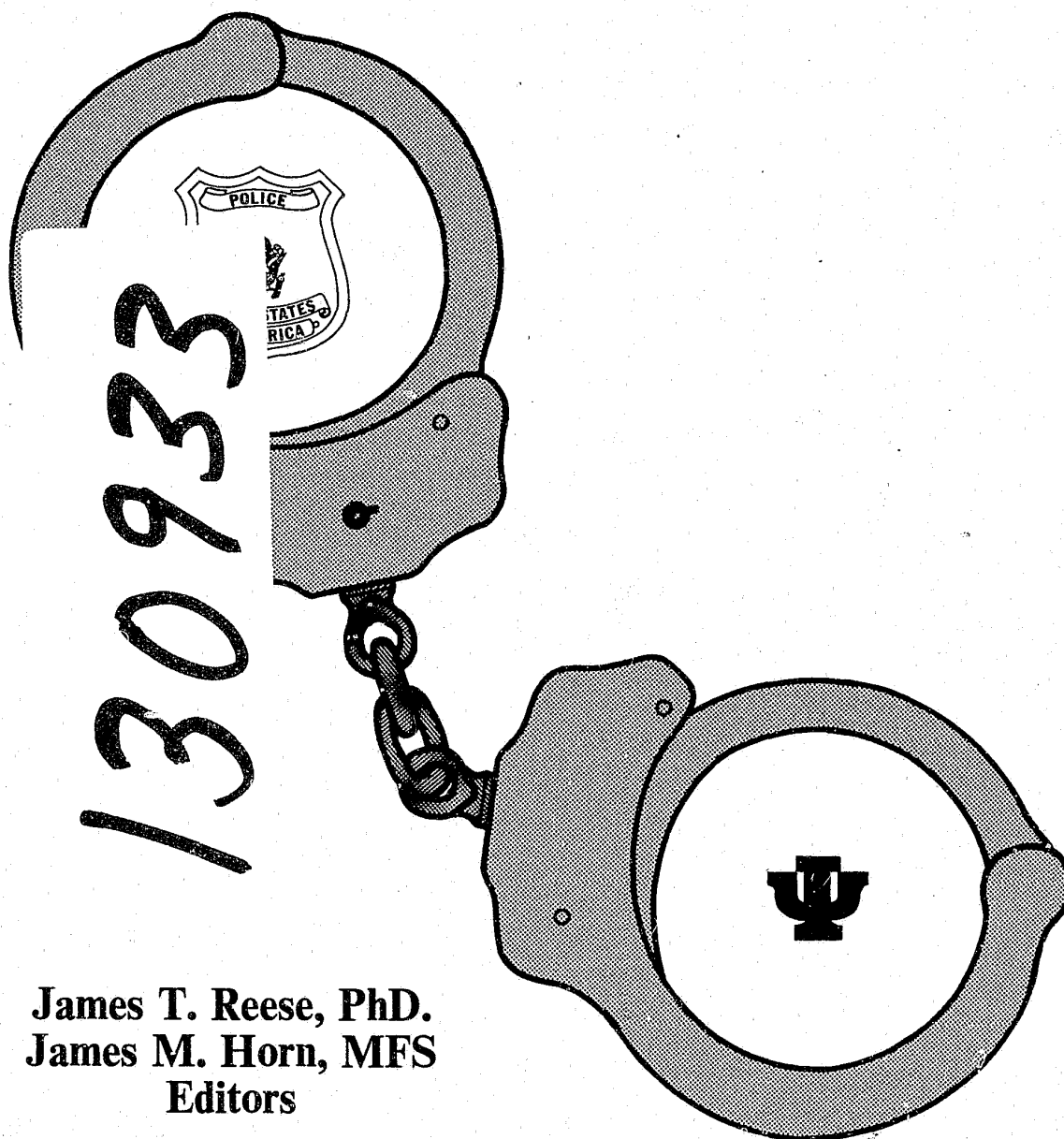




U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation



Police Psychology: Operational Assistance



James T. Reese, PhD.
James M. Horn, MFS
Editors

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POLICE PSYCHOLOGY:
Operational Assistance

James T. Reese, Ph.D.

James M. Horn, M.F.S.

Supervisory Special Agents
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Editors

Washington, D.C.
1988

FOREWORD

In 1984, the Training Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, hosted the National Symposium on Police Psychological Services at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia. This symposium brought together some 165 police and civilian mental health professionals and employee assistance providers to discuss "helping services", ways in which police could be assisted in their personal lives through counseling, etc. This conference resulted in a book, edited by Supervisory Special Agent James T. Reese, Ph.D. and Harvey A. Goldstein, Ph.D., then director of psychological services for the Prince George's County, Maryland Police Department, entitled Psychological Services for Law Enforcement. This book is available through the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., stock number 027-000-0126-6-3.

As a direct result of the success of that symposium, a conference was again hosted by the FBI the following year, again at Quantico, to explore ways in which mental health professionals, police and civilian alike, could assist police officers "operationally". This conference, the World Conference on Police Psychology, brought together more than two hundred police and civilian mental health professionals and employee assistance providers from around the world.

This book is a compilation of twenty-seven articles resulting from a call for papers prior to that conference. It is hoped that the information provided herein will in some way assist those individuals who are attempting to widen the scope of services to police departments through the use of the behavioral sciences. The conference, as well as the information contained in these articles, have as their basic goal, the enhancement of the state of the art in police psychology.

James T. Reese, Ph.D.

James M. Horn, M.F.S.

Supervisory Special Agents
FBI

INTRODUCTION

"If I only knew then what I know now" is a phrase that reflects the awareness of how much knowledge, skill, and wisdom can be attained from experience. I have often said it to myself when I thought of my days as a young police officer and Chief of Police in the early 1960's. The phrase is especially appropriate to characterize the present day practical application of behavioral sciences to law enforcement.

The behavioral science discipline of political science has contributed to our understanding of topics ranging from the threat of terrorism to corruption in government. Sociology has provided tools to assist us in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of groups within our communities, as well as the communities themselves. Criminology has provided the framework to determine the scope of the crime problem and the nature of the offender. But, perhaps the greatest contribution to the state of the art has been made in the field of psychology.

From a rather modest start in such areas as interview and interrogation, the practical applications of psychology have mushroomed, touching nearly every aspect of police work. Improved police recruitment, selection, and screening techniques have been developed. Officer self-control such as dealing with anger and fear are examples of internal problems being addressed. Programs for stress management in law enforcement have been molded into police practices and administrative procedures. Techniques for more effectively dealing with hostage situations have been developed, modified, and refined. Improved methods of understanding victims and witnesses have been developed especially in dealing with children. New insights into the criminal personality have enhanced law enforcement understanding and interpretation of behavior exhibited during crimes. Criminal personality profiling and investigative analysis have contributed to early identification, apprehension, and incarceration of serial violent offenders. Crisis intervention, conflict management, and hypnosis are still other examples of psychology in action in law enforcement. The list goes on and on.

The World Conference on Police Psychology held at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, in December 1985, brought together 200 leading psychologists, psychiatrists, and other behavioral science experts to share their knowledge with one another. It was planned, organized, and conducted by SSA James T. Reese, Ph.D.; Dr. John Stratton, formerly of the Los Angeles, California, Sheriff's Office; and Dr. John Yuille of the University of British Columbia. Papers presented at the conference were edited and compiled by SSA's James T. Reese and James M. Horn into the book you are about to read.

Reviewing this collection of papers has caused me to reflect on how far we who work in the law enforcement oriented behavioral science community have come. Armed with the

information available today, I could have done a far better job as a police officer and administrator in the 1960's. I know now that I could have detected crimes that must have certainly gone undetected. My interviews and interrogations could have yielded greater results. Offenders in many of my cases could have been identified, located, and apprehended earlier in their criminal careers. Victims, witnesses, and perpetrators could have been handled with more professionalism and safety for all concerned. As an administrator, I could have dealt with personnel matters more effectively and provided for training and support services that addressed unique policing problems as well as debilitating personal problems. The many contributions made in the field of psychology by professional persons such as those authoring the excellent papers in this book, enable the law enforcement officer of today to enjoy a career wherein many more of the goals of police professionalism and of crime control will certainly be achieved. We have come a long way.

Roger L. Depue, Ph.D.
Unit Chief
Behavioral Science Instruction
and Research Unit
FBI Academy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The World Conference on Police Psychology is the direct result of the willingness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to acknowledge the important role of the behavioral sciences in law enforcement. Appreciation is expressed to the Director of the FBI and the Assistant Director of the FBI Training Division.

The editors wish to acknowledge and thank Dr. John Yuille, Professor, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, and Dr. John Stratton, former director of psychological services, Los Angeles County, California Sheriff's Office. Both of these individuals met with Dr. James Reese, Supervisory Special Agent, Behavioral Science Instruction and Research Unit (BSIR), FBI Academy, at Quantico, Virginia in September 1985 and in the course of a few days, helped to organized and plan the largest conference of police mental health professionals to date, the World Conference on Police Psychology. Their assistance in planning this event as well as their assistance during the event, held from December 16-19, 1985, was of inestimable value.

The editors also wish to thank and acknowledge the following: the more that 200 law enforcement officers and mental health professionals who gave of their time to attend this conference and who unselfishly shared their thoughts on police psychological services; to the authors of the articles presented hereafter, for their energy and enthusiasm in responding to the call for papers; to Dr. Roger L. Depue, Unit Chief, Supervisory Special Agent (BSIR), and Administrator of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, for his support of this conference and his continuing endorsement of the rightful place of the behavioral scientist in law enforcement; Dr. Richard L. Ault, Supervisory Special Agent (BSIR) for his assistance in establishing the computer programs which allowed a conference of this magnitude to be organized and administered effectively; to Supervisory Special Agent Robert Schaefer, former member of the BSIR (currently assigned as a Supervisor in the Norfolk, Virginia Division of the FBI) for his invaluable assistance; James M Horn, Supervisory Special Agent, BSIR, for his assistance in editing this book; Kathy Bryan, Office Manager, and Bernadette Cloniger, Secretary to the Unit Chief, for their assistance in organizing and monitoring the process necessary for this book to be published; and to the FBI typists who uniformly typed and retyped the original and edited versions of these papers, to include, Debra Beebe, Support Services Supervisor, and typists, Patricia G. Ashby, Debbie O. Clifford, D. Anette Gray, Sheena J. Hatch, Pamela M. Lee, and Carol P. McElhinney.

James T. Reese, Ph.D.
Supervisory Special Agent

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Forward.....iii
James T. Reese, Ph.D., and James M. Horn, M.F.S.

Introduction.....v
Roger L. Depue, Ph.D.

Acknowledgements.....vii
James T. Reese, Ph.D.

Psychopathy and Clinical Assessment.....1
Dennis B. Anderson, Ed.D.

Routine Mental Health Checkups and Activities
for Law Enforcement Personnel Involved in Dealing
with Hostage and Terrorist Incidents by Psychologist
Trainer/Consultant.....9
Carroll L. Baruth, Ph.D.

The Competency and Credibility of Children as
Witnesses.....21
Theodore H. Blau, Ph.D. and Richard M. Blau

Evaluations of the Effectiveness of Police Training
Involving Psychology.....51
Ray Bull and Peter Horncastle

The Expanding Role of the Police Department:
Stressors and Solutions for the New Agents of
Social Change.....87
*Linda A. Dinnauer; James J. Metz, A.C.S.W.; and
Thomas J. Dinnauer*

The Application of Neuro-Linguistic Programming
as a Communication Strategy in Hostage/Barricaded
Crises.....131
William E. Garrison, M.S. and Scott W. Allen, Ph.D.

Two Suggestions for Improving Performance of
Hostage Negotiation Teams.....137
Douglas Gentz, Ph.D.

Identifying Characteristics of Hostage Negotiators,
and Using Personality Data to Develop a Selection
Model.....159
Vesta S. Getty, Ph.D. and Joseph D. Elam, Ph.D.

Police Psychology: Influencing Organizational
Character.....173
Harvey A. Goldstein, Ph.D.

An Introduction to Serial Rapist Research by the FBI.....	183
<i>Robert R. Hazelwood and Ann W. Burgess</i>	
Managing a Forensic Hypnosis Program.....	199
<i>Neil S. Hibler, Ph.D.</i>	
Criminal Personality Profiling.....	211
<i>James M. Horn, M.F.S.</i>	
Psychopathic Deviancy and Genetics: A Preliminary Report From the Texas Adoption Project.....	225
<i>Joseph M. Horn, Ph.D.</i>	
The Development of Guidelines for Psychological Screening in Law Enforcement Agencies.....	233
<i>Robin E. Inwald, Ph.D.</i>	
Police Peer Counseling--An Expanded Perspective.....	241
<i>Dr. J. Linden and Dr. R. Klein</i>	
The Use of Drawings in Child Sexual Abuse Investigation.....	245
<i>Carol Marcy, Ph.D. and Joe Hock, M.A.</i>	
Psychologists' Roles in Hostage Negotiations.....	281
<i>Michael J. McMains, Ph.D.</i>	
Anger Management: A training Program for Reducing Incidents of Police Misconduct.....	319
<i>Eric Nielsen, D.S.W.</i>	
Validation of Police Officer Recruit Candidates' Self-Reported Drug Use on the Inwald Personality Inventory Drug Scale.....	327
<i>Eric Ostrov, J.D., Ph.D.</i>	
Neuropsychological Considerations in Hostage Negotiations: Introductory Concepts.....	339
<i>Bruce T. Reed, Ph.D.</i>	
Psychological Aspects of Policing Violence.....	347
<i>James T. Reese, Ph.D.</i>	
The Nexus of Criminal Behavior.....	363
<i>Stanton E. Samenow, Ph.D.</i>	
Tactical Communications Training for Conflict Diffusion.....	379
<i>Leo Shea, Ph.D. and David Harpool, B.S.</i>	
Mental Conditioning: The Utilization of Fear.....	391
<i>Roger M. Solomon, Ph.D.</i>	

Research Findings Relevant to the Effects of
Marihuana on Shooting Judgment.....409
Howard W. Timm, Ph.D.

Operationalizing Police Stress Management: A Model.....423
John M. Violanti, Ph.D.

Analysis of Postmortem Manipulation of Homicide
Victims to Enhance Psychological Profiles.....437
Mark Zelig, Ph.D.

PSYCHOPATHY AND CLINICAL ASSESSMENT

Dennis B. Anderson, Ed.D.

ABSTRACT

Criminal Justice professionals are faced with the responsibility of evaluating and understanding offenders at every level of the criminal justice system. More difficult or more dangerous offenders demand the most attention and often present the most significant challenges concerning their behavior, our reaction to them, and our ability to objectively evaluate. In addition, we are often asked to use tests and procedures designed for current assessment and expected to then make predictions, a nearly impossible task.

This paper explores characteristics of these most problematic offenders and our internal/affective response mechanisms to these types. All assessment is indirect and inferential, and evaluators must be sensitive to their own inner world and how they, themselves, can be affected through the diagnostic process.

Reliability and validity can be questioned when standardized tests are used; these issues are more critical when evaluating others through the "human process."

Issues discussed include: Decisions for trait selections; choosing what and how to assess; the logic of making trait and personality inferences from observed behavior; methodological issues in assessment; and the role of the human judge.

PSYCHOPATHY AND CLINICAL ASSESSMENT

Criminal justice professionals are faced with the responsibility of evaluating and understanding offenders at all levels of the criminal justice system. More difficult or more dangerous offenders demand the most attention and responsibility, and often present the most significant challenges concerning their behavior, our reaction to them, and our ability to objectively evaluate. In addition, we are often asked to use tests and procedures designed for current assessment and expected to then make predictions--a nearly impossible task.

The antisocial personality disorder (psychopath, sociopath, character-disordered personality) represents the most common, and perhaps most difficult challenge. Characteristics are likely to include:

1. Absence of mental retardation, schizophrenia, or paranoia.
2. Pattern of antisocial behavior such as criminal activities, substance abuse (alcohol, other drugs), rebelliousness.
3. Irresponsibility and undependability.
4. Instability in location, occupation, living arrangements.
5. Exploitive interpersonal relationships.

Sociopathic persons have a very low potential for successful treatment. Their interest in changing is minimal. Often they will be pressured into agreeing to enter treatment in order to avoid punishment or because a person they are exploiting insists that they get "treatment." Sociopaths are usually not treatable.

Some other characteristics found within this group, but not necessarily within the same individual:

1. Intelligent (often above average), spontaneous, very likable at first appearance, mostly concerned with living in the present.
2. Lack loyalty, emotionally immature, impulsive, irresponsible, unethical, unable or unwilling to make an adequate social adjustment.
3. Discrepancy between intelligence (high) and conscience (low). Inability to understand or accept (except verbally) ethical values or to pursue socially approved goals.
4. Do not profit from mistakes and ordinary life experiences, except to learn to exploit people and avoid punishment.
5. Prone to thrill-seeking, deviant sex, easily bored, find it hard to forego immediate satisfaction.
6. Can be charming, likable, pleasant, friendly...but become unsympathetic, ungrateful, remorseless if you get in their way or they lose interest in exploiting you.
7. Quick to rationalize own behavior, blame others or society, lack genuine insight, lie readily.
8. Do not establish meaningful interpersonal relationships; shallow.

9. Eager to obtain "social goodies" but do not want to put forth effort.
10. Thrive in situations where "accountability" is low; found throughout society and function in a variety of roles: may be criminals, college students, unprincipled businessmen, shyster attorneys, quack doctors or "ministers," crooked politicians, etc.

We also find ourselves involved with murderers, sex offenders (rapists, pedophiles, sex-murderers), narcissistic personalities, and organic and borderline personalities.

The variety of clinical and criminal disorders are often exacerbated by alcohol and/or drug abuse, and their crimes are usually repugnant. The challenges are to accurately assess such personality disorders while keeping personal objectivity in the assessment process.

ISSUES IN ASSESSMENT

"Diagnosis" or "psychodiagnosis" implies the "medical model" and suggests that we can and will "fix" the offender following our evaluation. This assumption is, of course, only possible if the offender is actively supportive and involved in the treatment process. Legendary are the number of "false positives" in the criminal justice system; the recidivism rate is but one indicator of inaccurate assessment and/or the inability to implement adequate intervention strategies based upon assessment techniques.

