteristics of people within the group, as well as positional and temporal differences, would produce varying attitudes. For example, a 1968 survey of the attitudes of a nationwide sample of experienced police officers amply demonstrated the existence of important differences in attitudes among the respondents of this occupational group. The variables of educational background, functional assignment, and length of service were found to be related to differences in attitudinal views. [2] Of particular importance for this longitudinal research is the finding that length of service as a police officer was an important variable in the formation of attitudes.

DERIVATION OF A SCALE FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDES

The 1968 Police Opinion Poll stands as a unique research effort to examine systematically police opinions related to various facets of the work. Because of its recency, its scope, and the generalizability of its findings, the assessment of attitudinal orientations to the police role within this research was based upon the findings of this landmark study. [3]

Part I of the Police Opinion Poll consisted of 37 statements to which the subjects were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement on a five point scale. [4] Among the 4844 respondents in the sample population were 2042 experienced patrolmen. Since this research is interested primarily in concepts related to the patrolman's role, this study focused on the responses of the 2042 experienced patrolmen. Their responses were subjected to factor analysis. As previously described, this statistical method identifies groups of items which are related by a common underlying factor. The procedure does not identify the nature of the factor, but merely indicates that certain items produced a similar pattern of responses. It is therefore assumed that each of the clusters of items is related to a different attitudinal base.

From this factor analysis emerged four clusters of items or factors. Each item within a factor had a loading or correlation which exceeded an arbitrary level of 0.30. The individual items which make up these factors are listed below.

FACTOR I

	Loading
The police service needs more college trained career officers.	0.58
The best officers generally have more education than the others.	0.49
It would be desirable if candidates for police service were required to complete certain college courses in order to be certified by the state for initial employment	0.67

FACTOR II

Court decisions on interrogating suspects will undoubtedly result in fewer solution of criminal cases.	0.39
The police are not receiving the backing they should from the political power structure in our cities.	0.36

[2] Ibid., pp. 52-96.

[3] Ibid., p. 43.

[4] Ibid., pp. 157-8.

The police are jusitifed in regarding a juvenile with "beatnik" or "mod" appearance as a person who needs to be watched.	0.37
In certain areas of the city, physical combat skills and an aggressive bearing will be more useful to a patrolman on the beat than book learning and a courteous manner.	0.51
The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.	0.37
The trouble with psychology and sociology is that they are not related to the everyday realities of the police job.	0.35
Experience has shown police officers that there is a big difference between whether a man really is guilty and whether the court says he is.	0.33
Some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in police schools are unworkable under the actual conditions on the beat.	0.42
Preservation of the peace requires that police have the authority to order people to "move along" or "break it up" even though no law is being violated.	0.34

FACTOR III

The good policeman is one who gives his commanding officer unquestioning obedience.	0.33
The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.	0.36
The best officer is one who knows and sticks strictly to departmental procedures.	0.65
The best officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors.	0.33

FACTOR IV

Since ours is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their job.	0.33
It would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies.	0.34
The police are often responsible for the fact that defendants are not found guilty.	0.32
If police put as much effort into crime prevention as they do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we would be farther ahead in reducing crime.	0.34
There is nothing wrong with the idea of civilian review boards if people who are fair and unbiased could be found to serve on them.	0.43

With the identification of these factors, the 20 individual items were listed in random order on a single form. The resulting instrument shown in the Appendix as item B-6 was used to assess attitudinal orientations to the police role.

A PRESENTATION OF ITEM SCORES BY CITY

Underlying the attention given to the study of attitudes in this research is the theoretical view that experience will modify attitudes. Thus, over time, it would be expected that the subjects would change their attitudes about certain concepts related to their occupational role. Beyond the variable of time is that of place. In some ways, police experience in one city might be quite similar to that in other cities. Another aspect of police experience in that city also might be unique to that city. Though the four sites included in this research were chosen because of their similarities, it must be recognized that they do differ from one another in certain ways. Whenever they do differ, they afford the subjects a different kind of experience. In such instances, differences in attitudes might be evident.

In order to explore this basic view, the following tables present the responses of the subjects in the four cities to each of the 20 questions included in the full scale. For the sake of brevity, "strongly agree" and "agree" responses were grouped together, and percentages are shown for the combined group. The disagree responses also were combined in the same way. The mean scores were obtained by assigning a numerical value of one to a "strongly disagree" response while, at the other extreme, a "strongly agree" response was treated as five. The intermediate responses were assigned numerical values ranging from two to four. Thus, the higher the numerical value, the stronger the subjects agreed with the item. The mean scores of the subjects ranged from a high of 4.42 (Table 7.11, Columbus, T_3) indicating the strongest agreement to an item, down to a low of 1.72 (Table 7.18, Indianapolis, T_3) indicating the strongest disagreement to an item. Mean scores at the level of 3.00 indicate neither agreement or disagreement.

The responses to the first item, which deals with the subjects' feelings regarding the effect of court decisions on the number of solutions to criminal cases, are shown in Table 7.1. This data reflects some notable inter-city differences which are assumed to be based in exposure to different experiences. In Baltimore and Columbus, the subjects' responses at all three administrations of the questionnaire were remarkably stable. Their mean scores across time reflect moderate agreement with the items. However, in Cincinnati, the subjects entered police training with the strongly held view that fewer solutions to criminal cases would result from court decisions related to interrogations. Later, when these men were retested at the end of recruit training, their responses were found to have shifted significantly downward to a level of slight agreement. In the case of Indianapolis, the contrary was true. The subjects' entered recruit training expressing neither agreement or disagreement with the item. By the completion of training these Indianapolis subjects expressed strong agreement. Thus, in Cincinnati, police training was associated with a significant decrease in agreement to the item, while in Indianapolis police training was associated with a significant increase in agreement. Shifts in attitudes such as these are assumed to result from differences in the training experiences. One should also note that the subjects' responses after 18 months of field experience all indicate moderate levels of agreement with the item. Thus, while the training experience tended to cause a variation in attitudes among the cities, field experience tended to reduce this variation.

Inspection of the data in Table 7.2 reveals an instance where an intercity difference which clearly existed at the first testing was lost by the third testing. At the beginning of training, 85.0% of the Baltimore subjects believed that the police were not receiving adequate support from the political power structure in their city. This is in marked contrast to the responses of the Cincinnati subjects. In this case, only 43.2% of them agreed with the item. The respective mean

Table 7.1

1. Court decisions on interrogating suspects will undoubtedly result in fewer solutions of criminal cases.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	55.0%	65.0%	60.0%	43.2%	48.6%	78.4%	58.3%	70.8%	66.7%	34.4%	84.4%	75.0%
Don't Know	15.0	5.0	0	13.5	13.5	2.7	8.3	0	0	28.1	6.3	3.1
Disagree	30.0	30.0	40.0	43.2	37.8	18.9	33.3	29.2	33.3	37.5	9.4	21.9
Mean Score	3.35	3.45	3.45	4.15	3.14	3.97	3.25	3.63	3.54	3.00	3.91	3.69

Table 7.2

2. The police are not receiving the backing they should from the political power structure in our cities.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	85.0%	80.0%	75.0%	43.2%	45.9%	89.2%	62.5%	54.2%	83.3%	65.6%	87.5%	81.3%
Don't Know	0	0	10.0	13.5	18.9	2.7	4.2	4.2	0	9.4	3.1	3.1
Disagree	15.0	20.0	15.0	43.2	35.1	8.1	33.3	41.7	16.7	25.0	9.4	15.6
Mean Score	4.10	3.95	4.00	3.11	3.14	4.32	3.46	3.25	4.00	3.56	4.09	3.81

Table 7.3

3. The good policeman is one who gives his commanding officer unquestioning obedience.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	60.0%	60.0%	30.0%	64.9%	35.1%	27.0%	75.0%	75.0%	45.8%	59.4%	68.8%	31.3%
Don't Know	15.0	5.0	0	2.7	8.1	21.6	0	0	4.2	6.3	6.3	0
Disagree	25.0	35.0	70.0	32.4	56.8	51.4	25.0	25.0	50.0	34.4	25.0	68.8
Mean Score	3.45	3.30	2.60	3.41	2.70	2.78	3.96	3.63	3.04	3.56	3.66	2.56

Table 7.4

4. The police service needs more college trained career officers.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	70.0%	75.0%	75.0%	78.4%	73.0%	45.9%	58.3%	75.0%	66.7%	46.9%	59.4%	46.9%
Don't Know	15.0	10.0	5.0	5.4	8.1	24.3	12.5	4.2	4.2	21.9	15.6	12.5
Disagree	15.0	15.0	20.0	16.2	18.9	29.7	29.1	20.8	29.2	31.3	25.0	40.6
Mean Score	3.75	3.70	3.70	3.89	3.76	3.35	3.54	3.79	3.63	3.19	3.53	3.25

Table 7.5

5. The police are justified in regarding a juvenile with "beatnik" or "mod" appearance as a person who needs to be watched.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	35.0%	30.0%	35.0%	45.9%	37.8%	24.3%	33.3%	37.5%	33.3%	34.4%	46.9%	28.1%
Don't Know	25.0	55.0	0	10.8	21.6	18.9	8.3	12.5	0	15.6	6.3	3.1
Disagree	40.0	15.0	65.0	43.2	40.5	56.8	58.3	50.0	66.7	50.0	46.9	68.8
Mean Score	2.90	2.65	2.70	3.08	2.95	2.62	2.79	2.79	2.63	2.78	3.03	2.53

Table 7.6

6. In certain areas of the city, physical combat skills and an aggressive bearing will be more useful to a patrolman on the beat than book learning and a courteous manner.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	60.0%	65.0%	70.0%	45.9%	29.7%	51.4%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	43.8%	53.1%	68.8%
Don't Know	0	0	0	8.1	5.4	5.4	4.2	0	0	3.1	12.5	0
Disagree	40.0	35.0	30.0	45.9	64.9	43.2	45.8	62.5	50.0	53.1	34.4	31.3
Mean Score	3.30	3.40	3.55	3.00	2.65	3.16	3.08	2.46	3.00	2.75	3.19	3.38

Table 7.7

7. The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	70.0%	80.0%	55.0%	62.2%	62.2%	83.8%	41.7%	58.3%	62.5%	46.9%	87.5%	84.4%
Don't Know	10.0	5.0	10.0	13.5	21.6	8.1	29.2	4.2	0	18.8	0	3.1
Disagree	20.0	15.0	35.0	24.3	16.2	8.1	29.2	37.5	37.5	34.4	12.5	12.5
Mean Score	3.60	3.75	3.15	3.35	3.54	3.92	3.17	3.25	3.29	3.31	4.03	3.91

Table 7.8

8. Since ours is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their job.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	70.0%	70.0%	60.0%	73.0%	70.3%	43.2%	58.3%	75.0%	50.0%	68.8%	68.8%	37.5%
Don't Know	0	5.0	10.0	5.4	16.2	13.5	4.2	0	4.2	6.3	9.4	15.6
Disagree	30.0	25.0	30.0	21.6	13.5	43.2	37.5	25.0	45.8	25.0	21.9	46.9
Mean Score	3.40	3.55	3.25	3.54	3.68	2.86	3.25	3.46	2.92	3.56	3.53	2.91

Table 7.9

9. The trouble with psychology and sociology is that they are not related to the everyday realities of the police job.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	35.0%	25.0%	20.0%	21.6%	16.2%	35.1%	25.0%	33.3%	20.8%	12.5%	9.4%	21.9%
Don't Know	15.0	60.0	5.0	10.8	21.6	21.6	20.8	12.5	0	25.0	37.5	18.8
Disagree	50.0	15.0	75.0	67.6	62.2	43.2	54.2	54.2	79.2	62.5	53.1	59.4
Mean Score	2.70	2.50	2.35	2.38	2.38	2.95	2.46	2.67	2.38	2.28	2.44	2.53

Table 7.10

10. It would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	35.0%	30.0%	60.0%	13.5%	0 %	13.5%	4.2%	0 %	4.2%	12.5%	12.5%	18.8%
Don't Know	30.0	25.0	15.0	13.5	5.4	8.1	50.0	12.5	8.3	25.0	18.8	21.9
Disagree	35.0	45.0	25.0	73.0	94.6	78.4	45.8	87.5	87.5	62.5	68.8	59.4
Mean Score	2.90	2.85	3.45	2.35	2.05	2.05	2.42	1.75	1.79	2.34	2.22	2.50

Table 7.11

11. Experience has shown police officers that there is a big difference between whether a man really is guilty and whether the court says he is.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	60.0%	30.0%	85.0%	37.8%	54.1%	86.5%	50.0%	87.5%	87.5%	56.3%	81.3%	90.6%
Don't Know	20.0	55.0	10.0	45.9	21.6	0	25.0	0	8.3	28.1	15.6	3.1
Disagree	20.0	15.0	5.0	16.2	24.3	13.5	25.0	12.5	4.2	15.6	3.1	6.3
Mean Score	3.65	3.20	4.20	3.16	3.51	3.41	3.33	4.00	4.42	3.53	4.09	4.22

Table 7.12

12. The police are often responsible for the fact that defendants are not found guilty.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	75.0%	75.0%	55.0%	40.5%	70.3%	54.1%	41.7%	79.2%	66.7%	40.6%	56.3%	46.9%
Don't Know	10.0	5.0	0	27.0	2.7	8.1	25.0	0	0	12.5	3.1	0
Disagree	15.0	20.0	45.0	32.4	27.0	37.8	33.3	20.8	33.3	46.9	40.6	53.1
Mean Score	3.75	3.75	3.25	3.05	3.49	3.11	3.08	3.67	3.42	2.88	3.19	2.96

Table 7.13
13. The best officer is one who knows and sticks strictly to departmental procedures.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	40.0%	10.0%	15.0%	37.8%	32.4%	13.5%	50.0%	54.2%	29.2%	65.6%	9.4%	6.3%
Don't Know	10.0	20.0	5.0	2.7	5.4	13.5	16.7	0	0	9.4	15.6	9.4
Disagree	50.0	70.0	80.0	59.5	62.2	73.0	33.3	45.8	70.8	25.0	75.0	84.4
Mean Score	2.75	2.20	2.40	2.76	2.65	2.30	3.33	3.08	2.54	3.47	2.31	2.13

Table 7.14
14. If police put as much effort into crime prevention as they do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we would be farther ahead in reducing crime.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	55.0%	70.0%	75.0%	32.4%	48.6%	59.5%	50.0%	62.5%	70.8%	25.0%	50.0%	56.3%
Don't Know	20.0	0	5.0	18.9	10.8	16.2	33.3	8.3	8.3	15.6	15.6	12.5
Disagree	25.0	30.0	20.0	48.6	40.5	24.3	16.7	29.2	20.8	59.4	34.4	31.3
Mean Score	3.25	3.35	3.75	2.81	3.05	3.46	3.50	3.42	3.67	2.63	3.22	3.31

Table 7.15
15. The best officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	45.0%	65.0%	60.0%	83.8%	78.4%	43.2%	79.2%	87.5%	54.2%	71.9%	65.6%	50.0%
Don't Know	20.0	20.0	10.0	2.7	8.1	18.9	12.5	4.2	4.2	12.5	12.5	9.4
Disagree	35.0	15.0	30.0	13.5	13.5	37.8	8.3	8.3	41.7	15.6	21.9	40.6
Mean Score	3.05	3.45	3.30	3.78	3.73	3.11	3.83	3.92	3.17	3.75	3.50	3.03

Table 7.16
16. The best officers generally have more education than the others.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	25.0%	30.0%	35.0%	27.0%	27.0%	24.3%	20.8%	20.8%	33.3%	31.3%	31.3%	25.0%
Don't Know	15.0	10.0	10.0	10.8	13.5	10.8	25.0	12.5	16.7	12.5	18.8	15.6
Disagree	60.0	60.0	55.0	62.2	59.5	64.9	54.2	66.7	50.0	56.3	50.0	59.4
Mean Score	2.60	2.75	2.75	2.62	2.59	2.41	2.71	2.58	2.83	2.72	2.84	2.59

Table 7.17
17. It would be desirable if candidates for police service were required to complete certain college courses in order to be certified by the state for initial employment

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	45.0%	50.0%	60.0%	45.9%	48.6%	37.8%	41.7%	66.7%	54.2%	34.4%	37.5%	37.5%
Don't Know	0	5.0	10.0	13.5	21.6	18.9	16.7	8.3	4.2	25.0	28.1	12.5
Disagree	55.0	45.0	30.0	40.5	29.7	43.2	41.7	25.0	41.7	40.6	34.4	50.0
Mean Score	2.85	3.10	3.30	3.16	3.22	2.97	2.96	3.46	3.04	2.94	3.00	2.84

Table 7.18
18. There is nothing wrong with the idea of civilian review boards if people who are fair and unbiased could be found to serve on them.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	60.0%	35.0%	45.0%	37.8%	48.6%	21.6%	54.2%	62.5%	12.5%	62.5%	18.8%	15.6%
Don't Know	10.0	25.0	15.0	18.9	13.5	18.9	29.2	4.2	12.5	18.8	3.1	3.1
Disagree	30.0	40.0	40.0	43.2	37.8	59.5	16.7	33.3	75.0	18.8	78.1	81.3
Mean Score	3.30	2.85	2.95	2.89	2.97	2.24	3.38	3.17	1.96	3.59	1.84	1.72

Table 7.19
19. Some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in police schools are unworkable under the actual conditions on the beat.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	60.0%	55.0%	80.0%	37.8%	62.2%	70.3%	33.3%	41.7%	62.5%	31.3%	62.5%	68.8%
Don't Know	0	10.0	5.0	18.9	5.4	5.4	20.8	8.3	4.2	12.5	6.3	15.6
Disagree	40.0	35.0	15.0	43.2	32.4	24.3	45.8	50.0	33.3	56.3	31.3	15.6
Mean Score	3.30	3.35	3.25	2.97	3.32	3.59	3.00	2.96	3.38	2.63	3.41	3.75

Table 7.20
20. Preservation of the peace requires that police have the authority to order people to "move along" or "break it up" even though no law is being violated.

Response Category	Baltimore			Cincinnati			Columbus			Indianapolis		
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_1	T_2	T_3
Agree	45.0%	65.0%	65.0%	81.1%	62.2%	73.0%	66.7%	54.2%	54.2%	62.5%	62.5%	78.1%
Don't Know	15.0	5.0	10.0	10.8	16.2	5.4	12.5	8.3	0	15.6	15.6	3.1
Disagree	40.0	30.0	25.0	8.1	21.6	21.6	20.8	37.5	45.8	21.9	21.9	18.8
Mean Score	3.10	3.35	3.55	3.81	3.46	3.70	3.54	3.25	3.09	3.56	3.47	3.84

scores were 4.10 and 3.11. By the time the subjects had gained 18 months' field experience, this intercity difference was reduced strikingly. At this time, 75.0% of the Baltimore subjects and 89.2% of the Cincinnati subjects agreed that the police were not supported adequately by the political power structure in their respective cities. At this time, the respective mean scores were 4.00 and 4.32 indicating strong agreement with the item. As with the first item, police experience tended to create more commonality in attitudes among the subjects.

The data in Table 7.10 reflects a different set of circumstances. In this case, at the beginning of training the Baltimore subjects evidenced noticeably less disagreement with the concept that it would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies than did the subjects in the other three cities. Thirty-five percent of the Baltimore subjects agreed with the item at this time. By the third testing, agreement in Baltimore had risen to 60%, far beyond that indicated by the subjects in the other three cities. While the mean score of 3.45 for the Baltimore subjects indicated moderate agreement, the mean scores in the other cities reflected moderate to strong disagreement. For this item, experience tended to create a difference in attitudes among the subjects. In connection with this item, it should be noted that Baltimore is the only city among the four that has, in fact, filled a number of command positions with qualified men from outside the department. Thus, exposure of the Baltimore subjects to this unique experience has caused the emergence of a unique attitude.

A perusal of the data contained in the other tables not specifically mentioned will show an interesting variety of differences in attitudes among cities at any one point in time or for a single city across time. Since information is lost in the summation of scores in the factor analytic approach, some familiarity with the responses to single items will be of help in conceptualizing the meanings assigned to the four factors in the following discussion.

THE DERIVATION OF FACTORS

Although this initial approach to examining changes in the attitudes of the subjects over time yields some interesting information, it should be apparent that mere inspection of the mass of data is both inefficient and imprecise. In order to overcome these problems, factor scores rather than item scores have been calculated and are reported in the following discussion. It should be explained that the use of factor scores rather than single item scores provides a more powerful tool for the assessment of changes in attitudes over time. Despite this gain, there is a loss associated with this procedure. As has been said, in the summation of individual item scores into a single factor score, the exactness of the meaning of a score is lost.

Probably the greatest problem with the use of factor scores is the difficulty of assigning meaning to a factor score. In order to deal with this problem, the items which clustered together in the formation of a factor were submitted to a number of men with extensive police experience. Each was asked to give his views about the underlying attitude which was thought to be common to all items within the factor. The responses were combined to reflect a consensus of opinion. The titles and descriptions for each of the factors are as follows:

Factor I - Valuation of Formal Education

The items within this factor concern a general attitude toward education. Specifically involved is the issue of the relevance of college level work to the

police role. The greater the factor score, the higher the valuation placed on formal education as a beneficial experience for the police patrolman.

Factor II - Pragmatic Realism

This factor includes a complex of questions related both to the situation in which the men will be working and the people with whom they will be dealing. In combination, agreement with the items reflects a pessimistic view of the everyday realities of the police patrolman's world. The approach to police work and the relationship to people evidenced by overall agreement with this factor would be structured by certain practical considerations which are considered necessary in order to get the job done. The higher the factor score, the greater the degree to which self-interest and a sense of expediency would serve as a basis for the enactment of the police role.

Factor III - Conformity to Authority

The general theme of this factor concerns conformance to and dependence upon external authority. The items include the tendency to rigid obedience to the orders of superior officers, as well as strict adherence to written directives. Coupled with a conforming attitude is a preference for definite and simple prescriptions of behavior. The higher the factor score, the greater the tendency to agree with the need for strict conformity to the behavioral prescriptions associated with the patrolman's role.

Factor IV - Conservatism

The items in this factor focus on a specific preference for established institutions and relationships related to law enforcement rather than to global political conservatism. The contemporary issues of lateral entry, civilian review boards, crime prevention, and the impact of court decisions comprise the core subject matter of this factor. Disagreement with the item evidences a traditional belief system rather than an interest in accepting and supporting change. The lower the score, the greater the tendency toward a cautious, conservative view of the conditions which would affect the working environment of patrolmen.

THE PREDICTION OF ATTITUDINAL CHANGES

The decision to draw subjects from four reasonably equivalent cities was based on the assumption that this would increase the generalizability of the research findings. To test that proposition, the factor scores of the original group of 152 recruits obtained at the beginning of recruit training were compared with the equivalent factor scores of the nationwide sample of 165 police recruits included in the Police Opinion Poll.[5] This data is presented in Table 7.21.

As shown in Table 7.21, none of the t values reached a level which would indicate a statistically significant difference at the .01 or .05 level of confidence between the mean factor scores of the two groups. Thus, the two recruit samples, both intended to be representative of police recruits in general, were found equivalent in terms of their responses to each of the four attitudinal factors.

A further comparison was made of the factor scores of the original group of 152 recruit subjects in this research and the 165 recruit subjects included in the

[5] Ibid., p. 17.

Table 7.21

A Comparison of the Factor Scores of Two Sample Populations of Police Recruits

Factor	Scores of 152 Recruits at Start of Training	t Values	Scores of a Nationwide Sample of 165 Recruits
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}$= 9.21 s= 1.18	t=1.69	$\bar{X}$= 9.60 s= 1.20
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}$=28.35 s= 1.19	t=1.16	$\bar{X}$=28.80 s= 1.20
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}$=13.76 s= 1.12	t=0.34	$\bar{X}$=13.68 s= 1.09
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}$=15.30 s= 1.14	t=1.33	$\bar{X}$=14.95 s= 1.20

Police Opinion Poll with the comparable factor scores of 400 police respondents to the Opinion Poll with up to three years of field experience. The analysis of the data is shown in Table 7.22.

Again, the equivalence of the two recruit groups is reflected in the fact that both groups, when compared to this group of police officers with limited experience, showed statistically significant differences in mean factor scores at the .01 level on Factors II and III. Both groups of recruits had lower scores on Factor II than did the men with limited field experience. On Factor III, both recruit groups had higher factor scores than did the group of experienced officers. In general terms, this suggests that, insofar as the attitude of pragmatic realism is reflected in these scores, the police group with limited field experience exhibited this attitude to a greater degree than did police recruits at the beginning of training. Also, police recruits at the outset of training reflected an attitude of conformance to external authority to a greater degree than did the group of patrolmen with up to three years' experience. On the basis of this analysis, we would predict that as the subjects in this research gain police experience, their attitudes will reflect an increasing measure of pragmatic realism (Factor II) and a lesser degree of rigid conformance to authority (Factor III) to the extent that these characteristics can be measured by this instrument. One should note that the differences between the mean scores of the 152 police recruits and the 400 patrolmen with up to three years' experience on Factors I and IV were statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence. Hence, one would predict with less certainty that police experience would modify these attitudes to a statistically significant degree. The temporal dimension within which we would expect the hypothesized changes to occur for our subjects would be the range of service of the group of 400 experienced respondents to the Police Opinion Poll used in the foregoing analysis, a span of three years police experience.

Changes in Attitudes Over Time

From the foregoing analysis, one would anticipate that the 113 subjects in this research would evidence changes in certain attitudes related to their work by the time they had acquired a limited amount of police experience. Specifically,

Table 7.22

Comparison of the Factor Scores of Two Police Recruit Groups with Scores of Patrolmen with Limited Experience

Factor	Scores of 152 Recruits at Start of Training	t Values	Scores of Nationwide Sample of 400 Patrolmen with up to 3 Years Experience	t Values	Scores of a Nationwide Sample of 165 Recruits
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}$= 9.21 s= 1.18	t=2.33	$\bar{X}$= 9.66 s= 1.22	t=0.34	$\bar{X}$= 9.60 s= 1.20
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}$=28.35 s= 1.19	t=6.38*	$\bar{X}$=30.51 s= 1.23	t=5.51*	$\bar{X}$=28.80 s= 1.20
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}$=13.76 s= 1.12	t=4.04*	$\bar{X}$=12.92 s= 1.17	t=3.83*	$\bar{X}$=13.68 s= 1.09
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}$=15.30 s= 1.14	t=2.29	$\bar{X}$=14.75 s= 1.29	t=0.74	$\bar{X}$=14.95 s= 1.20

*Significantly different at the .01 level of confidence.

Table 7.23

Comparison of Factor Scores of 113 Police Subjects Obtained at Three Points in Time

Factor	Mean Score at Start of Training	t Values	Mean Score at End of Training	t Values	Mean Score After 18 Months Experience	Correlation Coefficients $T_1 - T_2$	$T_2 - T_3$
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}$= 9.22 s= 2.42	t=-1.65	$\bar{X}$= 9.66 s= 2.67	t= 2.32	$\bar{X}$= 9.03 s= 2.68	r=.38	r=.40
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}$=28.25 s= 3.69	t=-2.32	$\bar{X}$=29.31 s= 4.22	t=-3.80*	$\bar{X}$=31.12 s= 4.40	r=.25	r=.31
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}$=13.60 s= 2.49	t= 2.01	$\bar{X}$=13.12 s= 2.20	t= 5.30*	$\bar{X}$=11.81 s= 2.27	r=.42	r=.37
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}$=15.27 s= 2.69	t=-1.16	$\bar{X}$=14.94 s= 2.96	t= 2.71*	$\bar{X}$=14.11 s= 3.23	r=.43	r=.45

*Statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

experience would tend to cause them to reflect greater pragmatic realism and less conformity to authority in their attitudes. In order to test this prediction, the mean scores of the 113 subjects on each of the four factors were compared with the respective scores obtained at a later point in time. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 7.23.

As predicted, there were statistically significant changes at the .01 level in the mean scores for Factors II and III which occurred between the end of training and the completion of 18 months' experience as a patrolman. In addition to what was predicted, a statistically significant difference at the .01 level also occurred on Factor IV. Thus, by the time the subjects had worked as patrolmen for a year and a half, their attitudes reflected a significantly greater measure of pragmatic realism, a lesser measure of conformity to authority, and a greater degree of conservatism. Of considerable interest is the fact that there were no statistically significant differences at the .01 level between the factor scores obtained at the

beginning and the end of recruit training. Whereas exposure to formal recruit training did not produce significant changes in role related attitudes, exposure to job experience as a patrolman did produce significant changes in attitudes.*

AN ANALYSIS OF INTER-CITY DIFFERENCES

In this examination of the attitudinal orientations to the police role, it is important to deal with the question of whether or not there are any differences in factor scores among the four groups of recruits included in this research. Particularly important is the matter of the existence of differences among the groups at the point of entry into recruit training. Table 7.24 shows the mean scores and standard deviations for each of the factors by city.

Inspection of the data produces some interesting impressions of intercity differences. For one thing, at T_1, the Baltimore subjects had a noticeably higher mean score on Factor II, Pragmatic Realism, than did the subjects in the other three cities. At the end of training, the Indianapolis subjects had the highest mean score on Pragmatic Realism. For these men, their mean score on Factor II increased four full points over the period of recruit training from 27.53 to 31.53. For another thing, the higher mean factor score of the Baltimore subjects at the start of training on Factor IV indicated that their attitudes were considerably less conservative than those of the subjects in the other three cities. Over the time span of the research, the Baltimore subjects maintained an equivalent score on this factor while the other subjects' scores decreased indicating the adoption of more conservative attitudes.

Inspection of the standard deviations in Table 7.24 also yields some additional information, even though it is somewhat contrary to what would normally be expected. In general, the sharing of common experiences would tend to produce similarities in attitudes or at least reduce dissimilarities. For the subjects in this research, the common experiences of recruit training and police patrol would be expected to make the attitudes of the subjects more similar. This would be indicated by lower standard deviations for the mean factor scores over the time span of the research. Generally, this principle appeared to be reflected in the standard deviations shown for Factor III. However, the contrary occurred with regard to Factor II. In this case, the size of the standard deviations increased over time. This indicated that police experience tended to produce greater heterogeneity of attitudes related to Pragmatic Realism. Though these impressions are useful in gaining a general familiarity with the interrelationships found within the data, a more efficient and precise statistical analysis is necessary to deal with the central question in this discussion.

In order to test whether or not there were any significant differences between and within cities on each factor, the data was treated statistically by analysis of variance. The probabilities that there were statistically significant differences among the cities are displayed in Table 7.25.

*It is also of interest to note that, based on the previous comparative analysis of 152 police recruits with 400 experienced patrolmen, one also would have predicted, though with less certainty, a greater valuation of formal education following initial experience as a patrolman. However, as the data in Table 7.23 shows, although the subjects emerged from recruit training with a higher valuation of education than at the start, their attitudinal valuation of formal education decreased after patrol experience. In one way, the subjects' actual behavior corresponded with this decreased valuation of formal education. At the time of the third and final testing, none of the subjects had enrolled in a college course since becoming a police officer.

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Table 7.24

Attitudinal Factor Scores of Police Recruits in Four Cities

Factor	Start of Training				End of Training				After 18 Months' Experience			
	Balt. N=20	Cin. N=37	Col. N=24	Ind. N=32	Balt. N=20	Cin. N=37	Col. N=24	Ind. N=32	Balt. N=20	Cin. N=37	Col. N=24	Ind. N=32
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}$= 9.20 s= 2.59	$\bar{X}$= 9.68 s= 2.44	$\bar{X}$= 8.96 s= 2.26	$\bar{X}$= 8.91 s= 2.44	$\bar{X}$= 9.60 s= 2.66	$\bar{X}$= 9.57 s= 2.41	$\bar{X}$= 9.88 s= 2.51	$\bar{X}$= 9.66 s= 3.22	$\bar{X}$= 9.75 s= 2.40	$\bar{X}$= 8.73 s= 2.76	$\bar{X}$= 9.50 s= 2.62	$\bar{X}$= 8.56 s= 2.83
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}$=30.05 s= 2.84	$\bar{X}$=27.89 s= 3.13	$\bar{X}$=28.25 s= 4.70	$\bar{X}$=27.53 s= 3.70	$\bar{X}$=29.55 s= 4.36	$\bar{X}$=27.92 s= 3.69	$\bar{X}$=28.29 s= 4.56	$\bar{X}$=31.53 s= 3.62	$\bar{X}$=30.70 s= 5.12	$\bar{X}$=32.19 s= 4.14	$\bar{X}$=29.63 s= 4.80	$\bar{X}$=31.25 s= 3.71
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}$=12.85 s= 2.62	$\bar{X}$=13.30 s= 1.96	$\bar{X}$=14.17 s= 2.48	$\bar{X}$=14.00 s= 2.88	$\bar{X}$=12.60 s= 2.46	$\bar{X}$=12.62 s= 2.03	$\bar{X}$=13.83 s= 2.16	$\bar{X}$=13.50 s= 2.14	$\bar{X}$=11.45 s= 1.99	$\bar{X}$=12.19 s= 2.01	$\bar{X}$=12.04 s= 2.42	$\bar{X}$=11.44 s= 2.59
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}$=16.60 s= 2.48	$\bar{X}$=14.70 s= 2.86	$\bar{X}$=15.63 s= 2.43	$\bar{X}$=14.81 s= 2.57	$\bar{X}$=16.40 s= 2.70	$\bar{X}$=14.81 s= 2.16	$\bar{X}$=15.08 s= 3.65	$\bar{X}$=14.06 s= 3.11	$\bar{X}$=16.65 s= 2.35	$\bar{X}$=13.65 s= 3.38	$\bar{X}$=13.75 s= 3.12	$\bar{X}$=13.31 s= 2.92

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Table 7.25

Probabilities of Inter-City Differences on Attitudinal Factor
Scores Derived from Analysis of Variance

	Attitudinal Factor	Probabilities T_1	Probabilities T_2	Probabilities T_3
I	Valuation of Education	0.67	0.98	0.31
II	Pragmatic Realism	0.16	0.002	0.16
III	Conformity to Authority	0.21	0.09	0.45
IV	Conservatism	0.08	0.05	0.001

When the subjects were originally tested at the start of their recruit training, there were no statistically significant differences at the .01 or .05 level among the groups on any of the four factors. This finding is of considerable importance since it supports the fact that the men chosen by the formal and informal mechanisms of selection in their respective cities were generally quite similar to one another. In this instance, the data indicates that they all started their law enforcement career with a relatively similar attitudinal base. By the end of training, statistically significant differences at the .05 level or less were found among the four city groups on Factors II and IV. Reference to the data in Table 7.24 suggests that the difference found at T_2 on Factor II is related to the higher score of the Indianapolis group, 31.53 and/or the lower score of the Cincinnati group, 27.92. With regard to Factor IV at T_2, the higher mean score of the Baltimore subjects indicating the least conservative attitude appears to be related to the .05 probability value obtained in this analysis.

After 18 months' experience, it should be noted that the intercity differences on Factor II no longer existed. The subjects in all four cities had similar scores on the factor of pragmatic realism. However, the subjects in the four cities again differed from one another on the factor of conservatism. As before, the higher mean factor score of the Baltimore subjects would be causally related to the .001 level of probability found in this analysis. Inspection of the scores in Table 7.24 suggests that while the scores on conservatism decreased over time for Cincinnati, Columbus, and Indianapolis, the score for the Baltimore group remained almost constant. Specifically, while the other three groups of recruits tended to become more conservative in their views, the attitudes of the Baltimore group were unchanged over time and remained the least conservative of all.

ATTITUDE CHANGE AND THE EXPECTATION FOR CHANGE

The socialization process for entry into any membership group is intended to produce eventual conformity not only in behavior but also in attitudes. As the initial step in the socialization process for the police profession, recruit training is the first in a series of two transitional roles which lead to full group membership. The beginning recruit must pass through the trainee role and then the apprentice role before he ultimately is able to enact the patrolman's role in accord with the demands and expectations associated with that position. From the outset,

the adoption of attitudes consistent with the police point of view forms a prominent part of the role expectations for the initiate.

What factors influence the degree to which the socialization process can induce attitudinal changes productive of conformity to normative group standards? A thorough answer to this question would include attention both to factors related to the nature and source of the change influence as well as the characteristics of the person who is the object of that influence. For the police recruit, a number of interrelated forces for attitudinal change exist. From the outset of the performance of the first transitional role of trainee, the incumbent gains new insight into the nature of his future role; the way in which others will see him in this role, and the way in which he will view others. In and of itself, the enactment of the role tends to change the attitudinal perspective of the performer. The direct formal influence of police trainers is an important and obvious influence in the formation and change of attitudes. Another major force in causing changes in attitudes is the effect of the opinion leaders among the colleagues and peers of the trainees. Still other more indirect sources of influence in shaping attitudes may originate from the family and friends of the recruits as well as the media of communication. Though it may be interesting to examine these factors in detail, it is not within the scope of this research to pursue the matter further. Nevertheless, one should remember that there are a number of external variables which may affect the nature and extent of change in role-related attitudes.

The other set of variables which determines the degree to which the socialization process can produce changes in attitudes relates to the personal characteristics of the trainees. The literature on attitude change and persuasibility suggests that a number of factors may be involved. In a summary discussion of persuasibility, one researcher cites a number of hypotheses.

1. Persuasibility may be related to a general personality trait which is independent of subject matter and the method of seeking change.
2. Persuasibility may be more pronounced among emotionally disturbed persons.
3. Persuasibility may be associated with excessive respect for and obedience to authority.
4. Persuasibility may be related to an "other-directed" value system which emphasizes adaptation and conformity.[6]

Another researcher hypothesizes that:

"Persons who are exceptionally lacking in a sense of personal adequacy are excessively fearful of social disapproval and therefore are strongly motivated to conform with the demands or suggestions of others. Excessive compliance might therefore be a compensatory mechanism which leads to chameleon-like changes in response to any new source of persuasive influence."[7]

Still another theoretical approach concerns the degree to which a person is attracted to and values group acceptance:

[6] Arthur R. Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence (New York, Basic Books, 1964), pp. 42-61.

[7] Irving L. Janis, "Anxiety Indices Related to Susceptibility to Persuasion," Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology, Vol. 51, Nov., 1955, p. 663.

"For persons who value a group, are less than completely accepted in it, but have some possibility of achieving complete acceptance, conformity facilitates such a gain in acceptance. Their conformity is unquestioning and extends to private opinions as well as to public behavior."[8]

This observation would seem to be particularly applicable to the police recruit.

Although these hypotheses suggest interesting directions for this research, the theoretical base of this work calls for an exploration of the matter of attitude change within the framework of role theory. Consistent with this theoretical view is the hypothesis that the enactment of a role will produce greater attitudinal change in an individual expecting change than will be the case for an individual not expecting such change. The anticipation of change may result from the perception of an expectation of change expressed by significant role reciprocals, particularly those within the generalized other. Simply put, when the expectation for change is pervasive within an environment and people within that environment expect to experience change, attitudinal change becomes likely.

The police training academy is a change-inducing institution. Here the recruits begin to take on a new occupational identity and, to some degree, a new personal identity. Generally speaking, the formal training program is intended to bring about various changes while the psychological environment supports those changes. The academy exists for one reason: to bring about intended changes in the men who enter as civilians and emerge as trained police recruits. Although the theme of change centers around the acquisition of new skills and knowledge related to the police role, the expectation of change may spread to include the concept of self as well as a perspective on life. For example, in an autobiographical statement of her experiences, a policewoman tells of the advice given by a command officer to her recruit class.

"Your whole lives are going to change, and the people closest to you are going to be the first ones to suffer from it. You will deal with the vilest and lowest and the most depraved forms of humanity, and if you think you can walk away from it lily-pure, turn in your shields right now. Because it will touch you and rub off on you and become a part of you, and what shocks you now will become merely routine to you within a very short time."[9]

In this instance, the source of the expectation for change is external.

A former police patrolman wrote of the changes he experienced in a fictionalized account of his indoctrination into police work. At one point in the story, the recruit trainee remarked introspectively after viewing seasoned police officers in action:

"Today I died. That is to say, a part of me that was young grew old, a part of me that was firm collapsed. I felt my first real fear

[8]James E. Dities and Harold H. Kelley, "Effects of Different Conditions of Acceptance Upon Conformity to Group Norms," Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology, Vol. 53, July, 1956, p. 106.

[9]Uhnak, op. cit., p. 29.

of the changes which might occur in me through this job if I don't watch out."[10]

In this case, an internal awareness of change served to reinforce external influences for attitudinal change.

The Effects of an Expectation for Change on Attitudes

One of the five role conflict items discussed in an earlier section dealt with the expectation that police experience would or would not make the recruit a "changed person." The subjects were asked, "How do you feel that police experience will affect you?" On all three administrations of the instrument, twenty-six subjects responded to this question in the same way by indicating that they expected "police experience to change me as a person." The alternative response, that they "expect police experience to have little effect on me as a person," was chosen by fifteen subjects on all three administrations. Thus, the former group (N=26) had a high expectation for change while the latter group (N=15) had a low expectation for change. It would be hypothesized that the group characterized by a high expectation for change would, in fact, experience greater changes in role-related attitudes than would the low expectation group. To deal with this question, the mean scores for the two groups at each point in time were calculated and are set forth in Table 7.26. The significance of the difference in the mean scores between time spans for each group on all four factors was tested and is indicated in the table. As shown, the group with high change expectation showed statistically significant shifts in mean scores on all four factors at one time or another whereas the group with low change expectation showed a statistically significant decrease in the mean score on only one factor, that of Conformity to Authority.

During the initial time span, the transitional role of recruit trainee calls into play academic abilities. Given the nature of the role, formal education would tend to be valued as an experience transferable to this beginning role. One should note that the mean scores on this factor for both sub-groups increased between T_1 and T_2 but not to the point of statistical significance. As was true with the full group of 113 subjects between T_2 and T_3 when they worked in the field as patrolmen, it would be anticipated that the valuation of formal education by the two sub-groups would decrease. Assumedly, the transferability and the applicability of educational experience to the enactment of the patrolman's role would be less apparent. In this time span, as shown in Table 7.26, the mean factor score for both groups decreased. However, only for the high change expectation group did the mean score decrease to a statistically significant degree.

On Factor II (Pragmatic Realism) the high change expectation group showed a statistically significant increase in the mean score between T_1 and T_2. Apparently, the high change group, with their predisposition for change, was more acceptant of the views of reality given them by their instructors. The slight increase in the factor score for the low change expectation group was not statistically significant.

Factor III (Conformity to Authority) was the only factor on which both groups exhibited statistically significant decreases in the mean scores. The two groups differ though in the time span during which this shift in scores occurred. One possible explanation of this temporal difference between the two groups is suggested

[10]Walker, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

Table 7.26

Analysis of Differences in Opinion Poll Factor Scores Over Time
for High and Low Change Expectation Groups

Factor	High Change Expectation Group (N=26)					Low Change Expectation Group (N=15)				
	Factor Scores T_1	Significance of Difference T_1 and T_2	Factor Scores T_2	Significance of Difference T_2 and T_3	Factor Scores T_3	Factor Scores T_1	Significance of Difference T_1 and T_2	Factor Scores T_2	Significance of Difference T_2 and T_3	Factor Scores T_3
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}=9.31$ $s=1.87$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=9.85$ $s=2.69$	.05	$\bar{X}=8.58$ $s=2.48$	$\bar{X}=8.40$ $s=2.64$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=9.73$ $s=2.79$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=9.13$ $s=2.45$
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}=27.31$ $s=3.80$	.02	$\bar{X}=30.00$ $s=3.82$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=30.85$ $s=3.83$	$\bar{X}=29.40$ $s=3.91$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=30.40$ $s=2.95$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=30.93$ $s=5.01$
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}=14.31$ $s=2.36$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=14.08$ $s=1.98$	.01	$\bar{X}=12.19$ $s=2.32$	$\bar{X}=14.40$ $s=2.32$	.05	$\bar{X}=13.33$ $s=2.13$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=12.73$ $s=2.37$
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}=16.04$ $s=2.57$	.05	$\bar{X}=14.81$ $s=3.09$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=14.81$ $s=3.26$	$\bar{X}=16.00$ $s=2.56$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=14.67$ $s=2.58$	Not sig.	$\bar{X}=13.60$ $s=3.00$

by the work of Cohen.[11] Within his research which centered on the inverse relationship between high self-esteem and low persuasibility, he noted that threatening appeals by those in authority were more likely to be rejected by the change resistant/high self-esteem person than by the change acceptant/low self-esteem person. Cohen also noted that attitudes which tend to enhance an individual's self-concept may be accepted more readily by the change-resistant than by the change-acceptant person. These findings invite the explanation that during recruit training, when strict conformity to rules commonly is expressed in threatening terms by police trainers, the low change expectation group would tend to reject the concepts of rigid conformity to authority to a greater degree than would the high change expectation group. Similarly, the low change expectation group also would tend to reject the appeals of authorities to conform to rigid codes of conduct since, by doing so, they would enhance their self-concept relative to their superiors. By devaluing the power of others over them, they would tend to diminish the distance between superordinates and subordinates. The high change expectation group, on the other hand, would tend not to become aware of influences serving to reduce the measure of conformity to authority until after they had completed recruit training. In the field, discipline is more relaxed, and conformity is achieved generally through cooperative relationships. In this setting, the men are expected to exercise judgment rather than to respond to orders as unquestioning automatons.

In the case of Factor IV (Conservatism), one would expect that the high change group would be more sensitive to and acceptant of the attitudes of their instructors on socio-political issues affecting the police than would be the low change expectation group. With this hypothesis in mind, it is noted that the mean score for the high change group decreased significantly over the time span of recruit training. The decrease in this score between T_1 and T_2 reflects the adoption of a more conservative point of view during exposure to recruit training.

In summary, it appears that those subjects who consistently felt that police experience would change them did, in fact, experience more changes in their attitudinal orientations to the police role than did those subjects who consistently felt that police work would not change them.

A DISCUSSION OF NOT KNOWING

Seemingly, experience increases a man's fund of knowledge. It would follow, then, that the longer a man served in law enforcement, the greater the informational content involved in the formation of his role concepts. However, we should not confuse a real increase in knowledge with an unwillingness to admit to ignorance. Both conditions would, of course, lead to a decrease in the "don't know" responses to the 20 opinion poll items. Actually, an unwillingness to admit to ignorance on a topic would tend to reduce the possibility for real increases in knowledge. Although this research cannot address itself in detail to the differences related to a longitudinal decrease in not knowing, it is important to note that changes in role concepts over time may result from either a real increase in role-related knowledge or a decrease in one's awareness of or willingness to acknowledge gaps in his knowledge. Suffice it to say that the police role may include an expectation either for true learning or for merely the appearance of omniscience.

The categories of response set forth on the instrument allow the subjects to indicate levels of agreement or disagreement as well as "don't know" or "have no

[11] Arthur R. Cohen, "Some Implications of Self Esteem for Social Influence," in Personality and Persuasibility, C. I. Hovland and Irving L. Janis, eds. (New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 102-120.

opinion." The apparent double meaning contained within the latter response categories actually represents an inclusive condition of ignorance related to the item. Either the subject does not know the answer or he simply has no opinion about the subject matter in the item. In either event, this response represents a general lack of knowledge associated with the item.

It has been suggested that the longer a man has served as a patrolman, the fewer "don't know" responses he will give to the 20 items in the attitudinal questionnaire. Logically, the longer a man has served in law enforcement, the greater his so-called cognitive load. There would be more informational content involved in the formation of his occupational role concepts. In a special analysis of the data obtained from a nationwide sample of police officers for the study Police and Their Opinions, the responses of 2,042 experienced patrolmen and 165 inexperienced police recruits were examined by length of service. As one example of the effects of length of service on the frequency of "don't know" responses, consider the data in Table 7.27 which was derived from the responses of this sample of patrolmen to an item related to the collective role of the police.

Table 7.27

Analysis of Responses of a Nationwide Sample of 2,207 Police Patrolmen

"If the police put as much effort into crime prevention as they
do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we
would be farther ahead in reducing crime."

Length of Police Experience	Agree	Don't Know
Recruit	46.67%	21.21%
Less than 1 year	45.65	10.87
1 - 3 years	63.32	6.58
4 - 6 years	66.86	6.51
7 - 10 years	67.26	7.13
11 - 15 years	71.49	5.52
16 - 20 years	72.31	5.21
21 - 25 years	76.53	7.14
26 or more years	73.81	4.76

Two conclusions emerge from the data. First, the greater the length of experience as patrolmen, the greater is their belief in crime prevention as a part of the police role. Second, the greater the length of service, the less frequently the respondents indicate they "don't know" how to respond to the item. The general proposition that the longer men are in police work, the more they know or the less they feel they do not know is supported by the data contained in the report of a nationwide sample of the opinions of police officers.[12]

Another general proposition to emerge from the nationwide study of police opinions was that " . . . on most questions the proportion of officers checking "don't know or no opinion" increased as the level of education increased."[13]

[12] Ibid., pp. 129-144.

[13] Ibid., p. 43.

Because of the scarcity of college graduates among the 113 police subjects, it was not feasible to analyze the "don't know" responses of these subjects to the twenty Opinion Poll items by the same educational categories used in Police and Their Opinions. However, among the nationwide sample of 4,578 experienced police officers, a greater proportion of college graduates gave a "don't know" response to 13 of the 20 items included in the Opinion Poll than did the men with lesser amounts of formal education.[14]

An apparent contradiction emerges from these two trends. Increased knowledge gained from police experience tends to decrease the proportion of "don't know" responses while increased knowledge gained from the completion of formal education at the college level tends to increase the proportion of "don't know" responses. While this discussion cannot produce definitive conclusions, it inevitably does lead one to seek further information about the relationships involved in these contradictory trends. For the present, though, a tentative explanation which might guide future inquiries into the matter seems proper.

In a fictionalized account of his experiences in law enforcement, a police sergeant wrote of a conversation between two patrolmen, one of them still on probation. The senior officer commented tersely to the probationary patrolman,

"As long as you're willing to admit you know nothing, you'll learn fast enough. Some guys hate to show they don't know anything."[15]

As suggested by this statement, some policemen do not like to admit that they "don't know." To the public, the police are authority figures in a sense far beyond the exercise of legal authority. The public expects them to know what to do and then to act decisively. They are expected to give quick answers to both complex and simple questions. It is possible that the police role carries with it the expectation that the incumbent know what to do or say, or least give that appearance. If this is true, then the longer the man has functioned in the police role, the greater his occupational behavior will be influenced by the expectation of omniscience.

The police are expected to act decisively and to seek immediate solutions to the varied problems they encounter. The resulting duality of pressures to "do something" and to "be right" perhaps necessitates the perception of events in clear and simple terms.

"The need to disregard complexity is structurally built into the occupation . . . . Policemen are required to deal with matters involving subtle human conflicts and profound legal and moral questions, without being allowed to give the subtleties and profundities anywhere near the consideration they deserve . . . ."[16]

The police role requires action based upon a knowledge of what to do. Not to know the answer to a problem in real life or on paper thus becomes an unacceptable response for the police.

[14] Ibid., pp. 129-144.

[15] Joseph Wambaugh, The New Centurions (Boston; Little, Brown & Company, 1970), p. 39.

[16] Egon Bittner, The Functions of the Police in Modern Society (Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 9.

On the other hand, what tentative explanation can be offered to explain why police officers with a college education tend to give a greater proportion of "don't know" responses than men with less formal education? One police officer said that college taught him to "know what I don't know." Another man said that his education taught him "to be able to get along without knowing." Given the breadth of knowledge to which a college man has been exposed and the awareness that our systems of knowledge lack closure, the formally educated police officer is not threatened by not knowing. He is more comfortable with uncertainties and can admit more easily to the limits of his knowledge.

An Analysis of the "Don't Know" Responses

Although these tentative explanations are unsupported by objective evidence, the data derived from the 113 subjects does cast some peripheral light on the matters raised in the foregoing discussion.

The general proposition has been advanced that the longer the respondents have been in police work, the less frequently they tend to use the "don't know" response category in answering the attitudinal items presented to them. Just as this was true for the nationwide sample of patrolmen, so too was it true for the 113 subjects in this research. At the start of their training, 15% of all responses were in the "don't know" category. By the end of training, this percentage was reduced to 11.1 of the total. After 18 months of field experience, the percentage of the "don't know" responses was further reduced to 8.4% of the total. This overall trend is in keeping with the view that the greater the length of police service, the more knowledge the respondent believed he possessed about police matters. Thus, one of the changes in role concepts which occurred over time was a real or imagined expansion of the informational base supporting these role concepts.

What questions elicit the greatest number of "don't know" responses from the subjects? For purposes of brevity, only the five questions which at each point in time were answered most frequently with a "don't know" response are listed in rank order in Table 7.28. Although a consideration of each paraphrased Opinion Poll item is of interest, greater meaning can be extracted from the factor designations shown for each of the items. At the start of recruit training, four of the five top ranked items were included within Factor IV. This factor focused on the matter of conservatism as it related to the major contemporary issues in law enforcement--lateral entry, crime prevention, the impact of court decisions, and civilian review boards. It is logical that men entering recruit training would not know whether to agree or disagree with these items.

At the end of recruit training, the items from Factor II comprised the core of that which was unknown. The three items from the factor titled Pragmatic Realism reflect the practical concerns of men about to enact the patrolman's role for the first time. Here again, it is logical that the subjects do not know whether academic subjects are related to the reality of the police role nor do they know what experience has shown policemen about the matter of guilt. Further, the subjects would not be expected to know whether juveniles of a certain appearance need to be watched. These matters appear to reflect the anticipatory concerns of the subjects at this point in time.

By the end of 18 months of field experience, the cluster of items which are dominant among those things which are unknown are drawn from Factor I. This factor concerns the value of formal education for police work. That men with 18 months' field experience do not know about the value of formal education for police work is hardly unexpected. Others certainly share in this area of ignorance.

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Table 7.28

Rank Order of Opinion Poll Items Most Frequently Answered by a "Don't Know" Response*

Rank	Start of Recruit Training	End of Recruit Training	After 18 Months Experience
1	Experience shows that there is a big difference between real guilt and the judgment of the court. (Factor II)	Psychology & sociology are not related to reality of the police job. (Factor II)	It is a good idea to fill command vacancies with men from other departments. (Factor IV)
2	It is a good idea to fill command vacancies with men from other police agencies. (Factor IV)	Experience shows that there is a big difference between real guilt and the judgment of the court. (Factor II)	The police need more college trained officers. (Factor I)
3	If police put effort into crime prevention, they would be farther ahead in reducing crime. (Factor IV)	Police candidates should complete college courses in order to be certified for initial employment. (Factor I)	The best officers have more education. (Factor I)
4	The police are often responsible for not guilty findings. (Factor IV)	It is a good idea to fill command vacancies with men from other departments. (Factor IV)	Psychology & sociology are not related to the reality of the police job. (Factor II)
5	The idea of civilian review boards is not wrong if fair people could serve on them. (Factor IV)	Juveniles with "beatnik" appearance need to be watched. (Factor II)	Police candidates should complete college courses in order to be certified for initial employment. (Factor I)

*Parenthetical notations indicate the Opinion Poll Factor in which the item appeared.

"Do the police need a college education? Does it really pay off in terms of better law enforcement? . . . the reasons advanced for college education for police . . . rest more on faith than on fact. Evidence does not firmly establish the necessity of four years of college for entry into any field: research is unable to determine how much knowledge college graduates retain from their studies or even whether their personalities and values are significantly altered by the process."[17]

Another point of interest in this analysis is the omission of Factor III items from the top ranked "don't know" items. This factor essentially concerns the matter of conformity to authority. Apparently, questions in this subject area can be answered more decisively than is the case for the other three factors. Again, it is logical that these questions did not contribute greatly to the total number of "don't know" responses. Superordinate and subordinate relationships are rather clear cut within police departments and expectations for conformance are generally quite explicit.

The procedure used in this analysis does have face validity. It does point to a cluster of items which are related logically to the expected unknowns of the men at a given point in time. At the outset of training, we would not expect the men to know or even have opinions about lateral entry, the value of crime prevention, the impact of court decisions, or the worth of civilian review boards. These are, in fact, most controversial issues. At the end of training, we would expect the subjects' anticipatory concerns over their new role to manifest themselves in an admittance of not knowing about matters related to the reality of the police role. Lastly, after 18 months' field experience, the question of the relevance of formal education for police work is understandably one which dominates that which is unknown.

[17]Saunders, op. cit., pp. 81-82, 92 ff.

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THE FORMATION OF OPINIONS AND INTRA-DEPARTMENT ASPIRATIONS

From the time that each of the subjects first decided upon becoming a police officer, his conceptions about law enforcement began to be shaped in anticipation of the time when he actually would enact that role. Theoretically, aspirations tend to structure perceptions, organize experiences, influence interpretations of those experiences, and modify attitudes in ways which are congruent to the goals sought after. This is the process of anticipatory socialization. From the standpoint of the design of this research, the responses of the subjects to the Role Perception Battery at the start of their training reflected the end effects of anticipatory socialization. The responses to the battery of instruments after training reflected both the intended and the unintended outcomes of formal training. The subjects' responses to the battery after 18 months in the field were the outcome of their performance of the police role.

After the subjects' vocational aspirations to enter law enforcement had been satisfied and they had gained additional knowledge about their new role and the organizational structure of positions in their respective departments, new aspirations related to their careers in law enforcement would emerge. Again, the process of anticipatory socialization would begin to modify their attitudes, beliefs and opinions in ways which are consistent with their newly-formed goals. Some of the subjects would aspire to become administrators or investigators. Others would have lower aspirations and seek out specialist positions, or even aspire to remain as patrolmen.

In what way does the process of anticipatory socialization shape the views of the subjects once they have become police officers? Some hypotheses can be formed from the findings of the original work assessing the opinions of a nationwide sample of police officers. In this study of experienced police officers, administrators were found to have a higher valuation of formal education than did patrolmen or detectives. The opinions of patrolmen and detectives were found to reflect more of what we have termed pragmatic realism than the opinions of administrators. Further, the scores of administrators evidenced greater conformity to authority than did those of men working as patrolmen or detectives. Lastly, the administrators' opinions were found to be less conservative than those of patrolmen or detectives.[18]

Within this research, a pertinent question to consider is whether or not the opinions of the subjects began to undergo modification once their aspirations were conceived, or whether modification began to occur only after the sought after goal was achieved and the new role was actually enacted. From a temporal standpoint, we would expect that intradepartment aspirations would not begin to emerge in a realistic form until the subjects had gained considerable knowledge about their present role and the relationships associated with it. Once these aspirations began to take form, the opinions of the subjects would begin to be modified in anticipation of the specific nature of their aspirations.

To explore these hypotheses, the subjects were grouped according to their stated goals. Some aspired to become administrators, supervisors or detectives, while others sought to remain at the level of patrolman. The scores for each aspiration group were determined for each of the four factors at each point in time. The data related to this analysis of variance is set forth in Table 7.29.

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[18]Watson and Sterling, op. cit., pp. 64-77.

Table 7.29

An Examination of the Relationship Between Intra-Department Aspiration Level and Factor Scores on Police Opinion Poll by Analysis of Variance

Factor	Start of Recruit Training				End of Recruit Training				After 18 Months Field Experience			
	N=39 Det. Aspiration	N=26 Ptlmn. Aspiration	N=47 Adm. Aspiration	Prob.	N=22 Det. Aspiration	N=35 Ptlmn. Aspiration	N=52 Adm. Aspiration	Prob.	N=24 Det. Aspiration	N=28 Ptlmn. Aspiration	N=60 Adm. Aspiration	Prob.
I Valuation of Education	$\bar{X}$=9.41 s=2.55	$\bar{X}$=9.58 s=2.61	$\bar{X}$=8.89 s=2.22	0.44	$\bar{X}$=10.45 s=2.82	$\bar{X}$=9.11 s=2.40	$\bar{X}$=9.75 s=2.76	0.18	$\bar{X}$=9.54 s=2.50	$\bar{X}$=8.11 s=2.17	$\bar{X}$=9.32 s=2.89	0.09
II Pragmatic Realism	$\bar{X}$=28.51 s=4.04	$\bar{X}$=27.81 s=3.64	$\bar{X}$=28.28 s=3.51	0.76	$\bar{X}$=30.95 s=3.30	$\bar{X}$=29.00 s=3.95	$\bar{X}$=28.77 s=4.42	0.10	$\bar{X}$=30.17 s=3.99	$\bar{X}$=32.64 s=3.60	$\bar{X}$=30.68 s=4.73	0.08
III Conformity to Authority	$\bar{X}$=13.82 s=2.47	$\bar{X}$=13.69 s=2.09	$\bar{X}$=13.47 s=2.68	0.80	$\bar{X}$=13.09 s=2.33	$\bar{X}$=13.49 s=1.79	$\bar{X}$=12.79 s=2.40	0.35	$\bar{X}$=11.83 s=2.28	$\bar{X}$=11.89 s=2.36	$\bar{X}$=11.73 s=2.26	0.95
IV Conservatism	$\bar{X}$=15.62 s=2.54	$\bar{X}$=14.50 s=3.00	$\bar{X}$=15.40 s=2.63	0.24	$\bar{X}$=15.86 s=2.66	$\bar{X}$=14.29 s=3.00	$\bar{X}$=15.02 s=3.05	0.15	$\bar{X}$=14.58 s=3.11	$\bar{X}$=13.32 s=3.12	$\bar{X}$=14.38 s=3.23	0.27

At T_1, none of the groups was differentiated from the other on the opinion poll factor scores. This can be seen from the high probability scores. The failure to find any probability values which approached statistical significance tends to support the view that intradepartmental aspirations were either lacking or vaguely conceptualized at the start of recruit training. Consequently, anticipatory socialization arising from intradepartment aspirations had not yet begun to influence the subjects' opinions.

By the end of training, there still were no differences among the groups which could be considered statistically significant. However, the probability values decreased in all cases and on Factor II, Pragmatic Realism, the probability value indicated that the differences in mean scores among the groups could have occurred by chance alone in only ten instances out of 100. The raw scores suggest a partial confirmation of the hypothesis that those subjects who aspire to become administrators would obtain lower scores on Factor II than those who aspire to positions at the detective or patrolman level. Although the mean score of 28.77 for those with administrative aspirations differed in the expected directions from the mean of 30.95 for those with investigative aspirations, the score is only slightly lower than that of the group which aspires to positions at the patrolman's level, 29.00.

After eighteen months of experience, the probability values on two of the factors began to approach a level which could be regarded as significant. On Factor I, Valuation of Education, the score for the administrative aspirants was higher than that for the men with aspirations at the patrolman's level. This is consistent with one of the hypotheses. However, contrary to what was hypothesized, the score for the administrative group, 9.32, was slightly lower than that for the men with detective aspirations, 9.54. On Factor II, Pragmatic Realism, the score for the group with administrative aspirations was lower than that of the group with investigative aspirations as hypothesized. However, it was not lower than the score for the group with aspirations at the patrolman's level. Though this analysis failed to prove any of the stated hypotheses with the desired level of statistical certainty, it did not fully and finally reject the hypothesized relationships. First, it should be noted that at T_3, there was a high correspondence in raw scores between the administrative and detective aspirants. In the case of three of the four factors, the group with aspirations at the patrolman's level was different from the other two groups in the direction hypothesized for the administrative group. The aspirants for positions at the patrolman's level valued formal education less, reflected a greater degree of pragmatic realism, and evidenced more conservative views than the other two groups. In the case of the factor conformity to authority, the high probability value of .95 suggests that the small difference in mean scores among the groups could have resulted from chance alone in 95 out of 100 instances. Thus, for all practical purposes, the differences among the scores were insignificant.

All things considered, it would appear that the process of anticipatory socialization arising from intradepartment aspirations did not begin to function so as to differentiate among the groups at the outset of training. Only after knowledge and experience had been acquired by experience did aspirations begin to form so as to affect opinions. This analysis also suggests that aspiration may not take a multiplicity of objects--administrative, investigative or patrol. Rather, we may be talking merely about two polar qualities, aspiration and complacency. Overall, this analysis suggests the need for further exploration of the relationship between aspiration and opinion formation.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCEPTIONS OF ROLE ATTRIBUTES

QUALITIES DERIVED FROM JOB ANALYSIS

What personal characteristics are seen as essential in the performance of the police role? One method of dealing with this question is to objectively study the basic elements involved in the role through job analysis and then logically deduce the characteristics necessary to perform the various job elements. Following this approach, a job analysis was undertaken some years ago in the Los Angeles Police Department by the California State Department of Education.[1] The work routines of the police were analyzed by job processes or functions. These units were further analyzed into the following essential mental qualities or traits required for effective police performance:

1. Accurate memory and observation
2. Reasonability
3. Analytical judgment
4. Ability to follow directions
5. Ability to organize material
6. Mental alertness
7. Speed of decision
8. Judgment (common sense)
9. Determination
10. Social intelligence (understanding human nature)
11. Aggressiveness

From an examination of this list, it appears that the police role was seen primarily as task oriented rather than people oriented. The only two attributes which have a direct relationship to interpersonal relationships are social intelligence and aggressiveness.

Almost thirty years later, this same approach was undertaken in the Chicago Police Department. A job analysis was again performed and a list of behavioral requirements was derived. The attributes which were judged to be crucial in the successful performance of the patrolman's role are set forth in paraphrased form.

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[1] Benjamin Holmes, "Selection of Patrolmen," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 32, No. 5, Jan.-Feb., 1942, pp. 557-578.

1. Endure long periods of monotony and yet react quickly and effectively to problem situations

2. Gain knowledge of the physical characteristics, events and behavior patterns of people in a patrol area

3. Exhibit initiative, problem-solving capacity, effective judgment, and imagination in coping with complex situations

4. Make prompt and effective decisions

5. Demonstrate mature judgment in deciding to make an arrest, give a warning, or use force

6. Demonstrate critical awareness in discerning signs of unusual conditions or circumstances

7. Exhibit a number of complex psychomotor skills

8. Adequately perform communication and record keeping functions

9. Have the facility to act effectively in extremely divergent interpersonal situations

10. Endure verbal and physical abuse from citizens and offenders

11. Exhibit a professional, self-assured presence and a self-confident manner

12. Be capable of restoring equilibrium to social groups

13. Be skillful in questioning suspected offenders, victims and witnesses

14. Take charge of situations yet not unduly alienate participants or bystanders

15. Be flexible enough to work under loose supervision in some situations and under direct supervision in other situations

16. Tolerate stress in a multitude of forms

17. Exhibit personal courage in the face of dangerous situations

18. Maintain objectivity while dealing with a wide variety of people and groups

19. Maintain a balanced perspective in the face of constant exposure to the worst side of human nature

20. Exhibit a high level of personal integrity and ethical conduct[2]

[2]Baehr, Furcon and Froemel, op. cit., pp. II-3-5.