Assessment is, first of all, based on a determination of what is "normal" from "abnormal" behavior. "Normal" can be described in two ways:

1. What is expected of us. This comes from social norms and those values reflected in our laws--drugs, sex, stealing, harming others, etc.
2. By comparing someone's behavior to others. For example, most men do not stand on the corner of a busy intersection and expose their penis to traffic; therefore, this behavior would not be regarded as "normal."

"Assessment" can be defined as the "evaluation of human characteristics." This includes an analysis of how one person is similar to, or different from, others. Such a definition is incomplete, however, if it does not consider situational determinants of behavior. Social, cultural, psychological, and perhaps biological factors should be included in the assessment process.

Humans are obviously complex, and there are many traits and characteristics that interact in complicated ways. Simply knowing a few "facts" about a person is not only incomplete, but overlooks the numerous ways in which traits and characteristics interact.

All assessment is indirect. We use rulers, scales, tests, etc.,--all indirect because there is some intervening instrument or process. The same is true when you individually assess someone, because the intervening variable is now you--your evaluations and judgments are influenced by your perceptions, attitudes, values and experiences. It is virtually impossible to be an impersonal, objective evaluator of others, especially those offenders we come in contact with in criminal justice.

All human assessment is inferential. We use verbs and adverbs to describe behavior. Once we substitute adjectives and nouns, we then begin the process of assessing or evaluating the individual. This is the critical step--observing behaviors, test scores, or life history data, then making a decision whereby we describe the behaving person. Not only is this "inferential leap" subject to appropriate criticism, but we often are asked to take this assessment process two steps further--based upon these "inferences," what intervention strategies do we propose, and, what are our expectations regarding future behavior?

This process involves at least two strategies for inferring psychological meaning from behavior and traits. The first is the "Rational Approach" (Common sense or Nontheoretical). This approach involves several assumptions:

1. Each evaluator uses terminology and psychological dimensions that have the same meaning. Each of us must communicate to others what we mean when we use terms to describe people and their behaviors. For example, we would use clinical terminology as defined in the DSM-III, or operationally define our terms.
2. Each evaluator has observed the subject in different situations, or has reviewed a variety of data about him/her.
3. Evaluators agree as to how each piece of behavior should be weighted (example: prior record, I.Q., nature of present offense, age, etc.).
4. The human mind is capable of arriving at a weighted average that is near the subject's true position on the trait or continuum being assessed (example: competency to stand trial).

The second strategy often used is "Rational Theoretical." The assumptions are basically the same as the "Rational" strategy except that all decisions are presumably made within the framework of some theory of personality such as Freudian, Reality Therapy, Rational-Emotive, Transactional Analysis, etc.

Since most assessment in criminal justice is based on one of these rational strategies, an analysis of the assumptions is appropriate. Across the United States we see the use of regional slang and idioms. Within regions or cities there are terms and expressions that have specific and often peculiar meanings. It is not unusual, then, that there are breakdowns in communication when we speak to one another regarding individuals' personalities and behaviors. Even common descriptors such as "neurotic," "insane," or "depressed" can have different meanings between one who uses the word and one who hears it.

We often have limited "data" about the subject who is evaluated; assessors also do not always have the same pieces of "data." As a result, each of us will likely have a different opinion regarding a person's "evaluation profile."

There is also wide disagreement concerning the weighting of behavioral information. What is most important? Prior history of violence? Criminal history? Alcohol and/or drug abuse? Record of hospitalization for clinical treatment? Age? Race? Level of education?

Who decides which information to gather? What tests are necessary? After collecting behavioral/test data, can we evaluate and weight this information in a manner that accurately places the individual on the continuum for which he is being assessed? How do we best minimize the "error" score in order to maximize the subject's "true" score?

When evaluating reported scores of tests that assess aptitude, achievement and intelligence, consider those scores as representing minimal levels of ability or functioning. We can see what they have scored; however, they may or may not be capable of better performance. We must recognize that all testing situations do not encourage maximal performances, nor can we assume that all those who take such tests are in an ideal emotional or motivational condition that would cause them to demonstrate "their best effort." These same concerns are also naturally appropriate when using personality tests.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY ISSUES IN ASSESSMENT

Validity addresses the issue of whether a test or technique measures what it claims to measure. Reliability describes the precision and consistency of a measuring device or technique. We can

have reliability (consistency) in what we do, but it is not necessarily valid. Reliability becomes important only after we have validated what we are doing.

There are at least four sources on invalidity (spurious criteria of validity). The first is "face validity." A test or technique is judged to measure "so and so" simply because it looks like it should.

The second is "validity by fiat." A person who believes he or she is in a position of authority regarding the evaluation of others may simply declare that his/her techniques measure "so and so."

"Experienced validity" is a criterion that is entirely internal to the assessor; the technique is judged to be valid to the extent that it provides the user with a subjective sense of the correctness of the inferences that he/she makes with it. A person's technique is not necessarily valid simply because he/she has fifteen years experience; it might have been invalid the first year and repeated fourteen more years!

As suggested by the label, "faith validity" refers to a belief, usually strongly held on the part of the user, that a technique as used by him/her yields accurate and correct information and thus permits making valid inferences and good decisions about another human being.

Such spurious criteria all serve:

1. to reduce anxiety on the part of the user of the technique regarding the correctness of the resulting assessments;
2. to enhance the self-esteem of the human assessor and the techniques they presume to justify;
3. to reduce the need to check the actual validity of the assessments--or of oneself!

BEHAVIORAL MECHANISMS

As assessors we are quick to search for and identify problematic conditions in those we evaluate, whether they be criminal justice clients, police, or other professional staff. Yet, we tend to overlook or minimize our own vulnerabilities and human fallibility. Psychologists are especially susceptible to this trap; after all, if we were doing something wrong or had personal problems we would know it because we are psychologists!

Not necessarily. It is quite easy to fall prey to a variety of defense mechanisms and become "clinically slick." That is, we use our training to contaminate self-perceptions. In effect, to alter the old cliché about attorneys, "a psychologist who evaluates and treats

himself has a fool for a patient." We refuse to appreciate the validity of information others give us about ourselves--after all, if there was a problem we think we would know.

Simple denial is a basic response to internal conflict; we choose to not recognize that there may be a problem. Rationalization is another handy "out"--explain away the problem in question.

When confronted, we may resort to projection--ascribing responsibility to outside forces while ignoring our own contributions. Suppression and repression are real dynamic issues that should not be reserved only for those with whom we work.

One of the most common problems humans have, especially those working in high-stress positions, is displacement. This behavioral mechanism has two ways in which it might be manifest. The first is when we have conflict or stress at work that cannot seemingly be resolved in that arena. We are "holding" the emotions that are attached, and looking for a place to "unload." We may unload on ourselves (get drunk, etc.) or come home and yell at the spouse and children, kick the dog, etc.

The second possibility is taking to work emotions we are holding from our personal environment. In this case we are jeopardizing our professional objectivity, and possibly our professional competency. We need to constantly remind ourselves of the need to be aware of our own personal issues and listen to data from others about our behavior.

SUMMARY

Psychologists are "psychic sponges" and the receptacle of everyone's "garbage." We need to nurture ourselves and our support systems, and always be sensitive to basic wellness issues. Oftentimes one positive outcome must balance out numerous negatives. Assessment and treatment responsibilities demand that we remain aware of our vulnerabilities and be responsible with our personal and professional lives. The types of offenders that all criminal justice personnel encounter place demands on our objectivity. We must be able to sort out affective components and function as competent professionals.

ROUTINE MENTAL HEALTH CHECKUPS AND ACTIVITIES FOR
LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN DEALING WITH
HOSTAGE AND TERRORIST INCIDENTS BY PSYCHOLOGIST TRAINER/CONSULTANT

By Carroll L. Baruth, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

The aspect of preparation most often overlooked in the training of law enforcement personnel involved in dealing with perpetrators of critical incidents is that of the personnel learning to understand themselves and their feelings better. The method recommended to accomplish this is to have a psychologist conduct routine mental health checkups and sessions fostering good mental health.

Understanding others starts with understanding self! Although we cannot directly change the behavior of others, we are able to change our own and as a consequence influence others to change their behavior. Physical conditioning, up-to-date knowledge, weapon expertise, utilization of the latest technology, and mental stability have all been recognized as being important. How much time and training, however, have been spent in assisting law enforcement personnel to recognize, understand, and monitor their own emotions and feelings? It is important to recognize that these same emotions and feelings are yet another level of communication being received from the perpetrator(s) of critical incidents and may be even more valuable in understanding the personality type of the person being dealt with than the actual words being said.

A model Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) demonstrating how a hostage or terrorist response team might be organized from a psychological point of view using the psychologist as a consultant is described and the responsibilities of each negotiation team member explained. The psychologist as trainer/consultant in mental health areas is an important role for the psychologist to play in the yet emerging, but already expanding, role of the police psychologist.

TEXT

The day was beautiful by anyone's standards. The sun was shining almost directly overhead, there were only a few clouds in the sky and the temperature was in the middle 80's. The day was ideal for boating and water skiing on the Mississippi River, but why had the crowd gathered and why had access to the dock been blocked by the local police?

The off-duty police officer from a nearby city asked an officer he knew at the scene what had happened--had there been an accident or drowning. He was quickly briefed that there was a man on board one of the boats and he was threatening to blow himself, the boat and other boats moored nearby up. As the boat was pointed out, the off-duty officer recognized the boat as being owned by a boating acquaintance who he, incidentally, had tipped more than a few beers with, and it was moored only a few slips from his own boat.

The local police, not knowing what to do and not knowing who they were dealing with, were at a stalemate because of the seriousness of the threats. Knowing the visiting officer was from a larger city and his department had offered a course the previous winter on dealing with critical incidents, they asked if he thought he could help. Agreeing to help was an almost automatic reaction as he knew the individual and was aware of some things that had occurred in his life which may have precipitated his now being in this situation. Not just standing by and watching his own boat blown up was also of some influence and was what prompted him to ask for a bullhorn.

"John, is that you in your boat? This is your neighbor, Fred, and I want to come out and check my boat as it sprung a leak last weekend. Can I come out?"

John, knowing Fred and positive rapport having been previously established, replied that Fred, but no others, could come out on the dock. Fred, in walking along the dock and reaching John's boat, stopped and asked, "John, I'm concerned. What's happening here?"

"Fred, do you remember that a few years ago my wife and I broke up, and we were divorced. I then married my present wife but now she has left me for someone else."

Fred could sense that John was very depressed, probably suicidal, and frustrated as well, and he could see no course of action other than the one he had planned. His life was in a shambles, and he was determined to destroy the boat so that the young woman he had married would not have the enjoyment of using it. Picking up on this point and realizing John's state of mind, Fred casually mentioned to John that the young woman would still be able to take money from their joint bank account and buy an even better boat but, if he hurried, they could just make it to the bank, which was open until noon on Saturdays, and change the account to only his name. At that point, John got off the boat, and he and Fred walked off the dock together.

The preceding story illustrates the importance of recognizing feelings (depression, suicidal, frustration) and the importance of intelligence gathering. The negotiator correctly interpreted the perpetrator's feelings and then suggested something concrete to do which was more to the point than blowing himself and the marina up. The intense feelings of the perpetrator were diffused by recognition coupled with the suggestion of a more socially acceptable method of dealing with the intense feelings resulting from his wife leaving him.

The psychologist can play an important role in assisting law enforcement officers to understand themselves better. This will in turn, hopefully, result in having a better understanding of the behavior of others and effectiveness in dealing with this behavior. This writer, in his volunteer work in law enforcement, has had the opportunity to screen applicants, administer psychological tests and interview candidates to determine their suitability for work in law enforcement. Screening of candidates has been very helpful in that it typically eliminates twenty-five to fifty percent of the applicants who, it has been found, would be unsuccessful in completing the training and study necessary for licensure. The one procedural point stressed in agreeing to undertake this activity was that there needed to be a time delay between when the psychological tests were administered and the interview conducted. This allows the test results to be used in directing the focus of the interview and the results to be shared with the candidates in order to help them to know themselves better. This approach is somewhat more lengthy, as it requires the candidates come one additional time for the interview. It has been well received with a typical remark being, "Gee, I didn't know that about myself."

A second way to help officers become aware of themselves is to use psychologists as trainers. This psychologist, with a background as an educator and experience as a part-time police officer, was allowed to plan and teach a 10-week, 3-hour-session, course entitled, Police Psychology: Dealing with Critical Incidents. Thirty-two law enforcement officers completed the class on their own time, and the critiques of the class were quite positive about the combining of psychology with the operational aspects of dealing with crisis situations. The class could not have been taught without the assistance and support of the local department and the FBI, which had previously invited this psychologist to attend the National Symposium on Police Psychological Services and a three-day course on Hostage Negotiations.

The challenge presented in teaching such a course was to combine the operational principles of negotiations with sound psychological principles. There may be some benefit for a department to have a psychologist receive police specialized training in order to have him combine this knowledge with his knowledge of psychology. In turn, he can later become part of a training team or, as in the example here, present both aspects. A description of the course and instructional objectives follow to illustrate how critical incident techniques and principles can be combined.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Police Psychology: Dealing with Critical Incidents will focus on preparing the law enforcement officer to be mentally, physically and emotionally prepared prior to critical incidents; supply the technical knowledge and the personal and criminal mind psychological insights necessary to deal effectively with such incidents; and offer alternative ways of personally coping and offering support to fellow officers after traumatic incidents. The critical incidents covered in the class will be hostage situations, barricaded subjects, snipers, suicides, terrorists or the resulting post-traumatic stress resulting from your own personal injury or injury or death of a fellow officer. Psychological profiling with recognition of criminal personality types and effective ways of dealing with them will be stressed. The class is important to any critical incident scene and should be of special interest to hostage negotiators and tactical unit team members.

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

The weekly instructional objectives of the course will be as follows:

1. To acquire basic understanding of psychological terms and concepts pertaining to critical incidents.
2. To learn to identify, monitor and control stress in self and understand and use transference, suggestibility, Stockholm Syndrome and Circadian Rhythm to more effectively deal with perpetrators.
3. To gain greater insight of officer's own personality and the paranoid schizophrenic, anti-social, inadequate or atypical, and depressed personalities of criminals.
4. To expand knowledge of the negotiation process and the means of communication most effectively used by negotiators in different type situations.
5. To define hostage, barricaded subject, sniper, suicidal, and terrorist situations and learn means to deal more effectively with them both personally and organizationally.
6. To learn how to identify and deal with the depressed, suicidal perpetrator and avoid "suicide by cop."
7. To learn how to recognize and deal with the paranoid schizophrenic, inadequate or atypical, and anti-social criminal personalities.

8. To acquire the expertise necessary to adequately critique both positively and negatively critical incidents.
9. To recognize and learn to deal with post-traumatic stress in self and other officers and to know what to do if you are taken hostage.
10. To acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to gather meaningful intelligence to comprehensively psychological profile the perpetrator(s) and hostages and to debrief hostages immediately upon release.

The area of psychological expertise least recognized, and which might be the most helpful to officers involved in dealing with critical incidents, is as a conductor of routine mental health examinations. Annual physical examinations or health checkups are highly recommended but the importance of routine mental health checkups and activities has not yet been established. Occasionally, it happens that an officer you have psychologically assessed mentions that he would like to again take a personality assessment tool such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) to see how he may have changed over the course of his career. When this happens, the officer is given the test to take and the results compared with those of the previous testing. Pre- and post-membership testing provide an excellent benchmark to determine change. This concept of measuring and discussing change should be implemented for all officers on critical incident teams. Psychological assessment or screening should take place as part of the selection process for officers applying for acceptance to such teams.

Once membership on such teams has been achieved, routine mental health checkups should be highly recommended, if not made mandatory, in order to help officers keep in touch with their own feelings and emotions. The emphasis must be on helping the officer become more effective in dealing with crisis situations and not simply to retain membership on the team. Some states are now, however, in the process of studying the advisability of requiring regular psychological examinations for officers in the field to maintain their job status. The merits of this potentially highly controversial requirement are not being advocated here. The recommendation presented here is simply that officers involved in critical incidents be helped to keep in touch with their own emotions and feelings through periodic mental health checkups and activities. The theory advocated is that officers who know themselves will better understand and be able to deal more effectively with the behavior of others.

In effectively dealing with critical incidents, being able to recognize transference; counter transference; Stockholm Syndrome; monitoring and controlling stress as seen in Circadian Rhythm;

recognizing personality types being encountered--essential for psychological profiling; and realizing other emotions involved are generally first recognized on the feeling level of the officer doing the negotiating. Over ninety percent of communication is non-verbal and a significant part of it is feelings being evoked in the listener. In this writer's counseling experience, recognition of a specific feeling being elicited from the interaction with a client is often the first indicator of what the real problem might be. If our own feelings are masked because of our own accumulated stress or mental health difficulties, we are less capable of being able to fully receive and translate the non-verbal communication being received.

Role playing is often looked down upon in the "macho" and "action-oriented" world of law enforcement. When this instructor mentioned to the class that he was going to play the part of four major personality types of perpetrators, the class was rather apprehensive about how this would work out. However, adopting some of the techniques used in psychodrama wherein persons are encouraged to step in and take the place of others, made this aspect of the course quite appealing to the class. A highlight of the class was when the instructor and another class member played the parts of anti-social type bank robbers. The principle in hostage negotiations that a female should not negotiate with anti-social type perpetrators was violated on purpose. Negotiations were unsuccessful until the instructor finally stepped in and removed the female negotiator and replaced her with a male negotiator. The class had not fully realized that a negotiator could, and at times should, be switched.

A psychologist, unless he is also a police officer who understands and can stomach the fact that, if negotiations break down, he will need to continue but his role will change to that of setting up the perpetrator(s) to be taken out by the SWAT team, would probably best serve in the role as consultant to the Negotiation Team. The psychologist can assist in psychological profiling the perpetrator(s) and hostage(s) as well as help monitor the process of negotiations. If it is determined that a negotiator needs to be replaced because the stress is getting to him or to improve the chances of success, the psychologist might be of some assistance in recommending who should take over provided he knows and has worked with the negotiators available.

Members of the clergy, family members, friends, media persons and other well-intentioned individuals should not be allowed to communicate directly with perpetrator(s). The best person to deal with critical incidents is a law enforcement officer, having specialized training in negotiation techniques and process as well as a thorough knowledge of the psychology of human behavior, who is understanding of his own emotions and feelings and is in turn capable of fully understanding the perpetrator(s) with whom he must deal.