The results of this job analysis were more extensive in that both mental and behavioral characteristics were included. In general, this listing of attributes appears to be primarily person oriented rather than task oriented. Not only does the list contain mention of some of the more subtle aspects of interpersonal relationships but it also makes explicit reference to the intrapersonal side of human relationships.

Any conclusions which can be drawn by contrasting the findings of these two studies of the attributes which are essential for the enactment of the police role must be considered as tenuous. However, they do provide strikingly different impressions. The earlier study imparted a general view of the police role as being relatively simple and primarily task oriented. The latter analysis reflected a view of the role as a far more complex one which required the ability to make sound judgments in a wide range of circumstances involving people. Though the different impressions gained from these two studies may have been caused by a variety of reasons related to their design, one cannot help but wonder to what degree these contrasting findings reflect actual changes in the police role over time.

QUALITIES DERIVED FROM AN UNSTRUCTURED QUESTION

Another way of gaining information about the characteristics which are seen as essential to the police role is simply to ask people. Of course, it makes a great deal of difference who is asked. For example, twenty-six Nebraska State Troopers were asked what qualities they would look for in police recruits.

"Many put emphasis on 'appearance.' This seemed to combine a series of overt, sensory impressions into a generalized 'feeling' that this particular man would be all right. For example, the man should look 'alert.' The general idea seemed to be that he should be able to answer questions correctly, honestly and immediately. His physical appearance should be clean, neat and orderly."[3]

These respondents, who had completed seven weeks of recruit training and six months probation in the field under the guidance of an experienced officer also mentioned "common sense" and "honesty" as essential qualities.

In another inquiry into the qualities most necessary in a good policeman, 41% of the 27 police respondents listed "alertness" and "competence" as the most essential attributes. Thirty-seven percent listed "hard, consistent work" as a desired characteristic while 30% of the subjects stated that a "likeable personality" was important.[4] In connection with the view that role attributes which are thought to be essential are a consequence of the way in which the role is conceived, it is of interest to note that for these twenty-seven police subjects, ". . . a pleasant personality is highly valued for the long hours in a car can easily drag."[5] It is significant that a pleasant personality was not held to be important in interpersonal relationships with the general public.

Another study of this kind used police instructors as respondents. The subjects were asked what was the most important quality for a policeman to have.

[3]Frank S. Devine, "Survey Report Number Two for the Nebraska State Patrol, Officer Training Selection Procedures," mimeographed (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969) p. 9-11.

[4]Westley, op. cit., p. 65.

[5]Ibid., p. 64.

Replies from the group of thirteen highly experienced police trainers were ranked as follows:

1. Honesty
2. Dedication, loyalty
3. Common Sense
4. Desire
5. Prudence
6. Understanding[6]

In a more sophisticated application of this common sense approach to determine the attributes thought to be essential to the police role, a systematic random sample of city residents was asked what personal qualities were thought to be the most important for a policeman to have. The replies of the 275 respondents are listed below in rank order.

1. Courteous, helpful, friendly, gets along well with others, easy going, cheerful, sense of humor, understanding, kind, patient, considerate, personality 38.8%

2. Impartiality, objectivity, fairness, honesty, integrity, veracity................................. 16.9

3. Ability, competence, efficiency, conscientious, hardworking, ambitious, dependable, reliable, stable, initiative, resourcefulness, adaptability, alertness 10.3

4. Physically fit, strong, courageous, tough, appearance, neatness 10.1

5. Intelligence, judgment, common sense, education...... 9.7

6. Self-controlled, self-directed, disciplined, able to carry out orders, strict, firm, reputation, morality, and character............................ 8.2

7. Knowledge of work, departmental procedures, and law; communication and public relations skills; willingness and desire to be a policeman, loyalty 3.2

8. No answer or unclassified .... 2.8[7]

In this instance, it is interesting to note that the public regards human relations attributes as far more important than abstract virtues, general abilities, or job related knowledge.

Here again, one faces a problem in trying to compare the findings of different studies. First, responses will vary according to the background of the people who are asked. Again, the attributes thought to be essential will depend on the

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[6]"Police Instructors Seminar on Training," Center for Adult Education, University of Maryland, May-June, 1968.

[7]Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., pp. 213-14.

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particular view of the police role held by the respondent. Second, since the requested answers are not delimited, the wide variety of possible responses makes any comparative analysis difficult. Despite the problems inherent in this method, a core of essential attributes emerged which was common to three of the four studies cited. "Common Sense" and "Honesty" were among the top rated attributes in all but the Westley study.

QUALITIES DERIVED FROM A CHECK LIST

Perhaps the best method of assessing the attributes which are held to be essential in the performance of a given role is the use of an adjective check list. This approach, developed in the mid-1950's, provided a systematic way of determining the qualitative aspects of role enactment. At this early stage of development, a 200 word adjective check list was designed to determine the attributes related to the role of "daughter in contemporary American society."[8] Forty percent or more of the respondents checked the adjectives: informal, imaginative, pleasure-seeking, well mannered, warm, gentle, feminine, modest, and cheerful. The same researchers also used this approach to assess the qualities held to be related to the foreman's role. Among the adjectives chosen most frequently from the list of 200 commonly used modifiers were: industrious, serious, stable, intelligence, fair-minded, tactful and reasonable.

In a recent application of this method to the police, 192 Salt Lake City police officers responded to a 52 item check list which was designed to assess their overall impressions of police officers. The most frequently chosen attributes, listed in rank order, were honest, responsible, alert, self-reliant, courageous, capable, suspicious, down-to-earth, helping and masculine.[10]

This method for determining the qualities conceived to be essential for the enactment of a specific role has certain advantages over the two other methods cited in this discussion. An adjective check list limits the responses of the subjects to the words stated on the form. Thus, responses are analyzed more easily. The use of a check list also allows assessments to be made at various points in time that are directly comparable with one another. Consequently, this approach was adopted within this research.

A MODEL ANALYSIS OVER TIME

Basically, one's concept of what attributes are essential for the enactment of the police role is a reflection of what the role of the police is thought to be. Changes in conceptions of role attributes over time will occur to the degree that one's concept of the police role is altered. If, at the start of training, a recruit conceives of police work as consisting largely of physical tasks executed in a hostile environment, then, logically, the attributes which will be seen as essential for work of this kind will be related to physical strength and courage. After training, if the

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[8]Theodore R. Sarbin and Donal S. Jones, "An Experimental Analysis of Role Behavior," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. 51, 1956, pp. 236-41.

[9]Theodore R. Sarbin and Donal S. Jones, "The Assessment of Role-Expectations in the Selection of Supervisory Personnel," Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol. 15, 1955, pp. 236-239.

[10]Finney, op. cit., pp. 11-15.

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recruit now conceives of the police role as one in which a variety of public service functions are performed and recognizes that people can, in many instances, be manipulated more easily through verbal rather than physical skills, then such characteristics as communications skills, courtesy, and knowledge of interpersonal relationships will come to be valued more highly.

In an effort to assess the changes which would take place in the concepts of essential role attributes over time, Wetteroth compiled a list of 40 qualities which experienced police officers felt were positively related to the role of the police. [11] Beginning in 1959, the list was administered to 40 New York City police recruits at three points in time; pre-appointment, post-academic, and post-field training. At each administration, they were asked to select the ten most essential traits. From their responses, a "trait image" was determined. This consisted of a cluster of characteristics which were believed to be "essential in a good policeman." Ten years later, the same instrument was administered to 31 of the original 40 subjects. [12]

Because of the care taken in the development of the Wetteroth Trait Image Scale (W.T.I.S.) and the value of the longitudinal data obtained from the administration of this instrument, this adjective check list was used as a model for this research. The W.T.I.S. was duplicated and administered to the 113 subjects in this research at three points in time, the start of recruit training, the end of recruit training and after 18 months of field experience.*

Changes in Concepts of Role Attributes Over Time

Like Wetteroth's subjects, the 113 men in this research were asked at each administration of the instrument to select ten of the 40 qualities listed which they believed essential in a good policeman. The responses were scored by assigning a numerical value of 40 to the first choice, 39 to the second choice, and so on to the tenth choice which received a value of 31. All of the remaining items received a score of 15.5. Thus, the scores could be summed, averaged, and ranked.

Table 8.1 shows the rank position and the average score for each of the 40 attributes chosen by the 113 subjects at each point in time. By and large, there is a remarkable consistency among the rankings. The rank correlation between the placement of attributes at T_1 and T_2 was .960 (t=21.19, significant at the .005 level). Between T_2 and T_3, the correlation was .957 (t=20.39, significant at the .005 level). Thus, the nature of the subjects' role concepts, as inferred from the list of attributes chosen as essential to the police role, remained relatively unchanged within each time period. Their views of the attributes essential to the police role formed during the period of anticipatory socialization were not greatly affected by the new conceptions of the police role gained during their formal training. Nor were these conceptions greatly modified by eighteen months of field experience. At this level of analysis, it appears that the responses of the subjects to this trait image scale are highly stable over time. It has been explained that the durability of the occupational stereotype inferred from the ranking of attributes:

" . . . may be found in the notion that the lifetime careers, such as doctor, lawyer, policeman, nurse and the like, frequently form

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[11] Wetteroth, op. cit., p. 88.

[12] George P. McManus, et. al., Police Training and Performance Study (New York City Police Department, 1969), pp. 59-74.

*A copy of the Wetteroth Trait Image Scale is contained in the Appendix as item B-7.

Table 8.1

Rank of 40 Qualities Essential in a Good Policeman Chosen by 113 Police Subjects at Start of Training, End of Training, and After 18 Months Experience

Rank	Start of Training		End of Training		After 18 Months Experience	
	Average Score	Attribute	Average Score	Attribute	Average Score	Attribute
1	30.58	Dedication	31.94	Common Sense	34.34	Common Sense
2	29.60	Alertness	31.16	Alertness	32.96	Alertness
3	28.13	Well Trained	28.89	Well Trained	27.86	Job Knowledge
4	27.78	Job Knowledge	27.73	Job Knowledge	27.43	Well Trained
5	26.27	Common Sense	26.97	Dedication	26.96	Honesty
6	26.05	Intelligence	26.62	Intelligence	25.84	Intelligence
7	25.43	Honesty	26.20	Honesty	25.41	Responsibility
8	24.93	Courage	26.09	Appearance	24.42	Dedication
9	23.56	Responsibility	25.40	Courtesy	23.28	Reliability
10	23.37	Courtesy	25.04	Responsibility	23.14	Appearance
11	23.29	Appearance	23.08	Reliability	22.94	Courage
12	23.12	Reliability	22.42	Patience	22.90	Initiative
13	21.91	Emotional Maturity	22.29	Courage	22.89	Patience
14	21.55	Patience	21.97	Initiative	21.96	Courtesy
15	21.35	Respect for Superiors	20.67	Morality	21.18	Integrity
16	20.95	Efficient	20.33	Emotional Maturity	20.65	Even Tempered
17	20.54	Integrity	20.13	Efficient	20.48	Emotional Maturity
18	20.16	Even Tempered	19.48	Good Health	19.57	Efficient
19	20.00	Initiative	19.46	Tolerance	19.25	Respect for Superiors
20	19.85	Tolerance	19.34	Even Tempered	19.19	Good Health
21	19.66	Morality	18.68	Respect for Superiors	18.76	Discretion
22	19.65	Good Health	18.65	Integrity	18.47	Self Reliance
23	18.63	Self Reliance	17.87	Discretion	18.35	Tolerance
24	18.30	Compassion	17.68	Cooperation	18.06	Cooperation
25	18.07	Discretion	17.59	Sobriety	17.63	Well Educated
26	17.93	Cooperation	17.42	Well Educated	17.49	Morality
27	17.80	Leadership	17.42	Leadership	17.23	Sobriety
28	17.02	Sobriety	17.12	Self Reliance	17.15	Leadership
29	16.99	Well Educated	16.60	Religious	17.09	Sense of Humor
30	16.95	Religious	16.36	Compassion	16.69	Compassion
31	16.58	Pleasant Personality	16.34	Pleasant Personality	16.59	Practical
32	16.11	Physical Strength	16.13	Sense of Humor	16.26	Air of Authority
33	16.03	Air of Authority	16.13	Practical	16.26	Pleasant Personality
34	15.96	Good Family Background	16.07	Good Family Background	16.02	Physical Strength
35	15.94	Industrious	15.95	Friendly	16.01	Good Family Background
36	15.94	Friendly	15.81	Industrious	15.82	Religious
37	15.83	Sense of Humor	15.76	Physical Strength	15.76	Friendly
38	15.65	Practical	15.50	Air of Authority	15.50	Industrious
39	15.64	Studious	15.50	Not Naive	15.50	Not Naive
40	15.50	Not Naive	15.50	Studious	15.50	Studious

the basis of children's games. As such, they become so familiar to individuals at an early age that their occupational image becomes stereotyped and may persist even under a forced reappraisal such as the trait check list, and in spite of some actual job experience."[13]

Another evidence of the sameness in rankings is found in the range of average scores. At T_1, the range of scores between the first and the tenth ranked attributes was 7.21. Although there was a slight shift upward in average scores at T_2 indicating a greater degree of consensus in the subjects' choices, the range of 6.90 was not notably different from T_1. However, at T_3, the range of scores had

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[13] Ibid., p. 68.

widened to 11.20. This was a consequence of the increased agreement among the subjects in the choice of common sense and alertness as the first and the second most essential attributes.

The overall impression gained from this data is that although the subjects' initial stereotype of essential attributes was relatively unchanged by their formal training, nevertheless it did reaffirm their belief that alertness was among the most essential qualities for a police officer to possess. "The idea that the policeman should be 'alert,' 'vigilant,' 'on his toes' to the possibility of crime seems the fundamental craft requirement of the policeman."[14] He must be watchful and in a state of readiness to meet danger. However, training did have the effect of causing the subjects to see that their reactions to sensory perceptions must be governed by reason and sound judgment. Moreover, enactment of the patrolman's role tended to reinforce further the idea gained in training that common sense and alertness are complimentary qualities which are indispensible in the performance of the police role.

Beyond these general impressions, the rank assigned to certain attributes did shift notably from one administration of the scale to another. Between T_1 and T_2, dedication dropped from first to fifth place.[15] Courage, ranked in eighth place at T_1, dropped out of the top ranked ten qualities at T_2 and was replaced by appearance. All other qualities remained in their initial rank order with the exception of responsibility and courage which inverted positions. By and large, this analysis also gives an impression of stability in the ranking of attributes by the 113 subjects between the beginning and the end of their recruit training.

At the final administration of the scale after eighteen months of experience, common sense and alertness remained as the top ranked attributes while well trained, job knowledge and intelligence underwent insignificant changes in position. Dedication which dropped in rank between T_1 and T_2 decreased further to eighth position while appearance dropped to tenth. Courtesy, no longer among the top ten, was replaced by reliability. Honesty and responsibility rose slightly to fifth and seventh position respectively. Though there were few major shifts in overall positions between T_1 and T_3, some specific qualities did change significantly and therefore call for at least a tentative explanation. For one thing, the perceived decrease in the importance assigned to dedication can be traced to the prominence accorded to this quality within the occupational stereotype of most service occupations. According to our ethos, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, nurses, policemen, social workers and teachers must, above all, be dedicated. Those who elect to enter these occupations generally do so with a profound sense of dedication. However, after training and some initial exposure to the occupational routines, some degree of disenchantment sets in. The reality of the work causes more practical and specific attributes to be seen as necessary for the performance of the role.

The ascendance in importance of common sense can be seen as related to an early awareness of the exceedingly complex nature of the patrolman's job. Rather than learning specific routines, the recruits learn that the role requires an almost overwhelming breadth of knowledge and the frequent exercise of reasoned judgment. The subjects also become aware of the limitless number of

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[14]Skolnick, op. cit., p. 220.

[15]It is of interest to note that Wetteroth also noted a significant decrease in the rank given to dedication between the start and the end of training by the 1959 New York City recruit class. Wetteroth, op. cit., p. 70.

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variables related to the situations and circumstances with which they, as patrolmen, must soon deal. At this point in time, the police instructors counsel the men in an effort to alleviate their anxiety to "play it by ear," "use your own good judgment" or "just use common sense." Later, after exposure to the actual job, the application of common sense may be considered as a very practical quality which is necessary not only to perform the role but also to survive. Whenever something goes wrong for a policeman, the most frequently heard explanation for the occurrence is that "he didn't use common sense."

The inclusion of courage as part of the occupational stereotype which existed at the start of training, can be traced to the image of the role portrayed in the more popular accounts of police work. The police officer who receives attention in the mass media is generally pictured as brave and fearless. To chase, disarm, capture, kill or rescue someone requires courage and those actions form the core of the police image which receives the greatest public attention. However, once the subjects begin to replace the image with reality, courage is seen as less essential. Again, other more practical attributes take the place of courage among the ten most frequently chosen attributes.

Although appearance was not chosen among the top ten rated attributes at the start of recruit training, it was included among those chosen at T_2 and T_3. From the start of recruit training, the appearance of a man is seen as important. A recruit's appearance is checked routinely and judgments of him are made on that basis. He is also told that much of the public's impression of the police is based upon their general appearance. It is considered as self-evident that a well-groomed man in a clean and neat uniform will command public respect. Once beyond recruit training, the continual attention paid to appearance at roll call inspections tends to reinforce the lesson of recruit training that appearance is important.

INTER-CITY DIFFERENCES IN ATTRIBUTES

In any research, it is desirable to be able to derive findings which may be generalized to other groups. Conversely, research findings which are applicable only to a particular group under certain circumstances and at a single point in time are less valuable. Such results usually call for replication of the research in another setting at another time. Recognizing this, one of the primary reasons for the decision to use the Wetteroth Trait Image Scale within this research was the availability of comparable data from another major city, New York. Interpretations of the choices of essential attributes made by the subjects in the four cities in this research can be enhanced by the inclusion of the New York City subjects in this analysis. By so doing, the generalizability of the findings can be increased.

Table 8.2 shows the attributes chosen by the police recruits at the start of their training to be the ten most essential in the performance of the police role.[16] For comparison purposes, the scores of two beginning recruit classes in New York City are shown. The core of attributes chosen in the four cities at the start of recruit training as well as by New York City police recruits in 1959 and 1968 are alertness, common sense, dedication, job knowledge and well-trained. Despite differences in time and place, these five attributes were seen as essential in the performance of the police role. Other attributes listed below these five can be regarded as unique to one or more cities. With the possible exception of dedication,

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[16]The average scores for each of the top ten attributes from which the rankings at T_1, T_2 and T_3 were derived are shown in the Appendix as items D-1, D-2 and D-3. The New York City scores are from McManus, op. cit., pp. 66 and 69.

Table 8.2

Inter-City Comparison of Ten Role Attributes Most Frequently Chosen
by Six Groups of Police Recruits at Start of Training
(Numbers shown indicate rank position)

Attribute	Balt. (N=20)	Cin. (N=37)	Col. (N=24)	Ind. (N=32)	N.Y.C. (N=31) (1959)	N.Y.C. (N=246) (1968)
Common Sense	9	7	7	4	4	6
Alertness	1	4	1	2	1	1
Job Knowledge	2	3	8	3	2	2
Dedication	7	1	4	1	5	5
Well Trained	6	2	2	5	8	4
Intelligence	5	5	3		6	7
Honesty	4	6	10		3	3
Courage	3	8		8		9
Appearance	10			7	9	10
Responsibility		9	6	9		8
Courtesy	8	10		10		
Reliability			5		10	
Respect for Superiors				6	7	
Patience		9				

the attributes in the common core are practical qualities which may not necessarily facilitate relationships with other people. Three of these attributes, common sense, alertness and dedication are inherent to the individual. The other two, dealing with training and job knowledge, are qualities which can be given in varying degrees to any individual.

Table 8.3 shows the qualities chosen by police recruits after the completion of training. In this instance, only the responses of 31 men in the 1959 New York City recruit group are available for purposes of comparison.[17] Again, in order to facilitate an understanding and interpretation of the data, Table 8.3 shows the five attributes which were common to all recruit groups as well as other less frequently chosen attributes. Alertness, common sense and job knowledge remained within the common core of attributes. Dedication and well trained were replaced by courtesy and honesty. Both of these newly included attributes are stressed within recruit training curriculums. Courtesy is not taught from the standpoint of imparting a general respect for and consideration of other people. Rather, courtesy is taught in terms of specific behaviors to do and say certain things and not others. Courtesy is a part of learned role behavior. Similarly, the attribute of honesty is stressed throughout recruit training not in terms of an absolute virtue but rather as a series of specific acts which are prohibited by external laws and regulations.

In addition to the five attributes chosen by the subjects in all five groups, it should be noted that dedication and responsibility are common to the four groups of recruits in this research. The New York City recruits stand as unique in excluding these two qualities from their list of essential attributes. To the contrary, courage and efficient were included among the ten most essential qualities by the New York City group but were excluded from the top ranking ten by the subjects in the four other groups. Thus, in terms of these attributes, the New York City recruits of 1959 stand as unique.

[17] Ibid., p. 69.

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Table 8.3

Inter-City Comparison of Ten Role Attributes Chosen Most Frequently
by Five Groups of Police Recruits at End of Training
(Numbers shown indicate rank position)

Attribute	Balt. (N=20)	Cin. (N=37)	Col. (N=24)	Ind. (N=32)	N.Y.C. (N=31)
Common Sense	3	1	2	1	5
Alertness	8	2	1	2	1
Job Knowledge	4	6	3	6	7
Courtesy	9	7	8	9	6
Honesty	10	5	4	10	3
Responsibility	6	9	9	8	
Dedication	7	8	7	3	
Intelligence	5	4	5		
Well Trained	1	3		5	2
Appearance	2		6	4	4
Reliability		10	10		8
Courage					9
Efficient					10
Initiative				7	

Table 8.4

Inter-City Comparison of Ten Role Attributes Chosen Most Frequently
by Six Groups of Police Subjects After Field Experience
(Numbers shown indicate rank position)

Attribute	Balt. (N=20)	Cin. (N=37)	Col. (N=24)	Ind. (N=32)	N.Y.C. (N=31)	N.Y.C. (N=31) [18]
Common Sense	1	1	1	1	2	2
Alertness	2	2	2	2	1	5
Job Knowledge	5	5	3	7	5	4
Honesty	3	4	4	10	3	1
Intelligence	9	6	5	9	4	9
Well Trained	4	3	6	6	6	8
Responsibility	7	9	7	5		
Dedication	10	10	10	8		3
Courage	8	8			8	
Appearance			9	3	7	
Reliability		7			10	
Patience	6					
Integrity			8			6
Initiative				4		10
Courtesy					9	
Emotional Maturity						7

[18] Ibid., p. 69. The data in the first column was obtained after 5 months experience. The second column of data was obtained after 10 years experience.

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As shown in Table 8.4, after enactment of the patrolman's role, the core of essential attributes again included common sense, alertness and job knowledge. Thus, throughout time and place, these three attributes are seen as essential. Honesty again is seen as an essential attribute, though by this time, experience has increased the groups' consensus and enriched the meaning of the term. All six groups accept the necessity for a man to be well trained.

The inclusion of intelligence among the core of essential qualities indirectly reflects an interesting aspect of the change in role concepts over time. The consistently high rank given to common sense suggests that the subjects had believed that an ordinary degree of ability in decision-making would suffice for enacting the police role. Thus, it can be inferred that the nature of the police role was seen as being one in which ordinary reasoning ability was sufficient to guide actions of the police in instances where the proper course of action was not prescribed by training. The addition of intelligence to the core attributes suggests that exposure to the complexities of the role has shown the subjects that mere common sense is not enough. Intelligence reflects a higher degree of ability to cope with the situations and circumstances confronted by patrolmen. Though common sense still is viewed as a necessary attribute, it is not sufficient to guide the role behavior of the police.

As was the case with the responses obtained after the completion of training, responsibility and dedication were common to the four groups of recruits in this research. After five months of experience, the 1959 New York City patrolmen did not include either of these two attributes among the ten most essential. Of interest is the fact that after ten years of experience, these same subjects now included dedication in their list of the ten attributes essential for the enactment of the police role.

Dedication to What?

Initially, dedication was seen by the subjects as the most essential attribute of all. Later, after training and field experience, it was seen as less important in the enactment of the police role. Notwithstanding this change, it is of considerable importance to discuss the object of the subjects' dedication.

On the one hand, a police officer can be dedicated to the system of law he is sworn to uphold. On the other, he can be dedicated to the people he serves. Thus dedicated, he would tend to function as a keeper of the peace. Most people would agree that the police role has shifted in recent years from that of a law enforcer to that of a peace keeper. Accordingly, we would expect that some of the more humanitarian attributes would be seen by the subjects as more essential to the police role. Conversely, attributes related to a knowledge of the system of laws and the institution necessary for their enforcement as well as the practical abilities required by the police to enforce laws would be seen as relatively less essential.

The list of attributes contains a number of qualities which are associated typically with service occupations. If the subjects were to see their role as peace keepers and as agents of social control who are dedicated to service of the public, we would expect the more humanitarian attributes to be accorded a prominent position in their rankings. Though the subjects' initial occupational stereotype as reflected in their responses obtained at the start of training might not incorporate the emerging peace keeping image, it would be expected that formal recruit training and field experience would alter the responses of the subjects to reflect this changing nature of the police role.

Table 8.5 contains a list of 12 attributes drawn from the full list of 40 which would logically be associated with the service occupations. In general, these attributes would tend to make interpersonal relationships less abrasive and troubled. The ranks assigned to these attributes at each point in time are listed. As shown, the positions given to these service related attributes are quite low. Over time, there is a slight tendency for the subjects to see these qualities as even less important. If anything about the nature of the police role can be assumed from this list, it is that the emerging service orientation of the police role cannot be inferred from the relative placement of these attributes. The subjects' dedication does not appear to be directed toward the service of the public. Rather, their dedication appears to be directed toward the enforcement of the law. The practical, action oriented, learned attributes given the highest rankings support the view that throughout the time span of this research, the subjects held to the concept of their role as law enforcers.

Table 8.5

Ranking of Service Related Attributes by 113 Police Subjects

Attribute	Rank at Start of Training	Rank at End of Training	Rank After 18 Months Experience
Honesty	7	7	5
Courtesy	10	9	14
Emotional Maturity	13	16	17
Patience	14	12	13
Even Tempered	18	20	16
Tolerance	20	19	23
Morality	21	15	26
Compassion	24	30	30
Cooperation	26	24	24
Pleasant Personality	31	31	33
Friendly	36	35	37
Sense of Humor	37	32	29

CHAPTER IX

THE PERCEPTION OF DANGER

Our society has been characterized as a violent one. Collectively, the attention given to violence inevitably produces a generalized reaction which may range from mere concern to profound anxiety. At one time or another, everyone has felt endangered. It should be obvious that the police are part of society and experience the same generalized reaction as other members of society. Among those citizens who see assaults, rapes, robberies and murders close at hand in their own communities, their apprehension of danger may be intensified. So too with the police. Since they deal directly with society's violence, it would be expected that they would have a heightened perception of danger.

The process of occupational socialization is a complex one for the police recruit. The acquisition of new knowledge and skills combined with the modification of preexisting attitudes and values constitute the basic components of taking on the role of police patrolman. Beyond this, the recruit learns to see objects, people, and situations in a different way than the rest of society particularly when they are seen within a context of danger. The police recruit learns to cope directly with immediate personal danger whereas the rest of society learns merely to tolerate a generalized awareness of impersonal danger.

The importance of danger to the police role has been noted by many researchers who have given attention to the police environment.

"Everything alien scares them. If you have wondered, when a traffic cop has stopped you for speeding, why he approaches you in a way which suggests you may be public enemy number one, it's because he is afraid that you may very well be."[1]

"The exposure to danger and potential violence is one of the most important ingredients separating the policeman from the civilian."[2]

"Even though statistics show that police work is less dangerous than occupations in mining, agriculture, construction, and

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[1] Richard Dougherty, "Requiem for the Centre Street Mafia," Atlantic Monthly, March, 1969, p. 112.

[2] Marvin E. Wolfgang, "The Police and Their Problems," Police, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1966, p. 54.

transportation, many police officers worry constantly about the danger to their lives and limbs."[3]

"The majority of police officers . . . exhibit a tendency to be psychologically troubled by the occupational hazards of police work."[4]

"The possibility of violence affects not only the American policeman's conduct towards members of the public but also his relations with fellow policemen."[5]

Though the relationship of danger to the police role has been cited frequently by researchers, and the danger involved in police work has been obvious even to the casual observer, the degree to which those persons who perform the police role have dealt with the problems which danger poses to them is open to question. The frequent references made by outside observers to the dangers of police work may not, in fact, correspond to the degree of open recognition given to danger by the police. Perhaps an incautious psychologist might use this situation to illustrate two of the most common psychological mechanisms of adjustment; projection for the non-police observer and denial for the police.

While danger is intrinsic to the police role and learning about danger is an essential part of taking on the role, police recruit training programs typically have not given attention to the specific problem of danger and how the individual officer may cope with it. Westley observed years ago that " . . . the theme of danger of the work has little real meaning for the ordinary recruit. Danger is not explicitly covered — it is incidental learning."[6] With few exceptions, things seem not to have changed greatly in this regard since then.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANGER AND POLICE BEHAVIOR

The relationship between the perception of danger and the enactment of a role perhaps has been studied to the greatest extent in the case of the military soldier engaged in combat. For example, Grinker and Spiegel stated in general terms that when military personnel are confronted with a stressful situation, they may be " . . . thrown back into a state of less differentiated response."[7] Stouffer held that the fear reaction to a dangerous situation is " . . . apt to interfere so seriously that the men are unable to exercise good judgment or to carry out skillfully an action which they have been trained to perform."[8] Thus, the perception of danger has been found to rather dramatically affect the enactment of a combat role for the military.

Many contemporary observers of the police have drawn a parallel between military combat personnel and the police who work in a high crime area. Consider,

[3]Bruce J. Terris, "The Role of the Police," The Annals, Vol. 374, November 1967, p. 61.

[4]Dempsey, op. cit., p. 76.

[5]Banton, op. cit., p. 113.

[6]Westley, op. cit., p. 249.

[7]R. R. Grinker and S. P. Spiegel, Men Under Stress (Philadelphia, Blakiston Publishing Company, 1945), p. 144.

[8]Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath, Vol. 2 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 223.

for example, the following:

" . . . the great majority of the police consider high-crime areas of a city to be enemy territory; they feel that they are at war with the criminal elements within it . . . . Being at war and in enemy territory, the individual policeman feels that his life is in danger. He employs the psychology of 'it's either him or me,' or 'if I don't get him now, he may get me later.'"[9]

If one accepts this analogy or at least the equivalence of the responses to the perception of danger, then the findings which pertain to the reaction to danger for the military may be relevant to the police.

Utilizing a role theoretical approach, Katz and Kahn comment about the soldier in a combat situation.

"Additional and important sources of influence in role-taking are the objective, impersonal properties of the situation itself . . . The soldier in combat seeks cover when under fire not so much because of the expectations of members of his role set as because of the demands of the situation."[10]

In accord with this explanation, Skolnick observed that the performance of the police role is modified considerably whenever an officer considers himself or others in danger. In such instances, police behavior tends to be structured more by expediency than by the usual behavioral expectations or existing role prescriptions and proscriptions.[11] Simply put, a police officer might feel that in situations which he defines as dangerous, it is expected that "anything goes." The rules and regulations are thought to cover only non-threatening aspects of police work. When in a dangerous situation, these behavioral prescriptions have little application. Consider the statement of a police officer who was assigned to one of the recent major urban riots.

"I was scared . . . I can recall, the second night, laying underneath the scout car being shot at. And my radio, the walkie-talkie, was telling us to evacuate the area, although, hell, we were afraid to get from underneath the cars."[12]

Contrary to orders, it made good sense to this man to remain beneath the scout car.

Rumors provide another example of the inclination to do that which is expedient in situations perceived of as hazardous. Men experiencing the strong emotion of fear tend to accept rumors more readily than they would otherwise, especially when the rumor is consistent with the perceived situation which gave rise to the original fear. Under such circumstances, people do not tend to separate fact from fiction for they are predisposed to action. One of the central

[9]Harold Black and Marvin J. Labes, "Guerrilla Warfare: An Analogy to Police-Criminal Interaction," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July, 1967. p. 666.

[10]Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 178.

[11]Skolnick, op. cit., pp. 42-70.

[12]John Hersey, The Algiers Motel Incident (New York, Knopf, 1968), p. 117.

figures in the violent disturbances of the 1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention was well aware of this characteristic response to fear. Speaking about his belief that there was no actual need to engage in disruptive tactics, he expressed the view that the convention would disrupt itself.

> "They cannot distinguish rumors about demonstrations from the real thing . . . The threat of disorder, like all fantasies in the establishment mind, can create total paranoia . . . "13

When someone is fearful, the ready acceptance of a rumor not only serves to reinforce his initial fear but also it may justify the expedient nature of his reactive behavior.

The call of "a police officer needs help" affords another good example of this kind of reasoning. This radio call has both an explicit and an implicit message. On the surface, a police officer may be in a life-threatening situation and help is needed immediately. Implicit in this call is the belief that the danger, whatever its nature, is not merely a threat to one police officer but to all police officers. In such instances, expediency often dictates the nature of the police response. Safe driving practices frequently are overlooked. Actions at the scene may be inappropriate, incautious, and harsh. In one instance, a police officer responded to a call for help. As he arrived at the scene, he observed a group of people surrounding an officer lying in the street. A crutch was being wildly swung by a member of the crowd. Without thinking, the responding officer grabbed the crutch and dispersed the crowd as he arrested the cripple who had been swinging the crutch. Only after the assaulted officer regained consciousness did the arresting officer learn that the cripple had been defending the officer from the attacks of the hostile crowd. In this instance, the usually careful and cautious approach was cast aside by the responding officer because of his perception of danger.

Further, if one considers the previous observation of Stouffer that the reaction to real danger is apt to interfere seriously with the exercise of good judgment and the performance of normal occupational behaviors, then it can be seen that the perception of danger can affect drastically the role enactments of the police. Recently, it was reported in a number of newspapers that 24 police officers, some in bulletproof vests and others with high-powered rifles with scopes, had been pinned down by gunfire from an open window for an hour and forty minutes. Though a police official reportedly stated, "He's shooting at anything that moves," it was discovered later that the gunshots from inside the apartment were merely the sounds of a baseball bat striking a metal door. An embarrassed police detective at the scene reportedly said, "It sounded like shooting. We thought we had a mad sniper on our hands."14 Indeed, the reaction to real or imagined danger may affect the role performance of the police seriously.

LEARNING ABOUT DANGER

The acquisition of knowledge about the relationship between the police role and the danger associated with it may take several forms. The first relates to the relationship between the police occupation, per se, and the danger common to it. During the process of anticipatory socialization, the prospective recruit

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13Daniel Walker, Rights in Conflict (New York, Bantam Books, 1968), p. 37.

14"'Mad Sniper' Holds Cops at Bay with Bat," Chicago Tribune, January 25, 1970, p. 1.

probably will learn something of the risk of danger in law enforcement as compared to the risk of danger in other jobs. A recent study of the matter undertaken by the U. S. Department of Labor showed that:

> "Only garbage collectors, loggers, and coal miners face more hazards on their jobs than policemen. A banker can expect 217 accident-free years on his job — he could work five lifetimes before suffering a disabling injury. Loggers, however, have only eight years before being felled by occupational accident; coal miners have 11 years; and for policemen odds run out in 12 years."15

This kind of information, based upon the degree of probability of physical injury in connection with a given occupation role, may influence only vaguely the overall tone of the working environment of the police. Information on this level is unlikely to influence the perceptions of those people already in the occupation. More possibly, information of this kind would have a greater influence on people outside the occupation, particularly those individuals entering or considering a police career.

Secondly, danger may be considered with regard to its predictability. For the police specialist in bomb disposal, danger is quite predictable. The few moments he actually defuses the charge indeed are most dangerous. However, for the police generalist, the patrolman, danger appears to be far more unpredictable. This lack of predictability is an attitudinal orientation associated with the police role which must be learned. Of pertinence here is the fact that the ubiquitous possibility of danger in police work seems to affect the perceptions of those persons within the occupation.

> "Like soldiers at the battle front, American policemen now face death every minute of their working day. It shapes them and the way they do their job and their family life. They work in a climate of casual violence. Like battle medics, it blunts them to the pains of flesh."16

Wilson commented about the unpredictable nature of danger in connection with the maintenance of order activities of the police:

> "Statistically, the risk of injury or death to the patrolman may not be great in order-maintenance situations but it exists and worse, it is unpredictable, occurring . . . 'when you least expect it . . .' I would add that the risk of danger in order maintenance patrol work . . . has a disproportionate effect on the officer partly because its unexpected nature makes him more apprehensive and partly because he tends to communicate his apprehension to the citizen."17

15"Copsules," The Police Chief, January, 1969, p. 6.

16Colin McGlashan, as quoted in The Hot Line, Community Relations and the Administration of Justice (New York, National Conference of Christians and Jews, October, 1968).
October, 1968).

17James Q. Wilson, "The Patrolman's Dilemma," New York, September, 1968, pp. 19-20.

Thirdly, danger can be examined with regard to its spatial and positional characteristics. The police in high crime sections of a large city may believe that they work in a dangerous setting. Other low crime areas, the so-called "country club" sections, may be thought of as a safe place to work.

> "Although the apprehension of any criminal is hazardous, whether the crime has been against persons or property, policemen associate patrol in disadvantaged areas with a high amount of discretionary intervention and the possibility of violence against persons. These are the kinds of situations where danger to the police officer may erupt without warning. He feels that he must be more alert to the unexpected and especially to the sudden surge of passion that precipitates an attack upon himself. By contrast, in well-to-do areas the nature of the crime is likely to be more clear and the policeman feels he is the hunter and not the hunted. Furthermore, he will not have to deal with masses of people, unsure of himself as to who is at fault."[18]

Similarly, the officer who works in a clerical capacity at a headquarters office works in a safer position than does the patrolman in the field. Again, the police recruit must learn to relate varying degrees of danger with these spatial and positional variables.

Fourthly, the recruit must be able to judge the appearance and the conduct of people for their danger potential. Sarbin states that this ability to classify the conduct of others according to risk is common to both policemen and prison guards.[19] Skolnick also comments about the perceptual ability of the police to recognize the potential threat posed by people who exhibit certain symbols of danger.

> "The policeman, because his work requires him to be occupied continually with potential violence, develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence."[20]

Obviously, this perceptual ability must be learned. Not so obvious is that it is learned largely through experience. Werthman and Piliavin address themselves to the nature of this learning process.

> "Policemen develop indicators of suspicion by a method of pragmatic induction. Past experience has, in large part, led them to conclude that . . . Negroes are more likely to cause public disturbance than whites, and that adolescents in certain areas are a greater source of trouble than other categories of the citizenry. On the basis of these conclusions, the police

[18]Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 90.

[19]Theodore R. Sarbin, "The Dangerous Individual: An Outcome of Social Identity Transformations," unpublished paper read at the joint meeting of the American Society of Criminology and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Berkeley, December, 1965.

[20]Skolnick, op. cit., p. 45.

divide the population . . . into a variety of categories and make some initial assumptions about the moral character of people . . ."[21]

Lastly, the presence or absence of danger can be considered in relationship to certain situations. Commonly, danger in this sense is given explicit mention in recruit training and in the general police literature. For example, the following statement tells what a typical recruit learned, among other things, during the first week of recruit training.

> "He was warned not to use his squad car as a garbage can, and told that disturbance calls are the most dangerous and the most interesting."[22]

On a more general level, Toch made reference to the beginning police officer learning about the danger related to handling certain assignments.

> "Universal apprehensiveness about certain types of assignments may be communicated to the young officer, and they may induce panic in many situations."[23]

Though panic may be an initial reaction to the danger inherent in handling some assignments, both the recruit and the apprentice patrolman quickly must replace panic with appropriate role behavior.

Learning to Deal with Danger

"I will . . . maintain courageous calm in the face of danger . . . ." There is no question about the necessity for such a pledge within the Law Enforcement Code of Ethics. Clearly, police work is hardly a job for the timid since panic and overpowering fright are unsuitable reactions to danger for the police. Police officers need to be able to think clearly, to exercise cool judgment, and to perform their work assignments in the way they have been trained — even in situations which may be quite dangerous both to themselves and to others. However, the mere pledge to be calm in the face of danger is insufficient to bring about the desired behavioral control. Other methods of dealing with danger must be learned through experience and from others.

An Awareness of Individual Differences

What are the individual consequences of being in a situation perceived as dangerous? From a physical standpoint, the heartbeat accelerates and the peripheral blood vessels are contracted. Breathing is deeper and more rapid. The pupils of the eyes dilate. Additional energy is gained from a release of sugar from the liver and a substance is released into the blood to make possible more rapid clotting. Digestive activity is slowed. Further, psychological research has shown that under stressful conditions, lights appear to be brighter and sounds seem to be louder. Because threatening objects seem to be larger than they actually are, people tend to see a source of danger as nearer at hand than it really is. Also, when people believe themselves to be in physical peril,

[21]Carl Werthman and Irving Piliavin, "Gang Members and the Police," mimeographed (Berkeley, University of California, undated), p. 8.

[22]"The Recruit," Chicago Police Star (Chicago Police Department, October, 1968), p. 4.

[23]Hans Toch, Violent Men (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 242.

they tended to overestimate time and to make inaccurate judgments of the speed of walking.

The complexities of the physiological and psychological effects which occur as a reaction to danger are subject to the usual wide range of individual differences. Though the nature of these reactions is universal, considerable variation exists in the degree to which a person may experience these effects. Necessarily, then, a police officer will learn from actual experience the nature and the intensity of his reactions to danger.

Denial of Danger

Probably the most widespread method of dealing with the personal effects of danger is to deny its existence. The recruit and the apprentice patrolman soon will learn to adopt as their own some of the typical comments expressed by experienced officers regarding danger and their job.

"I don't worry about it, but my wife does."

"Danger comes with the job. I accept this fact and forget it."

"What job doesn't have its dangers?"

"The job becomes dangerous only when an officer becomes careless."

"I feel I can take care of myself. I know backing is on the way should I be sent on a dangerous assignment."

The adoption of attitudes of this kind as a mechanism for dealing with danger is not, of course, an approach which is unique to the police. Rather, it is common among the practitioners of all occupations in which danger, in one form or another, must be faced regularly. For example, in the field of medicine, it has been cited that

" . . . a radiologist must accept the fact that his work is somewhat risky — just as a policeman accepts the responsibility of carrying a weapon, and the possible consequence of getting shot at . . . . If a radiologist worries about the danger of his work, he won't be able to do it properly. I have seen men almost paralyzed by fear. The only way one can function is to protect oneself as much as possible . . . and forget about the rest."[24]

The beginning police officer soon will learn to adopt and express statements of denial concerning the danger associated with his work.

Variations in Danger Tolerance

From the start, a new recruit will learn that the degree of danger which a police officer will tolerate depends upon the social value assigned to the resolution of the situation. A police officer will place himself in a highly dangerous situation if the possible outcome is meritorious. In the capture of an armed bank robber, a multiple murderer, or "a cop-fighter," a police officer will tolerate a greater measure of personal danger than when apprehending a petty criminal or a traffic violator. Regarding the latter, it has been said, "There's no glory or special goodness in that. Even newspapers don't give those things much attention."

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[24]David H. Faegenburg, "A Radiologist Talks About His Work," Today's Health, January 1970, p. 84.

The recruit will learn that exposure to danger in a senseless situation is less tolerable than exposure to danger in a situation of critical importance. The tyro will also learn the social valuation assigned by others to the resolution of these situations.

Control of Behavior

Another form of learning that will be a part of the early socialization of the police officer concerns the control of his reactions to danger. Though others may panic and flee when confronted with danger, a police officer must learn to inhibit these reactions and behave in accord with the accepted standards of his profession. The maintenance of "courageous calm in the face of danger" is one such standard which will guide the conduct of the beginning officer. Indeed, calm and controlled behavior is one of the essential elements of professional conduct.

"The surgeon who cuts people open, . . . the undertaker who prepares bodies for burial, and the general who issues the order that will certainly mean death or horrible injury to thousands of soldiers — all of these individuals must somehow learn to avoid or minimize the strong emotional reactions that would ordinarily accompany these actions. If they do not learn to inhibit them, the resulting emotional reactions would seriously interfere with their performance. Part of the meaning of the word 'professional' involves this very thing, the capacity to remain calm and unemotional in carrying out one's job . . . ."[25]

A more powerful determinant of behavior than written prescriptions of occupational conduct are the expectations expressed by other police officers within the generalized other. Moreover, the actual behavior of role models will influence the conduct of apprentice patrolmen to a considerable degree. Whatever the source of behavioral definition, the recruit will soon learn to inhibit inappropriate conduct and exhibit acceptable behavior in the face of danger.

Selected Information About Danger

Part of taking on any professional role involves the learning of a variety of information relevant to that profession. Since danger underlies much of police work, one would expect a beginning police officer to acquire some information about this pervasive condition. Knowledge about danger and its effects is a precondition to the control of behavior. Yet, as has been pointed out, what limited learning that does take place is incidental to or beyond the formal recruit training program. This is not the fault of the police. The officer who is interested in finding out about the perception of danger and its effects will find very little information on the subject. Aside from what has been written about the fears of children, phobias, and the fear experienced by men in military combat, there is little to enlighten him. Perhaps this is a telling commentary on our society. We plainly do not give very much attention to adult fears. Recognizing the need for basic information on this subject, this discussion will focus on selected aspects of the perception of danger related to the performance of the police role.

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[25]Barclay Martin, Anxiety and Neurotic Disorders (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1971), p. 93.

During the period 1961 to 1970, 633 police officers were killed by criminal actions. Of this total, 72% of the deceased officers were assigned to patrol duty.[26] Assignment to a patrol car is the typical initial assignment a recruit receives after completion of recruit training. The apprentice's first assignment then, is ordinarily the most dangerous position in law enforcement. That part of the Role Perception Battery which was designed to assess the perception of danger was structured to this situation, motorized patrol.

The source of information on patrol assignments is the police radio. To the experienced officer, the police radio sends out more than specific work assignments. The veteran officer can tell what day it is without a calendar by listening to his radio. He quickly can tell whether or not he will have a busy tour of duty by the weather and the kind of calls given out, the location of the incidents, and the pace at which the assignments are broadcast.

"The police radio — the control center of every metropolitan police department — is where . . . all tasks of the force converge. A citizen calls for help . . . . At once, a police dispatcher calls the nearest scout car with the address of the 'run' and a description of the trouble, phrased in terse, lean English that tells the story fast.

The officer in the scout car promptly answers, 'Got it,' and the tone in which he says it sometimes tells volumes. If a bandit with a revolver is reported to be holding up a drugstore, the words are spat out with assurance and urgency . . . But if it is a case of family trouble, the words are likely to be spoken with weary resignation, as if to say, 'Oh, God, here we go again.'"[27]

Thus, the experienced man receives not only words over the radio, but he also sees a picture colored vividly with the memory of past experiences. It is this preconceived image that this instrument was designed to assess. As shown in the Appendix as item B-8, the Perception of Danger instrument consists of twenty standardized radio assignments. The subjects were asked to rate each assignment regarding the degree of danger they believed would be associated with handling the incident.

AN ANALYSIS OF DANGER SCORES

Mean scores for the responses of the 113 subjects were calculated for each assignment at each point in time. As shown in Table 9.1, the assignments were ranked from those which the subjects thought would be the most dangerous to those thought to be the least dangerous. At all three points in time, "robbery in progress" was thought to have the highest degree of danger. At the other extreme, "meet a citizen" and "animal bite victim" were thought to be the least dangerous of all the assignments listed.

At the start of recruit training, the subjects felt that 5 of the 20 assignments would be extremely to highly dangerous to handle. Three of the calls were believed

[26]J. Edgar Hoover, Uniform Crime Reports, 1970 (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 48.

[27]George Edwards, Police on the Urban Frontier (New York, Institute of Human Relations Press, 1968), p. 5.

Table 9.1

Rank Order of Mean Danger Scores for 20 Assignments Given by 113 Subjects

Start of Training (T_1)		End of Training (T_2)		After 18 Months Experience (T_3)	
Assignment	$\overline{X}$	Assignment	$\overline{X}$	Assignment	$\overline{X}$
Robbery in progress	4.53	Robbery in progress	4.58	Robbery in progress	4.68
Assault with a deadly weapon	4.44	Officer needs help	4.58	Officer needs help	4.58
Officer needs help	4.43	Burglary in progress	4.31	Burglary in progress	4.26
Burglary in progress	4.27	Assault with a deadly weapon	4.19	Assault with a deadly weapon	4.06
Murder	4.19	Firearms discharged	4.00	Insane person	4.04
Firearms discharged	3.84	Insane person	3.96	Firearms discharged	3.77
Insane person	3.79	Burglar alarm sounding	3.89	Murder	3.77
Burglar alarm sounding	3.75	Murder	3.58	Family disturbance	3.54
Attempted suicide	2.80	Family disturbance	3.41	Burglar alarm sounding	3.53
Family disturbance	2.79	Suspicious person	2.79	Reckless driving	2.71
Disturbance with teenagers	2.68	Reckless driving	2.79	Suspicious person	2.65
Reckless driving	2.62	Attempted suicide	2.77	Disturbance with teenagers	2.63
Drunk driver	2.54	Disturbance with teenagers	2.68	Attempted suicide	2.60
Suspicious person	2.52	Drunk driver	2.62	Drunk driver	2.51
Man down	2.42	Man down	2.26	Indecent exposure	2.19
Malicious mischief	2.03	Malicious mischief	2.19	Man down	2.17
Rape victim	2.03	Indecent exposure	2.14	Malicious mischief	1.90
Indecent exposure	1.81	Rape victim	2.03	Rape victim	1.82
Animal bite victim	1.71	Meet a citizen	1.92	Meet a citizen	1.73
Meet a citizen	1.34	Animal bite victim	1.57	Animal bite victim	1.40

to be highly to moderately dangerous. Nine of the assignments were thought to be moderately to slightly dangerous while the remaining 3 calls were viewed as having slight or no danger associated with them.

At the completion of training, the subjects again indicated that they believed 5 of the assignments listed held extreme to high danger for the police. At this time, 4 other calls were viewed as highly to moderately dangerous. Of the remaining 11 assignments, 9 were thought to be moderately to slightly dangerous and 2 were felt to be slightly dangerous or not dangerous at all.

After actual experience as patrolmen, the ranking of the assignments appeared to have undergone little change. Again, 5 calls were seen as being extremely to highly dangerous. As before, 4 other calls were reported as being highly to moderately dangerous. This time, 7 calls were thought to be moderately to slightly dangerous while the remaining 4 calls were viewed as having slight or no danger related to them.

Rank-Difference Correlation of Assignments by Time

In order to gain more precision in this analysis, rank difference correlations were calculated for the 20 assignments ranked in Table 9.1. A correlation of .96 was found to exist between the placement of assignments at the start and the end of training. The correlation between the ranks given the assignments at the end of training and after field experience was found to be .99. Overall, the coefficient of correlation between the rank of assignments at T_1 and T_3 was found to be .95. All of these correlations were statistically significant at the .01 level of confidence. Hence, one can conclude that the rank of the various calls by the degree of danger thought to be related to their handling remained highly stable between any two administrations of the instrument. Those assignments seen as the most dangerous at T_1 were also seen by the subjects as the most dangerous at T_2 and T_3. Similarly, those seen as least dangerous at T_1 were also seen as least dangerous at T_2 and T_3.

Rank-Difference Correlation of Assignments by City

To what degree did the rank order of the assignments in one city parallel the rank order of assignments in another city. To answer this question, the rank-difference correlation coefficient was calculated for the assignments for each combination of 2 cities at a single point in time. These coefficients are shown in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2
Rank-Difference Correlation Coefficients for Assignments by City

Cities	Start of Training (T_1)			End of Training (T_2)			After 18 Months Experience (T_3)		
	r	t	Sig.	r	t	Sig.	r	t	Sig.
Balt. - Cin.	.94	12.14	.01	.97	16.81	.01	.97	16.00	.01
Balt. - Col.	.95	13.41	.01	.95	12.97	.01	.94	11.48	.01
Balt. - Ind.	.93	11.15	.01	.96	14.11	.01	.95	13.54	.01
Cin. - Col.	.93	10.91	.01	.95	12.71	.01	.96	14.43	.01
Cin. - Ind.	.95	12.42	.01	.95	12.76	.01	.94	11.89	.01
Col. - Ind.	.95	13.54	.01	.97	16.00	.01	.93	11.04	.01

These very high correlations between cities indicate that the rank given to each of the 20 assignments is almost identical in each city. At least for these subjects, the relative position of the assignments with regard to the danger thought to be associated with the performance of the work assignment appeared to be universal. Those assignments which were ranked high in any one of the four cities, were also ranked high in the other three. Similarly, assignments which were ranked low in one city were also ranked low in the other cities.

Rank-Difference Correlation of Subjects

A parallel question involved in the perception of danger concerns the stability of the individual subject's total scores in rating the 20 assignments. Simply, did the men whose overall responses reflected the highest degree of perceived danger at the start of training continue to do the same at the end of training and after experience as a patrolman? To answer this question, rank-difference correlation coefficients were calculated for the subjects in each city. The analysis was done in this way because there is a possibility that inter-city differences might appear. The data pertaining to this analysis is shown below in Table 9.3. Except for Cincinnati, the subjects who tended to obtain higher scores on the danger instrument at the start of their training also tended to make higher scores at the completion of training and after 18 months experience as patrolmen. If the instrument does, in fact, assess the degree of danger that a person perceives as related to the handling of a variety of police assignments, then it follows that the subjects can be categorized as inherently high, moderate and low perceivers of danger regardless of the situation. However, the statistics for the Cincinnati subjects counter this conclusion. In that city, there was no statistically significant relationship between the degree of danger indicated by the subjects at the completion of their recruit training and the degree of danger reported by these men after patrol experience. Factors other than an inherent characteristic of the subjects tended to affect the perception of danger scores of the Cincinnati subjects. This intriguing inter-city difference suggests the complexity of this inquiry and the elusiveness of definitive findings.

Table 9.3
Rank-Difference Correlation of Subjects Ranked by Total Danger Scores

City	$T_1 - T_2$			$T_2 - T_3$			$T_1 - T_3$		
	r	t	Sig.	r	t	Sig.	r	t	Sig.
Balt.	.58	3.02	.01	.53	2.66	.02	.54	2.71	.02
Cin.	.36	2.27	.05	.26	1.56	NS	.15	.89	NS
Col.	.57	3.25	.01	.81	6.42	.01	.74	5.17	.01
Ind.	.38	2.25	.05	.58	3.90	.01	.39	2.32	.05

Changes in Danger Scores Over Time

At the time of entry into recruit training, the subjects' concept of the danger associated with their new occupation had been shaped by the process of anticipatory socialization. Although some general information about danger and the police role may have been acquired before the start of training, it is doubtful that any of the subjects had considered the specific question of the degree of danger associated with the work assignments given to patrol officers over the police radio. One should note that a number of subjects in all cities asked such questions as what "a man down" is or what "meet a citizen" means while completing the questionnaire for the first time. All things considered, the responses of the subjects to this instrument at T_1 represent merely ill-formed preconceptions. Thus, one would expect that exposure to training and experience as a police patrolman would modify the subjects preconceptions of danger to a considerable degree.

In order to examine the differences which occurred in the subjects' mean danger scores over time, both the t test and analysis of variance was employed. As shown in Table 9.4, the t test was used to determine the significance of the difference in scores between T_1 and T_2, and T_2 and T_3, while the significance of the differences in mean scores over the full time span was tested by analysis of variance.

Between T_1 and T_2, statistically significant differences in mean danger scores at the .01 level were noted for six of the 20 assignments listed in Table 9.4. The scores for "indecent exposure," "family disturbance," "suspicious person," and "meet a citizen" increased significantly while the scores for "murder" and "assault with a deadly weapon" decreased. Although these differences could be explained in part by the general tendency for high scores to decrease and low scores to increase, other more specific explanations appear to be related to at least some of these changes over time.

To the uninitiated, assignment to a murder would be considered extremely dangerous. The word evokes strong response. Murders are the central element in most movies, stories, and television shows about the police, crime and criminals. However, the experienced patrolman knows that an assignment to investigate a murder, more often than not, is devoid of danger. The police response most frequently begins at some distance in time from the actual criminal act. This might become self-evident to the subjects as they learn more about their future role as patrolmen while in training, or it might be taught intentionally or incidentally by police instructors. In any event, the effect would be a reduction in the degree of danger believed to be related to handling a murder assignment.

Table 9.4

Significance of Differences in Danger Scores of 113 Subjects Between Times (T_1-T_2 and T_2-T_3) and Across Time (T_1-T_2-T_3)

Assignment	T_1	Significance of Difference T_1-T_2	T_2	Significance of Difference T_2-T_3	T_3	F-Ratio	Overall Significance of Difference
Murder	$\overline{X}$=4.19 s=.95	.01	$\overline{X}$=3.58 s=1.16	NS	$\overline{X}$=3.77 s=1.02	17.59	.01
Indecent Exposure	$\overline{X}$=1.81 s=.62	.01	$\overline{X}$=2.14 s=.64	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.19 s=.66	16.23	.01
Family Disturbance	$\overline{X}$=2.78 s=.86	.01	$\overline{X}$=3.41 s=.86	NS	$\overline{X}$=3.54 s=.88	38.04	-
Reckless Driving	$\overline{X}$=2.62 s=.95	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.79 s=.89	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.71 s=.90	1.50	NS
Burglar Alarm Sounding	$\overline{X}$=3.75 s=.73	NS	$\overline{X}$=3.89 s=.67	.01	$\overline{X}$=3.53 s=.80	9.22	.01
Man Down	$\overline{X}$=2.42 s=1.16	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.26 s=.74	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.17 s=.73	3.32	.05
Disturbance with Teenagers	$\overline{X}$=2.68 s=.78	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.68 s=.75	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.63 s=.73	.28	NS
Firearms Discharged	$\overline{X}$=3.84 s=.91	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.00 s=.78	.05	$\overline{X}$=3.77 s=.81	3.63	.05
Officer Needs Help	$\overline{X}$=4.43 s=.69	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.58 s=.59	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.58 s=.65	2.92	NS
Attempted Suicide	$\overline{X}$=2.80 s=1.12	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.77 s=1.03	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.60 s=.92	1.84	NS
Robbery in Progress	$\overline{X}$=4.53 s=.57	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.58 s=.58	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.68 s=.50	2.77	NS
Assault with a Deadly Weapon	$\overline{X}$=4.44 s=.71	.01	$\overline{X}$=4.19 s=.86	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.06 s=.79	9.92	.01
Rape Victim	$\overline{X}$=2.03 s=1.19	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.03 s=.96	NS	$\overline{X}$=1.82 s=.86	2.58	NS
Burglary in Progress	$\overline{X}$=4.27 s=.71	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.31 s=.70	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.26 s=.70	.24	NS
Drunk Driver	$\overline{X}$=2.54 s=.92	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.62 s=.78	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.51 s=.84	.87	NS
Insane Person	$\overline{X}$=3.79 s=.97	NS	$\overline{X}$=3.96 s=.80	NS	$\overline{X}$=4.04 s=.81	4.31	.05
Malicious Mischief	$\overline{X}$=2.03 s=.77	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.19 s=.78	.01	$\overline{X}$=1.90 s=.69	6.34	.01
Suspicious Person	$\overline{X}$=2.52 s=.77	.01	$\overline{X}$=2.79 s=.70	NS	$\overline{X}$=2.65 s=.74	4.78	.01
Meet a Citizen	$\overline{X}$=1.34 s=.56	.01	$\overline{X}$=1.92 s=.72	.05	$\overline{X}$=1.73 s=.66	34.98	.01
Animal Bite Victim	$\overline{X}$=1.71 s=.92	NS	$\overline{X}$=1.57 s=.71	NS	$\overline{X}$=1.40 s=.58	6.22	.01
Grand Mean	60.55	NS	62.23	NS	60.46	3.63	.05

The same kind of explanation would apply to the reduction in the mean danger score for the assault with a deadly weapon assignment.

The subjects' responses to the family disturbance call reflected a significant increase between the start and the end of training. More than any other assignment on the list, the handling of family disturbances has received the greatest explicit attention on the part of the police. Some years ago, Westley

spelled out the high degree of danger associated with family quarrels and the police distaste for quelling them. He observed that " . . . both parties frequently turn on the policeman . . . ."[28] Criminal statistics regularly have reflected the large number of police officers who have been killed or injured while handling a family disturbance call. Recently, special police squads, staffed by men with intensive psychological training, have been formed in many departments. Large numbers of police officers have received in-service training in new and more effective methods of handling family disturbances. Both kinds of programs have been undertaken because the police openly have recognized the potential danger in these situations. That this information is relatively well known to the police was evidenced by the fact that many of the subjects mentioned to the researcher that they had learned in training that family disturbance calls were the most dangerous. One can conclude that the specific attention given in recruit training to the danger present in handling family disturbance calls was related to the heightened degree of danger attributed to this assignment by the subjects at the end of recruit training.

To the uninitiated, an assignment to investigate an indecent exposure or a suspicious person, or merely to meet a citizen appears to be an innocuous one. The acquisition of knowledge about police work would lead to the understanding that these calls have a vague meaning and may actually lead to highly dangerous encounters. The uncertainty of these assignments would have the effect of heightening the sense of danger related to their handling.

For the time span between T_2 and T_3, it is noteworthy that there were no statistically significant increases in mean scores for any one assignment. To the contrary, decreases in mean scores were noted for burglar alarm sounding, firearms discharged, malicious mischief and meet a citizen. In each instance, the knowledge that these calls frequently are received after the action has been completed would tend to reduce the degree of perceived danger.

Over the full time span between T_1 and T_3, three additional instances of a statistically significant difference in mean scores appeared in the data when treated by analysis of variance. A significant decrease in the mean scores for a man down and animal bite victim was noted. Again, knowledge of the after-the-fact police response is assumed to be related to the decrease. An increase in the mean danger score for handling an insane person was also found. Within the police literature, reference to the handling of the mentally disturbed is probably the most frequently mentioned type of police activity except for family disturbance calls. The following is one of the many written observations to be found on the subject.

"Violence is particularly likely to arise in dealing with disturbed people, some of whom may be potentially dangerous. The policeman must learn to deal properly with such persons. He cannot, of course, be expected to practice psychiatry on the street; yet, the better he understands that disorderly persons are often persons whose lives are in disorder; the better able he will be to handle the problems they pose. By the way he talks to . . . a mental case . . . he can often make force unnecessary, and in some cases may even save his own life."[29]

[28] Westley, op. cit., p. 114.

[29] Edwards, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

Observations such as this are certain to find direct expression within the police recruit curriculum.

A difference in the grand mean danger score was found to have occurred at the .05 level of confidence. As shown in Table 9.4, the grand mean danger score increased noticeably at T_2 over the comparable mean score at T_1. At T_3, the score had decreased to the approximate level found at T_1. It would appear that the heightened degree of danger reflected in the subjects' scores at T_2 was related to an anticipatory response to the actuality of performing the patrolman's role. Once this role has been experienced and the subjects have found that they can perform their assigned duties, the effects of this generalized anticipatory response would naturally diminish.

Differences in Danger Scores Among Cities

In the previous analysis of the rank-difference of assignments among the four cities, a very high correlation was found in all instances. Assignments which were ranked as the most dangerous were so ranked in all four cities. The same relationship held for assignments ranked as the least dangerous. What remains to be considered is whether or not there were differences in mean scores among the four cities. Such differences would reflect variations in the intensity of perceived danger. To deal with this question, the differences among mean scores was tested statistically by the analysis of variance method. Table 9.5 shows the mean scores and the probabilities that the differences among the cities were statistically significant.

Table 9.5

Analysis of Variance of Danger Scores of 113 Police Subjects in Four Cities at T_1

Assignment	City Means				Probabilities
	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	
Murder	4.55	4.03	4.42	3.97	.07
Indecent exposure	1.85	1.84	1.79	1.75	.93
Family disturbance	3.30	2.51	3.08	2.53	.01
Reckless driving	2.85	2.46	2.62	2.66	.52
Burglar alarm sounding	3.65	3.68	3.92	3.78	.56
Man down	2.70	2.46	2.58	2.09	.24
Disturbance with teenagers	3.00	2.57	2.62	2.66	.24
Firearms discharged	3.90	3.78	3.75	3.94	.85
Officer needs help	4.45	4.22	4.67	4.50	.08
Attempted suicide	3.30	2.46	2.71	2.94	.04
Robbery in progress	4.60	4.51	4.46	4.56	.85
Assault with a deadly weapon	4.50	4.30	4.67	4.41	.24
Rape victim	2.60	1.97	1.71	1.97	.09
Burglary in progress	4.40	4.24	4.17	4.28	.75
Drunk driver	2.60	2.51	2.50	2.56	.98
Insane person	4.30	3.38	3.83	3.91	.01
Malicious mischief	2.10	1.95	2.00	2.09	.84
Suspicious person	2.70	2.46	2.58	2.44	.61
Meet a citizen	1.50	1.43	1.43	1.25	.12
Animal bite victim	2.35	1.68	1.37	1.59	.01
Grand mean	65.10	58.27	60.62	59.97	.03

Statistically significant differences at the .05 level of confidence or less were found for four assignments; family disturbance, attempted suicide, insane person and animal bite victim. In each instance, it appears that the higher mean score for the Baltimore subjects contributed to the differences found among the cities. Also, the statistically significant difference among the grand means was a consequence of the higher score for the Baltimore subjects. Why these men perceived a greater degree of danger related to these four assignments is unknown. Nevertheless, this analysis does point out an interesting inter-city difference among the subjects at the time they began their police training.

In a comparable analysis of the subjects' mean danger scores at T_2, statistically significant differences at or less than the .05 level of confidence were found on five assignments. As shown in Table 9.6, the five assignments were murder, family disturbance, man down, drunk driver and meet a citizen. At this point in time, no consistent pattern of differences appeared. In the case of murder, the Baltimore subjects' higher score contributed to the difference among cities. Similarly, the Baltimore subjects higher score on the drunk driver assignment contributed to the difference found among the cities in this analysis. For the family disturbance call, the scores of Cincinnati and Columbus were significantly higher than the scores of the Baltimore and Indianapolis subjects. The Cincinnati subjects perceived a significantly higher degree of danger associated with handling a man down and meet a citizen calls than the subjects in the other three cities. Again, no reasonable explanation can be offered for the inter-city differences that were found at this point in time.