SUMMARY

The aspect of preparation most often overlooked and which all law enforcement personnel involved in dealing with perpetrators of critical incidents, such as hostage and terrorist situations, can do to improve their own effectiveness and improve the chances of successful resolution to such incidents, is to learn to understand themselves better--to become better in tune to their own feelings and emotions. Understanding others starts with understanding self! Although we cannot directly change the behavior of others, we are able to change our own and as a consequence influence others to change their behavior. Physical conditioning, up-to-date knowledge, weapon expertise, use of the latest technology and mental stability, as measured by past field experiences and psychological examinations, have all been recognized as being important. How much time and training, however, have been spent in assisting law enforcement personnel to recognize, understand and monitor their own emotions and feelings? It is important to recognize that these same emotions and feelings are yet another level of communication being received from the perpetrator(s) of critical incidents and may be even more valuable in understanding the type of person being dealt with than the actual words being said. Understanding and effectively dealing with the behavior of others begins first with knowledge and understanding of self.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is a somewhat abbreviated model, not specific to any law enforcement agency, Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) prepared to demonstrate how a hostage or terrorist response team might be organized from a psychological point of view using the psychologist as a consultant.

- MODEL:** Emergency Negotiation Unit(ENU)
- PURPOSE:** To establish and maintain a specially trained and highly skilled behavioral sciences team of law enforcement personnel, disciplined to work together as well as with Emergency, Electronic and Photographic Response Units, to bring about the safe release of hostages through modifying the perpetrator(s) behavior. The negotiation process itself will be a continuum of decisions, the implementation of which will increase the probability that the personal safety of hostages, police, nearby citizens and perpetrator are assured to the maximum degree possible.
- RESPONSIBILITY:** The Emergency Negotiation Unit will come under the command of the Chief of Police who may delegate the operational authority to any officer, hereinafter referred to as the ENUL (Emergency

Negotiation Unit Leader). In the absence of the appointed ENUL, a chain of command will dictate the acting unit leader.

I. ENUL's Responsibilities and Duties:

- A. To secure the release of hostages in the most expeditious and lawful manner possible with the minimum use of force necessary and the least amount of damage to property.
- B. The ENUL will make the most efficient use of all resources available to him from within and without the Department and do so with a minimum disruption of police services to the remainder of the city.
- C. The ENUL will monitor schedules and availability of ENU members.
- D. The ENUL will submit reports to the Chief of Police detailing the ENU activities and actions taken. The ENUL and Emergency Negotiation Unit Team Psychologist with the Training Division will keep abreast of advanced negotiation methods and include them in an ongoing training program for ENU members and other members of the department interested in better preparing themselves for negotiation situations.
- E. Upon being summoned to situations where ENU involvement is deemed the most appropriate course of action, the responsibility to resolve the problem through negotiations will rest with the ENUL. Other ranking officers present will coordinate their activities through the Coordinator of the Emergency Negotiation, Response, Electronics and Photographic Units.

II. Responsibilities of the ENU Members

- A. Attendance at all ENU training sessions.
-Absence will require ENUL approval.
- B. Maintaining good physical and mental health.
-Training sessions will include physical conditioning; self-development and improvement skills; mental health activities; and psychological negotiation skill training.
- C. Selection and removal of ENU officers will be done by the Chief of Police, the ENUL and the ENU Psychologist.
- D. Minimum requirements for new and continued membership:
 - 1. Good physical condition.

2. Good psychological health as measured by initial and yearly standardized testing and interview by psychologist.
3. Above average service rating.
4. Above average interest in dealing with others in critical situations.

III. Function and Summoning of ENU:

- A. During their normal tour of duty, officers designated as ENU members will be immediately responsible to their division or platoon supervisors. They will function under the direction and control of the ENUL when an emergency negotiation situation occurs.
- B. All other police personnel at the scene will function at the direction of their supervisors who will coordinate activities with the ENUL.
- C. The follow-up investigative procedures will continue to be performed by the appropriate bureau, relieving the ENU to begin the debriefing process.
- D. Officers should summon their immediate supervisors to all incidents that have, or appear to have, the potential for becoming an emergency negotiation situation. The supervisory officer at the scene has the responsibility to survey the situation and recommend the necessary immediate action. The on-duty ENU officer, as well as ENUL and ENU Psychologist, should be summoned in the following situations:
 1. Hostages: Where an obvious or suspected hostage situation exists.
 2. Barricaded Suspect: This situation differs from the above in that the suspect is not making negotiable demands or creating an immediate danger to himself or another person within his immediate control.
 3. Snipers: This situation differs from the above in that firearms possessed by the individual most likely will have been discharged resulting in death or injury to an intended or random target(s).
 4. Suicides: The individual has attempted or is threatening self-destruction.
 5. Terrorists: When an individual or group attempts to influence others through the use of actual or implied threats.

6. Other: In any situation where the supervisor on the scene determines that the ENU can provide tactical advice or assistance to abate the situation with a minimum of danger to persons or damage to property.

IV. ENU Recall

- A. A situation that may require activating the ENU will be relayed to the platoon commander who will determine whether an ENU recall is warranted.
- B. Notification of support agencies should be done at the direction of the duty commander at the time of the ENU call up.
 1. Ambulance
 2. Fire
 3. Other
- C. ENU members responding to a recall will report to the command post at the scene for instructions.

V. ENU Equipment and Vehicle

- A. The upkeep of equipment used by the ENU will be the responsibility of the ENUL.
- B. The ENU vehicle will be parked in the L.E.C. garage when not in use by ENU members. ENU members will notify the platoon commander whenever using the vehicle regardless of the purpose.

VI. Description of Negotiation Unit Responsibilities

A. Emergency Negotiation Unit Leader (ENUL):

Responsible for communication with Emergency Unit's Coordinator as well as with ENU Psychologist; directs intelligence gathering, including information needed for on scene psychological profiling of perpetrator, and as much relevant information about hostages and scene as possible; requisitions necessary materials and support personnel; calls up and assigns additional negotiators if needed; provides for acquisition and upkeep of all necessary equipment; works with psychologist to provide best possible training for negotiators and other interested department members; and holds drills and simulation exercises which will be critically evaluated and critiqued by departmental command officers.

B. Emergency Negotiation Unit Psychologist:

Serves as information source and adviser to primary negotiator (who may well be first officer on scene and not specially trained in negotiations) and the back-up negotiator; develops psychological profile of perpetrator and, to a more limited extent, the hostages; monitors negotiation progress and can help assign responsibility of negotiations to back-up negotiator or another if requested by primary negotiator or deemed necessary for continued success of negotiation process; holds major responsibility for training in the behavioral sciences; knows individual skills and strengths of negotiators on team to the extent of being able to recommend those who will have greatest chance of success in dealing with differing personality types; and is in charge of mandatory debriefing for negotiators and other involved officers after negotiation incident in Law Enforcement Center (L.E.C.).

C. Primary Negotiator:

The officer (first responder or negotiator) doing the actual negotiating.

D. Back-Up Negotiator:

The first or second negotiator on scene (depending on background of primary negotiator) who assists in any manner possible, especially by way of encouragement and support, the primary negotiator and is constantly ready to step in if needed.

E. Support Negotiators:

Other trained negotiators on the scene who have been assigned by ENUL to gather intelligence about the perpetrator(s) or hostage(s) or assist him or the psychologist in other ways.

F. Assigned Officers:

Any full or part-time officers assigned to work with the negotiation team.

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THE COMPETENCY AND CREDIBILITY OF CHILDREN AS WITNESSES

Theodore H. Blau, Ph.D
Richard M. Blau

ABSTRACT

The law has developed generalized standards for both the credibility of child witnesses and the capacity of children to take the judicial oath prior to testifying. These standards evolved broadly, in part due to the historical infrequency of child testimony.

In recent years, however, the importance of child testimony has grown considerably as societal attitudes toward children have changed. More and more children have been called as witnesses to criminal events, especially child battering and sexual abuse. The growing use of such children as credible witnesses has in turn produced a variety of judicial decisions both supporting and rejecting the testimony of children, often without setting standards.

The study of children and their capabilities as witnesses forms one of the largest data bases in the behavioral sciences. There are psychological standards for all pertinent ages and stages of development. There is even a substantial body of research on the credibility of a child's memory and testimonial statements.

This article reviews the relevant research and court decisions, and concludes with a set of behavioral standards to provide the judicial system a methodology for dealing with child witnesses.

TEXT

Eyewitness accounts presented by witnesses to criminal acts are considered among the most powerful evidentiary aspects of any trial. Whereas the testimony of an adult witness is generally accorded a very positive reception by judges and juries, the testimony of children is viewed with caution or even suspicion by most adults. Children are frequently seen as less competent than adults in perceiving, remembering and describing events of significance. Jurors have been found to be consistently prejudiced against accepting the testimony of young witnesses at face value.¹

Although children have been put forth as witnesses in criminal and civil matters for over a century, a significant increase in efforts to use children in evidentiary matters has occurred in the past decade.² The relatively recent emergence of large numbers of investigations of child battering, child sexual abuse and other crimes to which children may be parties, victims or observers has resulted in the credibility of the child as witness.³

In this respect, however, the courts have failed to keep up with society's changing attitudes toward children. The law, for example, has not been instructive on the issue of a child's intellectual competence with respect to the requirements for credibility as a witness.

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- ¹ Johnson, M., and Foley, M., "Differentiating Fact from Fantasy: the Reliability of Children's Memory." The Journal of Social Issues, 4(2), 33-50 (1984).
- ² See Pepper, J. N., "The Child Witness." 26 Criminal Law Quarterly 354 (June 1984); Note, "The Testimony of Child Victims in Sex Abuse Prosecutions: Two Legislative Innovations." 98 Harvard Law Review 806 (February 1985).
- ³ See, e.g., Note, "The Young Victim As Witness for the Prosecution: Another Form of Abuse?" 89 Dickenson Law Review 721 (Spring 1985).

Traditionally, most courts have considered children below the age of 7 to be of questionable credibility and competent, subject to voir dire (questioning) by the court prior to testifying before a jury.⁴ Those over 14 years of age have traditionally been considered to be credible witnesses.⁵

With growing frequency, these guidelines are being subjected to interpretation and implementation by the presiding judge.⁶ Children as young as 3 and 4 years of age recently have been allowed to testify in some jurisdictions.⁷

CURRENT ISSUES

As children are called to testify with increasing frequency in many courts, a number of key issues have emerged. Principal among these issues are the following:

1. The Capacity of the Child to Take the Judicial Oath. In order for witnesses to give testimony, they must be sworn. The witness must promise, swear or affirm that he or she will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth "so help me God."⁸

⁴ 81 American Jurisprudence 2d Ed., "Witnesses," 125-132. Rochester, NY: Lawyer's Cooperative Publishing Co. (1976).

⁵ Id.

⁶ Blau, T. H., The Psychologist As Expert Witness. New York: John Wiley & Sons (1984).

⁷ See, e.g., State of Oregon v. Campbell, 705 P.2d 694, 706 (Or. 1985) (because there is so much variance among children, testimony of a 3-year-old witness could not be excluded absent a determination of incompetency by the trial court); State of North Carolina v. McRae, 292 S.E. 2d 778 (N.C. App. Ct. 1982) (age alone is no basis to disqualify witness; trial court properly considered children, ages 3 and 4, as possible witnesses in criminal trial).

⁸ See United States v. Fiore, 443 F.2d 112 (2d Cir. 1971), appealed after remand 467 F.2d 86, cert. denied, 410 U.S. 984 (1973) (witness must be sworn to tell the truth prior to giving testimony in court); cf. United States v. Looper, 419 F.2d 1405 (4th Cir. 1969) (witness may be permitted to testify merely on affirmation, without making an oath).

Witnesses are expected to understand the seriousness of their role in judicial proceedings. Witnesses are to be aware of the vital importance of truthful and complete testimony. While atheists are not precluded from testifying, each witness must swear or affirm, usually creating a personal covenant with God that he or she will testify truthfully and completely.⁹

The requirements of a witness' oath is both long standing and universally established. Yet it is not without its critics. In a published analysis of the subject, the Michigan Law Review concluded after an exhaustive study of the history and rationale of the oath requirement that:

. . . [T]he oath is largely an historical artifact: to borrow Justice Holmes' oft-quoted phrase, to a significant extent "the grounds upon which [the traditional oath requirements] was laid down have vanished long since, and the rule simply persists from blind imitation of the past."* This being the case, the deep and uncritical confidence placed in the sworn nature of testimony cannot longer be justified. [*O.W. Holmes, Collected Legal Papers, 187 (120) (footnote in original)].¹⁰

Whether or not the witness' is a vestige of an earlier era, children are not exempt from this requirement when they are called as witnesses in matters of law. The issue is whether today's system can educate itself to employ the tools of modern behavioral and cognitive science in determining whether the child whose testimony is sought has a sufficiently developed understanding to render the witness' oath meaningful.

⁹ See, e.g., People of the State of Michigan v. Bouchee, 253 N.W.2d 636 (Mich. 1977) (witness may testify, despite a disbelief in God, provided the witness makes an oath or affirmation that the court believes will be binding on the witness' conscience).

¹⁰ Note, "A Reconsideration of the Sworn Testimony Requirement: Securing Truth in the Twentieth Century," 75 Michigan Law Review 1681, 1707 (1977).

2. Accuracy of the Child's Cognition. Are young children able to understand the events that they observe? In order for children to function as competent witnesses, it is necessary that they be able to perceive, classify and understand the events they have witnessed.

3. Reliability of Memory. In order to testify competently, a child must be able to recall consistently and accurately the events about which questions will be asked. The child's memory must function adequately without undue prompting or leading questions.

4. Truthfulness, Factual Recall and Fantasy. The child witness must understand the meaning of "truth" and be able to separate that which was actually observed and/or heard from speculation, estimation or guessing. In addition, the child must be able to separate fact from fantasy, play or wish.

5. Vulnerability to Manipulation. If a child's testimony is to be accepted as credible, there must be some assurance that this testimony is not influenced by parental wishes or expectancies, peer values, threats from authority figures or coaching from anyone, regardless of how well-intentioned such influences might be.

6. Potential Trauma to the Child. Due to the adversary nature of our legal system, depositions, investigations, the discovery process and trial procedures can be extremely stressful to children. The courts have modified some procedures in an effort to protect children from pressure, harassment and other undue burdens.

On the other hand, constitutional safeguards require that all witnesses be available for discovery and cross-examination. There has been no definitive line drawn between the efforts to protect child witnesses and maintaining the integrity of the legal process.¹¹

Often, the testimony of children is critical to the successful prosecution of a criminal act. In the past,

¹¹ See Note, "The Young Victim As Witness for the Prosecution: Another Form of Abuse?" 89 Dickenson Law Review 721 (Spring 1985).

courts commonly generalized that above the age of 14, all witnesses are considered credible, barring specific disabilities.¹² Witnesses below the age of 14 are usually examined by the presiding judge, who makes inquiries into the child's mental capacity to perceive, recall and report events associated with his or her testimony.¹³

While prevailing standards reflect some skepticism regarding the acceptability of children as eyewitnesses, most jurisdictions in the United States assign questions of competency involving child witnesses to the discretion of the trial judge:

The question of competency rests largely in the sound discretion of the trial court, whose decision will not be disturbed in the absence of clear abuse: but when children of competent qualifications are called to testify, the trial court does not have within its discretion the right to refuse to permit the children to testify.¹⁴

The classic view of the judge as best arbiter of a child's ability to testify was rendered in Wheeler v. United States, regarding the testimony of a 5-year-old boy who witnessed his father's murder:

That the boy was not by reason of his youth, as a matter of law, absolutely disqualified as a witness is clear. While no one would think of calling as a witness an infant only 2 or 3 years old, there is no precise age which determines the question of competency. This depends on the capacity of intelligence of the child, his appreciation of the difference between truth and falsehood, as well as his

¹² See generally 81 American Jurisprudence 2d Ed., "Witnesses," 125-132. Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyer's Cooperative Publishing Co. (1976); 97 Corpus Juris Secundum, "Witnesses," 449-458. Brooklyn, N.Y.: American Law Book Co. (1957).

¹³ Id.

¹⁴ 97 Corpus Juris Secundum, "Witnesses," 450-451 n.99 and accompanying text, Brooklyn, N.Y.: American Law Book Co. (1957).

duty to tell the former. The decision of this question rests primarily with the trial judge, who sees the proposed witness, notices his manner, his apparent possession or lack of intelligence, and may resort to any examination which will tend to disclose his capacity and intelligence as well as his understanding of the obligation of an oath.¹⁵

Wheeler placed primary emphasis on a child's ability to differentiate the truth from a lie, to understand his duty to tell the truth, and the consequences if he doesn't do his duty.

To resolve these issues of child competency, judges normally engage the potential witness in an impromptu voir dire, or questioning. The kinds of questions frequently asked by judges of child witnesses¹⁶ include:

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you live?
4. Do you go to school? Where?
5. Do you go to Sunday school?
6. Do you know what happens to someone who tells lies?
7. Do you know why you are here today?
8. Would you tell a true story or a wrong story today?
9. Suppose you told a wrong story--do you know what would happen?
10. Do you know what an oath is?
11. Did you ever hear of God?

¹⁵ Wheeler v. United States, 159 U.S. 523, 524-525 (1985).

¹⁶ See "the Competence of Children As Witnesses," 39 Virginia Law Review 358-370 (1953).

The presiding judge will decide if a child may testify. The more the judge knows about what to expect of children at various ages, the more informed the judge's opinion is likely to be.

AGE-RELATED ABILITIES OF CHILDREN

The presiding judge determines the nature and extent of the child's ability by questioning and observing the child. Those observations are ordinarily matched against the judge's knowledge and personal experience with children.

The determination as to competence may or may not be in accordance with the child's real capacity. The same situation is true in dealing with children who have witnessed felonies when their statements are taken during the investigatory phase by law enforcement personnel, protective teams or prosecutors.¹⁷ Similarly, in the discovery phase of a case, attorneys must make cursory or even haphazard decisions as to the child's intellectual, cognitive, social and testimonial competence.¹⁸

This is not only an unfortunate, but also essentially unnecessary circumstance. Children's intellect, cognition, and motor development, memory, reasoning capacity, social skills, and level of receptive and expressive speech during various ages and stages of development all have been studied by psychologists for over a century. These studies have been formalized into a wide variety of standardized and generally accepted tests, inventories and developmental scales.¹⁹

Increased knowledge in the area of developmental expectancy would help investigating officers, attorneys and judges to deal more effectively and realistically with children who are eyewitnesses to criminal events. A knowledge of developmental age markers would allow those in the criminal justice system to better evaluate the quality of testimony elicited from children.