Table 9.6

Analysis of Variance of Danger Scores of 113 Police Subjects in Four Cities at T_2

Assignment	City Means				Probabilities
	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	
Murder	4.15	3.27	3.58	3.56	.05
Indecent exposure	2.00	2.35	1.96	2.12	.07
Family disturbance	3.15	3.70	3.67	3.03	.02
Reckless driving	2.90	2.92	2.46	2.81	.22
Burglar alarm sounding	3.95	3.81	4.17	3.75	.10
Man down	2.20	2.51	2.25	2.00	.04
Disturbance with teenagers	2.70	2.65	2.62	2.75	.92
Firearms discharged	3.80	4.19	3.79	4.06	.14
Officer needs help	4.60	4.51	4.54	4.69	.66
Attempted suicide	2.85	2.70	2.50	3.00	.33
Robbery in progress	4.60	4.41	4.54	4.78	.06
Assault with a deadly weapon	4.25	3.97	4.50	4.16	.13
Rape victim	1.90	2.22	1.79	2.06	.35
Burglary in progress	4.30	4.30	4.37	4.28	.96
Drunk driver	2.95	2.76	2.33	2.47	.03
Insane person	4.20	3.86	3.75	4.09	.18
Malicious mischief	1.95	2.16	2.12	2.44	.15
Suspicious person	2.65	2.62	2.96	2.94	.12
Meet a citizen	1.60	2.24	1.71	1.91	.01
Animal bite victim	1.45	1.59	1.54	1.62	.84
Grand mean	62.05	62.49	61.17	62.84	.88

At the time of the third testing, six inter-city differences were found to be significant at or less than the .05 level of confidence. Table 9.7 shows these differences appeared on the following assignments; indecent exposure, family disturbance, officer needs help, burglary in progress, meet a citizen and animal bite victim. Again, no consistent pattern of differences is apparent. In the case of indecent exposure, the low mean score for the Indianapolis subjects appeared to account for the difference. For family disturbance, the low mean score for Indianapolis also contributed to the difference. In this case, it is of interest to note that the four cities held the same relative positions as was true at T_2. At this time, the Indianapolis subjects also obtained the lowest mean score. For the call of officer needs help, the low score for the Baltimore subjects appears to have contributed to the difference. The higher scores for Cincinnati and Columbus as contrasted to the lower scores for Baltimore and Indianapolis accounts for the statistically significant difference found on the burglary in progress assignment. For the last two assignments, meet a citizen and animal bite victim, the high scores of the Cincinnati subjects contributed to these differences. In this case, it should be recalled that the high score of the Cincinnati subjects at T_2 for the assignment to meet a citizen contributed to the difference found at that time. Once again, no explanation for the differences found emerges from the data. However, the existence of inter-city differences on certain of the assignments listed represents an interesting finding.

Table 9.7

Analysis of Variance of Danger Scores of 113 Police Subjects in Four Cities at T_3

Assignment	City Means				Probabilities
	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	
Murder	3.85	3.73	3.87	3.69	.89
Indecent exposure	2.40	2.22	2.33	1.91	.03
Family disturbance	3.60	3.84	3.67	3.06	.01
Reckless driving	2.75	2.76	2.58	2.72	.90
Burglar alarm sounding	3.65	3.46	3.83	3.31	.09
Man down	2.25	2.19	2.42	1.91	.06
Disturbance with teenagers	2.80	2.76	2.67	2.34	.07
Firearms discharged	4.00	3.89	3.82	3.59	.20
Officer needs help	4.25	4.59	4.79	4.59	.05
Attempted suicide	2.70	2.54	2.29	2.84	.15
Robbery in progress	4.50	4.68	4.75	4.75	.31
Assault with a deadly weapon	4.00	4.08	4.29	3.91	.34
Rape victim	1.80	1.84	1.54	2.03	.21
Burglary in progress	4.00	4.38	4.50	4.09	.04
Drunk driver	2.70	2.51	2.54	2.37	.60
Insane person	4.35	3.92	4.00	4.00	.28
Malicious mischief	1.85	1.97	1.75	1.97	.59
Suspicious person	2.60	2.65	2.83	2.56	.58
Meet a citizen	1.65	1.97	1.62	1.56	.04
Animal bite victim	1.40	1.65	1.12	1.31	.01
Grand mean	61.10	61.84	60.54	58.41	.26

Certain aspects of the perception of danger have been found to differ among the cities included in this study. For one thing, contrary to the men in the other three cities, the Cincinnati subjects who indicated the perception of the highest or lowest degree of danger at T_1 and T_2 did not do so at T_3. For these men, patrol experience dramatically affected their relative position in terms of their overall score on the perception of danger instrument. Also, the subjects in one or two of the cities tended to report significantly more or less danger related to the handling of certain assignments than the subjects in other cities. At T_1, the Baltimore subjects tended to see significantly more danger associated with the handling of family disturbances, attempted suicides, insane persons, and animal bite victims than did the recruits in the other three cities. At T_3, the Cincinnati subjects tended to see greater danger in handling the calls of meet a citizen and animal bite victim than the patrolmen in the other cities. Although the explanation of these inter-city differences is uncertain, it is possible that variations in the crime rates of the cities are related to the differences that were found.

Police officers who work in a city with a high crime rate might feel that they confront greater and more frequent danger in their work than officers who work in a low crime city. Though this relationship is plausible, the imprecision introduced by variations in crime rates within sections of a single city would deter an examination of this relationship on a city-wide basis. More properly, the question appears to be amenable to analysis in the form of a comparison between the men who work in high and low crime areas within the four cities. Generally, the geographic units within a city which are thought to be the most dangerous to work are areas wherein concentrations of economically depressed minorities live. If the beginning recruit does not already hold this perception at the start of his career, he will quickly learn this aspect of danger in recruit training.

"There is no question that policemen are more anxious in minority neighborhoods than any place else. Asked to indicate in which locations they most expected to encounter antagonistic and hostile response to them, policemen put the minority areas at the top of the list .... Race is undoubtedly an important perceptual cue for policemen when they gauge the possibility of harm coming to themselves."[30]

Arising out of this finding is the belief that police officers who work in minority areas not only perceive a greater degree of danger associated with their assignments but they also see danger as permeating all aspects of their work.

"The behavior of police officers is particularly affected by their perception of danger to themselves. The greater their anxiety, the less likely they will be to take chances, the more likely they will be to demand that events run as they think they should, and the quicker they will be to act to forestall injury to themselves.[31]

Overall, the logic behind these observations starts with the premise that high crime areas are invariably populated by minority group members. Police officers who work in high crime areas perceive a greater degree of danger in their work than men assigned to low crime areas. The more diffuse and intense perception

[30]Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

[31]Ibid., p. 94.

of danger adversely affects the performance of the men who work in high crime areas populated by minorities.

Within this context, an analysis of the danger scores of the subjects assigned to the higher and the lower crime areas was undertaken. The mean scores of the group of 47 subjects who worked in the higher crime areas of the four cities were compared to the scores of the 66 subjects who worked in the lower crime areas. Table 9.8 shows the mean scores of the two groups for each of the 20 assignments. The probability that the difference between the mean scores of the two groups could have occurred by chance alone is also shown.

Table 9.8

A. Comparison of Danger Scores of Police Patrolmen with 18 Months Experience Assigned to Higher and Lower Crime Areas

| Assignment | Mean Danger Score | | Probability |
	Higher Crime Area	Lower Crime Area	
Murder	3.74	3.78	.83
Indecent exposure	2.25	2.14	.35
Family disturbance	3.43	3.62	.24
Reckless driving	2.87	2.59	.10
Burglar alarm sounding	3.53	3.53	.99
A man down	2.15	2.18	.81
Disturbance with teenagers	2.70	2.58	.37
Firearms discharged	3.70	3.82	.46
Officer needs help	4.64	4.53	.39
Attempted suicide	2.74	2.50	.17
Robbery in progress	4.74	4.64	.26
Assault with a deadly weapon	3.85	4.21	.02
Rape victim	1.77	1.86	.55
Burglary in progress	4.32	4.21	.43
Drunk driver	2.62	2.44	.27
Insane person	4.09	4.00	.59
Malicious mischief	1.87	1.92	.70
A suspicious person	2.72	2.60	.41
Meet a citizen	1.66	1.77	.37
Animal bite victim	1.43	1.38	.67
Grand mean	60.68	60.30	.79

In only one instance was there a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups. In the case of an assault with a deadly weapon, the group of subjects who worked in the higher crime areas of their cities obtained a mean score of 3.85 while the subjects who worked in the lower crime areas obtained a mean score of 4.21. This relationship is contrary to what would be expected. This relationship is contrary to what would be expected from the foregoing observations of Bayley and Mendelsohn. However, one plausible explanation of this unexpected difference may be the relative rarity of assaults with a deadly weapon in lower crime areas. The unfamiliarity of the men who work in lower crime areas with this kind of call may have caused an intensified response to this one item. More generally, the subjects who worked in higher crime areas

tended to obtain higher mean danger scores only slightly more frequently than the subjects who worked in lower crime areas.

If the instrument does, in fact, assess the subjects' perceptions of danger, it appears that variations in crime rates for the areas where the subjects are assigned are unrelated to the degree of danger which they perceive as related to their work. Thus, the chain of logic presented above to explain police performance in high crime minority areas appears to contain an element which is unsupported by this statistical analysis. [32]

A. SUMMATION OF FINDINGS

The analyses of the subjects' responses to the perception of danger instrument produced some interesting findings. There is a universality in the relative positions of the 20 assignments when ranked from highest to lowest danger. The high correlation in rank existed among the four cities and across the time span of the research. A lesser degree of correlation existed with regard to the relative placement of subjects when ranked from highest to lowest perceivers of danger within each city.

Over the time span of recruit training, the subjects perceived of a significantly higher degree of danger for four of the 20 assignments. These four assignments were perceived as slightly to highly dangerous. The mean scores for two other assignments decreased significantly during this time period. Both of these assignments were perceived as highly or extremely dangerous to handle. Only four statistically significant changes in mean scores occurred between the end of recruit training and the completion of 18 months of experience as a patrolman. In each of these four instances, the mean danger scores decreased. Overall, the grand mean score reflected a slight rise at T_2 over T_1. By T_3, the grand mean had decreased to a level equivalent to the T_1 score.

Although several inter-city differences in mean danger scores were found to exist at T_1, T_2 and T_3, no apparent pattern emerged except for the fact that the Baltimore subjects obtained the highest danger scores at T_1 on the only four assignments in which statistically significant differences were found among the four cities. This was also true for the grand mean danger score. Further, there appeared to be no relationship between the rate of crime in the area where the subjects were assigned and the degree of danger reflected in their group scores.

All things considered, this analysis may have raised more questions than it answered. Nevertheless, the importance of the topic for the police and the intriguing nature of these findings should cause further consideration to be given to the subject.

[32] During the pretest of the Role Perception Battery, the danger instrument was administered to 96 experienced police officers in Washington, D. C., who were assigned to either the highest crime districts or the lowest. Differences between the mean scores obtained by the subjects in these two extreme groups proved not to be statistically significant. Thus, in this instance too, the degree of danger perceived by experienced patrolmen as measured by this instrument did not appear to be a function of the amount of crime occurring in the district to which the patrolman is assigned.

CHAPTER X

INTERRELATIONSHIPS

There are a number of interrelationships which have not been considered within this research. In light of the widespread interest in and support for a college education for the police, the effects of education on the responses of the subjects to selected instruments in the Role Perception Battery appear to be a significant subject area to examine in some detail.

AN ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES BASED ON EDUCATION

The 113 subjects in this research could be divided into three educational categories: holders of high school equivalency certificates, high school graduates, and men with some college attendance. Assuming that education will affect the individual in a variety of ways, the responses of the subjects to the EPPS, the Opinion Poll and the danger instrument were calculated for each educational group.[1] Differences in scores across educational categories were tested by analysis of variance. The data is displayed in Table 10.1. In the case of the 15 personality needs, there were two instances where the differences among the mean scores appeared to be statistically significant. The men with some college tended to be more dominant at T_3 than the men with lesser formal education. Also, at T_1 the men with a high school equivalency certificate tended to obtain higher need scores on heterosexuality than the men with more formal education.

In regard to the opinion poll factors, at both T_2 and T_3, subjects with more formal education tended to obtain significantly higher scores on the factor titled valuation of education than the subjects with less formal education. Also, at T_1, the subjects with less formal education tended to have significantly higher scores on the factor entitled pragmatic realism than did the subjects with more formal education. On this factor, it is significant to note that the scores of the educational groups were statistically undifferentiated by T_2 and almost identical at T_3. Thus, the effect of college work on the attitudes of the 37 subjects was short lived once they were exposed to police training.

On the danger factors, one should note that all of the differences found appeared only after patrol experience. On these four factors, the subjects who

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[1] The 20 danger scores were subjected to factor analysis and six factors were derived. The assignments contained within each of the factors at each point in time are shown in the Appendix in Table E-1. The scores used in this analysis of variance are factor scores.

Table 10.1

An Examination of the Relationship between Education and EPPS, Opinion Poll, and Danger Factor Scores; by Analysis of Variance

Scale/Factor	Time	High School Equivalency (N=15)	High School Graduate (N=61)	College Attendance (N=37)	F Ratio	Probability
EPPS-Dominance	T_3	$\overline{X}$=13.87 s= 4.89	$\overline{X}$=16.54 s= 3.87	$\overline{X}$=17.46 s= 5.48	3.75	.03
EPPS-Heterosexuality	T_1	$\overline{X}$=19.60 s= 5.41	$\overline{X}$=15.03 s= 6.15	$\overline{X}$=3.05 s= 5.79	3.82	.02
Poll-Valuation of Education	T_2	$\overline{X}$= 8.33 s= 1.95	$\overline{X}$= 9.39 s= 2.79	$\overline{X}$=10.65 s= 2.50	4.94	.01
Poll-Valuation of Education	T_3	$\overline{X}$= 8.33 s= 2.09	$\overline{X}$= 8.61 s= 2.56	$\overline{X}$=10.00 s= 2.92	3.83	.02
Poll-Pragmatic Realism	T_1	$\overline{X}$=29.93 s= 4.48	$\overline{X}$=28.54 s= 3.35	$\overline{X}$=27.08 s= 3.62	3.77	.03
Danger-Factor I	T_3	$\overline{X}$=20.53 s= 2.29	$\overline{X}$=20.95 s= 2.48	$\overline{X}$=22.22 s= 2.12	4.30	.02
Danger-Factor III	T_3	$\overline{X}$= 7.20 s= 2.01	$\overline{X}$= 6.40 s= 1.99	$\overline{X}$= 7.43 s= 1.95	3.53	.04
Danger-Factor IV	T_3	$\overline{X}$=11.13 s= 1.30	$\overline{X}$=11.07 s= 1.59	$\overline{X}$=11.86 s= 1.46	3.37	.04
Danger-Factor V	T_3	$\overline{X}$= 4.40 s= .74	$\overline{X}$= 4.08 s= 1.23	$\overline{X}$= 4.78 s= 1.21	4.16	.02

had some college education obtained significantly higher danger scores after working as a patrolman than the men with less formal education.[2] Some of the outcomes of education are the ability to see relationships, to perceive details and nuances, to anticipate consequences, to assess risks, to understand the feelings of others and to derive meaning from experience. Thus, it is not surprising that after patrol experience, men with college backgrounds perceived significantly greater danger associated with their work than others with less education.

The value of a college background for the police officer has been widely accepted while the benefits derived from further formal education have been widely discussed. However, many of the advantages or disadvantages which are said to result from further education represent only value judgements. To a limited extent, the results of this research can enrich the continuing discussion of the effects of a college background for the police. After patrol experience, the college subjects emerged as more dominant than the men with less education. Thus, lege subjects emerged as more dominant than the men with less education. Thus, to a greater extent, arguing for one's point of view, desiring to be thought of as a leader and settling the disputes of others characterized the techniques of the college men for handling their life situation.

[2] Intentionally, the six danger factors utilized in this analysis have not been titled. However, for purposes of discussion, some commonalities of assignments within the six factors at T_3 should be pointed out. Factor I includes a cluster of four of the six factors at T_3 should be pointed out. Factor I includes a cluster of assignments seen by the subjects as highly or extremely dangerous which usually require an immediate active response on arrival. Factor III consists of a group of calls viewed as slightly dangerous which generally require the police to deal with a victim after an offense has been committed. Factor IV contains three highly dangerous assignments which usually result from family related violence. Factor V includes two assignments seen by the subjects as moderately dangerous which generally require the officer to deal with a single passive individual. Psychologically, the act of indecent exposure is passive. Viewing the exposure is the active response that is sought by the offender.

Whether or not this is desirable depends on the focus of the need to dominate. If the object of the need is the public which the college educated police officer serves, then dominance may not necessarily be desirable. A dominant bearing in some forms of public contact may be abrasive. If the need to dominate finds expression within the department and is directed toward leadership and promotion, it may be thought of as more desirable. However, the limited opportunity structure in most police departments may thwart the satisfaction of the college educated officer's greater need to dominate. In the final analysis, the intensity and the focus of the need, as well as the nature of the external forces which control its expression will determine whether or not the greater need for dominance which the college educated officer has is desirable for police service.

After recruit training and patrol experience, the college subjects tended to value the experience which distinguished them from the other subjects to a greater degree than the men with less formal education. It is significant to note that this difference did not appear at T_1. Thus, the college men did not hold their additional education to be valuable in the abstract. Only after familiarization with police work, first through training and then by experience, did the college men come to value education more highly. These men now recognized the relevance of their education to their present occupation.

The attitudinal factor of pragmatic realism consists of elements of pessimism and expediency. At the start of training, the attitudes of the college subjects reflected significantly less of these elements than the attitudes of men with less formal education. If one considers the nature of the specific items in this factor, this finding would be expected. Recall that the items in the factor deal with the political backing of the police, the necessary extent of police authority over people, the implications of court decisions, the effectiveness of an aggressive bearing in dealing with people and the usefulness of the behavioral sciences to the realities of police work. What is unexpected is the impermanence of the effects of college on this attitudinal factor. By the end of training, the differences among the factor scores of the three educational groups diminished to the point where they were no longer statistically significant. Although the college group still obtained a lower score than the other two groups at this time, the probability that the differences were real was .31. After patrol experience, the scores of the three educational groups were almost identical. At this time, the probability that the differences among the mean factor scores were real was .95. Thus, the effects of college level academic work on the attitudinal factor of pragmatic realism were lost once the subjects had been exposed to police training and job experience.

Finally, after patrol experience the subjects with formal education at the college level tended to see greater danger related to the handling of a variety of police assignments than did the subjects with less education. If one accepts the explanation that the greater perspicacity of the college men accounts for their higher danger scores, then college may be functionally related to physical survival in the police role. To the contrary, if one accepts the possibility that the higher danger scores of the college men may indicate that these men would show excessive caution in their work, then college may detract from the effective performance of the police role.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERSONALITY NEEDS, ATTITUDES AND THE PERCEPTION OF DANGER

The interrelationships among the various instruments contained within the Role Perception Battery have not yet been considered systematically. Such a discussion is necessary to determine the degree of independence which exists among the instruments and the underlying variables which the instruments purport to

assess. For example, a relationship between danger and personality has been suggested.

> " . . . the policeman may well, as a personality, enjoy the possibility of danger, especially its associated excitement, even though he may at the same time be fearful of it. Such 'inconsistency' is easily understood. Freud has by now made it an axiom of personality theory that logical and emotional consistency are by no means the same phenomenon."[3]

In the same light, police officers in another study have been characterized as risk-takers.[4] Following the implications of these statements, it would be insightful within the framework of this research to examine the relationship between the subjects' responses on the EPPS and the danger instrument. Further, an exploration of the relationship of opinion poll factor scores to the EPPS and danger scores will broaden the scope of this analysis. The other instruments in the Role Perception Battery have been excluded because the forms of the scores derived from the subjects' responses do not lend themselves to this correlational analysis.

A matrix showing the correlation coefficients obtained from the analysis of the 15 EPPS need scores, the four opinion poll factor scores and the six danger factor scores at T_1 is contained in the Appendix as E-2. As before, coefficients at or above the level of $\pm.30$ can be considered statistically significant. The matrix contains the 11 intercorrelations between personality need scores shown in Table 3.2. A correlation coefficient of .38 was also found to exist between opinion poll factors II and III, pragmatic realism and conformity to authority. In addition, correlation coefficients of .63 and .30 were found to exist between danger factors I and IV, and III and IV. It is significant to note that at T_1 there were no statistically significant interrelationships among personality need scores, opinion poll factor scores and danger factor scores. Each instrument assessed variables which were independent of one another.

A comparable matrix showing the correlation coefficients obtained from an analysis of the same three sets of scores at T_3 is also contained in the Appendix as E-3. In this instance, the matrix shows the 17 intercorrelations between personality need scores listed in Table 3.2 which were found to be at or above the level of $\pm.30$. Also, there were eight intercorrelations between danger factor scores at or above the level of $\pm.30$. These coefficients of correlation ranged from .33 to .51. The only significant correlation between instruments found in this analysis was between the EPPS need score for achievement and the opinion poll factor score for Valuation of Formal Education. The correlation coefficient was .35. Except for this one case, the data at T_3 again shows the independence of each instrument from the other.

AN EXPECTATION OF CHANGE AND PERSONALITY NEEDS

Another interrelationship which should be considered at this point concerns the effects of an expectation for personal change on personality need scores.

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[3] Skolnick, op. cit., p. 47.

[4] Charles B. Johansson, "Policemen and Recruits—Vocationally Risky, Mechanical, and Military," mimeographed (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, undated), pp. 3-4.

For the police recruit, the socialization process is structured so as to produce certain desired changes which will better enable them to perform the role of police patrolman. These forces for change are primarily directed to job-related attitudes, skills, behavior and knowledge. Moreover, these changes may be so pervasive as to affect the concept of self — particularly the personality needs. It should be restated that personality needs as previously defined within this research pertain to characteristic modes of response or techniques for handling life situations. As such, personality needs are amenable to change.

The changes which might occur would have a variety of origins. Recruit training is an intentional effort to bring about controlled change in the group undergoing the training. Entering into new reciprocal role relationships, first with police officers within the generalized other and later with citizens, will cause different kinds of changes in the trainees. Underlying these external forces for change is an internal variable, the personal expectation for change. An individual acceptance of this expectation, reinforced by an awareness of the same expectation being expressed by others, may constitute a powerful agent for change. It has already been shown that those subjects who consistently held the expectation that police experience would make them "a changed person" were more amenable to attitudinal change than those subjects who held the expectation that police experience would not change them. Still to be learned is whether or not those subjects who consistently held a generalized expectation for change experienced changes in personality needs to a greater degree than those subjects who held the contrary expectation.

In order to explore the relationship between the expectation for change and modifications in personality need scores, the changes in mean scores over the full 21 month time span of this research were calculated for both the group of 26 subjects who consistently felt that police experience would change them and the 15 subjects who felt that experience would not change them. The data is arrayed in Table 10.2. As indicated in the table, the 26 who felt that experience would change them obtained scores at T_3 which were statistically significant from the comparable scores at T_1 on three variables, achievement, order and autonomy. These subjects obtained higher scores after 18 months' experience as patrolmen than they indicated earlier at the start of recruit training on achievement and autonomy. A statistically significant decrease in the need score for order also was found. Although these three changes in need scores were in the same direction as the changes which occurred for the full group of 113 subjects between the start of their training and the completion of 18 months' field experience (see Table 3.6), the statistical significance of these differences in need scores over time did vary slightly. Whereas the high change expectation subgroups' need scores on achievement increased significantly between T_1 and T_3, the comparable mean scores for the group of 113 subjects did not increase to a degree which was statistically significant. The need score for order decreased significantly for the high change expectation subgroup. This decrease from 12.08 to 9.96 was significant at the .02 level. For the full group of 113 men, the decrease noted in Table 3.6 from 12.54 to 11.63 was significant at the .05 level. With regard to the need scores on autonomy, the increase noted for the subgroup of 26 subjects was significant at the .05 level while the increase found for the full group was significant at the .01 level. It should also be noted in the interpretation of these statistics that there were no significant intercorrelations between the needs of achievement, order, and autonomy shown in Table 3.2.

For the low change expectation subgroup, differences in mean scores over time were found on only two personality variables, order and heterosexuality. As was true for the full group of 113 subjects, the scores of this subgroup decreased significantly on order and increased significantly on heterosexuality.

Table 10.2

Analysis of Differences in Personality Need Scores Over Time
for High and Low Change Expectation Groups

Personality Need	High Change Expectation Group (N=26)			Low Change Expectation Group (N=15)		
	Need Scores T_1	Significance of Difference T_1 and T_3	Need Scores T_3	Need Scores T_1	Significance of Difference T_1 and T_3	Need Scores T_3
Achievement	$\overline{X}$=14.46 s=4.05	.02	$\overline{X}$=16.31 s=3.28	$\overline{X}$=15.67 s=3.48	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=15.20 s=4.54
Deference	$\overline{X}$=11.85 s=3.16	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=11.12 s=3.28	$\overline{X}$=12.93 s=3.15	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=11.60 s=2.41
Order	$\overline{X}$=12.08 s=4.45	.02	$\overline{X}$=9.96 s=4.71	$\overline{X}$=12.87 s=4.41	.05	$\overline{X}$=10.67 s=4.51
Exhibition	$\overline{X}$=15.23 s=3.54	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=15.04 s=3.69	$\overline{X}$=15.27 s=3.53	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=15.67 s=4.86
Autonomy	$\overline{X}$=11.46 s=5.01	.05	$\overline{X}$=13.19 s=3.30	$\overline{X}$=11.80 s=4.96	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=12.53 s=3.74
Affiliation	$\overline{X}$=13.88 s=3.97	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=12.50 s=4.04	$\overline{X}$=13.20 s=4.28	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=12.20 s=4.57
Intraception	$\overline{X}$=17.12 s=3.97	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=16.50 s=4.21	$\overline{X}$=14.13 s=4.03	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=15.07 s=5.23
Succorance	$\overline{X}$=8.73 s=2.95	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=9.54 s=4.39	$\overline{X}$=9.13 s=3.40	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=9.40 s=4.64
Dominance	$\overline{X}$=15.54 s=3.88	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=16.00 s=4.20	$\overline{X}$=16.87 s=3.70	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=16.27 s=4.25
Abasement	$\overline{X}$=16.00 s=4.23	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.81 s=4.62	$\overline{X}$=14.07 s=4.04	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=13.60 s=4.84
Nurturance	$\overline{X}$=15.81 s=4.68	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.38 s=5.04	$\overline{X}$=15.73 s=4.59	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.13 s=4.75
Change	$\overline{X}$=13.42 s=3.74	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.85 s=4.76	$\overline{X}$=15.53 s=3.56	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=16.00 s=2.67
Endurance	$\overline{X}$=15.46 s=4.94	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.04 s=5.83	$\overline{X}$=17.13 s=4.53	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=16.07 s=5.91
Heterosexuality	$\overline{X}$=16.33 s=5.90	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=17.88 s=6.35	$\overline{X}$=14.33 s=5.67	.05	$\overline{X}$=17.47 s=8.22
Aggression	$\overline{X}$=12.92 s=4.67	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.35 s=4.04	$\overline{X}$=11.73 s=4.30	Not sig.	$\overline{X}$=14.27 s=4.59

The intercorrelations related to these variables listed in Table 3.2 show relatively high negative correlations between these two needs; -.41 at T_1 and -.36 at T_3. Thus, we would expect to see a decrease in the need score for order to be accompanied by an increase in the need score for heterosexuality. The decrease in the need score on order was significant at the .05 level for both the subgroup of 15 subjects who did not expect experience to change them and the full group of 113 subjects. However, the increase in the need score on heterosexuality for the low change expectation subgroup was significant at the .05 level while the increase for the full group was significant at the .01 level.

All things considered, the difference in the need scores on order does not appear to be related to an expectation that police experience will or will not change the subjects. A significant decrease was found for both the high and the low change expectation subgroups on this need as well as the full group of 113 subjects. However, the data does suggest that there is a statistical relationship between an expectation for personal change as a consequence of police experience and an

increase in the personality need scores on achievement and autonomy. Conversely, on the basis of this data, it appears that there is a statistical relationship between the expectation that experience will not change the individual and an increase in the personality need score on heterosexuality. The data also suggests in a general way that the expectation for personal change is a more powerful determinant of changes in scores related to attitudes than to changes in personality need scores.

A MEASURE OF SELF-ESTEEM AND EXPECTATION FOR CHANGE

Mention has already been given to the inverse relationship between self-esteem and persuasibility. This relationship prompts a further comparative examination of the personality needs as indicated by EPPS scores of the high and the low change expectation groups. One would logically expect that the scores for achievement, exhibition, autonomy, dominance, and aggression would be higher for persons with high self-esteem (low expectation for change) than for those with low self-esteem (high expectation for change). On the other hand, persons with low self-esteem would tend to score higher on deference, affiliation, intraception, succorance, abasement and nurturance than would persons of high self-esteem. Table 10.3 displays the EPPS mean scores and standard deviations for the 15 personality variables for the high and low change expectation groups. A statistically significant difference between the scores of the two groups was found on only one personality need, that of intraception at the outset of training. This difference was significant at the .05 level (t=2.31). The group which held a high expectation for change was significantly more intraceptive ($\overline{X}$=17.12) than the group which held a low expectation for change ($\overline{X}$=14.13). Further, one should note that many of the other mean scores of needs with a face relationship to self-esteem were not even in the predicted direction. For example, the low self-esteem group (high expectation for change) attained a higher mean score on aggression at both points in time than did the high self-esteem group (low expectation for change). All things considered, it would appear that the interrelationships among personality needs, self-esteem, and the expectation for change are considerably more complex and subtle than they first appeared.

Table 10.3

EPPS Need Scores of Police Subjects Grouped According to
Their Expectation for Change

Personality Variable	Start of Training				After 18 Months Experience			
	High Change Expectation (N=26)		Low Change Expectation (N=15)		High Change Expectation (N=26)		Low Change Expectation (N=15)	
	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Achievement	14.46	4.05	15.67	3.48	16.31	3.28	15.20	4.54
Deference	11.85	3.16	12.93	3.15	11.12	3.28	11.60	2.41
Order	12.08	4.45	12.87	4.41	9.96	4.71	10.67	4.51
Exhibition	15.23	3.54	15.27	3.53	15.04	3.69	15.67	4.86
Autonomy	11.46	5.01	11.80	4.96	13.19	3.30	12.53	3.74
Affiliation	13.88	3.97	13.20	4.28	12.50	4.04	12.20	4.57
Intraception	17.12	3.97	14.13	4.03	16.58	4.21	15.07	5.23
Succorance	8.73	2.95	9.13	3.40	9.54	4.39	9.40	4.64
Dominance	15.54	3.88	16.87	3.70	16.00	4.20	16.27	4.25
Abasement	16.00	4.23	14.07	4.04	14.81	4.62	13.60	4.84
Nurturance	15.81	4.68	15.73	4.59	14.38	5.04	14.13	4.75
Change	13.42	3.74	15.53	3.56	14.85	4.76	16.00	2.67
Endurance	15.46	4.94	17.13	4.53	14.04	5.83	16.07	5.91
Heterosexuality	16.38	5.90	14.33	5.67	17.88	6.35	17.47	8.22
Aggression	12.92	4.67	11.73	4.30	14.35	4.04	14.27	4.59

In considering the single difference that did appear between the two groups, one should note that an awareness that police experience will make one a changed person would tend to occur only in a rather sensitive, introspective kind of person who is conscious of the subtle interplay between the adoption of an occupational role and the occurrence of changes in the self. This supports the theory that:

"Suggestible people are more apt to derive their perceptions of things from reference points within their own bodies rather than from outside of themselves."[5]

The line of logic suggested by this statement starts with the premise that the introspective person, one who is sensitive to his inner self, may become more aware that his new occupational role has changed or will change him. This internal awareness may produce a conscious expectation of change. Thus, he may be more sensitive to the expectations for change expressed by others. He may become more suggestible or persuasible and, in fact, experience more significant changes in his personality needs than would the person who is unable to look within himself.

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[5]Lester Guest, "The Contest for Men's Minds: Part II—The Arena: Attitude Formation and Change," mimeographed (University Park, Pennsylvania State University, undated), p. 8.

CHAPTER XI

THE OUTCOMES OF RESEARCH

Research and theory are inseparable. Theory serves as a base for research and from research new theory emerges. Out of this circular relationship comes the inevitable desire to put theory into practice. It is not enough for the theoretician to say that there is nothing as practical as good theory and let the matter end there. In reality, the practical outcomes of most theories are not self-evident and the application of theory to practical problems may require as much effort as the research which originally gave rise to the theory. Consequently, it is seen as a necessary obligation of this researcher to present in explicit form a number of practical approaches to dealing with the problems suggested by the findings of this research.

Throughout this report, a large number of theoretical findings have been presented. Some of these findings merely confirm what is already known or suspected. Others cast new light on the meaning of police experience. As such, they should be regarded as exploratory. In either event, the findings have a use. They may provide additional support for continuing or modifying existing police programs or they may suggest the need for new programs.