¹⁷ See generally Note, "The Young Victim As Witness for the Prosecution: Another Form of Abuse?" 89 Dickenson Law Review 721 (Spring 1985).

¹⁸ See Prygoski, P.J., "Of Predispositions and Dispositions: An Attitudinal Study of Decisionmaking in Child Abuse and Neglect Cases," 21 Houston Law Review 883 (October 1984).

¹⁹ Doll, E.A., Vineland Social Maturity Scale. Circle Pines, Minnesota: American Guidance Service (1965).

The following summary of ages and stages of development between age 3 and age 10 provides a step in the development of "child sense" about young witnesses. The summary focuses on the attention skills or abilities of a child that may be associated with the attributes required of an eyewitness.

It should be noted that the summary descriptions represent average performance standards for children at the various designated age levels. Approximately 68% of children will do most of the things noted for their age level. Sixteen percent will be able to do things similar to children at a higher chronological age than they, while 16% will perform below their own age level.

Thus, in working with a child witness, it is very helpful to have the results of a carefully administered intelligence test so that the child's mental age can be considered along with chronological age.

AGE 3 YEARS TO 4 YEARS

Considerable development occurs in children from the 36th to the 48th month of life. Between ages 3 and 3-1/2, children learn to get a drink from the tap unassisted, are toilet-trained during the night, will brush their teeth unassisted, and help with chores when asked. At this age, children can name such pictures as "airplane," "telephone," "hat," "ball," "tree," "key," "horse," "knife," "coat," and "ship." The child can name such common objects as "stove" and "bed."

Memory is sufficient at the 3-4-year level for the child to repeat three digits. Simple memory tasks requiring short-term memory can be performed. Children of this age can tell the meaning of "the same" or "different" about simple, familiar objects. They can put two simple sentences together using "or" or "but."

Children of this age compete in tag, hide-and-seek, and hopscotch. They know the meaning of "one-half." They can identify the colors red, green, yellow, and blue correctly. They can identify people by characteristics other than name when asked. They can label "happiness," "fear," "anger," and "sadness" in themselves. Children of this age can use the plural pronouns "we," "you," "them," and "us." They can make conditional statements such as, "If I behave, then I can stay up late." They put their shoes on the proper feet, and can speak correctly in the past tense.

Girls tend to be several months advanced of boys in some areas.

For the last half of the third year, children additionally develop the ability to play fantasy games of "kill or be killed."

They use "today," "yesterday," and "tomorrow" correctly. They apologize when they realize they have done something wrong. They can give directions to other children. They can cross the street alone and go to a playmate's house alone. Children at the end of the third year can compare larger and smaller, relate experience in detail when asked, and use "between" or "behind" as a preposition in a phrase.

Near 4 years of age, the child can respond with comprehension to such questions as, "What must you do if you are thirsty?" At this age, a child knows the number of fingers on each hand, can wash and dry his or her face without assistance, and can answer the telephone appropriately.

AGE 4 YEARS TO 5 YEARS

By the fourth year, most children care for themselves at the toilet, go around their own neighborhood unattended, dress themselves except for tying, and draw recognizable pictures, including at least three parts (head, body, arms, legs, eyes, nose, and mouth). A child between 4 and 5 years of age can print his or her first name, knows the right hand from the left, and recognizes at least five capital letters. Children in this age range can identify and name from a picture such objects as an umbrella, foot, flag, cane, arm, pocketknife, pitcher and leaf. They can name objects from memory and can complete opposite analogies such as:

1. Brother is a boy, sister is a _____;
2. Daytime is light, night is _____;
3. Father is a man, mother is a _____;
4. The snail is slow, the rabbit is _____; and
5. The sun shines during the day, the moon _____.

The child between 4 and 5 can follow directions using such words as "first," "last," "middle" or "second," and also correctly uses "today," "tomorrow" and "yesterday." Children at this age can play card games such as "Old Maid" and "Go Fish," use the word "around," and tell popular stories, fairy tales, a lengthy joke or a well-known TV plot. They can summon a person to the telephone or indicate to the caller that the person is not available.

Generally, children 4 to 5 years of age also bathe without assistance, share toys or possessions without being instructed, and name their favorite TV shows and the channel on which they are seen. At this age, children can "follow the rules" at school or other familiar facilities. They can comprehend and respond appropriately to such questions as "Why do we have houses?"; "Why do we have books?"; and "What do we do with our eyes and ears?" In looking at an assortment of pictures, they can correctly identify objects when asked "Show me the one we cook on"; "Show me what we carry when it's raining"; "Show me which one gives us milk"; "Which one has the longer ears?"; "Which one shines in the sky at night?"; and "Which one catches mice?" These children can remember and repeat a nine-word sentence. They can identify the materials used to make or construct such common objects as houses, windows, and books.

AGES 5 YEARS TO 6 YEARS

As the child moves through kindergarten and prepares for the first-grade experience, development proceeds rapidly. Children of this age can tell where they live by street number, play simple strategy games such as checkers, recite the alphabet in correct order, tie their own shoelaces, and print two or more simple words from memory. They can name the days of the week in correct order and identify their birthdays (month, day and year) if asked.

Children of this age can read three common signs, use irregular plurals, and understand the importance of not accepting food, rides or money from strangers. By the age of 5, children can respond verbally and positively to the good fortune of others, and apologize for unintentional mistakes. These children can follow community rules, and also can describe and define words like "ball," "hat," "stove," "knife," "clock," "bicycle," "nail," "donkey," "thief," "join," "brave," and "diamond." By this age, children can identify missing parts on common objects such as elephant's trunk, the hands on a clock's face, the whiskers of a cat, and fingernails.

The child from 5 to 6 years of age can give simplistic responses to such questions as:

1. What is the thing to do when you cut your finger?;
2. What should you do if you find a wallet or pocketbook?;

3. What should you do if you see smoke coming from a neighbor's house?; or
4. Why do we need police?

AGE 6 TO 7 YEARS

Children of this age are more socialized. They express ideas in more than one way without assistance. They can initiate telephone calls, obey traffic lights and signs, and play more than one board game or card game requiring skill and decisionmaking. They have "best friends" of the same sex, respond appropriately when introduced to a stranger, and have learned not to talk while eating.

They can identify missing parts of a wagon, a shoe, a teapot, a rabbit, and a glove. They can verbalize an appropriate answer to such questions as, "Why do we need police?" and "What must you do if you lose a ball belonging to someone else?" At this age their vocabularies include such words as "hat," "clock," "bicycle," "nail," and "thief." These children can spot missing parts in a picture, such as a knob on a dresser, the nostril on a man's nose and holes in a belt.

A child between 6 and 7 years also prints or writes his or her own first and last name, recites his or her own telephone number, counts to 100 by ones without help, and adds two single-digit numbers. Such a child can state his or her complete home address, including city and state when asked, knows the day of the week, reads a simple story aloud, and prints or writes ten words from memory. Vocabulary capacity at this stage includes such words as "orange," "envelope," "straw," "puddle," "tap," and "gown."

Children between 6 and 7 can successfully complete analogies such as:

1. A table is made of wood, a window of _____;
2. A bird flies, fish _____;
3. The point of a cane is blunt, and the point of a knife is _____; and
4. An inch is short, a mile is _____.

Also, they can verbalize the similarities of "beer and "wine" and "cat and mouse."

AGE 7 YEARS TO 8 YEARS

Children of this age can print or write simple sentences of three to four words, pay attention in school or a public lecture for up to 15 minutes, read simple things on their own initiative, and use basic tools. They can identify left and right on others. They can keep secrets or confidences for more than one day. These youngsters can explain the similarities of wood and coal, apple and peach, ship and automobile, and iron and silver, as well as comprehend and properly answer such questions as:

1. What should you do if you find a 3-year-old lost in the street?
2. What should you do if you break a friend's toy?
3. What should you do if you are on the way to school and you are late?
4. What makes a sailboat move?
5. What is the right thing to do if someone hits you accidentally?

Children of 7 to 8 years of age can complete such analogies as:

1. Rabbits' ears are long, cats' ears are ____.
2. Snow is white, coal is ____.
3. A dog has hair, a bird has ____.
4. Wolves are wild, dogs are ____.

Seven-year-olds know the number of days in a week and can repeat five digits, name the month which comes after March, and identify on a picture such missing parts as a hinge on a door and the center diamond on the seven-of-diamonds card. They can give simple definitions of "donkey," "join," "brave," and "diamond."

AGE 8 YEARS TO 9 YEARS

Children of 8 years of age can usually read books at a second-grade level, arrange words or items in alphabetical order, print or write short notes or messages, and use an emergency telephone number when a crisis arises.

They may be able to state the current date when asked, and end conversations appropriately. The words "nonsense," "present," "nuisance," "contagious," and "belfry" can be simply defined, and the 8-year-old can remember five key items from an eight-sentence story.

At this age, the youngsters can identify both similarities and differences in such paired items as a ball and an orange, an airplane and a kite, a river and an ocean, and a penny and a quarter. They can name the days of the week correctly, tell how many things make a dozen, and notice that buttonholes are missing in a picture of a coat. They can explain the absurdity in such statements as "I had the flu twice; the first time it killed me, and I got well the second time."

Children at this age can explain why it is better to build a house out of brick rather than wood, and why automobiles must have license plates.

AGE 9 YEARS TO 10 YEARS

Children at this age can give a simple explanation as to why criminals are locked up. These children can give fairly complex orders to others, read books at a fourth-grade level, tell time by five-minute segments, and respond to deadlines set by a caretaker. They will refrain from making statements which might embarrass or hurt others, control anger or hurt feelings when denied their own way, and keep secrets or confidences for as long as is appropriate. Children of 9 can explain what the stomach does, and in what direction the sun sets. They can identify in a picture such missing parts as the watchband on a boy's wrist and the screw in a pair of scissors.

Nine-year-olds can usually explain the similarities of such paired items as elbow and knee, and pound and yard. They can define in a simple way such terms as "fable," "hazardous," "migrate," and "stanza." They can explain with a fair degree of comprehension why a stamp must be put on a letter, and why it is better to give money to an organized charity rather than a beggar in the streets.

The comprehension question "Why should a promise be kept?" is readily answered by most children between 14 and 15-1/2 years of age. It is conceivable that a rare 9-year-old could comprehend and answer this question in a simplistic way. It is not likely, however, that more than 5 out of 100 could do so.

THE CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

CAPACITY TO TAKE THE JUDICIAL OATH

It seems fairly clear from an examination of children's skills and abilities at ages 3 to 10 that below the age of 10, most children would have difficulty understanding the full import of the judicial oath. Melton (1981) found that there is no pronounced developmental trend in honesty, and that the usual voir dire of a child to assess honesty is invalid. Children will respond positively to suggestive, authoritative questioning. In the matter of an understanding of God, children under 6 years of age associate this concept with play and gaiety.

ACCURACY OF THE CHILD'S COGNITION

As evidenced by the descriptions of ages and stages in the previous section, children's ability to perceive, recognize, classify and store information varies enormously between ages 3 and 10. The child's chronological age is less important than the child's mental age. This should be ascertained by a professional psychologist. Young children are less capable of providing narrative descriptions of what they see. The younger the child, the fewer details he or she will be able to provide. What is given before coaching, questioning or prompting is likely to be what the child saw, heard or experienced.²⁰

Children generally are able to give an accurate description in their own words as to what has happened to them, provided that the questions are direct and in language familiar to the child. Use of appropriate language cannot be overemphasized; even ninth graders tend not to be familiar with "proper" terms of sexual anatomy and physiology.²¹

²⁰ Marin, B.V., Holmes, D. L., Guth, J., and Kovak, P., "The Potential of Children As Eyewitnesses." Law and Human Behavior, 3(4), 295-305 (1979).

²¹ Monge, R.H., Dusek, J.H., and Lawless, J., "An Evaluation of the Acquisitions of Sexual Information Through a Sex Education Class." Journal of Sex Research, 13, 170-184 (1977).

It is not until between 5 and 6 years of age that children are able to integrate their inner world with the outer world, and control attention to task-demands.²⁵ Obviously, this capacity is a critical attribute for any viable witness.

RELIABILITY OF MEMORY

There are many reasons why eyewitnesses identification can be faulty in adult witnesses. The same issues apply to children.²³ Children have some difficulty in free recall, thus encouraging examiners to ask leading questions. Memory is not significantly problematic if the child has perceived an event and is questioned in a direct way with words and concepts appropriate to the child's age.²⁴ Some research suggests that in matters of eyewitness identification, children over the age of 5 are as capable as adults of answering direct questions about the incident they have witnessed.²⁵

The reliability of information provided by a child witness decreases when extensive detail is required.²⁶ Moreover, memory is poorest for children under 12 for events they do not understand well or follow well, such as adult conversation.²⁷

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- 22 Takagi, K., "Child Development and Attention." Japanese Psychological Review, 26,(3), 229-244 (1983).
- 23 Loftus, E.F., and Davies, G.M., "Distortions in the Memory of Children." The Journal of Social Issues 40(2), 51-67 (1984).
- 24 Melton, G., "Children's Competency to Testify." Law and Human Behavior, 5(1), 73-85 (1981).
- 25 Marin, B.V., Holmes, D.L., Guth, J., and Kovak, P., "The Potential of Children As Eyewitnesses." Law and Human Behavior, 3(4), 295-305 (1979).
- 26 Rabinowitz, M.J., "The Child As An Eyewitness: An Overview." Social Action and the Law, 11(1), 5-10 (1985).
- 27 Johnson, M., and Foley, M., "Differentiating Fact from Fantasy: The Reliability of Children's Memory." The Journal of Social Issues, 4(2), 33-50 (1984).

Children of 7 and younger are more likely than children 10 and older to make memory inferences from incomplete knowledge.²⁸

TRUTHFULNESS, FACTUAL RECALL AND FANTASY

It is between their fifth and sixth year that children are able to separate or integrate the inner and outer world in their lives. If a child understood what he or she saw and can conceptualize what is asked, in words he or she knows, then the child is likely to respond as truthfully or more so than an adult.

Children do sometimes falsely testify and/or corroborate lies. In the widely publicized case of State v. Bentz (Minnesota) in 1984, an entire township was disrupted by an enthusiastic prosecutor and a psychologist who adamantly insisted "kids don't lie." The witness and child corroborators eventually admitted to making up a variety of stories concerning child sexual abuse in the community.²⁹ At present, unfortunately, there is no research which casts light on the ability of children to "stick to the facts" over a period of months, or under stress of investigation or judicial hearings.

VULNERABILITY TO MANIPULATION

Marin et al. (1979) demonstrated in her research that younger children are not more easily swayed than older children by leading questions (in a research setting). Where careful judgment is required and direct, unambiguous, understandable questions are asked without authoritative pressure, young children seem able to resist suggestions. When parental or authoritative pressure is brought to bear, younger children tend to be more yielding to suggestion than older children.³⁰ Melton (1981) suggests that because younger children need cues to stimulate recall, this could increase suggestibility factors, making their testimony less credible, particularly for children younger than 7 years of age.

²⁸ Swanson, H.L. "Children's Lack-of-Knowledge Inference about Memory." Child Study Journal, 15(1), 71-82 (1985).

²⁹ Rabinowitz, M.J., "The Child As An Eyewitness: An Overview." Social Action and the Law, 11(1), 5-10 (1985).

³⁰ Fodor, E.M., "Resistance to Social Influence Among Adolescents As a Function of Moral Development." Journal of Social Psychology, 85, 121-126 (1971).

Children's responses can be shaped or made more affirmative to the examiner's expectancy through choice of language. A child is more likely to respond "yes" if asked, "Did the man touch you?" than if asked, "Did a man touch you?"³¹

Many factors influence suggestibility. It should be noted, however, that this is true for adults as well as children.

Choice of language is also critical because of a child's tendency towards literalism. Children's language tends to be concrete. If asked, "Did Mr. Jones go into your house?" the child may answer "no" if the family home is a trailer.

Delay tends to render the child susceptible to suggestions and manipulation. When children are not sure of what happened, they are much more vulnerable to manipulation. "I don't know" is often equated with failure in a child's mind. When tired, children tend to become confused.

Suggestibility is extremely variable among children (and adults). Children are particularly vulnerable to manipulation where well-developed knowledge structures are required to comprehend the suggestion.³²

POTENTIAL TRAUMA TO THE CHILD

Although investigative and judicial procedures are necessary, they unquestionably can be major traumas for children. The effects may be irreversible. No clear data is available, but the consensus of clinical opinion is that the exposure of children to adversary investigative and judicial proceedings is harmful.

Because of concern by the Bar, the Bench, and law enforcement officials, makeshift procedures have been developed that are of questionable constitutional conformity

³¹ Dale, P.S., Loftus, E.F., and Rathbun, L., "The Influence of the Form of the Question on the Eyewitness Testimony of Children." Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 7(4), 269-277 (1978).

³² Loftus, E.F., and Davies, G.M., "Distortions in the Memory of Children." The Journal of Social Issues, 40(2), 51-67 (1984).

and psychological effectiveness. These procedures include: (1) relying on professional mental health workers to conduct investigative interviews; (2) allowing the professionals to serve as adjunctive or substitute witnesses; (3) shielding the child from the accused and the accused's attorney; and (4) making arbitrary custodial decisions which remove the child from his or her home, creating an adversarial climate.³³

One recent phenomenon in this area is the use of videotape to secure child testimony. The use of videotaping to prevent trauma to the child is a procedure that raises many issues, not the least of which is the constitutional right of the accused to confront his accuser and the witnesses against him.

RECOMMENDED PROCEDURES AND STANDARDS

Very extensive guidelines, unsupported by research or outcome studies, abound. The Sexual Assault Center of the Harborview Medical Center in Seattle, Washington, has prepared a detailed five-page outline which is typically used by criminal justice personnel (Appendix A). Although affirmative and enthusiastic, such documents deal in truisms, absolutes and definitive concepts which in reality vary extensively among children.

Procedures and standards should always be understood and applied with an awareness that all children differ from each other in many ways. Absolutes should be viewed with great caution.

General standards for the evaluation of children have been generated. Goodman (1984) suggests that criteria for establishing the competency of child witnesses should include:

1. At the time of the occurrence, the child must be capable of registering the event accurately;
2. The child's memory must be sufficient to retain an independent recollection of the event;
3. The child must be able to communicate this memory;

³³ Rabinowitz, M.J., "The Child As an Eyewitness: An Overview." Social Action and the Law, 11(1), 5-10 (1985).

4. The child must be able to understand his or her obligation to tell the truth.

These generalities still leave the task of accurately and reliably assessing the child's psychological aptitudes, abilities, memory skills, expressive and receptive language capacity, cognitive skill and moral values in the hands of criminal justice personnel. More often than not, such personnel possess only limited training or accurate knowledge of child growth and development.

Many years of research and evaluation will be required before valid guidelines and standards are available. Yet society and the commonwealth today require that those in the criminal justice system make frequent decisions as to the credibility of child witnesses. To bridge this gap, some tentative "rules of the road" may be helpful. The following are proposed:

1. Know Your Limits. If you are unfamiliar with child growth and development, enhance your abilities and discover the extent of your limits and skills through study and training.

2. Beware of Your Prejudices. Overenthusiasm to "do the job" as you see it may result in poor procedures involving children--to the detriment of the case and the child. Do not allow personal ideals or commitments to distort your judgment when working with children.

3. Be Aware of Testimonial Limits. The eyewitness reports of adults as well as children are subject to a variety of known biases and distortions. Learn these, and be governed accordingly.

4. Learn About and Always Keep in Mind Children's Limitations. When interrogating children be aware:

a. The more details that are required of a child, the more likely that suggestibility factors will result in distortion;

b. Specific questions are likely to be answered more directly by children than requests for free recall;

c. The longer the delay after an observed event, the less accurate recall will be;

d. Power words influence children;

e. Use of simple, concrete questions is best with younger children;

f. The younger the child, the less likely that his or her memory can encode complex ideas, visual experiences and language.

5. The Validity and Completeness of Children's Testimony Can Be Enhanced. No matter what the situation, it is vital that certain basics be observed. These include:

a. Determine clearly who has questioned, prompted, or talked with the child previously with regard to the incident witnessed;

b. Separate and distinguish the corroborated facts of the case before the interrogation of the child;

c. Make the child as comfortable as possible in a familiar setting. Take as much time as necessary to establish a good rapport before beginning any discussion of the event to be described by the child;

d. Present yourself as a patient, pleasant, helpful and supportive adult;

e. Use language that the child is comfortable and familiar with (not simpering, cute baby talk). Avoid power words, adult grammar, and emotive vocabulary;

f. Avoid analogies or complex comparisons;

g. Be sure the child is not tired, hungry, stressed or ill;

h. If the child must be subject to cross-examination, arrange careful roleplaying of the expected situation. Avoid coercion, training, suggestions or manipulation;

i. Prepare and discuss questions with a child development professional whenever possible;

j. Find out the child's mental age and consider this together with ethnic, educational, cultural and experiential background in framing questions;

k. Be prepared to work with the child in ten-to-fifteen-minute sequences with rest and play between sessions;

l. Be sure to offer continuing support and encouragement;

m. Do not overreact or "jump" on contradictions. Accept them, and repeat the questions later;

n. Allow free recall of the event without interruption, with patience and encouragement. Withhold specific questions entirely until the child has exhausted his or her free recall;

o. Arrange the questions in a logical sequence, such as: "what," "who," "when," "where";

p. Close each interview as positively as possible. Ensure that the child will be happy to talk to you again--he or she will probably have to before the case is over. Do not probe the child about testifying in the future. Let each interview stand as a point in time.

CONCLUSION

Using children as witnesses is presently a complex and convoluted issue. It will take years of experience for a professional in the criminal justice system to acquire the skills and expertise necessary to conduct first-rate interrogations of children. Because there remains much to be learned about children's capacities in this area, those who will be working with child witnesses should in some way update their skills and abilities.

Those who ignore the admonitions and advice presented above can expect, at the very least, to find their efforts and hard work with children sharply questioned and criticized during a trial, perhaps even resulting in a miscarriage of justice. At the worst, improper handling of a child witness can be permanently harmful to the child.

For the individual child, as well as for the criminal justice system, the development of competency in dealing with child witnesses is vital.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWING CHILD VICTIMS

GUIDELINES FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM PERSONNEL

Background Information

The following issues affect the child's ability to give a history of sexual assault and influence the cooperativeness of victim and family.

I. Child's Developmental Level

A child's cognitive, emotional and social growth occurs in sequential phases of increasingly complex levels of development. Progression occurs with mastery of one state leading to concentration on the next.

Cognitive - Preconceptual, concrete, intuitive thinking in the young child gradually develops toward comprehension of abstract concepts. Time and space begin as personalized notions and gradually are identified as logical and ordered concepts.

Emotional - The young child perceives her/himself egocentrically with little ability to identify her/himself in a context. She/he is dependent on the family to meet all needs and invests adults with total authority. The child often reflects the emotional responses of the parents. She/he gradually shifts to greater reliance on peer relationships and emotional commitments to people outside the family.

Behavioral - The young child is spontaneous, outgoing and explosive with few internal controls and only a tentative awareness of external limits. She/he has a short attention span. A child most often expresses feelings through behavior rather than verbally. As the child grows, she/he develops internal controls and established a sense of identity and independence. Peers and other adults have increasing influence on behavior.

II. Sexual Assault

Characteristics of the assault affect the child's emotional perception of the event and to a great determine the response. The closeness of the child's

relationship to the offender, the duration of the offense, the amount of secrecy surrounding the assault, and the degree of violence are the factors which have the greatest impact on the child's reaction. The child may very well have ambivalent feelings toward the offender or be dependent on him for other needs.

III. Response to Child

The child is fearful of the consequences of reporting a sexual assault. The response of the family support system and official agencies will directly affect the resolution of the psychological trauma and her/his cooperativeness as a witness. The child fears she/he will be disbelieved or blamed for the assault and almost always is hesitant about reporting.

INTERVIEWING CHILD VICTIMS

GUIDELINES FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM PERSONNEL

I. Preparing for Interview

Prior to interviewing the child, obtain relevant information from parents/guardian, and if applicable, Child Protective Services caseworker, physician, and/or Sexual Assault Center/Rape Relief counselor.

- A. Explain your role and procedures to above personnel, and enlist their cooperation.
- B. Determine child's general developmental status; age; grade; siblings; family composition; capabilities; ability to write; read; count; ride a bike; tell time; remember events; any unusual problems; physical, intellectual, behavioral; knowledge of anatomy and sexual behavior; family terminology for genital areas.
- C. Review circumstances of assault (as reported already by child to other persons): what, where, when, by whom, and to whom reported; exact words of child; other persons told by child; how many have interviewed child; child's reaction to assault; how child feels about it and what, if any, behavioral signs of distress (nightmares, withdrawal, regression, acting out) have occurred.
- D. Determine what reactions and changes child has been exposed to following revelation of the assault(s); believing; supportive; blaming; angry; ambivalent; parents getting a divorce; move to a new home.

II. Beginning the Interview

- A. Setting - The more comfortable for the child, the more information she/he is likely to share.
 1. Flexibility - A child likes to move around the room, explore and touch, sit on the floor or adult's lap.
 2. Activity - Playing or coloring occupy child's physical needs and allows her/him to talk with less guardedness.
 3. Privacy - Interruptions distract an already short attention span, divert focus of interview, and make self-conscious or apprehensive child withdraw.

4. Support - If the child wishes a parent or other person present, it should be allowed. A frightened or insecure child will not give a complete statement.

B. Establishing a relationship

1. Introduction - Name, brief and simple explanation of role, and purpose:
- "I am the lawyer (or legal person) on your side; my job is to talk to children about these things because we want them to stop happening."
2. General exchange - Ask about name (last name), age, grade, school and teacher's name, siblings, family composition, pets, friends, activities, favorite games/TV shows. (It often helps to share personal information when appropriate, e.g., children, pets.)
3. Assess level of sophistication and ability to understand concepts - have child read, write, count, tell time; know colors or shapes; know the day or date; know birthdate; remember past events (breakfast, yesterday, last year); understand before and after; know about money; assume responsibilities (goes around neighborhood alone, stays at home alone, makes dinner, etc.)

III. Obtaining History of Sexual Assault

A. Preliminaries

1. Use language appropriate to child's level; be sure child understands words. (Watch for signs of confusion, blankness, or embarrassment; be careful with words like incident, occur, penetration, prior, ejaculation, etc.)
2. Do not ask WHY questions ("Why did you go to the house?" "Why didn't you tell?") They tend to sound accusatory.
3. Never threaten or try to force a reluctant child to talk. Pressure causes a child to clam up and further traumatize her/him/

4. Be aware that the child who has been instructed or threatened not to tell by the offender (ESPECIALLY if a parent) will be very reluctant and full of anxiety (you will usually notice a change in the child's affect while talking about the assault). The fears often need to be allayed.
 - "It's not bad to tell what happened."
 - "You won't get in trouble."
 - "You can help you dad by telling what happened."
 - "You're not to blame."
5. Interviewer's affective response should be consonant with child's perception of assault (e.g., don't emphasize jail for the offender if the child has expressed positive feelings toward him).
6. Ask direct, simple questions as open-ended as allowed by child's level of comprehension and ability to talk about the assault.

B. Statement

1. WHAT

- "Can you tell me what happened?"
- "I need to know what the man did."
- "Did he ever touch you? Where?"
- "Where did he put his finger?"
- "Have you ever seen him with his clothes off?"
- "Did you ever see his penis (thing, pee pee, weiner) get big?"
- "Did anything ever come out of it?"

Once basic information is elicited, ask specifically about other types of sexual contact.

- "Did he ever put it into your mouth?"
- "Did he ever make you touch him or his penis?"

2. WHO

Child's response here will probably not be elaborate. Most children know the offender and can name him, although some cases the child may not understand relationship to self or family. Ascertain from other sources what is the exact nature/extent of the relationship.

3. WHEN

The response to this question will depend on child's ability, how recently assault happened, lapse between last incident and report, number of assaults (children will tend to confuse or mix separate incidents). If the child is under six, information re: time is unlikely to be reliable. An older child can often narrow down dates and time using recognizable events or associating assault with other incidents.

- "Was it before your birthday, the weekend, Valentine's Day?"
- "Did it happen after dinner, 'Happy Days', your brother's bedtime?"

4. WHERE

The assault usually occurs in the child's and/or home. Information about which room, where other family members were, where child was before assault may be learned.

5. COERCION

What kind of force, threat, enticement, pressure was used to insure cooperation and secrecy?

- "Did he tell you not to tell?" "What did he say?"
- "Did he say something bad would happen or you would get in trouble if you told?"
- "Did the man say it was a secret?"

C. Assessing credibility and competency

1. Does child describe acts or experience to which she/he would not have normally been exposed? (Average child is not familiar with erection or ejaculation until adolescence at the earliest.)
2. Does child describe circumstances and characteristics typical of sexual assault situation? ("He told me that it was a secret"; "He said I couldn't go out if I didn't do it"; "He told me it was sex education.")

3. How and under what circumstances did child tell? What were exact words?
4. How many times has child given the history and how consistent is it regarding the basic facts of the assault (not times, dates, circumstances, sequence of events, etc.)?
5. How much spontaneous information can provide? How much prompting is required?
6. Can child define difference between truth and a lie? (This question is not actually very useful with young children because they learn this by role but may not understand the concepts.)

IV. Closing the Interview

- A. Praise/thank child for information/cooperation.
- B. Provide information
 1. Child - Do not extract promises from child regarding testifying. Most children cannot project themselves into an unknown situation and predict how they will behave. Questions about testifying in court or under emphasis on trial will have little meaning and often frightens the child (causing nightmares and apprehension).
 2. Parent - Provide simple, straightforward information about what will happen next in the criminal justice system and approximately when, the likelihood of trial, etc.
- C. Enlist cooperation - Let them know who to contact for status reports or in an emergency; express appreciation and understanding for the effort they are making by reporting and following through on process.
- D. Answer questions; solicit responses.
- E. Refer to Sexual Assault Center/Rape Relief for counseling, medical care, advocacy.

EVALUATIONS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICE
TRAINING INVOLVING PSYCHOLOGY

Ray Bull
Peter Horncastle

TEXT

In 1979, Clark (now a professor of criminal justice, who was for many years a captain in the New York police) stated that, "With monotonous regularity we hear of programmes in police-community relations that are brought into being, funded, equipped with human and material resources, vigilantly supervised, having certain effects and consequences on its subjects and operators, and finally ended, to pass into limbo, with no real record available to the rest of the world to scan and learn from prior experience. On the contrary, much the same project is opened up elsewhere the following year, and the same steps are taken. Intricately complex or simple programmes, some with large, even momentous consequences, as well as those with no particular visible effect - all pass on and are forgotten, full of sound and fury and funding, signifying nothing."

In policing it is typically the case that little evaluation is undertaken of the effectiveness of training. As Jaywardene (1982) commented "a large number of studies have limited themselves to a detailed description of programmes designed to produce improvement in the area of concern. From these descriptions the improvement in police function had to be inferred. The studies have claimed an intuitively derived improvement unsubstantiated by objective discernible facts."

In many ways this state of affairs is not surprising. The attendant problems of evaluating anything within an organization are well documented. For instance, it is not always politically expedient for an organization to evaluate itself. Administrators responsible for the implementation of any programme are often unwilling to have their reputations as innovators tarnished by an evaluation. Bringing in research staff from outside the organization

raises problems of access, familiarization and data protection. Most typically, programme administrators do not have a specific set of goals in mind when they propose and implement a training programme. When pinned down as to the goals of a given programme, police administrators typically respond by giving global and unrealistic responses (e.g., 'reducing crime,' 'improving police-community relations' or 'improving interpersonal skills'). The first task of the evaluator is thus to identify, in a clear and specific manner, the exact goals and objectives of the programme to be evaluated. The evaluator should also bear in mind that senior police officers are usually concerned not only with any statistical significance (or non-significance) arising from the evaluation, but also with the practical significance of findings as well. An organization's resistance to change and the evaluator's failure to find 'positive' effects often contribute to reports being placed on the shelf only to be forgotten. Indeed, Weatheritt (1985) stated that "the police have neither looked to research to provide useful information about themselves, nor have they used it to inform their own policy initiatives. Their preference is for action over reflection; and for information which helps to justify their activity rather than turn a critical eye on it." In addition, senior police officers are often reluctant to carry out anything more than an informal, subjective evaluation of a programme because formal testing of individuals can appear threatening. Ironically, it is often the absence of formal testing which causes trainees to undervalue aspects of the training which they have received.

This paper illustrates the extent to which police training programmes and other interventions have been evaluated. (It is not however, intended to provide an exhaustive account of police evaluation research). The programmes and interventions included have been drawn from police forces in both America and Europe. They involve either some form of intervention or training in psychology (or other behavioral science), or the use of techniques derived from such disciplines to evaluate a variety of interventions.

COMMUNITY AND RACE RELATIONS TRAINING

The U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated as long ago as 1967, in the context of community relations training programmes for the police, that "Universities and other groups having experts from various disciplines should be encouraged to develop new techniques and curricula, to run training

programmes and to evaluate them." Twelve years later Clark (1979) stated "the difficulties of evaluation being what they are, there has been practically no realistic evaluations of police-community relations in terms of identifying realistic objectives and measuring the degree to which these objectives have been reached." Similarly, Johnson, Misner, and Brown (1981) concluded that, "after nearly a decade of police-community relations efforts, we may have a national inventory of programmes, but we have very little in the way of properly evaluated programmes." Many such programmes mounted by police departments in the United States during the 1960's and 1970's were hastily established either because it was fashionable to do so, and/or because funding for them was available, and/or because they were viewed as panaceas for increasing unrest in the community. With a few notable exceptions, such training programmes tended to treat community relations as a separate concern from the total police organization and its operations.

Project PACE (Police and Community Enterprise) was a two year police-community relations training and action programme which was conducted in the City of San Francisco between 1969 and 1971. The programme, reported Eisenberg (1973), was designed (i) to identify the critical police-community relations issues as perceived by police and citizens, (ii) to then utilize this attitudinal information and supporting educational materials to expose various myths and misunderstandings which each group endorsed of the other, and (iii) to implement individual and group action programmes designed to improve police-community relationships. The programme proposal articulated four objectives: (a) police and citizen attitude changes; (b) behavioural and institutional changes (e.g., a mechanism for officers to express dissatisfaction with the establishment, recruitment of more minority group officers, a youth education programme, etc.); (c) mass media changes; and (d) programme acceptance by police and community.

Both individual interviews and group-administered questionnaires were used to identify critical police-community relations issues in San Francisco. The interview data yielded 80 specific questions which were distributed in questionnaires to 412 police officers and 346 residents. Similarities and discrepancies in attitudes measured by these questionnaires were identified. Attitudes held in common in various areas, (e.g., the processing of citizen complaints) were used in the subsequent police-resident discussion sessions to serve as a point of similarity and as a basis for entertaining the notion that perhaps police-community relationships could be strengthened. Discrepant

attitudinal positions (e.g., firearms policy) identified areas of curricula research needed to "move" both parties closer together. The ensuing discussion sessions between officers and residents were lead by police and resident leaders, who were recruited, selected, and trained by PACE staff. These sessions were evaluated by participants in two out of the four police districts in which they were held. Evaluations were limited to determining the attitudes of police officers and residents on two different forms. One form consisted of 20 questions which were completed by participants both before and after the discussion session (e.g., "Do you personally respect most black people in the district where you work," and do you personally respect most policemen in this neighborhood?"), and a second form consisted of 12 questions which were completed by the participants only after the discussion sessions. (on this form the PACE programme was evaluated by residents in the first two districts as being the most meaningful and valuable formal police-community relations activity of seven that were listed). Using the first form, several improvements in attitudes were found. Ideas proposed by officers and residents during the surveys and the discussions were translated into action programmes. Ten such programmes were successfully implemented, including a police recruitment strategy whereby officers were involved in recruitment, a drug use and abuse conference, in-service training of experienced patrolmen and sergeants in human and community relations (one-hour training sessions were conducted with approximately 300 men; no PACE evaluations were performed, although departmental-initiated appraisals obtained from the participants were "very favourable"), and recruit training in human and community relations (not evaluated).