The recommendations presented are logically or psychologically related to the findings of this research. Hence, the worth of these recommendations is dependent on the acceptance or rejection of these findings as valid. In the design of this research, a decision was made to use a combined group of recruits from four comparable cities as subjects rather than a group of recruits from a single city. The intention was to increase the generalizability of the findings. If one accepts this approach as valid, then the recommended programs based on these findings will have general application. If the use of a combined group of subjects is not accepted as a valid approach to increasing the generalizability of the findings, then these recommendations will have a more limited application to the four cities included in this research.

RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUNDS

The finding of high residential stability among the subjects of this research and among the police in general suggests that broadly based recruitment programs have not been notably successful. Though residential requirements for original entrance into police work have been made less restrictive than in the past, the men who entered police work in the four cities included in this research have predominantly local backgrounds.

Institutions, like people, tend to do that which is easiest. If local recruitment programs can produce a sufficient number of qualified applicants, then there is no apparent need to recruit outside the bounds of the city or state — even if it is legally permissible to do so. However, if one accepts the view that the generally conservative orientation of the police is, in part, a consequence of the recruitment of local residents into the police ranks and, at the same time, desires a less conservative style of policing, then the effort to recruit qualified men on a nationwide basis might be seen as worth the additional effort.

Moreover, it should also be recognized that despite the efforts of a police agency to recruit personnel on a nationwide basis, they may be unsuccessful in obtaining men with broader backgrounds from other parts of the country. It may be that tropistic behavior is what swells the police ranks with local residents. Only the men who know the city or the people in it are attracted to the job. For the outsider, the thought of policing an unfamiliar city, the impenetrable appearance of the monolithic police agency, and the lack of informal support from friends already within the system, may serve as formidable barriers to entry. Successful nationwide recruitment requires a commitment to the belief that the entry into police work of men with varied backgrounds, wherever they reside, is both desirable and necessary.

OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

An analysis of the backgrounds of the subjects showed that they came predominantly from stable middle class families. Their fathers, with modest formal education, had been successfully upward striving and were employed primarily at the level of craftsmen and foremen. The representation of fathers at this job level far exceeded that for employed men in the general population.

The subjects themselves were all high school graduates. Only one-third of them had attended college. The majority had been employed in lower-middle class jobs before entry into law enforcement. The great majority of these jobs required the incumbent to deal primarily with data and things. By and large, the group had little occupational experience in dealing with people nor did they have an interest in jobs which were people oriented. When taken together, one is left with the impression that the subjects came into police work ill-prepared in terms of formal education, personal interests, and vocational experience.

The lengthening and enriching of the formal recruit training program is but a surface recommendation to meet these inadequacies. The mating of college level work in the social sciences with recruit training is another basic approach. Within the enlarged framework of vocational socialization, an extensive knowledge of human behavior must be developed. There is general agreement with these points. The problem which has been largely ignored by others is that of imparting a great breadth of knowledge about human behavior to men who are educationally and vocationally unprepared to receive this knowledge. The problem is aggravated by a general lack of interest in dealing with people in a vocational role and by hastily formed conceptions of the police role. Thus, the challenge is to build an adequate foundation for later learning. Without doing so, efforts to impart knowledge of the social sciences might be met with resistance and consequently be unsuccessful. For example, one social science program for police officers produced the following reaction:

" . . . some of the police considered this experience unpleasant and erected barriers against anything that might be taught . . . They anticipated a 'brainwashing' in which ideas would be set

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forth by fuzzy headed, unworldly yet glib academicians. Some were on guard against radical or 'pinko' ideas . . . "[1]

One should recognize that there are some necessary preliminaries which should be carried out before trying to give recruits a knowledge of human behavior in general terms. Basically, these techniques involve stimulating an interest in others by building upon that which is of greatest interest, the self.

Perhaps the most widely used technique is that of sociodrama or role playing. This method consists of acting out crucial life situations involving two or more people before an audience of active observers. The actors are given an opportunity to interact with others in a non-threatening but emotionally real situation. The action portrayed must be seen by the group as both realistic and relevant. Replaying and role reversal can enhance the meaning gained from this shared experience. The benefits of role playing are several. It can help both the actors and the members of the active audience to experience emotion in a non-punitive setting; to understand better their own feelings, frustrations and irrationalities; and to achieve a greater sensitivity to and empathy with others. Out of such an experience can come a desire and readiness for more general knowledge of human behavior.

Sensitivity training is another well known approach which can be utilized to increase one's interest in and knowledge about the self. Though this training technique has been used extensively in an attempt to improve relationships between the police and various segments of the public with different class and ethnic backgrounds, it has not been fully exploited as a means of increasing self-understanding and self-acceptance among the police. It would seem that this use of the technique should precede all others. Sensitivity training for small groups of police recruits could facilitate self discovery — particularly those attitudes, behaviors and mannerisms which might arouse antagonistic feelings in others. In a setting where mutual trust has been established, police recruits might feel free to try out different behaviors and obtain immediate feedback on their effectiveness. Such interplay can be exceedingly useful in gaining a better understanding of one's self.

In terms of a sequential development of programs in the behavioral sciences, an interest in the subject area is primary. Self-awareness, self-understanding and self-acceptance are the basic elements which should precede a more general knowledge of behavior. Once interest has been created out of a sense of self, cognitive learning can more easily take place. The application of general principles of behavior to specific techniques for dealing with the public in problematic and stressful situations can then follow.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

Entry into the police profession is beset with a variety of personal and social adjustments, many with far reaching consequences that extend to all aspects of an individual's role set. One of these adjustments concerns friendship patterns.

Most people appear to accept group solidarity as a characteristic of the police. The many explanations offered for this affiliative tendency range from

[1] Charles Bahn, "Required Consensus as an Action Teaching Method." (Paper presented at the 29th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama, 1971.)

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such practical considerations as the effect of rotating work hours or the operation of a car pool to the view that only a police officer can understand another police officer. Underlying most of these explanations is the concept that expectations influence behavior. In this case, it would appear that the expectation that police recruits form friendships with other officers is given wide expression within the police environment. Accordingly, the men entering police work respond in varying degrees to this behavioral expectation. However, the development of extensive friendships with other police officers is not an inevitable consequence of occupational socialization. It occurred in Indianapolis and Cincinnati but significantly less so in Baltimore and Columbus.

The matter of friendship formation is of general interest in the study of occupational socialization. However, the matter takes on far greater meaning when the effects of group cohesiveness are said to have direct implications for the performance of the police role. If one accepts the view that in-group solidarity leads to the adoption of insular viewpoints, secrecy and isolation from the public, then the formation of friendships may have a negative effect on police role performance. To the contrary, if one accepts the belief that group cohesiveness is a necessary means of coping with the omnipresent threat of danger, then friendship formation with other police may have a positive effect on role performance. In either event, it should be clear that associational ties have a significant impact on the enactment of the police role. As a consequence, the development and effect of friendship patterns with other police officers should be given open consideration during and after recruit training as part of a core of subjects dealing with personal and social adjustment to the job. The subject should be considered in a matter-of-fact way as information giving and should be directed toward self-understanding.

INTRA-DEPARTMENT ASPIRATIONS

Another of the many problems of adjustment that a man must begin to resolve once he enters the police profession concerns his intra-department aspirations. In terms of an ideal, it is widely accepted that everyone can rise to the top. In reality, ascendance to positions of leadership, power and prominence is limited. Between the ideal and the reality, an individual recruit must work out realistic aspirations based on a consideration of both the opportunity structure within his department and the nature and extent of his personal abilities. Aspirations which are unrealistic can have adverse effects on the present role enactments of an individual.

When the subjects were asked during recruit training if they expected to be promoted in rank within the next ten years, all responded that they expected to attain higher rank. After patrol experience, almost all of the subjects again reported that they expected to be promoted in rank within ten years. Clearly, many of the subjects will experience disillusionment as a consequence of their unrealistic aspirations. When the promotional level which the men expected to achieve within ten years is considered, the exaggerated nature of their aspirations becomes even more pronounced. For example, after patrol experience, almost two-thirds of the Indianapolis subjects reported that they expected to attain the rank of lieutenant or above within ten years. However, such unrealistic aspirations were not held by all subjects. After patrol experience, only one-sixth of the Columbus subjects aspired to become a lieutenant or above within their first decade on the job. Such wide differences cannot wholly be explained in terms of different opportunity structures. Rather, these differences arise from the varying degree of realism which the subjects incorporated within the formation of their occupational aspirations.

The problem of intra-department aspirations was particularly acute for the subjects who had attended college. Although their aspirations were not dissimilar from those of men with only a high school education at T_1 and T_2, a statistically significant difference between the aspirations of the two groups appeared after patrol experience. At this time, 67.6% of the college men aspired to become a lieutenant or above within ten years. This compares to 38.2% for the group with only a high school education. This finding may explain, in part, the problem that many police agencies have in retaining college men in their ranks.

Again, since aspirations may have a direct effect on the present role behavior of the subjects, the matter should be given open consideration within recruit training and an opportunity for individual counseling should be provided thereafter. As part of a core of subjects dealing with the personal and social adjustment of the recruit to the police role, information about the abilities necessary for promotion and the opportunities available should be given to the men to help them shape their aspirations more realistically. General information should be presented on promotional procedures, the numerical chances of promotion, the backgrounds of the men who are promoted, the average time spent in preparation for examinations and the average length of police service of the men promoted in rank. It is necessary that such information be given to all recruits at the start of their police career. Moreover, it is necessary that supplementary information be available to all individuals later in their careers, particularly to college men whose greater aspirations emerge after limited experience as a patrolman.

In addition to vertical aspiration, attention was also given to horizontal aspiration. What categories of assignments were the subjects interested in if not promoted in rank within ten years? At the start of training, one-third of the men aspired to an investigative position. A slightly lesser proportion of men expressed an interest in patrol. Traffic and juvenile assignments were preferred by 20% of the men. Few were interested in administrative or training positions. By the end of recruit training, more men were interested in patrol than detective work. Otherwise, the interests were much the same as before. After 18 months of patrol experience, almost one-half of the men expressed an interest in patrol work while less than one-fourth aspired to become a detective. The remaining subjects chose traffic, juvenile and staff assignments.

On the face of it, the distribution of interests among the total group of subjects at T_3 reflects a realistic appraisal of the positions available within a department. However, there were some evident disproportions when the data for each city was considered. Although the Cincinnati subjects showed considerable breadth in their lateral aspirations at the start, they tended to concentrate their interests in patrol after initial experience as patrolmen. Across time, a greater proportion of the Baltimore subjects expressed an interest in investigative work than in patrol. These inter-city differences are a consequence of the subjects' knowledge of the variety of work assignments available to them as well as the attention and prestige the assignments receive within the respective cities.

Preferences are based on knowledge. Thus, it would seem that some attention to horizontal mobility would be a valuable supplement to recruit training. A general career orientation to what is both possible and probable in terms of reassignment would contribute toward helping the recruit plan his overall career in law enforcement. Any effort on the part of the training staff to give the men a more realistic view of the actual opportunities in the department and their chances of obtaining a desired position will have a salutary effect on the present and future performance of the men.

In this regard, what seems to be just plain common knowledge to experienced officers may not be understood at all by the men just beginning their police career. How much patrol experience is considered to be adequate preparation for a specialized assignment? What are the numerical chances of being reassigned? What are the typical backgrounds of the men who become specialists? What qualifications are necessary and/or desirable to become a detective or a juvenile officer? Even the matter of how to go about requesting a transfer is important.

> In a large police department, a young Negro patrolman with a degree in mathematics told one of his supervisors that he was very disturbed over the fact that he had not been transferred to the detective division. At that time, the man had been on the job for nine months. He indicated that he had been told before he joined the department that because of his education he could get any assignment he wanted. The supervisor asked if he had submitted a formal request for transfer. The man indicated he had not done so. The man added that he didn't even know the procedures for requesting a transfer nor could he justify how a mathematics degree would qualify him for assignment as a detective. Three months later the man quit the department disappointed because his unrealistic expectations had not been met.

This resignation was unfortunate for both the man and the department. It was also unnecessary. The chances are good that it would not have occurred if the man had been given, at the beginning of his career, sound information about the personnel practices in the department.

PERSONALITY

Within this research, personality was viewed as a characteristic mode of response structured by a specific role. Accordingly, as one takes on a new role, certain aspects of personality would be modified in accord with the demands and expectations of the new role. In this instance, personality needs as assessed by the EPPS are the variables selected for attention.

As the subjects completed the highly structured classroom situation and later moved to confront the uncertainties of the street environment, one would expect significant changes in the hierarchy of personality needs from what they were at the time of entry into recruit training. After 18 months of enacting the patrolman's role, the subjects' scores indicated higher needs in autonomy, aggression and heterosexuality. The subjects also obtained lower need scores for deference, affiliation, abasement and nurturance. The higher scores on autonomy and aggression, when combined with the lower scores on deference and abasement, suggest that the general conformity and dependency which characterized the subjects at the start of recruit school has diminished. The subjects' personality needs have shifted toward a more active, assertive and self-directing orientation. The decrease in the score for nurturance suggests that the need to help others and treat them with sympathy has also diminished since the start of recruit school. Thus, it can be inferred from the changes in personality need scores that the subjects' general orientation toward people might be more conflict producing than it was at the time they originally entered law enforcement.

In recent years, a considerable amount of research has been done on the relative proportions of time a police patrolman spends on various activities. Generally, these studies indicate that about 20% of a patrolman's time is spent in handling calls related to criminal actions while the remaining 80% of his time is

spent in performing a wide variety of community service activities. If one considers the proportion of total time a patrolman spends on service activities and the nature of the changes in personality needs which occur as a consequence of taking on the patrolman's role, one is led to an impression of incompatibility. Police experience appears to modify a man's personality so as to make him less able to perform the major part of his job, service to people, without abrasiveness and conflict. On the face of it, one is led to deplore what police work does to policemen in terms of their ability to carry out their service functions.

To consider the patrolman's job only in terms of the proportion of time spent on the various aspects of it is to ignore the dimension of the intensity of experience. Though criminal matters consume only 20% of a man's time, it may be that the intensity of this small segment of his job experience is so great that it serves as the dominant force in the modification of his personality needs over time. Thus, the changes which occur are functionally consistent with only a small fraction of his work and functionally inconsistent with the remaining 80%.

Consider this analogy from the field of medicine. Although 80% of a surgeon's job might entail preoperative diagnosis and postoperative care, the most critical and intense part of his work experience might be the remaining 20% of the time he spends in the operating room. Here he must be quick, confident and perhaps a bit blunt. These and other related characteristics may in time dominate his personality so as to be incompatible with the remaining 80% of his job. The patient may have to put up with the surgeon's blunt manner well knowing that this characteristic is necessary for the effective performance of the surgeon's role in the operating room.

Bittner pointed out that the police officer, like the soldier, " . . . must be kept in a highly disciplined state of alert preparedness," and added that many of the job routines constitute a continuing rehearsal for "the real thing."[2] The condition of alert preparedness for the eventuality of dealing with a threatening criminal matter may influence the totality of the patrolman's role performance. It should also be noted that many assignments which turn out to be calls for service may be considered by the officer as part of the continuing rehearsal for the real thing. In light of these considerations, it is unrealistic to lament the changes in personality needs which police experience seems to produce. As with the surgeon, the client of the police may also have to learn to put up with a degree of aggressiveness and bluntness knowing that these characteristics are necessary for the effective performance of the police role in controlling crime. Perhaps this is the price that must be paid to keep a man at the ready in a violent society.

Implied in the foregoing is the appeal that the public should be more tolerant of the police personality and the way in which they do their work. Though this is a necessary recommendation, it is not sufficient since there are a number of things the police can do directly to ameliorate the apparent incompatibility between the emergent personality needs of the police and the major element of service in their role.

To predict is to control. Since the changes in personality needs were predictable, it is accepted that they can be controlled. As a first step in their control, the nature of these changes should be shared with police recruits during recruit training. Information about the anticipated changes in personality needs can be presented and discussed in such a way as to build self-knowledge. Further,

[2]Bittner, op. cit., p. 53.

this information can generate an interest in the social sciences and serve as the base for further knowledge about human behavior.

Self-knowledge is merely a preliminary. Since there is an inherent conflict between emergent personality needs and role requirements, it should be recognized that occupational adjustment will be difficult for the individual to cope with. Hence, the services of a qualified counselor should be made available to experienced officers. Although one of the functions of the police supervisor may be to perform a "first-aid" counseling function, this does not obviate the need for a professional counseling psychologist. The effective police officer is a perishable commodity. Like any precious investment, he must be insulated and protected from harm. A formal counseling program can be considered as a form of preventive maintenance.

Recognizing that certain assignments within a police department will have a more intense effect on personality modification than others, the periodic rotation of assignments can reduce or forestall extreme changes in personality which would tend to exacerbate police relations with citizens. Also, the recognition that police experience will alter the hierarchy of personality needs and that there are individual differences in the modifiability of personality, should lead to an open acknowledgement that some men may become unsuitable to perform effectively the service component of their role. If this is demonstrated by inappropriate conduct, reassignment or termination should be considered. To allow this ultimate action to take place, it is recommended that the probationary period be extended in length to allow sufficient time for the individual's emergent characteristic modes of response to crystalize and become apparent to others.

ROLE CONFLICT

The performance of a role may be affected considerably by the process in which a person takes into account the behavioral expectations of others with whom he interacts. In an isolated face-to-face relationship, the expectations expressed by one person may be easily understood by another and taken into consideration in his role enactments. However, in reality, the matter is not so clear-cut, particularly so for the police. As a public agency, the police must be responsive to many external edicts, pressures and influences. In a very real sense, the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government serve as an institutionalized means by which the expectations of the public can exert control over the conduct of the police. In a variety of more informal ways, citizens acting individually or collectively can convey their behavioral expectations to the police. Beyond this, the police themselves hold expectations about their own job performance. The police executive must interpret the expectations expressed by the various branches of government and the general public. Police commanders, supervisors, and trainers also contribute their views of what role behavior is expected of the police patrolman. In the end, the police patrolman faces a bewildering array of behavioral expectations intended to define his role and structure his role performance. Ultimately, the patrolman must decide for himself which of the confusing and often conflicting expectations he will attend to.

Consider, for example, the way in which the recruit is expected to learn the essential elements of his new role. Underlying this question is the issue of education for a profession or training for a craft. If police work is seen as a service oriented, peacekeeping activity which requires an extensive knowledge of people and the frequent exercise of discretion, then a classroom approach to providing the essential intellectual preparation would be most effective. However, if the work is thought of narrowly as strict law enforcement through the use of physical skills and the ability to manipulate people mechanically, then on-the-job training

would be most appropriate. The general confusion in expectations regarding the essential nature of police work is reflected in the variety of expectations perceived by the subjects in this research.

In the final analysis, the question is one of role definition rather than strategies for the preparation of recruits. The police should be more responsive to the public's expectation that the police role be carried out by competent professionals educated in the activities of both peacekeeping and crime control. The police themselves must actively confront and grapple with the basic issues involved in defining their role rather than expend their energies on the subordinate question of education or training. The law enforcement community must recognize that the basic issue cannot be resolved by others nor can it be allowed simply to evolve on its own. The matter is not abstract. There is a pressing need for the resolution of this and other conflict situations — an urgency based on the well-being of society and the mental health of the police officer. It has been said that,

" . . . in law enforcement we have an extremely high incidence of mental and physical problems, and . . . the main cause of many of these illnesses is frustration. Possibly the most frustrated group of people in society is the working policeman. The question then is what we can do to help him as an individual overcome these frustrations."[3]

What we can do to help the individual patrolman is to actively seek the resolution of the many conflicts he faces in the every day enactment of the police role.

Another of the many conflicts which the patrolman faces is the manner in which he is expected to deal with the public. An impersonal and reserved approach, often associated with professionalism and the general tone of our criminal justice system, is one possibility. However, such a style may be dysfunctional for the enactment of the service components of the police role. For this aspect of the work, a good natured and friendly approach may be most appropriate. Here again, the patrolman faces a bewildering array of conflicting expectations. As before, underlying the issue of the approach the police should use in dealing with the public is the basic problem of role definition. Are the police to be automatons who impersonally enforce the law or are they to be wise but good natured arbiters concerned with keeping the peace and controlling crime? Again, the direct involvement of the police in the resolution of this dilemma is advocated.

One should also recognize that an invariable impersonal approach on the part of the police may be a consequence of their desire to avoid emotional involvement with the people they serve. Other professions have recognized that it is personally less demanding to maintain a certain psychic distance from the people they serve than to become close and friendly with them. This, as one doctor explains, is true for nurses in a hospital setting.

"Some patients have accused nurses and residents of disliking or being indifferent to them, and they've got a good point . . . The nurses are in a difficult position. They do have ambivalent feelings about these patients. We all do, to some extent, but the nurses are in more frequent and intimate contact with

[3]Robert E. McCann, as quoted in "Selected Presentations from the 1970 National Conference on Law Enforcement Education" (Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Justice, 1970), p. 15.

patients. Although they know they have obligations to them, they want to fulfill those obligations and at the same time stay rather aloof. The better a nurse gets to know and like a patient, the greater are the emotional demands made on her."[4]

The relevance of this statement for the police can easily be seen if one substitutes the word "patrolman" for "nurse" and "public" for "patient." For the nurses, one solution to the problem has been counseling sessions where they learn to develop attitudes that permit them to establish a comfortable rapport with their patients, yet to maintain a certain social distance from them. The same approach may be useful for the police in carrying out the peacekeeping element of their role.

One of the problems which emerged from the findings of this part of the research is that the question of the appropriate behavior for dealing with the public was seen as an either-or proposition. In reality, the police face a wide range of situations which require a full repertoire of behavioral responses. Role playing can be used to assist policemen to see the need for a variety of approaches to dealing with the public and to develop sufficient flexibility in behavior to be able to cope more adequately with the variety of problems they regularly encounter. Discussion sessions utilizing Police Experience Film Modules may be especially helpful in getting patrolmen to recognize the adverse consequences of a rigid behavioral response to all situations.[5]

Another source of role conflict for the patrolman is the reconciliation in practical terms of the equality ideal and the everyday reality of having to make distinctions in the exercise of discretion and the handling of offenders. By and large, the subjects perceived of other police officers and court officials as holding the expectation that all persons, regardless of social class, should be handled equally. On the other hand, public leaders were seen by the majority of subjects as holding the expectation that certain arrestees should be treated differently. In this case, the police can contribute directly to the resolution of this conflict by setting forth carefully drawn rules and regulations regarding the treatment of arrestees. Fundamental to this question is the matter of police discretion. Efforts to clarify the circumstances under which the patrolman can exercise discretion will alleviate the misuse of discretion based on such individual distinctions as social class. Recruit training programs should give adequate attention to the conditions under which the police can exercise their discretionary powers.

There probably is no conflict in the field of law enforcement which is discussed more frequently than that posed by the expectations to stop the rise in crime and to respect civil liberties. The problem stems from the fact that they are often viewed as mutually exclusive goals. One expectation holds that to stop the rise in crime, certain civil liberties may have to be sacrificed. The other view is that civil liberties must be respected even if it brings an increase in crime. The resolution of this conflict can best be handled through a better understanding of the vast implications of our system of law and the freedoms granted within it. As one police administrator said, " the hard job that academies must tackle . . . is translating abstractions such as freedom, the constitutional guarantees, into decisions and behavior at the street level."[6]

[4]Joseph P. Coogan, "Psychiatry for the Slowly Dying," Psychiatric Reporter. No. 45, Fall, 1969, p. 5.

[5]Police Experience Series, "Fear and Anxiety," "Feeling Good" and "Humiliation and Anger" (New York, Film Modules, Inc., 1969).

[6]Noel Greenwood, "Quiet Revolution Under Way in Police Training, Education," Los Angeles Times, January 9, 1972, p. 3.

One of the easy solutions to being embroiled in heated public controversy is a retreat to the sidelines while the most vocal participants in the situation struggle with one another over the issues. By becoming a bystander, the personal effects of the conflict are reduced. It is possible that the police have oftentimes retreated from the active struggle to resolve conflicts affecting their interests and assumed the stance of an indifferent bystander. Though this position may relieve discomfort in the short run, it may eventually have unwanted consequences. The active participants may resolve the conflict without due consideration for the needs of all parties involved. The matters of role definition and the resolution of role conflict discussed in this research demand the active participation of the police.

Though role conflicts are unwanted, they can serve a constructive purpose.

"They are difficult for the individual caught in a crossfire of competing claims. They sap resources which are in short supply compared with the heavy and complex demands placed on police agencies. Nevertheless, role conflicts are useful barometers to the particular points in the system of law enforcement where constructive innovation is urgently needed."[7]

The identification of the sources of role conflict then becomes a necessary first step toward the improvement of police services.

THE PERCEPTION OF PEOPLE

Some approaches to intergroup relations emphasize control of the behavior of the police. Accordingly, the police have been instructed and admonished not to use certain "trigger" words, to control their emotions, and to restrain certain undesirable behavioral reactions. Although these methods may sometimes be necessary, they are a partial solution at best. Ichheiser points out that,

"In approaching the individual in his role as actor, education is attempting to inculcate certain emotions, attitudes and modes of behavior; to develop certain 'good' traits and eliminate 'bad' ones in accordance with the accepted standards and ideals . . . Yet this amounts to ignoring part of the very essence of the problem . . . Education is wasting its effort if it limits itself to the attempt to change attitudes and modes of behavior in actors, without trying simultaneously to change the judgements and reactions in spectators . . . ."[8]

If real progress is to be made by the police in dealing with intergroup relations, attention must be given not only to the active role of the police but also to their reciprocal role as spectator. As is true in all role relationships, the persons involved shift continually from actor to audience. More specifically, the police and members of the public shift roles from actor to spectator as they interact with one another. It must be recognized that in their passive role as observer, the police form judgements of other people which influence to a considerable degree their behavior after they have shifted back to their active role. Hence, the importance of an examination of the perception of people becomes clear. Simply put, from the perceptions of people come judgements which form the basis for later police action.

[7]Elmer H. Johnson, "Police: An Analysis of Role Conflict," mimeographed (Carbondale, Illinois, Southern Illinois University, 1970), p. 12.

[8]Gustav Ichheiser, op. cit., pp. 113-14.

Many problems in human relations which the police experience have been traced to misperceptions of other people or groups of people. Discussions are typically set in terms of "we" and "they" or "ingroups" and "outgroups," while approaches to improving intergroup relationships focus on the replacement of harmful stereotypes with glimpses of the true characteristics of other people. Barriers to the operation of an integrated system of criminal justice are frequently conceptualized in terms of stereotypes. The police are seen by other practitioners as "ignorant, dishonest and lazy." Probation officers are pictured by the police as "fuzzy thinking social workers." Correctional officers are seen by all as "brutal and sadistic." Only when these stereotypes are broken down and replaced with reality can a functionally integrated criminal justice system come into being. So, too, with community relations. If the police and the public can only rid themselves of their stereotyped views of one another, then police-community relations will be vastly improved. For example, one police-community relations program was based on the following concept:

> "The program was built around a concept of exposure of the police recruits to each element of our society that came within the working context of the police . . . Basic principles of communication, especially non-verbal, were discussed and demonstrated in class and opportunities were afforded for practice with confrontative encounters in community settings. This last feature was important in approaching the second major goal of the program, developing an awareness of the policeman stereotype current in various subcultures while simultaneously weakening the policeman's stereotype of members of those sub-cultures."[9]

This approach is reasonable and limited benefits may result from it. However, this also amounts to ignoring part of the very essence of the problem. One finding which arose out of this research suggests that programs of this kind may deal with only a small part of a far broader problem of the police as spectator.

On the basis of this research, it appears that the subjects' perceptions of people generally shifted toward a more unfavorable dimension of semantic space from the time they entered police work. Specifically, this was true on both the cooperative-uncooperative and the informed-uninformed scales not for just the outgroups of civil rights leaders, newspapermen and probation officers but also for the ingroups of police supervisors, police trainers, experienced patrolmen and even wives and families. Almost all groups were seen as less informed and as a result, they were less cooperative. The basic problem becomes one of the perception of people in general rather than the misperception of specific outgroups.

To base the objectives of police-community relations programs on the improvement of perceptions of minority groups is to ignore the fact that the unfavorable views the police might hold of these outgroups might also be held of the ingroups. This is not to say that cynicism or misanthropy dominated the conceptions of people held by the experienced police subjects. Though the findings indicate that the subjects reported certain negative shifts as generalized to all audiences, they nevertheless were able to make distinctions.

As is the case with other problems, the solution calls for a greater understanding of human behavior by the police recruit. Attention should be directed to his role as observer. The whole process of people perception including the formation of dispositional judgements, the development of behavioral expectations and

[9] Summary of Police Community Relations Symposium, American Psychological Association Convention, September, 1970.

the shaping of emotional responses should be incorporated within the recruit curriculum. Once this foundation is learned, then these principles can be applied to the perception of specific outgroups as well as ingroups.

AGGREGATE ROLE CONCEPTIONS

Aggregate role has been defined as the specific function assigned by society to an organization in that society. Within a single organization, positions contribute in varying degrees to the performance of the culturally determined aggregate role. To the extent that a position can contribute to the organization's collective role, prestige is accorded to the incumbents in that position. Most observations regarding the prestige given to positions within police agencies have pointed out that investigative positions were seen as the most important. Though many of these observations were drawn years ago, they have continued to influence more recent observers of the allocation of prestige among the police. What seems to have been ignored is the fact that in recent years, society has redefined or at least given greater recognition to an expanded aggregate role for the police. Widespread recognition has now been given to the crime prevention, peacekeeping and service aspects of the police role — activities which are largely carried out by patrolmen. Logically, as changes have occurred in society's definition of the aggregate role of the police, so too have changes taken place in the allocation of prestige to various positions within police organizations.

The findings of this research suggest that changes have taken place in the judgements of young police officers about the relative importance of positions in accomplishing the overall police mission. The subjects of this research viewed the patrol function as making the greatest contribution to the police mission. They also viewed investigative positions as making relatively less important contributions to the current aggregate role of the police.

All is not right though. Many still cling to an outmoded view of the aggregate police role as one of crime control. Contemporary observers still remark that prestige accrues to detective positions. Additionally, certain inherent characteristics of the investigator's position may make it more desirable, completely apart from the degree to which it contributes to the performance of the police mission. Such distortions may cause a measure of role strain among young officers.

> " . . . the view that crime control is the only serious important, and necessary part of police work has deleterious effects on the morale of those police officers in the uniformed patrol who spend most of their time with other matters. No one, especially he who takes a positive interest in his work, likes being obliged to do things day-in and day-out that are disparaged by his colleagues. Moreover, the low evaluation of these duties leads to neglecting the development of skill and knowledge that are required to discharge them properly."[10]

Until such distortions can be righted, role strain will continue to exert a deleterious effect on the work performance of the patrolman. To alleviate these effects, efforts should be undertaken to clarify the aggregate police role, to give suitable recognition to the patrolman's role and its relative contribution to the overall police mission, and to modify police training programs to reflect more realistically the breadth of services carried out by the patrolman.

[10] Bittner, op. cit., p. 42.

ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE POLICE ROLE

Four aspects of the attitudinal orientations of the subjects to their role were selected for analysis; valuation of formal education, pragmatic realism, conformity to authority and conservatism. The findings showed predictable changes in attitudes over the time span of this research on three factors. After 18 months experience as patrolmen, the subject's attitudes reflected a significantly greater measure of pragmatic realism, a lesser measure of conformity to authority and a greater degree of conservatism. Overall, it appeared that police experience was a far greater influence for attitude change than recruit training.

An analysis of intercity differences showed no statistically significant differences in attitudes among the four groups of recruits at the start of their training. Thus, intentionally or not, personnel procedures tended to select applicants with common attitudinal orientations for entry into the police ranks. Consistent with the view that different experiences will produce different attitudes while similar experiences will tend to produce similar attitudes, it was found that by the end of recruit training, intercity differences existed on two attitudinal factors, Pragmatic Realism and Conservatism. Thus, there were some differences in the training programs which were related to the formation of different attitudes. After patrol experience, the commonality of this role enactment reduced the number of intercity differences to one. The Baltimore subjects were significantly less conservative than the subjects in the other three cities.

Another variable found to have influenced the extent of change in attitudes over time was the subjects' personal expectation that police experience would or would not change him. Those subjects who held the expectation that police experience would change them showed greater changes in attitudes over the time span of this research than other subjects who felt that police experience would not change them. In summary, the findings showed that changes in attitudes could be predicted, that patrol experience was a greater influence for attitude change than recruit training, that different experiences among the cities tended to produce different attitudes, and that those who anticipated personal change as a result of police experience showed greater change in attitudes than those who did not expect to be changed by police experience. Programs affecting attitudes can be built upon these findings.

As before, it is accepted that what can be predicted can also be controlled. However, fundamental to that control is the question of what constitutes a desirable attitudinal orientation which one should work toward. Some might make the value judgement that a higher valuation of formal education coupled with less pragmatic realism, less rigid conformity to authority and less conservatism would be desirable while others might hold a different view. Again, one is caught up in the dilemma of role definition. If one focuses on the public service component of police work, perhaps a higher valuation of education combined with less pragmatic realism, conformity and conservatism would be desirable. On the other hand, pragmatic realism, conformity to authority and conservatism might be functionally consistent with the crime control component of the role. In either case, one should not be led astray by the argument based on the proportion of time that patrolmen spend on each aspect of their work. Nor should one retreat behind the specious proposition that behavior, not attitudes, should be controlled.