Solomon and Visser (1973) reported on the evaluation of an experimental training programme for police-community relations officers funded by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. Three separate projects were initiated at different colleges, each repeated three times for approximately 20 trainees per class. Solomon and Visser's evaluation report focused on the session conducted at San Diego State College. The specific goals of this programme were to (a) teach officers how to analyse communities and identify present and emerging problems of law enforcement, (b) impart knowledge and develop analytical skills for examining responsibilities of law enforcement agencies during a period of rapid social change, (c) to develop analytical skills for examining responsibilities of law enforcement agencies during a period of rapid social change, (c) to develop new approaches to community-police relations based on the knowledge, skills and perceptions gained from this programme, and (d) develop

methods for implementing these approaches and adapting them to the needs of particular police departments. The six week training session (consisting of 134 hours of classroom instruction and 140 hours of field and laboratory experience) gave instruction concerning the values, life style and associated behaviours of various cultures in American society, consideration of the various roles of the police, and a study of the forces producing and accommodating to social change. A pre- and post-test design with matching control group was utilized. A total of 53 officers comprised the training group, the control group consisted of 54 active duty police officers attending classes to enhance their understanding of law enforcement.

Evaluation instruments included:-

(I) Pre-lab Post-lab Inventory

The Pre-lab form of this inventory consisted of 44 items on which subjects rated their behaviour to other people, checking those items which they judged to be accurate descriptions for their present interpersonal and group skills in communication, listening, dealing with feelings, sensitivity, etc. The Post-lab form of the inventory asked respondents to check those skills on which they felt they had improved.

(II) Dimension of Value Test

A test designed to assess the extent to which an individual places value upon (a) acceptance of authority, (b) need-determined expression, (c) equalitarianism, and (d) individualism.

(III) Modified Polarity Scale

A modification of the Tomkins' Polarity Scale was employed to assess an individual's position on a value dimension ranging from humanistic to normative.

(IV) Group Task

Participants were asked on a pre-post basis to form into two groups and to do two things: (a) develop a list by consensus, of ten objectives of a police-community relations department, and (b) rank order the first five of these in terms of importance. Qualitative differences between the two lists so generated were assessed. This procedure was employed only with the trainee group; there were no control group data with which to make a comparison.

(V) Evaluation Interviews

Four trainees were randomly selected at the conclusion of each training session and interviewed by a member of the research staff. Interviews, which were taped and of 15 minutes duration, asked participants

- A. "What is your overall evaluation of the training experience?
What were its strengths?
What were its weaknesses?"
- B. "What are your short-term goals as a community relations officer?
What are your long-range goals?"
- C. "What else would you like to comment on about the last six weeks?"

(VI) Course Evaluations

All participants were asked to complete course evaluation form on which they rated each component of the training programme in terms of (a) topic, (b) presenter, and (c) usefulness.

According to Solomon and Visser, officers in the experimental group evidenced:

- A. A significant improvement in interpersonal and group human relations skills (based on self-ratings);
- B. An increase in a humanistic perspective as opposed to a normative orientation;
- C. Increased acceptance of the need for intra-departmental training and programmes in the area of community relations;
- D. Enhanced appreciation of the tools and knowledge of the behavioural and social sciences and of systematic feedback and evaluation in accessing applied efforts to improve police-community relations;
- E. A greater acceptance of the need for co-operative, participative undertakings wherein police and community undertake joint efforts toward common objectives.

Part of the Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Programme consisted of a series of human relations training sessions involving police and members of the Houston community. Each series of sessions was designed to accommodate 200 police officers and lasted six weeks. The series continued until (approximately) all of the 1,400 strong Houston police force had been exposed to 18 hours of human relations training experiences. Clinical psychologists and other behavioural scientists were employed as group leaders. It was hoped that an atmosphere would be created in which police and community representatives could exchange conflicting views and attitudes. The programme, however, did not run smoothly. Members of the local black community, angry at police behaviour on the streets, did not prove to be easy to recruit to the scheme for fears of reprisal and harassment. Consequently, community involvement fluctuated. One session was attended by several persons impersonating the police. Apart from these and other difficulties, the most difficult problem was a lack of commitment to the goals of the programme by a "substantially vocal and devious body of police officers" (Sikes, 1973) who openly attempted to sabotage the programme by "excessive overt expressions of hostility, refusal to participate, or by endeavors to ridicule other participants." Sikes claimed that rigorous evaluation of the scheme was not possible. Many police officers mutilated or refused to complete an evaluation questionnaire. Of the 800 police and 600 community respondents to the questionnaire, 85% of the police rated it either "good", "very good" or "excellent" and 93% of the community rated it "good," "very good" or "excellent."

Bieliauskas and Hellkamp (1973) reported on how an approach was made to them by Cincinnati Police Department in 1966 requesting the development of a programme for training all their officers in community awareness. The original decision to rely primarily upon the T-group method was modified so much that it was re-named "training and interpersonal relations" in order not to confuse it with sensitivity training. Supervisory personnel underwent the training prior to patrol officers. Although the original target for training was the Cincinnati Police Department, most of the training time after the first year included the training of virtually all police officers in four Southwestern Ohio counties - representing over 1,500 personnel from about 30 law enforcement agencies. The training was given on a three-day basis for groups of 25 to 40 officers at a time. The training had three aims: (i) to help trainees become more effective in interpersonal relations in general; (ii) to develop a better understanding of the policeman's role in contemporary society and to become acquainted with behavioural science techniques used

in training communication and leadership, and (iii) to become personally involved in police-community relations problems through the experience of problem solving and the preparation of recommendations (supervisory personnel only). Each three-day session was planned to promote minimum time for lectures and maximum time for discussion and small group activities. Bieliauskas and Hellkamp claim that evaluations of these sessions over a four-year period show that they had "been making an impact upon (their) trainees." Trainees were required to complete a questionnaire regarding their 'pre' and 'post' training attitudes towards police community relations at the completion of each workshop. (Note that pre-training data were collected retrospectively.) Items on the questionnaire included "degree of understanding why I do what I do" and "willingness to see closer personal relationships with members of other cultural groups than my own." Overall, ratings in the survey indicated some favourable changes in attitudes (at least for the duration of the sessions.) In a second survey, police supervisors' attitudes towards minority groups showed an overall positive shift when they were analyzed on an actual before and after basis. On the other hand, the attitudes of the line officers showed (but for one exception) no significant changes in the same survey. Community attitudes towards the police in Cincinnati were measured in 1968 and then again in 1969. Citizens were required to rate police on 16 items (e.g., "efficiency," "politeness," "deserving respect"), and in the time interval between the two surveys, they workshops with the police supervisors in Cincinnati were completed. Some small significant (positive) changes in attitude were found. For instance, in the 1969 survey, respondents felt that they knew the police being considered as less efficient, not understanding people as well in their area, and not being fair and impartial. How far these changes could have been due to other factors apart from the training remains unclear.

Somers (1982) outlined a programme in which officers participated in an intensive programme of Spanish language training, cultural awareness and law-enforcement related simulations. No firm data are provided in terms of programme evaluation, although several comments are made concerning the programme's acceptability (e.g., it "assisted in decreasing the stress factors between law-enforcement officers and the Hispanic community, improved the image of Hispanics and law-enforcement officers and improved human relations....," and "...the community service capability of law enforcement officers to the Hispanic community has increased as a result of the programme.")

A special training model designed by the Human Resources Institute of Westport, Connecticut called "The Police Community Awareness Laboratory" (PCAL) is referred to in a study reported by Singer (1975). The model was developed around practical day-to-day human problems in the community. Material from the press and from cases furnished by the participants themselves were used as "action triggers" to provoke discussion and analysis of local problems, and to give participants an insight into conflict resolution. A total of 300 police officers (of all grades) and 150 civilians took part in the fifteen-hour programme. The civilians were volunteers from community agencies and other sources (youth, drug rehabilitation and minority organizations were represented). Prior to the programme, a battery of questionnaires was given to the police officers in order to measure their attitudes towards self, youth, minority members, peers, civil rights and violence. A re-testing of officers' attitudes occurred at the conclusion of the programme. Singer states that, "The PCAL developed by Human Resources Institute confirmed that some improvement in awareness and in attitude do take place." This assertion was based on some significant (positive) changes on several scales concerned with self, Puerto Ricans and youth, although there was some evidence of prevailing bias against black minority groups. Officers rated the course as "above average" when compared to other programmes they had attended.

Reactions to the paucity of effective evaluations of police training in the USA have been mirrored in Great Britain. The Report of the Police Training Council Working Party commented in 1983 that, "There is, unfortunately no evidence available that will fully answer the question off what, if any, is the effect of the race and community relations training presently given to the police service in this country." The report also noted that the community and race relations components of initial training which occurred at Home Office regional training centres (and often later during in-force training) was, unlike most other topics in the curriculum, unexamined. Southgate (1982) carried out a series of interviews and observations of police work and training in the Chapeltown sub-division of the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police. He found that police officers found it difficult to remember anything about their training in race relations or its effects. The objectives of race relations training for probationer officers appeared to be "vague if not non-existent, with no consensus among senior officers and trainers as to what is to be learned." The Police Training Council Working Party also noted that, "Equally pressing is the need to introduce racism

awareness training. We recommended that such training is introduced without delay initially in a number of force areas and that a pilot study is made of its impact." Southgate (1984) conducted such an investigation by studying four three-day courses presented by three groups of trainers familiar with racism awareness training but who were not police officers. All the course participants completed a short end-of-course questionnaire. Southgate noted that the evaluative information gained from such initial reactions is at best limited and although he pointed out that, "longer term attitude or behaviour changes are notoriously difficult to measure even under the most tightly controlled experimental conditions," this should really be no excuse in policing for failing to conduct more effective evaluation. Many officers appeared dissatisfied and unhappy with the courses. Southgate noted that the learners and teachers failed to reach a consensus as to why they had come together and what they should be doing. Part of this failure was attributed to the trainers not placing the learning in relevant contexts and the learners not seeing the teaching as relevant to their needs. An important point regarding police training concerns the extent to which it can afford to be seen as something others wish to impose on the police rather than something requested by the police themselves. One of the crucial drawbacks of these courses was that some of the trainers were perceived as being hostile to the police and knowing little about policing.

GENERAL 'AWARENESS' and COMMUNICATION SKILLS TRAINING

Pfister (1975) reported a study conducted in the Seattle Police Department which provided forty-eight officers with a intensive six-day "communication orientation" workshop. Twenty-six other officers who did not receive the training acted as a control group. The allocation of officers to the two groups, because of administrative difficulties, was not completely random. The Edwards Personal Profile Inventory was administered before and after the training to both groups, and questionnaire responses were obtained before and after the programme from residents who had non-adversive (no arrests or citations) contact with the officers in both groups. The "experimental" officers were reported by residents after training as significantly more warm and sincere, behaving more as co-workers, and leaving the citizens generally more satisfied with the contact. "Controls" were reported as communicating little understanding, treating the individual more like a "case" than a person, and generally leaving the citizens more frustrated. The "experimental" officers

described themselves as significantly more self-understanding as well as more critical of others.

With the growing trend in America in the 1970's towards decriminalizing public intoxication through alcohol. Rivers and Pipher (1978) set about developing a college-level course for police officers in Lincoln, Nebraska, designed to provide them with an understanding of alcohol problems and to change their attitudes and behaviour toward the alcohol abuser. A "Police Course on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism" was structured around twelve lectures and small group activities which followed the lectures. In addition to the classroom lessons, 25 participants visited five local alcohol agencies and were required to write a paper describing how they, as police officers, could more effectively use these agencies as a support source in their work. The evaluation of the course was primarily based on comparisons of pre- and post-training questionnaires designed to measure attitude changes and certain behavioural changes (such as numbers of referrals to alcohol agencies). To aid the evaluation, a roughly equivalent comparison group composed of officers not taking the course was established by asking class officers to choose a "brother" officer who had similar duties, outlook on life, and rank to themselves. Participants (as compared to "brother" controls) saw the alcoholic as less to blame and more likely to improve, and they thought the alcoholic should be dealt with less severely. Class members also showed a significant increase in referrals to alcohol treatment agencies when pre- and post-class measures were compared.

Steiner (1985) described a course in leadership training and an integrated introduction to psychology for Swiss police officers with at least ten year's service. The main goals of the training programme were (i) to help officers understand the meaning of leadership, (ii) to know what the crucial processes in leadership are, (iii) to practice the most important leadership skills and to help officers acquire some ability to execute them, (iv) to design a personal self-pacing programme in leadership over a four to six month period, and (v) to be able to discuss leadership problems more frankly with colleagues. A variety of training techniques were used including structured role-plays of critical leadership incidents, videofeedback, and an integrated course of relevant theoretical issues drawn from psychology. Six months after the course, a follow-up, half-day session took place to evaluate the course as well as to help analyze officers' individual experiences in the interim period. Steiner abstained from formal testing of the course participants, claiming that this would have

appeared too threatening during the course and would have ruined the good relationships fostered between trainer and trainee. The (subjective) evaluation revealed that officers reported an enhanced ability to cope with "difficult" partners, greater ease to verbally express their emotions (e.g., distress, anger, disappointment), and an increase in their ability to communicate effectively with senior officers. The lease progress reported was from some officers who claimed that they still lacked a verbal fluency in stressful or difficult encounters.

Adams (1985) reported on a communication skills training programme for recruits in the East Midlands. The course, set up in 1982, aimed (i) to promote the view that communication skills can be learned and that acquisition and improvement of such skills can facilitate everyday policing, (ii) to illustrate that such skills can be improved by practice, analysis and feedback which can be an ongoing process, and (iii) to offer a model within which behavior in a variety of situations can be analyzed. The course lasted one day and took place for recruit constables shortly before they went onto the streets (with a tutor constable) for the first time. The main training format consisted of a series of role plays in which officers were required to intervene and control situations using techniques of assertiveness rather than aggression and hostility. No formal evaluation of the effectiveness of this training has taken place.

Michael (1972) formulated a programme in social science education for police officers in Missouri. The programme was formulated by modifying an existing programme which had focused on the technical aspects of law enforcement. The new programme presented technical features and added material dealing with social science principles and theories. The thrust of the programme was threefold: technical training, 12 weeks; classroom instruction in social science, 40 hours; and situational training, 80 hours. The situational training was a modification and combination of socio-psychodrama, situation testing, and role playing. The trainees were officers and recruits and the classes were divided into four groups. Group 1 received only the twelve weeks technical training whereas Groups 2, 3, and 4 received, in addition to the technical training, forty hours of social science and eighty hours of situational training. Classroom performance was evaluated by a preliminary test and a final test. (The content of the two tests was identical.) The data indicated that those trainees taking part in the social science programme were rated as more respectful, courteous, pleasant, and sincere

than those not receiving the programme. They were also rated as having available to them more ways of handling situations than those who had not taken part in the programme. Furthermore, Group 1 officers received more complaints during the first six months after leaving the training unit than the combined complaints received for Groups 2, 3, and 4. No complaints of verbal abuse were made against any trainee from the social science programme. Relying primarily on observations of performance of trainees during situational training, predictions were made of post-training performance for 24 trainees. These predictions were made for performance categories of brutality, procedure and conduct, resignation and injury. Although the sample size used was small, instructors continued to make predictions of post-training performance in the above categories with 95% accuracy. As trainees completed training, they were assigned to a field supervisor. Analysis of the supervisors' reports for the study groups indicated that the reports did not discriminate between performance or allow one to determine with any degree of precision what the performance was.

CRISIS INTERVENTION TRAINING

In modern urban societies, social mobility has placed many nuclear families in geographical settings distant from parents, relatives, and neighbors who could be counted on to mediate a domestic dispute effectively. This has resulted in a situation where the police are increasingly called upon to act as negotiators in domestic disputes. Bard (1970) was the first to suggest that police officers could gain the competence to deal with such problems in a relatively short time period, and he was responsible for pioneering the first project in family crisis training for police officers in New York City. The project focused on six evaluative criteria and had slightly disappointing results. It was hypothesized that, in comparison with a control precinct, in an experimental precinct of trained officers, (i) the number of family disturbance complaints would decrease (there were, in fact, three times as many in the control precinct); (ii) the number of repeat interventions for trained officers would decrease (there were more); (iii) homicides would be reduced in number; (iv) family homicides would reduce in number (there was an increase of 3½% in the number of homicides in the control precinct and an increase in family homicides in the experimental precinct compared with no change in the control); (v) assaults would decrease; and (vi) injuries to police officers would be reduced (fewer assaults were found in the demonstration precinct than the control precinct).

Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie (1973) claimed that a similar family crisis intervention programme which they ran for 12 officers in Louisville, Kentucky, was a success. Concentrating on psychosocial criteria, Driscoll *et al.* found that officers who attended their 125-hour programme reported an increased understanding of family problems, greater acceptance of themselves by citizens, heightened receptivity to their suggestions, a decrease in the use of force, and an increase in overall effectiveness. In post-critical incident telephone interviews, citizens dealt with by trained officers (as compared to those dealt with by untrained officers) reported greater rapport between themselves and officers, greater involvement of officers, more satisfaction with the intervention and an increased regard for the police.

Phelps, Schwartz, and Liebman (1971), in considering training in crisis intervention for police officers in Richmond, California, decided against training a specialist team, but instead provided training for the entire patrol division. Reasons for this were (i) a desire to avoid 'elitism'; (ii) an awareness that all officers will occasionally handle critical incidents such as family fights; (iii) an unwillingness to 'lock in' specialists who might then be unable to pursue the usual promotional and training opportunities; and (iv) a recognition that the nature of police-community relations is often shaped by the crucial role the police play in intervening in family fights, thus providing a rationale for training all uniformed officers in this area. The training consisted of approximately 14 hours in-class training, along with a comparable time for background reading. Assignments involving practice with the new skills supplemented these activities. The emphasis in the training programme was on teaching concrete, learnable skills which could be employed in real-life situations. Videotaped feedback of officers' performance was given during the practical sessions. No formal evaluation of the programme was carried out, but Phelps *et al.* reported that, "The reactions of the uniformed officers to this programme was generally favourable." They stated that during the course of the training sessions "most of the men became involved, receptive, and enthusiastic, although a small number (perhaps fifteen per cent) remained negative and unwilling to give the new techniques a chance."