Ultimately, someone must make a value judgement, at least for the sake of discussion. The higher valuation of formal education seems to have a more universal desirability than the other factors. Part of the remaining judgement should be based on a recognition of the breadth of behavioral and emotional responses which come into play in the enactment of the police role. Hence, rigid conformity,

conservatism and perhaps pragmatic realism would seem to be inconsistent with the contemporary nature of the police role. Once these or other judgements are accepted, then activities intended to influence attitudes can be undertaken.

Though you cannot teach attitudes, they nevertheless will be affected intentionally or unintentionally by the social experience of learning. Since attitudes will form whether or not one attends to them, it is desirable that a training program take them into consideration. One expert who has found police training to be basically skill oriented notes that,

"There is little evidence of practice in problem solving, in learning the use of discretion and authority, and in learning the role of the police in society. Teaching these topics might help develop desired attitudes."[11]

To this end, role playing, film modules and simulation exercises may be of value during recruit training in influencing the formation of attitudes. Since field experience appeared to be more influential in the modification of attitudes than recruit training, field training officer programs should have an active part to play in the development of attitudes consistent with the police mission. Specifically, field training officers can help recruits to interpret the meaning of experience more realistically. Debriefing seminars for recruits can also influence the formation of attitudes. Within any of these programs, it should be recognized that it is wasted effort to attempt to mold attitudes which are inconsistent with the reality of experience. To give lip service in training activities to the need for less rigid conformity to authority while at the same time restricting the discretionary power of patrolmen is to build in an additional element of role conflict.

Analysis of the "don't know" responses of the subjects over time produced the finding that at the start of training, that which was most unknown centered on matters within the factor of Conservatism. At the end of training, that which was most unknown was related to the factor of Pragmatic Realism. After patrol experience the valuation of formal education was the center of that which was most unknown. This finding suggests that there may be various points of readiness in the career development of a recruit when mere information giving would have the greatest effect on attitude formation. In accord with this finding, at the start of training, information on civilian review boards, lateral entry, crime prevention, and the matter of guilt might be offered to recruits. At the end of training, attention might be given to some of the practical concerns of the patrolman; the effects of court decisions, political support for the police, and patrol demeanor. After initial exposure to patrol experience, information on the relevance of college level academic work to the police job might be presented in special seminars.

Lastly, a general approach to knowledge about attitude formation and the effect of an expectation that police experience will change a person should be presented to recruits at the start of a larger instructional unit on human behavior. Attention should first be directed toward self-understanding and the interpretation of immediate experience. From this foundation, more general knowledge about attitude formation, attitude change, and the relationship between attitudes and behavior ought to be covered.

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[11] Leonard Harrison, statement distributed at IACP Professional Police Registry and Assessment Service Conference, Colorado Springs, December 1970), p. 2.

ESSENTIAL ROLE ATTRIBUTES

The list of attributes chosen as essential for the enactment of the police role remained relatively unchanged over the time span of this research. The subjects' views of the attributes essential to the police role formed during the period of anticipatory socialization were not greatly affected by the new conceptions of the role gained during recruit training. Nor were these conceptions greatly modified by 18 months of field experience. The complementary qualities of common sense, alertness and job knowledge formed the core of attributes which was seen as essential throughout time and place.

That common sense was accorded the highest rank at the end of recruit training and after patrol experience is of particular interest. Possessing common sense was seen as more essential than being well trained, having job knowledge or being intelligent. Underlying this pattern of relative positions is the impression of a role which calls for the exercise of discretion in a wide variety of situations which one cannot necessarily be trained for, nor acquire job knowledge about, nor resolve through the exercise of intelligence. The ordinary term of common sense implies practical judgement rather than intellectual preparation. In this instance, the subjects appeared to have correctly conceived of the police role.

The full list of attributes presented to the subjects contained a number of qualities which would normally be related to service occupations. The subjects consistently gave these service connected attributes a relatively low ranking. Of particular interest was the attribute of courtesy. At the start of training, the subjects in only one city included this quality among the ten most essential for the police role. After training, the subjects in all four cities included courtesy in the list of the ten top ranked attributes. However, after patrol experience, this attribute was not included among the top ten ranked qualities in any of the four cities. Whereas recruit training was able to cause an awareness of the essential nature of courtesy as an attribute for enactment of the police role, field experience tended to cause the subjects to devalue its importance. In this instance, the subjects appeared to have incorrectly conceived of the police role. It has been pointed out that the police in general share this misconception.

> " . . . the situations in which police officers most frequently find
> themselves do not require the expert aim of a marksman, the
> cunningness of a private eye, or the toughness of a stereotyped
> Irish policeman. Instead, they demand knowledge of human beings
> and the personal, as opposed to official, authority to influence
> people without the use or even threat of force. These characteris-
> tics are not commonly found in police officers because police
> departments do not consider these values as paramount."[12]

Again, one is left with the impression of the necessity for recruit training to set forth definitions of the police role in explicit terms as well as the relationship of role attributes to the performance of the various components of the role. Implied from the subjects' choices was the necessity for common sense in the exercise of discretion. However, common sense without being mated to the deeper virtues of morality and compassion may be inadequate for anything but a superficial performance of the public service components of the police role. In the same way, the necessity for courtesy was a transitory conception because it was

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[12]Terris, op. cit., p. 67.

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not seen within the larger context of human relations. As before, the need for a greater knowledge of human relationships is apparent.

Police departments can reinforce behavior which reflects certain attributes by giving formal recognition to certain desired acts. If physical strength is wanted, then actions which display physical strength can be given recognition. On the other hand, if courtesy and compassion are desired, then courteous and compassionate actions can be rewarded.

THE PERCEPTION OF DANGER

There were a number of intriguing findings which arose out of this inquiry into the perception of danger. Overall, the subjects' perception of job-related danger was highest at the completion of recruit training, apparently in anticipation of their entry into the apprentice role. A very high consistency was found in the ranking of assignments according to the degree of danger perceived to be related to their handling. This was true over time and among cities at any one point in time. A lower order of correlation was found to exist in the rank order of subjects across time: those who were high perceivers of danger at the start tended to be high perceivers after training and patrol experience. Also, of much interest was the finding that the extent of crime in the area where the subject worked had little apparent relationship to his perception of job related danger. Though these findings do not directly lead to specific training recommendations, they nevertheless suggest the importance for procedures to deal with perceived danger.

Perhaps the most fundamental of all the things that can be done to deal more constructively with danger is to openly admit its existence and recognize that it does affect the performance of the police role. Authorities have long recognized the beneficial effects of this kind of an attitude for the military. For example, during World War II,

> "Men were taught . . . that they need not be ashamed of feeling
> afraid in danger situations, that fear reactions are normal and
> are shared by everyone exposed to combat conditions. Emphasis
> was placed on the idea that even though a man feels afraid, he can
> keep going and do a good job, and that after a time his fear will
> die down."[13]

Disruptive fear reactions in the face of danger were less frequent and the mental health consequences of combat were less damaging when fear was freely admitted. There was a genuine effort made to show a man that he need not fear any loss of status in the judgement of others if he exhibited any of the symptoms of fear while performing his duties. Because a man trembled or gasped, he did not lose the approval of others because they too might tremble and gasp. To the contrary, in other units where the group attitude did not permit the free expression of anxiety and fear, and everyone was considered to be tough and fearless, the reactions brought about by the dangers of combat were most damaging. There is a lesson here for the police. Training officers have a part in creating a permissive attitude in the police environment which will allow fear to be openly considered. There should be no stigma attached to the action of a man who calls for some assistance in a situation which he views as dangerous. No officer should be criticized for being cautious. Careless bravado may be more than foolhardy: it may be fatal.

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[13]Stouffer, op. cit., p. 196.

Attention has been called to the anticipatory rise in the danger scores at the completion of training. By some indications, this rise is consistent with the actual behavior of men who have left the trainee role and entered the role of apprentice. For example, in a high crime district in one city, it was necessary to assign a man just out of recruit school to a one-man patrol car on the midnight watch. During his first tour of duty, the new man made a routine traffic stop. His field lieutenant saw this and, knowing the man was inexperienced, stopped his car some distance back to observe the behavior of the officer. The new man, unaware of the supervisor's presence, apparently went to pieces and did everything wrong. Fortunately, nothing untoward happened. After the motorist pulled away the lieutenant drove up and talked to the new man. The patrolman knew what was right but fear had disabled him. The same kind of an overproportionate response to danger has been noted in the behavior of military personnel as their first entry into actual combat was imminent.

> "One never knew for sure that he could take it until he had
> demonstrated that he could. Most soldiers facing the prospect
> of combat service had to deal with a heavy charge of anticipatory
> anxiety. The more they heard about how tough the fighting was,
> the greater the anxiety and insecurity . . ."[14]

What can be done to keep the fears of men down to a reasonable level at the time they first experience actual danger in their work? If recruits can be led to realize that everyone will experience emotional reactions to danger and that no one will be able to master his fears completely, then the anticipation of danger may not induce an exaggerated and perhaps paralyzing response. If feelings of uneasiness are openly shared by the group while still in training, their negative effects on later police behavior will be reduced. However, for the trainer to attempt to deny the reality of danger or to create a sense of temerity in the recruits is an error.

> "The training officer who attempts to allay the misgivings of his
> students as to their safety is certain to be discredited by his
> listeners. Any success he might have in this persuasion would
> be to their disadvantage if it resulted in a reduction in alertness."[15]

Later in the field, the experienced officer can do much to help the apprentice deal more realistically with his reaction to the element of danger in his work. For anyone to tell a man who is fearful or anxious to ignore their feelings is to suggest the impossible.

There are a number of other training approaches which can be used to deal with the problem of danger and the enactment of the police role. It is true that the better a man is trained, the less effect danger will have on his behavior. This relationship was pointed out by Stouffer in his study of the combat soldier.

> " . . . fear reactions in combat may be due, in part, to an
> attitudinal factor, the feeling that one has not had sufficient
> training for one's combat job."[16]

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[14] Ibid., p. 131.

[15] William J. Wetteroth, "The Psychological Training and Education of New York City Policemen.' (Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, September, 1971), p. 5.

[16] Stouffer, op. cit., p. 227.

On the positive side, an experienced police officer expressed his awareness of the relationship between the fear of danger and the adequacy of training.

> "Although a possibility of physical injury in the line of duty exists,
> I feel that with proper training in methods of protection, a police
> officer has a better chance of survival in a combat situation, and
> it reduces the chance of injury. However, he must always be
> aware of danger."

Intuitively he knew that well trained men will worry less about danger because they will feel they know how to take care of themselves. Hence, good training by competent instructors, particularly in the subject areas of crowd control, firearms use, patrol procedures, physical combat skills, and the techniques of arrest can do much to reduce a man's anticipation of physical danger. Moreover, ample time should be given the recruits to master these skills. One should not confuse what is necessary to complete any phase of formal training with what is sufficient to allow the recruit to feel that he has been thoroughly trained.

Negative reactions to danger may be greatest when one least expects it, when one has no appropriate response to it, and when danger is experienced under unfamiliar circumstances. Training can help in each of these instances. First, recruits should be alerted to those situations which are, in fact, most dangerous. They should know when to expect danger and should be attentive to cues which might foretell it. Next, instruction on such procedures as how to stop a felony suspect, respond to felony calls, conduct a building search, use handcuffs, or search an arrested person should be the starting point for developing appropriate responses to stressful situations. This training should be supplemented with practice to the point of mastery through the use of role playing techniques, demonstrations and simulation exercises. These procedures should become habitual since, under stress, it is not enough merely to know what to do. One has to be able to react almost automatically and this comes only from repeated practice. Lastly, experienced colleagues and field training officers can help the apprentice patrolmen to become as familiar as possible with the physical and social setttings in the areas where they work. It isn't enough for recruits to know streets and buildings and a few people. They should learn to see what others overlook. Complete and detailed knowledge of this kind may be an extra resource in a life-threatening situation.

Much of what is known about danger in police work is the result of social learning rather than actual experience. Just as children learn to fear lions, tigers, and snakes withough ever having seen them, so too a police officer learns to fear a particular situation without ever having faced it. This is as it should be — one should be able to learn from the experiences of others. For example, many police recruits learn in training that family disturbance calls are very dangerous to handle. This corresponds with reality. However, over a period of time, the exchange of ideas about what is dangerous can have a negative effect on the behavior of the police. One observer of the police remarked that

> "From police academy training and from lore that is handed down
> from their elders any policeman can recite tales of unsuspecting
> cops gunned down by Grant Wood couples in old Buicks, run over
> by society matrons, stabbed by small Latins, blown to bits by
> colored men, set upon by beatniks . . . "[17]

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[17] Dougherty, op. cit., p. 112.

No topic of conversation seems to draw more attentive listeners than a story about how an officer dealt with and survived a situation of grave personal danger. This is also true of military soldiers in combat. "They talk constantly, repetitiously, of the battles and skirmishes they have been through. They talk about them not just to talk, but more importantly to nail down tactics that may save their lives in future encounters with the enemy."[18] One does not forget lore of this kind. However, a problem may arise when one applies his logic to this collection of vivid stories and moves from the particular to the general. Certainly one ought to keep the cautions learned from others in mind but one ought not to let them dominate his general view of other people. Guided group discussions by training personnel can help the apprentice officer with a limited exposure to field experience keep this informal learning in proper perspective.

"The home remedy for fear is simply to experience the fear as deliberately and as fully as possible."[19] Though simulation exercises and audio visual approaches can be of help during training, real danger and the reaction to it cannot be simulated: they must be experienced. Experience by itself, though, is not enough. Debriefings and discussions can help to extract meaning from these experiences. Again, the necessity for training personnel to have direct contact with their former trainees is clear. After fear has been experienced, it can be discussed in a group setting. In some instances, individual counselling may be more appropriate. Through these means, what was once doubt and fear can become knowledge — both for the self and for others.

None of these ideas are intended to make men fearless. In light of the kind of work the police do and the very nature of man, this goal is both undesirable and unrealistic. Yet, there are some training procedures which can help to make police officers more effective in carrying out their duties in incidents involving personal danger. Fear can be controlled to the point where it does not cause impropriety or inaction in role behavior. Fear can be used constructively to motivate men to learn from past experience, to improve their conduct, and to develop habitual responses to cope with danger. One should recognize that in the face of danger, it is more important to be able to exercise sound judgment than it is to be fearless.

THE NEED FOR SELF UNDERSTANDING

Like so many other recommendations made in recent years for the improvement of police training, this report concludes by urging the expansion of recruit training programs so as to allow a greater emphasis on the behavioral sciences. This knowledge can be of limitless value to police officers as they face a perplexing array of interpersonal problems which are always accompanied by confusion, distress, danger and heightened emotions. Unlike other practitioners in the service professions, the police do not have the time for a full intellectual consideration of the present feelings and the developmental background of the people

[18]Charles C. Moskos, Jr., "Why Men Fight," Transaction, Vol. 7, No. 1, November, 1969, p. 16.

[19]Donald G. McLean and Robert W. Graff, "Behavioral Bibliotherapy: A Simple Home Remedy for Fears," Psychotherapy Theory, Research and Practice, Vol. 7 Summer 1970, pp. 118-19.

they deal with. The police must act quickly, decisively and lawfully often with only a partial knowledge of the circumstances. However, their action orientation does not in any sense obviate the need for understanding behavior. Rather, it reinforces the necessity for a greater understanding of the self and others

Almost all recommendations for the inclusion of additional material on the behavioral sciences in recruit training programs point to the need to understand the behavior of other individuals and groups. True, service to people must be based on an understanding of the motivations and needs of others. So too, the control of people also requires an understanding of behavior. What is so often overlooked is the need for a greater knowledge of the most fundamental element in human relations, the self. For a number of reasons, a knowledge of the self is a necessary accompaniment or preliminary to understanding and dealing with others.

Coping with Change

The subjects of this research have been pictured as taking on a complex vocational role which is beset by ambiguities, conflicts and strains. Men with modest education and limited vocational backgrounds were given a modicum of training and placed in a personally demanding role which, in many respects, is discontinuous with their backgrounds, their interests and their formal job training. In the police environment, the expectation for personal change is pervasive and change did take place. The socialization process exposed them to forces which affected their emergent personality needs, increased their awareness of conflicting behavioral expectations, exposed them to the problems of role ambiguity, changed their concept of essential role attributes, altered their perceptions of people and modified their job-related attitudes. For some, their friendship patterns were drastically changed and their aspirations were heightened in disproportion to the existing opportunities. Underlying the whole process of socialization was a theme of personal danger.

Despite these forces which might detract from the effective performance of their role, the subjects viewed their position as patrolman as the most important in terms of the aggregate police role. They were highly satisfied with their work and their satisfaction was reinforced by their wives and families. Also, the subjects were not greatly bothered by some of the conflicting expectations of the public regarding their work. However, to expect men to continue to function effectively over the span of a working career in such a demanding vocational role without having a clearer understanding of the nature of the forces which affect them is to hope for that which appears to be unlikely, if not impossible.

Within a 21 month time span we have seen clear evidence of the way in which initial police experience has affected the subjects of this research. We do not know the extent to which additional police experience will continue to modify their role concepts. However, there is no reason to believe that further experience, in and of itself, will tend to make more favorable the conceptions these men hold about their work and the people they deal with. Rather, it would seem likely that the cumulative effect of these forces for change would ultimately detract from their ability to effectively enact the full range of duties included in the police role. Hence, it should be recognized that the human resources of a police agency are perishable and must be protected from those conditions which would detract from their value. Self understanding, as the basis of that protection, should be a major concern of the police training officer.

Self understanding, insofar as it contributes to self acceptance, will help to reduce the strain induced by the divergent roles of public service and crime

control. It will also help to reconcile the differences between aspirations and opportunities as well as those which exist between the real self and the ideal self. In short, self understanding can lead to a greater acceptance of reality.

Gaining an Appreciation of Others

As an approach to teaching the behavioral sciences to police officers, self knowledge can serve as a base upon which a more general knowledge of others can be built. The development of self knowledge can also serve as a useful technique for creating an interest in and overcoming resistance to the social sciences. However, the acquisition of mere knowledge of the behavioral sciences may be insufficient for the patrolman's role. Science deals with objects and the study of others often tends to become a study of impersonal objects which can be directly influenced, regulated and controlled. This would seem to be the case with much of the behavioral science material now presented in recruit training programs.

> "The psychological training of policemen is directed, for the most part, toward enhancing their ability to get along with the public, to manipulate people, as it were, and to gain their cooperation with a minimum of abrasiveness."[20]

On analysis, this view of training appears to be somewhat superficial and mechanistic. Yet, the ability to control and manipulate people has considerable usefulness to the police, particularly in their crime control activities. Though the direct control of behavior may be enough for this part of the police role, it is not enough for the greater part of their work involving community service. Here, a deeper appreciation of human behavior is appropriate. Fundamental to this fuller understanding of others is self understanding and the ability to empathize. The expanded use of social science concepts in recruit training is necessary to attain this goal.

Learning Self Understanding

Though there is much information that the police trainer can impart which will contribute to self understanding, it cannot be taught in the same manner as other subjects. Rather, the process of understanding the self must be learned through experience. It is a process which calls for self discovery. Hence, the trainer has an obligation to provide not only basic information but also the analytical tools and the experiences which will allow self discovery to take place. In this regard, training programs can be restructured so as to allow recruits a greater opportunity for experiences which will contribute to self understanding.

> "Training designs of the future must fuse the academy and the street. The failure of traditional educational and training institutions to provide relevant career training has provided a powerful incentive for the substitution of on-the-job, in-service, skill-based, experience-related training.
>
> 'New' educational and training institutions and, most crucially, new kinds of educational methods, place primary emphasis on participatory, peer-like processes. The teacher is more often regarded as a resource person, and the distance between the

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[20]Wetteroth (1971), op. cit., p. 5.

trainer and the student is reduced. The present is more important than the past; and functional, 'relevant' knowledge is more important than abstract, academic pursuits."[21]

Within this new training structure, field training, situational testing, simulation exercises, stress conditioning, field experiments, sensitivity training, debriefing sessions and role playing can be used to facilitate self discovery. There may also be a need for the supplementary services of a professionally trained counselor to assist the men in adjusting to the personal, social and vocational problems they might encounter during the initial phases of socialization. This would appear to be particularly useful for assisting men who have attended college to adjust to the patrolman's role. For the college men, the emergence at T_3 of higher intradepartment aspirations, higher need scores in dominance, and a greater perception of danger thought to be related to the handling of a number of police assignments suggests a special need for counseling after initial exposure to patrol experience. Perhaps the combination of these factors explains why some departments have difficulty in retaining college men in their ranks.

The Universality of Self Understanding

New problems require new solutions. Like other institutions in our society, the police are responsive to the need for new solutions to problems and as a consequence, experience changes in their collective role. As a result, the police role is in a state of constant flux and it is unlikely that the conflicts and strains which affect the police role today will abate in the future. Moreover, new dislocations can be expected to take place.

As this research showed, the men who enact the police role are also changing in some very significant ways. Hence, the police trainer faces the challenge of preparing men in the process of personal change to enact a changing role. Moreover, the training officer can only influence the men directly during a relatively brief segment of an ongoing process of socialization.

The virtue of a thing is that condition which enables it to perform ably its proper function. Thus, the virtue of a knife is its sharpness. Similarly, the virtue of a police trainer is his ability to affect men so they can stand the test of time. Such is the value of self understanding.

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[21]"Training Designs: A Look Ahead," Career Development, Volume I, No. 3, June 1971, p. 5.

Appendix

Table A-1

Intercorrelations of EPPS Variables, T_1 and T_3

	ACH	DEF	ORD	EXH	AUT	AFF	INT	SUC	DOM	ABA	NUR	CHG	END	HET	AGG	ACH	DEF	ORD	EXH	AUT	AFF	INT	SUC	DOM	ABA	NUR	CHG	END	HET	AGG
ACH (T_1)	.03	.07	.06	0	-.22	-.10	0	.25	-.22	-.23	-.08	.05	-.26	-.04	.35	.09	.07	-.01	.06	-.10	.27	.11	.04	-.06	-.04	.08	-.08	-.11	-.01
DEF		.22	-.24	-.32	-.07	-.09	.07	.03	.01	.14	.16	.28	-.37	-.18	.01	.47	.12	-.12	-.15	-.12	.02	.06	.05	.06	.04	-.26	.18	-.22	-.02
ORD			-.29	-.13	-.22	-.05	.03	-.07	.06	-.09	-.18	.34	-.41	-.21	.10	.21	.58	-.22	-.01	-.23	.05	-.03	-.20	-.06	-.18	-.14	.26	-.20	.01
EXH				.12	-.26	-.07	-.10	.07	-.15	-.34	.10	-.12	.12	.14	0	-.26	-.28	.54	.11	-.02	-.19	0	.10	-.14	-.07	.26	-.16	.09	.11
AUT					-.23	-.15	-.16	.16	-.25	-.24	.19	-.22	.18	.14	.14	-.18	-.01	.14	.30	-.09	-.11	-.06	-.05	-.10	-.13	.15	-.08	.05	.05
AFF						.01	.08	-.09	.04	.39	.08	-.22	.03	-.24	-.24	.04	-.16	-.13	-.14	.40	.02	.05	-.16	.14	.37	-.13	-.09	.09	-.13
INT							-.22	.19	-.07	-.16	-.15	.03	-.04	-.08	.02	0	-.05	-.12	-.01	.12	.48	-.21	.11	-.04	-.07	.09	-.01	-.13	-.09
SUC								-.21	.08	.12	-.23	-.18	-.04	-.14	.16	.02	-.03	-.05	-.17	.03	-.23	.62	-.15	.02	.13	-.41	-.15	.11	-.04
DOM									-.30	-.18	-.16	.05	-.29	.12	.30	-.03	.03	.12	.08	-.13	0	-.27	.46	-.12	-.13	-.03	.19	-.32	.04
ABA										.32	-.28	.08	-.10	-.26	-.26	.11	.15	-.28	-.28	-.07	.07	.17	-.12	.57	.10	-.17	.11	-.10	-.20
NUR											-.10	-.24	-.04	-.32	-.10	.18	-.03	-.14	-.10	.17	.05	.13	-.14	.21	.47	-.27	-.12	-.05	-.11
CHG												-.12	.06	-.20	-.22	-.20	.23	.10	.11	-.05	-.06	.01	.12	0	.51	-.28	.11	-.13
END													-.44	-.23	.13	.30	-.22	-.12	-.25	-.13	.17	.17	.02	.06	-.28	-.02	.53	-.26	-.10
HET														.15	-.22	-.25	-.28	.07	.10	.05	0	-.07	-.10	-.11	0	.17	-.22	-.59	.04
AGG															.06	-.22	-.09	.10	.17	-.01	-.05	-.13	.24	-.19	-.12	.05	-.13	.05	.37
ACH (T_3)																.08	.05	.13	0	-.19	-.12	-.05	.23	-.16	-.30	-.11	.02	-.26	-.08
DEF																	.39	-.17	-.33	-.13	.04	.02	-.07	.08	0	-.43	.25	-.31	-.21
ORD																		-.25	-.07	-.28	.04	-.11	-.12	-.04	-.30	-.29	.39	-.36	-.09
EXH																			.09	-.25	-.14	-.12	.25	-.18	-.20	.19	-.20	-.01	.13
AUT																				-.12	-.11	-.24	.03	-.27	.14	.13	-.23	.11	.33
AFF																					-.36	-.04	.10	-.08	-.01	.23	-.22	.06	-.10
INT																						.19	-.29	-.07	.53	0	-.30	.00	-.35
SUC																							-.36	.04	.10	-.08	-.01	.23	-.22	-.35
DOM																								-.24	.02	.31	-.21	-.32	.08	-.11
ABA																									-.20	-.26	.05	.05	-.27	.09
NUR																										.20	-.12	.05	-.23	-.24
CHG																											-.18	-.41	0	-.15
END																												-.13	.11	.02
HET																													-.30	-.29
AGG																														.19
MEAN	15.04	12.57	12.54	15.30	11.57	13.23	16.16	8.95	16.08	15.50	14.80	13.93	15.92	15.65	13.12	15.31	11.44	11.63	14.87	12.96	11.94	15.95	9.73	16.49	14.26	13.62	14.51	15.27	17.50	14.73
STAND. DEV.	3.73	3.13	4.73	3.67	4.70	3.61	4.28	4.00	3.98	4.10	4.72	3.77	5.23	6.10	4.32	3.81	3.03	4.96	3.63	3.57	3.96	4.62	4.97	4.39	4.63	4.36	4.20	5.42	6.46	3.87

LIFE HISTORY FORM

PERSONAL

1. Name:_____

2. Present Address:_____
    <div align="center">Street   City   State</div>

3. Other cities you have lived in: _____
    <div align="center">City and State</div>
    When did you live there? 19_____ to 19 ____

    _____
    <div align="center">City and State</div>
    When did you live there? 19 ___ to 19 ___

4. Age: 20-24 ( )   40-44   ( )
          25-29 ( )   45-49   ( )
          30-34 ( )   50-54   ( )
          35-39 ( )   55 and over ( )

5. Ethnic Origin: White ( ); Negro ( ); Other ( )

6. Marital Status: Single ( ); Married ( ); Separated ( ); Divorced ( ); Widowed ( ).

7. Military Service: Yes ( ) No ( )   Years of Service: 19___ to 19 ___

    What was your major assignment: _____

EDUCATION

8. High School Graduate: Yes ( ) No ( )   Equivalency Certificate ( )

9. College: (convert courses or credits into equivalent of academic years and
    check years completed)

    Less than 1 ( ); 1 ( ); 2 ( ); 3 ( ); 4 ( ); 5 ( ); 6 or more ( )

    Major field(s) in college_____

    What degree(s) held_____

10. How much education does (or did) your father have? Not high school grad. ( );

    High school grad. ( ); Some college ( ); College grad ( ).

EMPLOYMENT

11. What full time job did you hold immediately before entering police work?

    _____

12. What other full time jobs have you held?_____
    _____

13. During what year did you first become interested in police work as a
    vocational choice?
            19 _____.

14. What other kinds of work were you considering before you decided to become
    a police officer? _____
    _____

15. Have you done shift work before joining the department? Yes ( ) No ( )

16. Will you make more money as a patrolman than you did in your former job?
            Yes ( )   No ( )

17. Father's occupation (if deceased, list his major occupation during his
    working years.)
    _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

18. Do you have any relatives who are or were police officers? Yes ( ) No ( )

    If yes, do you feel that they influenced your decision to become a
    police officer?
            Definitely Yes   ( )
            Probably Yes   ( )
            Don't Know   ( )
            Probably No   ( )
            Definitely No   ( )

19. Do you have any friends who are or were police officers? Yes ( ) No ( )

    If yes, do you feel that they influenced your decision to become a
    police officer?
            Definitely Yes   ( )
            Probably Yes   ( )
            Don't Know   ( )
            Probably No   ( )
            Definitely No   ( )

20. Have you read any books or magazines about police work within the past year?
    Yes ( ) No ( )

    If so, list titles: _____

    _____

    _____

21. Do you feel that your reading has helped you in your decision to become a
    police officer?
    Definitely Yes   ( )
    Probably Yes   ( )
    Don't Know   ( )
    Probably No   ( )
    Definitely No   ( )

NAME:_____

Everybody seems to have something to say about how the police should do their job. At the start, your instructors will be a major source of "how to do it" information. Later, your supervisors will let you know how to do your work. A lot of other people -- even those outside the department -- will also let you know in one way or another how they think you should do your job.

On the following pages are 5 items designed to determine the way you think various people in your community feel about the police and their work. For each of the 15 groups listed on each page, indicate the way you think they feel about the matter presented at the top of the page.

Look at the first item. If you feel businessmen expect you to learn the essentials of police work mainly through formal classroom training, place an X in column A across from businessmen. On the other hand, if you feel businessmen expect you to learn the essentials of police work mainly through experience in the field, place an X in column B. If you feel businessmen hold both points of view, place an X in both columns A and B. If you feel businessmen are unconcerned or you don't know how businessmen feel about the matter, place an X in the appropriate column.

Continue on by indicating your responses in the same way for each of the 14 other groups of people listed on the page.

Next, place an X in the column which represents what you feel about the matter.

Lastly, indicate the extent to which you are bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours.

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO LEARN THE ESSENTIALS OF POLICE WORK MAINLY THROUGH FORMAL CLASSROOM TRAINING.

B. EXPECT ME TO LEARN THE ESSENTIALS OF POLICE WORK MAINLY THROUGH EXPERIENCE IN THE FIELD.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO FEELING EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Classroom)	B (Field Experience)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )

Which way do you feel you will
learn the essentials of police work? ( )   ( )   ( )

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.	A great deal	( )
2.	Considerably	( )
3.	To some degree	( )
4.	Hardly at all	( )
5.	Not at all	( )

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO BE SOMEWHAT IMPERSONAL AND RESERVED IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC.

B. EXPECT ME TO BE GOOD-NATURED AND FRIENDLY IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

	A (Impersonal)	B (Good-natured)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1. Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10. Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11. Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12. Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13. Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14. Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15. Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )

Which way do you feel you should be when dealing with the public?   ( )   ( )   ( )

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.	A great deal	( )
2.	Considerably	( )
3.	To some degree	( )
4.	Hardly at all	( )
5.	Not at all	( )

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO HANDLE THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN SCHOOL TEACHER IN THE SAME WAY AS THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN LABORER.

B. EXPECT ME TO HANDLE THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN SCHOOL TEACHER IN A DIFFERENT WAY THAN THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN LABORER.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO FEELING EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

	A (Same Way)	B (Different Way)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1. Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7. Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8. Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9. Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10. Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11. Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12. Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13. Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14. Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15. Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )

What do you feel you ought to do?   ( )   ( )   ( )

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.	A great deal	( )
2.	Considerably	( )
3.	To some degree	( )
4.	Hardly at all	( )
5.	Not at all	( )

Here are Four Ways that Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A.   EXPECT ME TO STOP THE RISE IN CRIME EVEN IF IT REQUIRES SACRIFICING CERTAIN CIVIL LIBERTIES.

B.   EXPECT ME TO RESPECT CIVIL LIBERTIES EVEN IF IT RESULTS IN INCREASING CRIME.

C.   EXPECT ME TO STOP THE RISE IN CRIME BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, RESPECT CIVIL LIBERTIES.

D.   UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Stop Rise)	B (Respect)	C (Stop but Respect)	D (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

What do you feel you ought to do?   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.   A great deal   ( )
2.   Considerably   ( )
3.   To some degree   ( )
4.   Hardly at all   ( )
5.   Not at all   ( )

Here are Three Ways that Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A.   EXPECT POLICE EXPERIENCE TO MAKE ME A CHANGED PERSON.

B.   EXPECT POLICE EXPERIENCE TO HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON ME AS A PERSON.

C.   UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Change Me)	B (Little Effect)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )

Which way do you feel police experience will affect you?   ( )   ( )   ( )

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.   A great deal   ( )
2.   Considerably   ( )
3.   To some degree   ( )
4.   Hardly at all   ( )
5.   Not at all   ( )

Item B-4

NAME:_____

A police officer really gets to know people. Police work gives a man
an opportunity to observe all kinds of people in all kinds of situations.
In fact, watching people is an important part of his job.

At the top of each of the attached sheets is the name of a group or an
individual. Below the name is a list of ten opposing pairs of words
which are commonly used to describe people. Between each pair of
words is a scale numbered 1 through 7.

Place an "X" in the box which indicates your rating of the group on
each pair of descriptive words. In the example below, you might feel
that taxicab drivers are very pleasant people. In this case, you would
put an "X" in box 1, as shown. On the second pair of words, clean and
dirty, you might feel that cab drivers are really neither clean nor dirty.
They are, in a sense, in the middle on this quality. Therefore, you would
put an "X" in box 4, as shown. On the third pair of words, you might
think that taxicab drivers are fairly unskilled people. You would then
put an X in box 6, as shown.

Work rapidly! Your first impressions are desired here.

TAXI-CAB DRIVERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
pleasant	☒	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	unpleasant
clean	☐	☐	☐	☒	☐	☐	☐	dirty
skilled	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☒	☐	unskilled

BUSINESSMEN *

Rate "Businessmen" on each of the seven point scales between the ten
word pairs shown below. Place an "X" in the box which indicates your
choice.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a.	cooperative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uncooperative
b.	informed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uninformed
c.	familiar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	strange
d.	fair	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	unfair
e.	large	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	small
f.	trusting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	suspicious
g.	good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	bad
h.	strong	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	weak
i.	active	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	passive
j.	important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insignificant

* In addition to businessmen, subjects were asked to rate in the same manner
civil rights leaders, clergymen, experienced patrolmen, judges, lawyers, news-
paper men, other new patrolmen, personal friends, police instructors/trainers,
police supervisors, politicians, probation officers, prosecutors, and wife/family.

Item B-5

NAME: _____

Each of us has a part in the overall mission of our department. Some of us contribute to the achievement of this mission more than others—not because of differences in effort but rather because of the nature of the position we hold. For example, a janitor is necessary to accomplish the police mission, but his contribution can never be as great as that of the chief.

On the following page is a list of 20 positions occupied by patrolmen in your department.* Some positions are highly important in terms of the overall police mission while others are of lesser importance. Based upon your present knowledge of police work, select the five positions which you believe to be the most important in accomplishing the overall police function. Place an X in the space to the left of each of the five positions that you select.

Next, indicate the order of importance by placing a number (1 through 5) in the space to the right of the 5 positions selected. For example, number 1 should be used to designate the most important position; number 2, the next most important; and number 5, the fifth most important of the positions you chose.

*The form was modified slightly for each city in order to allow for differences in terminology and organizational structure.

X   (1 through 5)

____ Patrolman assigned to Youth Division . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Inspectional Services Division . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned as turnkey in substation lockup. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Traffic Enforcement Section . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Central Records Division . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Robbery Unit of Criminal Investigation Div. ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Training and Education Division as Instructor ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Homicide Unit of Criminal Investigation Div. ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Communication Control Center. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Range as Instructor. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Planning and Research Division. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Narcotic Unit of Vice Section . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Community Relations Division . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to District foot post. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to District radio car. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Tactical Section of Patrol Division . . . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Laboratory Division of Services Bureau. . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Traffic Education Unit. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Personnel Division. . . . . ____

____ Patrolman assigned to Prostitution Unit of Vice Section. . . . . . . ____

Item B-6

NAME:_____

Please give your opinion on each statement by circling the proper number. Here is what the numbers mean:

1.	I strongly disagree
2.	I disagree
3.	Don't know or have no opinion
4.	I agree
5.	I strongly agree

1. Court decisions on interrogating suspects will undoubtedly result in fewer solutions of criminal cases.   1 2 3 4 5

2. The police are not receiving the backing they should from the political power structure in our cities.   1 2 3 4 5

3. The good policeman is one who gives his commanding officer unquestioning obedience.   1 2 3 4 5

4. The police service needs more college trained career officers.   1 2 3 4 5

5. The police are justified in regarding a juvenile with "beatnik" or "mod" appearance as a person who needs to be watched.   1 2 3 4 5

6. In certain areas of the city, physical combat skills and an aggressive bearing will be more useful to a patrolman on the beat than book learning and a courteous manner.   1 2 3 4 5

7. The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.   1 2 3 4 5

8. Since ours is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their job.   1 2 3 4 5

9. The trouble with psychology and sociology is that they are not related to the everyday realities of the police job.   1 2 3 4 5

10. It would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies.   1 2 3 4 5

11. Experience has shown police officers that there is a big difference between whether a man really is guilty and whether the court says he is.   1 2 3 4 5

- 2 -

1.	I strongly disagree
2.	I disagree
3.	Don't know or have no opinion
4.	I agree
5.	I strongly agree

12. The police are often responsible for the fact that defendants are not found guilty.   1 2 3 4 5

13. The best officer is one who knows and sticks strictly to departmental procedures.   1 2 3 4 5

14. If police put as much effort into crime prevention as they do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we would be farther ahead in reducing crime.   1 2 3 4 5

15. The best officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors.   1 2 3 4 5

16. The best officers generally have more education than the others.   1 2 3 4 5

17. It would be desirable if candidates for police service were required to complete certain college courses in order to be certified by the state for initial employment.   1 2 3 4 5

18. There is nothing wrong with the idea of civilian review boards if people who are fair and unbiased could be found to serve on them.   1 2 3 4 5

19. Some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in police schools are unworkable under the actual conditions on the beat.   1 2 3 4 5

20. Preservation of the peace requires that police have the authority to order people to "move along" or "break it up" even though no law is being violated.   1 2 3 4 5

311

Item B-7

NAME:_____

1. Read over the following list completely.

2. Select 10 qualities which you believe to be essential in a good policeman.

3. Indicate the order of importance by placing a number (1 - 10) in the space next to the quality selected. #1 is most important, #2 is next in importance, etc.

4. If you think some quality of importance has been omitted, write it in one of the spaces provided under "other", and indicate its numerical order as above.

Alertness	____	Dedication	____
Self reliance	____	Air of Authority	____
Initiative	____	Even tempered	____
Cooperation	____	Efficient	____
Appearance	____	Good Health	____
Courtesy	____	Common Sense	____
Intelligence	____	Emotional Maturity	____
Sense of Humor	____	Respect for Superiors	____
Patience	____	Physical Strength	____
Tolerance	____	Honesty	____
Courage	____	Knowledge of the Police Job	____
Compassion	____	Leadership	____
Discretion	____	Religious	____
Good Family Background	____	Friendly	____
Sobriety	____	Well Trained	____
Integrity	____	Practical	____
Morality	____	Not Naive	____
Responsibility	____	Studious	____
Pleasant Personality	____	Reliability	____
Industrious	____	Well Educated	____
Other	____		____

Item B-8

NAME:_____

There is no question about it. A police officer's work is dangerous. A man can find himself in a dangerous situation suddenly and without warning.

Some assignments carry with them a very real possibility of personal danger and violence. Other assignments do not. Below is a list of radio assignments drawn from the standardized Ten Code System. Imagine you are assigned to a patrol car and you receive a radio assignment. Rate each code assignment listed below according to the degree of danger you think might be present in handling each incident to which you might be assigned.

For example, if you think an assignment has almost no possibility for danger, place a check in the first column. If, on the other hand, you feel there may be a high degree of danger present in handling the call, place a check in the fourth column. Your choice, in each instance, should be in terms of what you believe at the present time. Work rapidly. Your first impressions are desired here.

	No Danger Whatsoever	Slight Danger	Moderate Danger	High Danger	Certain and Extreme Danger
1. Murder	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Indecent exposure	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Family disturbance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Reckless driving	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Burglar alarm sounding	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. A man down	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Disturbance with teenagers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Firearms discharged	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Officer needs help	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Attempted suicide	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Robbery in progress	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Assault with a deadly weapon	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Rape victim	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Burglary in progress	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Drunk driver	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Insane person	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Malicious mischief	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. A suspicious person	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Meet a citizen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Animal bite victim	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Table C-1

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Cooperative-Uncooperative Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.33	10	2.63	11	2.80	10	.05
Civil Rights Leaders	4.81	15	4.88	15	5.41	15	.01
Clergymen	1.46	2	1.59	2	2.05	6	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	1.56	5	1.73	5	1.79	3	.05
Judges	2.36	11	2.36	10	2.91	11	.01
Lawyers	3.02	12	3.43	12	4.03	12	.01
Newspapermen	4.27	14	3.97	14	4.11	13	NS
New Patrolmen	1.53	4	1.64	3	1.77	2	.05
Personal Friends	1.86	7	1.96	8	2.12	6	NS
Police Instructors	1.47	3	1.70	4	1.95	4	.01
Police Supervisors	1.72	6	1.83	6	2.45	8	.01
Politicians	3.44	13	3.53	13	4.31	14	.01
Probation Officers	2.00	8	2.34	9	2.65	9	.01
Prosecutors	2.24	9	1.89	7	2.19	7	.05
Wife/Family	1.39	1	1.42	1	1.74	1	.01

Table C-2

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Informed-Uninformed Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.14	10	2.42	12	3.10	12	.01
Civil Rights Leaders	3.34	15	3.24	15	4.06	15	.01
Clergymen	1.90	8	2.17	8	2.78	9	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	1.49	4	1.75	6	1.80	2	.01
Judges	1.48	3	1.40	1	1.93	3	.01
Lawyers	1.56	6	1.70	5	2.28	6	.01
Newspapermen	2.27	12	2.25	10	2.88	10	.01
New Patrolmen	2.53	13	2.57	13	3.19	14	.01
Personal Friends	2.84	14	2.95	14	3.14	13	NS
Police Instructors	1.20	1	1.47	2	1.73	1	.01
Police Supervisors	1.42	2	1.57	3	2.03	4	.01
Politicians	1.99	9	2.22	9	2.96	11	.01
Probation Officers	1.73	7	2.13	7	2.60	8	.01
Prosecutors	1.54	5	1.58	4	2.12	5	.01
Wife/Family	2.17	11	2.31	11	2.49	7	.05

Table C-3

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Large-Small Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	3.67	14	3.50	12.5	3.77	14	NS
Civil Rights Leaders	3.88	15	4.12	15	4.25	15	.05
Clergymen	3.39	8	3.34	9	3.14	7	NS
Experienced Patrolmen	2.87	1	2.73	1	2.64	1	NS
Judges	3.52	11	3.10	4	3.09	4	.01
Lawyers	3.50	10	3.50	12.5	3.51	10	NS
Newspapermen	3.63	13	3.58	14	3.58	12	NS
New Patrolmen	3.28	4	3.28	7	3.33	9	NS
Personal Friends	3.42	9	3.31	8	3.32	8	NS
Police Instructors	3.12	3	3.07	3	3.06	3	NS
Police Supervisors	2.99	2	2.88	2	3.00	2	NS
Politicians	3.60	12	3.48	11	3.64	13	NS
Probation Officers	3.30	5	3.41	10	3.54	11	NS
Prosecutors	3.34	6	3.19	6	3.11	5	NS
Wife/Family	3.35	7	3.16	5	3.12	6	NS

Table C-4

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Strong-Weak Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	3.73	15	3.59	14	3.60	13.5	NS
Civil Rights Leaders	3.52	13	3.80	15	3.92	15	.05
Clergymen	2.94	6	2.96	8	2.88	5	NS
Experienced Patrolmen	2.31	1	2.42	1	2.27	1	NS
Judges	3.19	10	2.90	6	2.98	7	NS
Lawyers	3.42	11	3.37	11	3.50	11	NS
Newspapermen	3.53	14	3.50	12	3.60	13.5	NS
New Patrolmen	2.70	5	2.64	4	2.96	6	.05
Personal Friends	2.96	7	3.07	9	3.02	9	NS
Police Instructors	2.40	2	2.67	5	2.74	3	.05
Police Supervisors	2.49	4	2.53	2	2.84	4	.05
Politicians	3.48	12	3.57	13	3.55	12	NS
Probation Officers	3.08	8	3.31	10	3.49	10	.01
Prosecutors	3.09	9	2.95	7	3.00	8	NS
Wife/Family	2.45	3	2.60	3	2.50	2	NS

Table C-5

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the
Familiar-Strange Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.86	13	3.05	13	3.19	11	NS
Civil Rights Leaders	4.01	15	4.07	15	4.54	15	.01
Clergymen	2.09	4	2.36	8	2.65	8	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	2.00	3	1.87	3	1.73	1	.05
Judges	2.38	7	2.27	7	2.33	6	NS
Lawyers	2.60	11	2.66	10	2.88	9	NS
Newspapermen	2.90	14	2.98	12	3.31	13	NS
New Patrolmen	2.55	10	2.45	9	2.92	10	.01
Personal Friends	2.19	6	2.21	6	2.33	6	NS
Police Instructors	1.80	2	1.81	2	2.06	3	NS
Police Supervisors	2.10	5	2.03	4	2.15	4	NS
Politicians	2.82	12	3.25	14	3.74	14	.01
Probation Officers	2.53	9	2.75	11	3.24	12	.01
Prosecutors	2.44	8	2.20	5	2.33	6	NS
Wife/Family	1.53	1	1.58	1	1.81	2	.05

Table C-6

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the
Fair-Unfair Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	3.29	12	3.27	11	3.71	11	.01
Civil Rights Leaders	4.61	15	4.89	15	5.45	15	.01
Clergymen	1.58	2.5	1.79	2	2.11	3	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	1.85	5	1.94	3	2.01	2	NS
Judges	2.19	8.5	2.13	8	2.85	9	.01
Lawyers	3.03	11	3.52	12	4.12	12	.01
Newspapermen	4.31	14	4.23	14	4.67	14	.05
New Patrolmen	1.96	6.5	2.04	6.5	2.19	5	NS
Personal Friends	2.30	10	2.37	10	2.58	7	.05
Police Instructors	1.58	2.5	2.04	6.5	2.14	4	.01
Police Supervisors	1.63	4	1.99	4	2.64	8	.01
Politicians	3.72	13	3.97	13	4.35	13	.01
Probation Officers	1.96	6.5	2.36	9	2.93	10	.01
Prosecutors	2.19	8.5	2.00	5	2.28	6	NS
Wife/Family	1.54	1	1.62	1	1.87	1	.05

Table C-7

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the
Trusting-Suspicious Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	3.70	12	3.70	11	3.90	11	NS
Civil Rights Leaders	4.96	15	5.10	15	5.81	15	.01
Clergymen	1.52	2	1.73	2	1.99	2	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	2.73	9	2.94	10	2.87	7	NS
Judges	2.66	8	2.57	8	2.97	8.5	.05
Lawyers	3.56	11	4.11	12	4.55	12	.01
Newspapermen	4.49	14	4.52	14	4.71	14	NS
New Patrolmen	2.24	6	2.39	5	2.32	4	NS
Personal Friends	2.02	4	2.19	3	2.28	3	NS
Police Instructors	1.98	3	2.35	4	2.49	5	.01
Police Supervisors	2.05	5	2.63	9	3.08	10	.01
Politicians	4.14	13	4.35	13	4.64	13	.01
Probation Officers	2.55	7	2.53	7	2.97	8.5	.05
Prosecutors	3.01	10	2.49	6	2.59	6	.01
Wife/Family	1.27	1	1.32	1	1.57	1	.01

Table C-8

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the
Good-Bad Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	Rank	T_2 Mean Score	Rank	T_3 Mean Score	Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.90	12	3.23	12	3.35	11	.01
Civil Rights Leaders	3.92	15	4.34	15	4.86	15	.01
Clergymen	1.54	3	1.63	2	1.93	2	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	1.82	5	2.02	6	2.00	3	NS
Judges	1.99	8.5	2.19	8	2.86	9	.01
Lawyers	2.81	11	3.11	11	3.65	12	.01
Newspapermen	3.52	14	3.57	13	3.77	13	NS
New Patrolmen	1.83	6	2.04	7	2.16	6	.01
Personal Friends	1.92	7	1.96	4	2.06	4	NS
Police Instructors	1.52	2	1.81	3	2.12	5	.01
Police Supervisors	1.71	4	2.01	5	2.45	7.5	.01
Politicians	3.43	13	3.63	14	4.12	14	.01
Probation Officers	1.99	8.5	2.47	10	2.88	10	.01
Prosecutors	2.19	10	2.21	9	2.45	7.5	NS
Wife/Family	1.23	1	1.27	1	1.41	1	NS

Table C-9

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Important-Unimportant Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	T_1 Rank	T_2 Mean Score	T_2 Rank	T_3 Mean Score	T_3 Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.29	14	2.35	14	2.30	11	NS
Civil Rights Leaders	2.91	15	3.29	15	3.81	15	.01
Clergymen	1.50	8	1.56	8	1.63	7.5	NS
Experienced Patrolmen	1.32	4	1.42	5.5	1.24	2	.05
Judges	1.34	5	1.25	2	1.48	5	.01
Lawyers	1.69	9	1.80	10	2.24	10	.01
Newspapermen	2.13	13	2.08	12	2.54	13	NS
New Patrolmen	1.46	6	1.42	5.5	1.43	4	NS
Personal Friends	1.92	11	1.72	9	1.84	9	NS
Police Instructors	1.23	2	1.30	3	1.38	3	.01
Police Supervisors	1.29	3	1.35	4	1.63	7.5	.01
Politicians	1.95	12	2.15	13	2.57	14	.01
Probation Officers	1.71	10	2.04	11	2.34	12	NS
Prosecutors	1.49	7	1.47	7	1.53	6	NS
Wife/Family	1.18	1	1.15	1	1.22	1	

Table C-10

Mean Scores Derived from Responses of 113 Police Subjects on the Active-Passive Semantic Differential Scale; T_1, T_2 and T_3

Concept	T_1 Mean Score	T_1 Rank	T_2 Mean Score	T_2 Rank	T_3 Mean Score	T_3 Rank	Significance of Difference T_1-T_3
Businessmen	2.64	15	2.83	15	3.12	15	.01
Civil Rights Leaders	1.96	10	2.25	12	2.30	7	NS
Clergymen	1.88	6.5	1.67	1	2.09	4	.01
Experienced Patrolmen	1.65	3	2.03	8	2.06	3	NS
Judges	2.17	13	2.13	9	2.54	11	.01
Lawyers	2.13	12	2.15	10	2.50	9.5	.01
Newspapermen	1.91	8.5	1.90	4	2.50	9.5	.01
New Patrolmen	1.74	4	1.91	6	1.95	1	NS
Personal Friends	2.46	14	2.46	13	2.77	14	.05
Police Instructors	1.54	1	1.74	2	2.05	2	.01
Police Supervisors	1.60	2	1.93	7	2.62	12	.01
Politicians	1.99	11	2.21	11	2.41	8	.05
Probation Officers	1.91	8.5	2.47	14	2.73	13	.01
Prosecutors	1.88	6.5	1.90	4	2.22	6	.01
Wife/Family	1.81	5	1.90	4	2.10	5	.05

Table D-1

Role Attributes Chosen by Police Recruits in Five Cities at Start of Training

Baltimore (N=20) Attribute	Aver. Score	Cincinnati (N=37) Attribute	Aver. Score	Columbus (N=24) Attribute	Aver. Score	Indianapolis (N=32) Attribute	Aver. Score	New York City° 1959 (N=31) Attribute	Aver. Score	New York City° 1968 (N=246) Attribute	Aver. Score
Alertness	32.03	Dedication	32.58	Alertness	31.21	Dedication	33.09	Alertness	30.32	Alertness	32.24
Job Knowledge	29.15	Well Trained	29.23	Well Trained	28.77	Job Knowledge	28.94	Job Knowledge	30.19	Job Knowledge	29.19
Courage	29.08	Job Knowledge	28.30	Intelligence	27.75	Alertness	28.55	Honesty	27.73	Honesty	27.73
Honesty	28.43	Alertness	27.84	Dedication	27.63	Common Sense	27.08	Common Sense	27.44	Well Trained	26.54
Intelligence	28.00	Intelligence	27.55	Reliability	26.52	Well Trained	26.78	Dedication	26.87	Dedication	26.08
Well Trained	27.48	Honesty	27.38	Responsibility	26.50	Respect for Superiors	25.02	Intelligence	26.10	Common Sense	25.53
Dedication	26.43	Common Sense	26.67	Common Sense	26.46	Appearance	24.86	Respect for Superiors	25.45	Intelligence	24.33
Courtesy	25.63	Courage	26.01	Job Knowledge	24.79	Courage	23.70	Well Trained	24.63	Responsibility	24.18
Common Sense	24.03	Responsibility	24.18	Patience	23.90	Responsibility	23.67	Appearance	24.30	Courage	24.14
Appearance	23.63	Courtesy	23.03	Honesty	23.56	Courtesy	22.89	Reliability	22.52	Appearance	22.99

°McManus, op. cit., p. 66.

Table D-2

Role Attributes Chosen by Police Recruits in Five Cities at End of Training

Baltimore	Aver. Score	Cincinnati	Aver. Score	Columbus	Aver. Score	Indianapolis	Aver. Score	New York City° 1968 (N=31)	Aver. Score
Well Trained	31.23	Common Sense	31.97	Alertness	34.06	Common Sense	32.25	Alertness	32.76
Appearance	29.88	Alertness	31.75	Common Sense	33.63	Alertness	31.25	Intelligence	29.82
Common Sense	29.38	Well Trained	31.55	Job Knowledge	30.31	Dedication	29.32	Honesty	27.44
Job Knowledge	29.20	Intelligence	28.72	Honesty	28.08	Appearance	29.00	Well Trained	27.24
Intelligence	27.95	Honesty	27.25	Intelligence	27.38	Well Trained	27.93	Common Sense	26.08
Responsibility	27.33	Job Knowledge	26.97	Appearance	27.35	Job Knowledge	26.51	Courtesy	25.19
Dedication	26.58	Courtesy	26.09	Dedication	27.19	Initiative	26.08	Job Knowledge	25.15
Alertness	26.47	Dedication	26.00	Courtesy	25.10	Responsibility	24.00	Appearance	25.00
Courtesy	25.98	Responsibility	24.22	Responsibility	24.56	Courtesy	24.48	Courage	24.65
Honesty	25.40	Reliability	23.18	Reliability	24.17	Honesty	24.08	Efficient	23.02

°McManus, op. cit., p. 69.

Table D-3

Role Attributes Chosen by Police Patrolmen in Five Cities After Limited Field Experience

Baltimore	Aver. Score	Cincinnati	Aver. Score	Columbus	Aver. Score	Indianapolis	Aver. Score	New York City° 1959 (N=31)	Aver. Score
Common Sense	36.25	Common Sense	32.78	Common Sense	34.64	Common Sense	34.73	Alertness	31.86
Alertness	32.85	Alertness	32.16	Alertness	34.20	Alertness	33.03	Common Sense	30.69
Honesty	27.85	Well Trained	27.96	Job Knowledge	33.10	Appearance	28.51	Honesty	28.50
Well Trained	27.50	Honesty	27.53	Honesty	28.83	Initiative	27.17	Intelligence	27.23
Job Knowledge	26.35	Job Knowledge	26.81	Intelligence	29.77	Responsibility	27.14	Job Knowledge	27.19
Patience	24.18	Intelligence	25.54	Well Trained	28.00	Well Trained	26.34	Well Trained	26.37
Responsibility	24.08	Reliability	25.49	Responsibility	24.87	Job Knowledge	26.00	Appearance	25.00
Courage	24.03	Courage	25.41	Integrity	23.91	Dedication	25.73	Courage	24.17
Intelligence	23.80	Responsibility	24.07	Appearance	23.64	Intelligence	24.50	Courtesy	24.15
Dedication	23.55	Dedication	24.32	Dedication	23.56	Honesty	23.59	Reliability	23.71

°McManus, op. cit., p. 69.

Table E-1

Factor Loadings of Danger Scores

T_1 Factors	Assignment	Loading +40 or Greater	T_2 Factors	Assignment	Loading +40 or Greater	T_3 Factors	Assignment	Loading + or Greater
I	Reckless Driving	.46	I	Insane Person	.54	I	Firearms Discharged	.44
	Rape Victim	.73		Malicious Mischief	.55		Officer Needs Help	.62
	Drunk Driver	.51		Suspicious Person	.71		Robbery in Progress	.53
	Animal Bite Victim	.63					Assault/Deadly Weapon	.55
			II	Burglar Alarm	.66		Burglary in Progress	.63
II	Robbery in Progress	.73		Robbery in Progress	.60			
	Burglary in Progress	.84		Burglary	.75	II	Suspicious Person	.63
							Meet a Citizen	.65
III	Murder	-.60	III	Attempted Suicide	.42			
	Officer Needs Help	-.60		Rape Victim	.64	III	Rape Victim	.65
	Assault/Deadly Weapon	-.69		Meet a Citizen	.47		Malicious Mischief	.49
				Animal Bite Victim	.64		Meet a Citizen	.40
IV	Family Disturbance	-.52					Animal Bite Victim	.71
	Reckless Driving	-.43	IV	Reckless Driving	-.71			
	Disturbance/Teenagers	-.65		Drunk Driving	-.74	IV	Murder	.49
	Insane Person	-.48					Family Disturbance	-.67
			V	Murder	.67		Insane Person	-.52
V	Indecent Exposure	.78		Firearms Discharged	.49			
				Officer Needs Help	.50	V	Indecent Exposure	.73
VI	Firearms Discharged	.77		Attempted Suicide	.44		Man Down	.58
			VI	Indecent Exposure	-.63	VI	Reckless Driving	-.54
				Family Disturbance	-.52		Disturbance/Teenagers	-.45
				Man Down	-.63		Firearms Discharged	-.41
							Attempted Suicide	-.44
							Drunk Driver	-.75

Table E-2

Intercorrelations of EPPS Variables, Opinion Poll Factors and Danger Factors, T_1

	ACH	DEF	ORD	EXH	AUT	AFF	INT	SUC	DOM	ABA	NUR	CHG	END	HET	AGG	CONS	POLL I	POLL II	POLL III	POLL IV	DGR I	DGR II	DGR III	DGR IV	DGR V	DGR VI
ACH		.03	.07	.06	0	-.22	-.10	0	.25	-.22	-.23	-.08	.05	-.26	-.04	.20	.15	.02	0	.16	-.08	-.08	.04	-.02	-.09	-.10
DEF			.22	-.24	-.32	-.07	-.09	.07	.03	.01	.14	-.16	.28	-.37	-.18	-.08	.06	-.03	-.01	.09	-.09	.12	.04	.11	-.02	.04
ORD				-.29	-.13	-.22	-.05	.03	-.07	.06	-.09	-.18	.34	-.41	-.21	.03	.01	.24	.18	.12	.21	.21	-.01	.17	.11	-.02
EXH					.12	-.26	-.07	-.10	.07	-.15	-.34	.10	-.12	.12	.14	-.03	.03	-.13	.01	0	.04	-.11	-.04	-.05	-.14	.06
AUT						-.23	-.15	-.16	-.16	-.25	-.24	.19	-.22	.18	.14	.09	-.12	.01	-.23	-.07	.18	.07	-.03	.09	.05	-.07
AFF							.01	.08	-.09	.04	.39	.08	-.22	.03	-.24	-.04	-.02	-.06	0	-.04	-.16	-.19	-.05	-.15	0	.11
INT								-.22	.19	-.07	-.16	-.15	.03	-.04	-.08	.01	.10	-.14	-.04	-.01	.08	.19	-.10	.02	.04	.08
SUC									-.21	.08	.12	-.23	-.18	-.04	-.14	-.07	.02	-.13	-.15	-.21	-.20	0	.05	-.18	-.05	.05
DOM										-.30	-.18	-.16	.05	-.29	.12	.05	.09	.08	.19	.09	-.09	-.05	-.01	.02	.03	-.05
ABA											.32	-.28	.08	-.10	-.26	.16	-.12	-.02	-.17	0	.12	-.04	.11	-.12	.98	
NUR												-.10	-.24	-.04	-.32	.11	-.08	-.05	.10	-.03	0	-.03	.01	-.11	-.02	.11
CHG													-.12	.06	.07	-.10	-.14	-.10	.02	.17	-.10	-.01	.06	-.01	-.01	
END														-.44	-.23	-.06	.09	.10	.06	.04	.08	.03	-.07	.13	-.01	-.11
HET															.15	-.08	-.01	.07	-.04	.06	-.15	-.04	.11	-.08	.07	0
AGG																-.16	-.02	.04	.04	-.07	.05	-.07	.16	-.07	.17	-.03
CONS																	.11	0	.02	-.03	-.02	-.06	.01	-.01	-.10	.03
POLL I																		-.08	-.01	.14	-.17	.11	-.04	-.03	0	-.12
POLL II																			.38	.17	.03	.21	.09	.05	.09	-.05
POLL III																				.25	-.01	.11	.09	-.13	.04	.11
POLL IV																					-.07	.04	.04	-.03	.10	.08
DANGER I																						.20	.29	.63	.22	.22
DANGER II																							.19	.29	.18	.14
DANGER III																								.30	.20	.27
DANGER IV																									.21	.23
DANGER V																										.06
DANGER VI																										
MEAN	15.04	12.57	12.54	15.30	11.57	13.23	16.16	8.95	16.08	15.50	14.89	13.93	15.92	15.65	13.12	10.88	9.22	28.25	13.60	15.27	8.92	8.80	13.06	11.85	1.81	3.85
STAND. DEV.	3.73	3.13	4.73	3.67	4.70	3.61	4.28	4.00	3.98	4.10	4.72	3.77	5.23	6.10	4.32	1.95	2.42	3.69	2.49	2.69	2.96	1.16	1.79	2.52	0.62	0.93

Table E-3

Intercorrelations of EPPS Variables, Opinion Poll Factors and Danger Factors, T_3

	ACH	DEF	ORD	EXH	AUT	AFF	INT	SUC	DOM	ABA	NUR	CHG	END	HET	AGG	CONS	POLL I	POLL II	POLL III	POLL IV	DGR I	DGR II	DGR III	DGR IV	DGR V	DGR VI
ACH		.08	.05	.13	0	-.19	-.12	-.05	.23	-.16	-.30	-.11	.02	-.26	-.08	.07	.35	-.02	.03	.06	-.13	-.02	-.12	-.02	-.01	.02
DEF			.39	.17	-.33	-.13	.04	.02	-.07	.08	0	-.43	.25	-.31	-.21	-.04	.17	0	.14	.01	.06	-.15	.05	.14	.04	.05
ORD				-.25	-.07	-.28	.04	-.11	-.12	-.04	-.30	-.29	.39	-.36	-.09	-.09	.15	.04	.07	.02	.03	.02	0	.25	.06	.17
EXH					.09	-.25	-.14	-.12	.24	-.18	-.20	.19	-.20	-.01	.13	.14	-.07	-.05	-.03	.01	.01	0	.03	-.11	-.02	-.02
AUT						-.12	-.11	-.24	.03	-.27	-.14	.13	-.23	.11	.33	.08	-.05	.27	-.15	-.01	-.11	.07	-.02	.06	.07	.01
AFF							.01	.19	-.29	-.07	.53	0	-.30	.06	-.10	-.14	.02	-.03	.06	.14	-.20	-.03	.06	.02	.09	-.12
INT								-.36	-.04	.10	-.08	-.01	.23	-.22	-.35	-.04	-.05	-.23	-.08	.19	-.13	-.06	-.04	-.14	.03	-.04
SUC									-.24	.02	.31	-.21	-.32	.08	-.11	-.09	-.07	.03	.07	-.26	.01	-.05	.02	-.01	-.23	-.12
DOM										-.20	-.26	.05	.05	-.27	.09	.07	.20	.11	-.03	.09	.11	.01	-.10	-.10	.05	-.02
ABA											.20	-.12	.05	-.23	-.24	-.06	-.15	-.14	-.10	.20	.08	0	.03	-.02	-.04	.10
NUR												-.18	-.41	0	-.15	-.03	-.01	-.07	-.04	.13	-.20	-.06	.06	-.15	-.11	-.13
CHG													.13	.11	.02	-.12	-.22	-.03	-.05	.16	-.14	.06	.01	-.22	-.09	-.04
END														-.30	-.20	0	.10	-.03	.03	-.17	.18	-.01	-.07	-.20	.22	.16
HET															.19	.19	-.18	.16	.07	-.22	.11	.01	.01	0	-.08	-.13
AGG																.01	-.07	.21	-.03	-.16	.18	.21	.20	.03	-.01	.14
CONS																	.22	.16	-.01	.07	0	-.09	-.22	-.03	-.09	-.16
POLL I																		-.10	.03	.28	-.05	.01	-.10	.01	-.04	0
POLL II																			.13	-.18	.06	.14	.15	.22	.08	.01
POLL III																				-.01	.04	-.01	-.09	-.02	-.05	.04
POLL IV																					-.20	.09	0	-.10	.03	.07
DANGER I																							.20	.41	.23	.51
DANGER II																							.51	.19	.24	.16
DANGER III																								.17	.37	.41
DANGER IV																									.38	.33
DANGER V																										.44
DANGER VI																										
MEAN	15.31	11.44	11.63	14.87	12.96	11.94	15.95	9.37	16.40	14.26	13.62	14.51	15.27	17.50	14.73	11.13	9.03	31.12	11.81	14.11	21.31	4.36	6.85	11.34	4.35	14.19
STAND. DEV.	3.81	3.03	4.96	3.03	3.57	3.96	4.62	4.97	4.39	4.63	4.36	4.20	5.42	6.46	3.87	1.88	2.70	4.40	2.27	3.23	2.41	1.20	2.02	1.54	1.20	2.86

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