The Dayton Police department was selected as a 'pilot city' by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (U.S. Justice Department) in an effort to stimulate imaginative and innovative police programmes. Barocas and Katz (1971) described Dayton's crisis

intervention programme which was run by a group of psychologists to provide intensive police training in dealing with youth, family and community contacts. The training was given to 43 patrolmen, four sergeants and a lieutenant. They were provided with a three-week, full-time training course including one week of police investigative training, a one-week exposure to the community and its service agencies, and one week of group workshops highlighting crisis intervention training. The course involved role-play exercises, videofeedback and the use of actors and actresses from the community. Officers had emphasized to them that the programme was not designed to convert them into social workers or psychotherapists, but to increase their overall effectiveness, to reduce the risk of potential injury, and to promote police-community relations through a better understanding of the causal factors of crisis situations. Officers were assigned to a mixed ethnic and socio-economic district where team policing had been introduced. Built into the project was a fifteen-week follow-up session involving two-hour, small group discussions of crisis intervention cases with a focus on the officers' approach and their psychological understanding of factors contributing to the conflict, together with their personal reactions and feelings about the intervention. Writing in 1971, Barocas and Katz commented that, "At this point it is too early for a full evaluation of the training programme" and so such evaluation ever seems to have been conducted.

A family crisis unit was formed in the Lowell, Massachusetts Police Department in the 1970's. The training in crisis intervention was initially designed in order to train ten experienced officers in the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for effective family crisis intervention (Katz, 1973). The training consisted of two phases. Phase one, the "input" phase, consisted of eight days designed to cover the basic knowledge and skill areas necessary for effective family crisis intervention (e.g., tactics to ensure physical safety of the officer and the disputants, interviewing skills, factors affecting the balance of the family, principles of human behaviour, referral agencies, and self-awareness). The training involved role-play and videofeedback, together with a facilitative teaching style. Participants spent a day in a social agency. Phase two was essentially an evaluation phase which began immediately after the officers were back in uniform and out on patrol. The trainers met with the trainees an average of five hours a week (every alternate week) over a 26-week period. Trainers watched the trainees' method and style of intervention in critical crisis incidents and were able to offer the officers constructive criticism about their behaviour. No 'hard' evaluative data was collected.

Liebman and Schwartz (1973) summarized 14 training programmes in family crisis intervention. The programmes were broadly grouped into three categories: the New York approach, the Richmond, California approach, and the Oakland approach. In reviewing the evaluations of such schemes, they conclude that meaningful evaluation of crisis intervention programmes "is a recurrent failure theme in the review of various programmes. No Family Crisis Intervention (FCI) project to date has been adequately evaluated. Even a modest evaluation must be based on empirical techniques and provide answers to relevant questions (e.g., will FCI training reduce repeat calls?). Citizen reaction cannot be ignored in an evaluation in this area, nor can it be the sole avenue of research. Crime reduction, injury reduction, referral information, officer acceptance and more must be included if the evaluation is to be comprehensive, and behavioural research skills are a prerequisite if the evaluation is to be rigorous and reliable."

EVALUATING RECRUIT TRAINING; ATTITUDES AND THE "POLICE PERSONALITY

Teasley and Wright (1973) found that the dogmatism and conservatism scores of 45 Tennessee recruits (33 of whom had some prior police officer experience) increased (the former significantly) during an eight, week, full-time initial training course which stressed the law enforcement aspects of policing and which contained little on human relations. They pointed out in the early 1970's that there were being made proposals to include much more human awareness topics in police training, but they argued that such training "might prove fruitless." "They call for police, on the one hand, to 'control' the law enforcement function, and on the other hand, to generate 'support.' In essence, it may be impossible for one person to do both. Attempts to force the same policeman or even the same organization to perform both functions may only lead to increased conflict and division, both in the individual and in the department." They concluded that, "Even if training were significantly altered, e.g., by using human relations, etc., its effects would probably be minimal," and that, "It seems evident that changing the attitudes of police cannot be accomplished by an external institution, e.g., a training academy, without modifications in other parts of the police system."

Reese (1973) investigated the effect of police academy training (in human relations, community relations, and areas of interpersonal communication) on the level of racial prejudice in recruits from the Los Angeles Police

Academy. An attitude-behaviour scale was constructed in six parts, each measuring a "level of attitude." It could be semantically restructured to measure either white's attitudes towards blacks or vice-versa. The scale was administered on a 'before' and 'after' basis and it revealed that (a) little or no change took place in racial attitudes as a result of the basic training in the police academy, (b) there was a significant worsening of attitude at the behavioural level after recruits had received a one-month field training session, and (c) following the fifth phase of five months academy training, there was a worsening of attitudes at all levels of the scale. The fifth month, paradoxically, was the one in which almost the entire emphasis was on human relations, community relations and interpersonal communication. Reese explained the results in terms of dissonance which was brought about for the recruit by apparent diversity between the militaristic type of training which predominated in the academy, and the human relations material which was merely appended to the main course. Reese claimed that it did not seem unreasonable to suggest that when the "humanities" topics were introduced the recruits sensed the alteration not only in content, but also in the method of presentation of the material, and that this could have set up psychological discomfort/dissonance which caused the recruits to opt in favour of retaining their more rigid concepts with which they had become more secure and comfortable.

Butler and Tharme (1981) investigated the extent to which recruit training in the West Midlands encouraged and strengthened personal attitudes and values which are appropriate to policing. Ninety-six police recruits at a District Training Center were administered a variety of tests at the start (week 1) and at the end (week 10) of their initial training. The questionnaires which were used included a short life history questionnaire giving biographical details, the Rokeach Value Survey, Rotter's Locus of Control scale, and two questionnaires which had been designed specifically for the study (one which was thought to measure prejudicial attitudes and another, the Group Perception Questionnaire, which consisted of a variety of semantic differentials upon which recruits had to evaluate various white and ethnic minority groups). The main findings were that (a) there was no significant change in officers' value systems as a result of initial training, (b) significant changes on the 'prejudice' scale occurred with recruits expressing more prejudice at the end of their training, and (c) certain other changes did occur during the recruit training period (e.g., the white minority groups 'tinkers,' 'criminals,' and 'homosexuals' were perceived

more favourably, but as far as black minority groups were concerned, there was either no change (from initial unfavorable attitudes), or where changes did occur, the trend was towards more unfavorable perceptions): Butler and Tharme concluded that the structure, content, and presentation of lessons in community relations was unlikely to have any significant long-term influence on police officers' values, attitudes, or opinions.

In subsequent research in 1982 (using similar methodology), Butler found that a modified form of Associated Police Studies lessons did not have any more effect on recruits' attitudes and perceptions than did the previous course. Differences were found between the attitudes and perceptions of recruits and those of experienced constables with more than five years service, with the latter group demonstrating more unfavorable responses.

Colman and Gorman (1982) administered a demographic questionnaire, the Wilson-Patterson Attitude Inventory, Eysenck's Social and Political Attitude Inventory, Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale and the Lee-Warr Balanced 'P' Scale to 48 recruits, 36 probationers, and 30 control subjects, somewhat matched with the police groups in terms of socio-economic status. Subjects also gave open-ended responses to questions on controversial issues including the "death penalty," "coloured immigration," and "mixed marriages." Compared with control subjects, the recruits' and probationers' scores were significantly more conservative and authoritarian. Probationers' open-ended responses on the death penalty and coloured immigration were rated as significantly more illiberal/intolerant. Following basic training, recruits displayed a reduction in conservatism and dogmatism. Coleman and Gorman suggested that the police force attracted conservative and authoritarian personalities, that such traits were temporarily liberalized by basic training, but that continued police service resulted in increasingly illiberal and intolerant attitudes towards coloured immigration.

Butler (1982) made the following points concerning the Colman and Gorman study, (i) the average score of the recruits was lower (i.e., more tolerant) than the control sample on "coloured immigration" and "mixed marriages"; (ii) the only significant difference between recruits and controls were on the Wilson-Paterson Attitude Inventory (recruits were more conservative) and on the Lee-Warr Balanced P-Scale (recruits were more authoritarian). Further analysis, in fact, showed that the latter difference

only applied to female officers. (Butler claimed that it thus seemed unreasonable for Coleman and Gorman to suggest that, "the Police Force tends to attract to it people who are more conservative and authoritarian than those of comparable socio-economic status in other occupations"); and (iii) there was a failure to control for the effect of educational attainment on psychological tests. (Using the raw data found in Gorman (1978), Butler compared test scores of subjects with no educational qualifications and those with qualifications higher than 'A'-Level. It was found that there were statistically significant differences on the Wilson-Patterson Inventory, the Eysenck Social and Political Attitudes Inventory, the Lee-Warr Balanced P-Scale and the question relating to the death penalty).

Brown and Willis (1985) conducted a study to examine the formation and development of authoritarianism in British police officers in order to see whether authoritarianism attitudes were (i) 'imported' into the service, (ii) developed through the police socialization process, or (iii) brought about as a result of an interaction between (i) and (ii) above. Their study had three objectives, (i) to see whether police recruits were more or less authoritarian than a control group of fire officers at the point of entry into service; (ii) to see whether levels of police authoritarianism were influenced by the experience of initial training; and (iii) to assess the effect on authoritarianism of exposure to practical on-the-beat policing. Byrne's balanced F-Scale was administered initially during the first week of police or fire officer training. Seventy-three recruit officers from a northern police force were used, 35 from a southern force, together with 16 fire officers. The scale was next administered between 12 and 13 weeks after recruitment (at the end of the initial training period); and finally after three months of work experience. The authoritarianism scores at recruitment offered little support for the view that the police force attracts a particularly authoritarian personality type. Policed officers' scores did not differ significantly from those of fire officers. More support was offered for the socialization hypothesis since levels of authoritarianism did appear to be influenced by initial recruit training - in a downward direction. (This supports the findings of Colman and Gorman (1982)). However, the demands of operational policing appeared to be associated with increased authoritarianism, since after three months of work experience the police scores had risen to their initial level, further supporting the socialization hypothesis. Thus, in the police officers' occupational socialization, recruitment variables appear unimportant, whilst initial

training may, despite its sometimes rather militaristic character, depress authoritarianism. Brown and Willis suggested that the current preoccupation with the screening out of prejudiced recruits may therefore be unnecessary. However, practical police experience did seem to generate illiberalism, albeit more so in the northern than the southern force.

ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM

In 1971, the Dallas Police Department, in association with the Police Foundation (USA), began a human resource development programme which was intended to produce vast organizational change and personnel enhancement. The study represented the Police Foundation's first major grant award and underlined their commitment to evaluation research as a major instrument of improvement in policing. The complex programme included the upgrading of the educational level of police officers, recruiting women and members of minority groups, validating police selection and promotion criteria, providing horizontal career development opportunities for patrol officers, decentralizing administrative and strategic decision making to levels more closely in touch with community and neighborhood needs, and policing by teams of officers trained to serve as generalist patrol officers who would also be enabled to acquire specialist skills such as investigation and conflict management. Although the programmes were phased in over a three-year period, the changes were department-wide and were accomplished within a five-year period. The evaluation of the overall programme began in 1971 and was completed in 1976. The evaluation design included panel surveys of department personnel in 1973 and 1976 to determine attitudinal changes over time and the use of personal record information to determine behavioural changes. Although the original plan was to observe police officers in action as a primary method of noting behaviour change, the idea was later abandoned as a result of programme changes. Similarly, a planned community survey was also excluded from the final evaluation design.

The survey data were used to assess the attainment of four goals. The goals, with indicators of each are as follows:

1. To recruit, retain and promote officers different from those already in the department.

Indicators

- (a) Increased educational attainment.
 - (b) Increased minority representation (ethnic and sexual).
 - (c) Increased numbers of personnel with a cosmopolitan background.
 - (d) Increased discretion and tolerance of ambiguity.
 - (e) Improved attitudes and values.
2. To increase officer satisfaction.

Indicators

- (a) Decreased isolation and alienation of officers.
 - (b) Increased job satisfaction.
3. To increase the importance of human relations and public service functions.

Indicators

- (a) Questionnaire items measuring attitudes towards these functions.
4. To increase professionalism.

Indicators

- (a) Increase status of the patrol force.
- (b) Increase educational attainment.
- (c) Increase importance of peer evaluation.
- (d) Decrease isolation and alienation.
- (e) Increase job commitment.
- (f) Changed work orientations.

Although the educational level of recruits and police officers rose considerably, together with a significant increase in the absolute number of women

officers, few positive shifts in officers' attitudes took place. Using information from various department records (e.g., sick time, frequency of weapons being fired, number of complaints, and supervisor's ratings) it was found that police behaviour did not appear to change during the three-year period. In discussing the programme, Wycoff and Kelling (1978) stated that, "it is conceivable that the department might have been better able to handle project planners and implementation had the five-year plan not been so broad in scope....the goals of the Dallas programme were meritorious and the methods to achieve those public service goals were visionary."

Toch, Grant, and Galwin (1975) described an attempt by a university community (State University of New York at Albany) and a municipal police department (Oakland Police Department, California) to reform the quality of police service provided to the citizens of Oakland. A three-year project was undertaken in an attempt to reduce the amount of interpersonal violence in police-citizen contacts. The programme was designed to proceed through cumulative, gradually recycling stages. In the tradition of organizational development teams, a small group of seven officers were tasked to investigate the extent of the problem of police-citizen violence, and through the development of a formal research inquiry, to create problem-solving groups. The 'second generation' of officers included the original officers as 'staff,' academics as consultants and 18 violence-prone patrol officers as 'trainees.' Provisions were made for a control group to test the hypothesis that the programme would affect behaviour on the street.. The project also stressed self-study and research. The self-study component enabled officers to discuss critical incidents within a problem-solving framework. In keeping with most schools of psychotherapy, the project team assumed that as participants learned (through non-threatening exploration) that their behaviour had failed or strayed from departmental goals, they could explore and experience goal-directed options which could be personal, organization-directed or (usually) both. Critical Incident Questionnaires were administered to discover where members of the department stood insofar as their street behaviour was concerned. Participants were given the opportunity to tape record their own handling of calls such as family disputes. Further self-analysis assisted the 'taped' officer in understanding his responses and, if necessary, in analysing flaws in his performance. Both the Critical Incident Questionnaire and the library of tapes became important features in departmental training programmes.

During many of their discussions, group members indicated their belief that some officers became violence-prone because they were assigned for initial training to officers who themselves had problems with violence. Consequently, they chose as a work project the design of a more appropriate Field Training Programme. As far as the recruit training programme was concerned, the Chief of Oakland Police Department felt that the work did a relatively good job in the technical aspects of policing, but that it was far more successful in giving the recruit officer a sound basis for his work in areas of interpersonal and community relations. As a result, the amount of time spent training recruits in community-police relations was increased from 53 to 157 instructional hours. The approach to training was changed from a militaristic, rigid lecture-based format to a more facilitative style, with recruit officers attending most of the course dressed in civilian attire. Role plays with videofeedback were introduced as a training aid, with local actors and actresses being recruited to add a degree of realism. Recruits also began to participate in community field experience and served a brief internship in a social or criminal justice agency.

The subjective evaluation of the project (through observation and interview) showed that there were generally favourable impressions of the training. Trained officers showed a solidarity based not on an 'us' and 'they' dichotomy, but upon a philosophy that they were a well-trained group of police officers who had a responsibility to 'their' community. There was a mixed response to the community-police relations training, although overall officers were supportive of the relaxed learning environment. A vast majority of experienced officers felt that the recruits were well prepared after completing training, but several stated that the recruits were more aware of what not to do rather than what to do. Subsequent cohorts of officers felt less positive about the programme than their predecessors described above. Many Field Training Officers were generally unenthusiastic about the recruit school. A majority of them felt that the 'new' officers were too cautious. On a more positive and objective note, however, citizen-officer conflicts were reduced by half of the seven first-generation officers following their participation in the project. There was also a significant reduction in citizen complaints dealing with the use of force.

Vastola (1982) reported on the New York Police Departments' basic management training for sergeants. In the NYPD, the police academy provided initial preparatory

training for the newly-promoted sergeant. Each sergeant attended a four-week basic management training course (EMOC) before assignment to field duties. The EMOC curriculum encompassed a wide variety of academic, procedural, and technical subjects including contemporary management theory, behavioural science concepts (stress and crisis intervention, for example), application of proper communication skills, and agency-related procedural and legal matters. The academy staff encouraged feedback from EMOC students through several avenues of communication (during classroom sessions and informal discussions, and through written course examination). As a "final administrative matter" (six) students were asked to complete a detailed, confidential critique of the EMOC and to suggest ways to improve quality. At times, the academy also distributed questionnaires to its EMOC graduates after they had spent some time in the field. The main purpose of this was said to be to obtain feedback on the relevance of the EMOC to the working supervisor. No publication seems yet to have presented details of this evaluation's outcome.

FOOT PATROL PROGRAMMES

Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, and Brown (1974) attempted one of the first extensive scientific evaluations of the value of visible police patrol. The year-long experiment (which ran from 1972-1973) tested the effectiveness of the traditional police strategy of routine preventive patrol and sought to determine whether the resources in the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department ordinarily allocated to preventive patrol could safely be devoted to other, perhaps more productive strategies. It had been suggested that traditional routine preventive patrol seemed to have little impact either on the level of crime or on the public's feeling of security. Three controlled levels of routine preventive patrol were used in the experimental areas. One area, termed 'reactive,' received no preventive patrol. Officers entered the area only in response to citizen calls for assistance (this in effect substantially reduced police visibility in that area). In the second area, called 'proactive,' police visibility was increased on two to three times its usual level. In the third area, termed 'control' the normal level of patrol was maintained. Each area comprised five beats, thus making a total of 15 beats. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of preventive patrol, a variety of measures were taken on a before and after basis. These included:

(i) Departmental Statistics

- Reported crime data.
- Traffic accident data (non-injury and injury (fatality)).
- Arrest data.
- Computer dispatch data.
- Officer activity analysis data.
- personnel records.

(ii) Interviews and Recorded Observations

- 'Player' Observations.
- Officer interviews.
- Participant observer interviews.
- Participant observer transaction recordings (977 incidents of police-citizen transactions were systematically recorded).

(iii) Surveys and Questionnaires

- Community survey (which measured community victimisation rates, attitudes, and fear).
- Commercial survey (which measured commercial victimisation rates and businessmen's perceptions of and satisfaction with the police service).
- Police-public encounter survey (citizens).
- Police public encounter survey (officers).
- Police-public encounter survey (observers).
- Noncommitted time survey (which determined how officers typically spent their noncommitted time and the effects of the experimental conditions upon allocation of noncommitted time).
- Response time survey (observers).
- Response time survey (citizens).
- Officer questionnaire (to determine officers' attitudes towards patrol).

- Human Resources Development Questionnaire (which was administered department-wide), and
- Discussions with academy training personnel.

The main experimental findings indicated that decreasing or increasing routine preventive patrol had no effect on crime, on citizen fear of crime, on community attitudes toward the police in the delivery of police service, on police response time or on traffic accidents. Joseph McNamara, Chief of Kansas City Police, stated at the time that, "It would be a grave error to assume that this study implies in any way that fewer police officers are needed in any specific jurisdiction. We believe that the preventive patrol experiment suggests that deployment strategies should be based on specific crime prevention and service goals as opposed to routine preventive patrol."

Although it is impressive in many ways, the Kansas City study has not been without criticism (Davis and Knowles, 1976). One problem in the design of the study was that some of the areas were quite narrow and bordered on areas with a different patrol strategy. Thus, persons might not notice differences in the visibility of police if there were fewer police in a reactive zone, but a greater number of police in a proactive zone only a few blocks away. A second criticism of the study is that the actual behaviour of the officers assigned to patrol was not monitored. It is not clear exactly how the additional officers spent their time.

An evaluation of foot patrol in Newark was carried out by the Police Foundation (USA) during the period 1976-1979 as part of a larger evaluation of a unique programme (The Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program) which provided funds for foot patrol officers, and for upgrading and stabilizing neighborhoods in 28 cities in new Jersey by (i) expanding the presence and visibility of police protection and increasing the number of walking police officers in high crime neighborhoods, and (ii) by providing resources to assist in upgrading the physical appearance of these neighborhoods. Three designs were used to evaluate the effects of foot patrol. The first design compared the attitudes of officers assigned to foot patrol with those of officers assigned to motor patrol in all 28 cities receiving state funding for foot patrol. In one city, Elizabeth, two basic patterns of foot patrol existed. Some areas had steady foot patrol coverage both before and after the Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program began. Other areas had no foot patrol coverage before the program began. The levels

of reported crime before and after foot patrol coverage was implemented were compared in those two types of areas. Finally, in Newark eight beats were identified as being consistently foot patrolled since the beginning of the programme. These beats were matched into four sets of two beats each based on the number of residential and nonresidential units found on each beat. Out of each pair of beats, one beat was randomly assigned to continue foot patrol while foot patrol was discontinued in another. In addition, foot patrol was implemented in four areas which had not had it before. Outcome measures included reported crime, arrests and victimization, fear and satisfaction of residents, and reports from representatives of commercial establishments.

Residents were found to be aware of levels of foot patrol although crime levels (as measured by a victimization survey and reported crime) were not significantly affected for residents or commercial respondents. However, residents in beats where foot patrol was added did see the severity of crime problems diminishing in their neighborhoods. (Commercial respondents reported a different pattern, but most of these were not directly exposed to the foot patrol experiment.) The findings which emerged from the study gave the general impression that while foot patrol may not have a significant effect on crime, it does affect citizens fear of crime, the protective measures they take to avoid it, and the perceived safety of the neighborhoods. In general, when foot patrol is added, citizens' fear of typical street crimes seem to go down and generalized feelings of personal safety go up.

The Flint, Michigan, Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program was implemented in 1976 in response to two problems that were deemed to be hindrances to effective crime prevention, (i) the lack of comprehensive neighborhood organization and crime prevention involvement, and (ii) the lack of personal contact and interaction between city police officers and community residents. It was believed that the implementation of a properly conceived neighborhood foot patrol programme could initiate organized community involvement in crime prevention while at the same time serving as a basis for improved police/community relations. Fourteen target neighborhoods were established as experimental areas, covering both residential and commercial properties. Staff from Michigan State University carried out an evaluation of the programme. As Trojanowicz (1983) reports, four main methods of evaluation were used:

- (i) Personal Interviews (conducted with community residents, block club leaders, business people, foot patrol officers, motorized officers and others).
 - (ii) Crime statistics.
 - (iii) Monitoring of officers' reports and patrols.
 - (iv) Media content analysis (relevant editorials, to the editor appearing in local newspapers were analyzed).
- (i) Crime rates and calls for service were reduced and citizens believed that crime was down, attributing this decrease to the programme.
 - (ii) Almost 70% of the citizens interviewed during the final year of the study felt safer.
 - (iii) Over 64% of residents interviewed during the final year of the study were satisfied with the programme.
 - (iv) Foot patrol officers were able to perform certain traditional police functions more efficiently and more economically than were motorized officers.
 - (v) There were clear signs of an improvement in police-community relations as a result of the programme.

A large-scale evaluation of Neighborhood Policing in London and Surrey is currently being conducted by the Police Foundation (U.K.). The Neighborhood Policing Project (which commenced in January 1982 emphasizes prevention of the service element of traditional policing. A redirection of police effort toward increased community involvement carries its own penalty in terms of the cost of police resources used, thus an important part of the project is concerned with police efficiency and effectiveness. Key elements of the project which were introduced at 'experimental' police stations in London and Surrey included:

Elements of demand management e.g., graded response, dedicated communications staff and case screening for the C.I.D.;

Elements of resource enhancement e.g., Permanent Beat Officers and increased recruitment to the Special Constabulary;

Community involvement and interagency cooperation e.g., closer liaison with Victim Support Schemes, victimology training, specialist crime prevention training, the establishment of Neighborhood Watch Schemes, and a widening of the size of the Schools Involvement Programme.

Organizational structure and function: Before the above elements could be introduced, necessary changes had to be made to the organizational structure within stations where Neighborhood Policing was to be implemented. A vital precursor to interaction with the community is an internal management structure with efficient two-way 'vertical' communication. Revised management systems were supplemented by working parties designed to identify short-term problems, research problems identified by any tier in the management structure, and to propose strategies to the management team. Additionally, information and intelligence units were established to coordinate and disseminate all information, including criminal intelligence at station level. Relief Inspectors were given geographic responsibility for one sector of the division, with responsibility for sector planning, especially in relation to tasking directed patrolling, community needs and deployment of police resources. In response to identified local problems, Inspectors attempted to accomplish prevention-directed objectives by directed patrolling of their officers. Specialist training and post-training support also formed a substantial part of the implementation of the programme.

The Met. hope that such a system will influence the level of street crime, which in turn will presumably influence the level of demands on police resources. It is also envisaged that a decrease in public fear of crime will occur, coupled with an increase in the degree of public satisfaction with the police service. The evaluation of the scheme has been running for several years and its findings are due to be published in the near future. Various measures are being employed including police attitude questionnaires, policing styles questionnaires, patrol observation studies, senior management self-reports, an analysis of police demand, repertory grid interviews, victim surveys, public attitude questionnaires, and community group surveys.

The London Metropolitan Police is also having evaluated part of its new twenty-week, full-time initial training course for recruits. Approximately 25% of the course is devoted to sessions on "human awareness/policing skills" which encompass interpersonal skills, and self- and community-understanding. The present authors are undertaking this evaluation on behalf of the Police Foundation (U.K.) (though the Met. are funding our work) and details of it are available elsewhere (Bull, 1985, 1986; Bull and Horncastle, 1986). Briefly, the first phase of the evaluation (1982 to 1985) used questionnaires (including extant psychometric questionnaires) to examine (i) changes in recruits both during and up to 12 months after the training; (ii) the opinions, concerning the initial training they received, of officers trained by the new and by the old systems, and (iii) the opinions of sergeants supervising officers who were trained by the new system. Phase two (1985 to 1987) will be concerned with the street patrol performance of officers trained by the new method, and it will also see whether further evidence exists to support the phase one conclusion that while the initial training did appear to be having several worthwhile effects, some of these were being dissipated by post training school policing experiences.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed a selection of examples which illustrate the involvement of behavioral science in policing. (For further information on the possible contribution of psychology to policing see Bull, Bustin, Evans, and Gahagan, 1983). From the examples given, one can see that, broadly speaking, they fall into one of four categories:

- Programmes and interventions devised and implemented by behavioural scientists.
- Programmes and interventions devised by behavioural scientists who are not necessarily involved in their implementation.
- Programmes and interventions which offer trainees an insight into some aspect of the behavioural sciences at a general introductory level.
- techniques derived from the behavioural sciences to measure the effectiveness of programmes and other interventions.

Unfortunately, within these categories, evaluation appears to be one of the areas of weakness (with one or two exceptions). Many of the schemes described have not been evaluated at all. It appears that many of those evaluations which have been carried out rely either on purely qualitative, subjective assessments or on potentially misleading quantitative measures. The case for such subjective assessments is not doubted since they can be informative and provide a means of introducing values into any programme or intervention. However, in order that the success (or otherwise) of such schemes may be gauged with some objectivity, it seem necessary to operationalize these values into objectives which may be defined and measured with some precision.

Many schemes are conducted with extremely small sample sizes from which sweeping generalizations concerning programme effects have been made. Gustin (1975) expressed a belief that there is a danger of over-reliance on the questionnaire in police research. Although the questionnaire is undoubtedly a useful research tool to both evaluators and psychologists alike, the importance of possible discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour must not be ignored. For this reason, evaluators of police programmes should entertain not only the notion of psychometric evaluation (which often suffices as a 'test-bed' evaluation) but also the use of more objective data derived from administrative sources and from patrol observation studies. Finally, given the complexities of the police socialization process and the ever-changing political and social environment which officers have to work in, follow-up evaluations would seem warranted. Very few of the schemes outlined examined the extent to which positive training (or other) effects were maintained as the officers left the training environment.

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THE EXPANDING ROLE OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT: STRESSORS AND SOLUTIONS FOR THE NEW AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

The roles of police officers in communities are rapidly changing. Law enforcement will no longer be the primary emphasis of police work. Rather, officers are increasingly expected to assess psychological stresses and intervene on behalf of community residents. Moreover, officers are expected to be sensitive to the divergent needs and demands of community groups. Consequently, police officers themselves and police departments as a whole are under constant scrutiny. Expectations placed upon officers in the form of external review currently dictate that they receive routine training in individual and group psychology and counseling practices to manage existing sources of job related accountability and stress. Police training must logically refocus from traditional enforcement practices to educative and diversionary techniques that facilitate their movement from a reactive to a proactive posture, as officers assume roles of negotiators of social change. As police establish new identities as social and cultural mediators, they must concomitantly recognize and reduce sources of stress such as organizational structures and procedures which inhibit new role acquisition. Failure to do so undermines expansion of police work into a role of primary agent for social change. Police departments must adopt restructuring patterns that disengage polarities between officer versus organizational needs. The development of fluid and open communication is necessary for circumventing departmental dysfunction and insuring that officers move as agents of social change. Officers need to understand how occupational, organizational, individual, family, and community demands impact upon them psychologically to better respond to needs of their colleagues, police organization, and community.

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TEXT

The roles of police officers are rapidly changing from reactive order maintenance functions to proactive roles of negotiators of social change. This paper reviews police literature in areas of stress, community relations, education, and theory and decision making, with an aim towards establishing substantive issues that are responsible for this transaction. A process model identifying factors influencing the emergence of a proactive orientation is offered. Future directions for police departments and roles are discussed. Psychological implications for implementing and facilitating transition are examined.

STRESS

A review of the literature reveals an emergence of two broad conceptual categories around which sources of law enforcement stress may be organized. These include internal and external sources of stress. Substantive issues of stress relevant to each of these areas will be examined.

INTERNAL SOURCES OF STRESS

Internal sources of stress encompass two major areas of concern for law enforcement personnel: individual factors of officers and intradepartmental factors. Considerable research is found in the former category which suggests that the individual officer contributes to the creation and resolution of his/her stress. In contrast, while there is considerable research which identifies those departments/structures and procedures that generate stress, solutions to these problems are inhibited due to confounding factors beyond the police agency itself.

Individual. Individual stress is comprised of two conceptual strands: psychological attributes and biophysical health.

Psychological attributes concern personality traits and perceptual and attitudinal qualities of individuals that either assist or inhibit adaptation to stress. Investigation of the personality traits of police officers continues to dominate this area of study. Hockstedler (1980) has unsuccessfully attempted to empirically test a typology of desirable officer personality traits that may successfully predict suitability to the police role. While the methodology is confused, the personality factors have been identified. Adlam (1982) posits that a police personality and attitudinal change emerges as individuals experience their police role. This view suggests that the police personality develops within

the individual as a result of internal change. This view sharply contrasts with traditional role theories that suggest that a pre-existing personality must match the requirements of a position in order to achieve role concordance. Traditional role theories imply that without personality and role congruence, stress develops. Therefore, according to role theorists, the police role is static. Butler and Cochrane (1977) state that factors within the police environment strongly influence the course and direction of officers' socialization, forcing them to reconcile role contradictions by relying on their own experiences, values and goals. In this sense, personality is an evolving process and the outcome of individual officer and intradepartmental interaction.

Others have compared personality patterns of new recruits and seasoned officers with an aim towards identifying those personality types that lead to early resignation. Some empirical evidence proposes that new recruits are more extraverted, venturesome and impulsive in contrast to more seasoned officers (Gudjonsson, Gisli, Adlam, 1983). These findings also support that police officers modify personality characteristics on the basis of occupational socialization.

Another area of personality investigation examines the effect of internal and external locus of control as a mediator to stress. Findings of those studies conclude that those with an external locus of control are more highly stressed (Lester, 1982); internal locus of control and associated job satisfaction are more common among experienced officers than recruits (Lester and Garry, 1978); and locus of control is not related to Type A personality (Lester and Tappert, 1981). The final area of investigation concerns the effect of Type A personality on police behavior. Empirical evidence hints that differences in ranks or roles in police organization are linked with individual officer's Type A personality pattern (Huang, Hewson, Singer, 1983). An attempt to link Type A personality, stress, and job satisfaction in police officers revealed no association (Lester, Soles, 1980). Another study attempting to link Type A personality demographic risk variables and incidences for high risk of heart attack revealed no significant correlation (Lester, 1980).

In summary, it appears that the police personality is not static. Rather, it is redefined during the course of officers' tenure as they become more socialized to their roles. Specific personality characteristics do not seem to predictably relate to job stress.

In addition to police personality the role of perceptual and attitudinal characteristics as stress mediators comprise a related area of psychological inquiry. Seven such characteristics are identified, though fail to be meaningfully synthesized in a literature review. Consequently, a brief summary of each of these is offered.

First, increased levels of perceived danger are associated with authoritarianism and social isolation (Corrigan, Lester and Loftus, 1980); officer belief that their primary roles are helping citizens (Lester, Arcuri, and Gunn, 1980); and that perceptions of danger may have functional and dysfunctional effects that influence individual officer adaptation of stress (Cullen, Link, Travis & Lemming, 1983). A second attribute, cynicism, is associated with prolonged exposure to negative stimuli (Chandler, and Jones, 1979), job complexity, failure to be promoted, retreatism and rebellious officer behavior (Herbert, 1980); and United States officers, specifically due to higher violent crime rates (Teahan, Adams and Podany, 1980). A third attribute, thrill seeking, occurs at a greater frequency in state and city police as well as those new to the service (Carlson & Lester, 1980). A fourth attribute, perceived likelihood of promotion as a source of motivation, is positively associated with the belief that the promotion will lead to professional development (Gaines, VanTuber, & Paiva, 1984). A fifth attribute, suicide potential among retired officers, significantly relates to variables of emotional state, emotional response, and career perception in predicting suicide potential (Gaska, 1980). A sixth variable, officer aggression, is found to be inversely related to those whom officers perceive to be similar to themselves. (Lange & Verhallen, 1978). A final attribute, officer's trust, is limited to those who are considered to belong to their immediate peer group (Olsson Vikstrom, Olivegard Landen & Zamore de Alencar, 1981).

Biophysical health is a second major conceptual strand to the category of individual stress. Hagen (1982) posits that police officers face unrecognized stressors as evidenced by physical changes that are costly to them in terms of occupational productivity, social relations, and personal health. Stratton (1978a, 1978b) found that in contrast to normative population reporting, symptomatology among police showed a greater preponderance of digestive disorders, headaches, premature deaths, circulatory problems, elevated cholesterol levels early in one's career, adrenal overactivity, overweightness, suicidal ideation, and a six times greater likelihood to use workman's compensation. A survey of 747 officers revealed that most believed that health risks were an occupational hazard,

having greater concern for incurring "unusual" physical inquiries, though refusing to view mental strain as a health threat (Orth-Gomer, Olivegard, Landen, Olsson-Vikstrom & Zamore de Alencar, 1981). Although longitudinal data about health outcomes of women are not yet available, preliminary evidence suggests that female officers' lower adrenaline response to stress may protect them from occupationally linked stress (Pollack, 1984).

A related subarea of interest to biophysical health concerns the effects of shift rotation on police job stress. A large survey of police officers exposed to shift rotation revealed their associated negative evaluations to include failure to maintain an eight hour stable work shift, prolongation of time required to fall asleep, and health related problems from an over reliance on fast food outlets (Zamore de Alencar, Olivegard, Landen, & Olsson Vikstrom, 1981). Officers' working schedules beginning with morning shifts and rotating to night work report improvements in job satisfaction, sleep disturbances, fatigue, socialization, and general health (Landen, Vikstrom & Oberg, 1981). While night shift workers, in contrast to day workers, have difficulty reversing circadian patterns of catecholamine excretion (Orth-Gomer, Lundstrom & Olivegard Lunden, 1981), reassignment of officers to shifts based on clockwise rather than counterclockwise rotation produced lowered blood pressure, decreased catecholamine excretion rates, and improved quality and quantity of sleep (Orth-Gomer, 1981). Changes to eight hour/12 day shift cycle to 12 hour/eight day work schedule also received overwhelming support by 75 officers who displayed improved cardiovascular fitness, sleep quality and duration, and subjective level of alertness (Peacock, Glube, Miller & Clune, 1983). Finally, White (1981) found that participation and support were two variables that significantly reduced stress for persons involved in shift rotation.

Intradepartmental. A second major conceptual strand of internal sources of stress reviews intradepartmental factors or agency specific variables that generate department strain. Three issues are salient to this area: management activities, organizational contribution to job satisfaction, and organizational manifestations of stress.

Management activity concerns itself with police administrators, management style, work assignments and department size. The literature identifies police administrators, specifically command officials, as being the principal source of perceived stress for police officers (Westbrook, 1982). The officers' primary complaint about command behavior centers on their profound discontentment

with command officers who fail to provide positive reinforcement (Buzawa, 1984). This apparent discontentment with police administrations has forced many officers to unionize as a means to resolve labor/management disputes and secure a higher level of job satisfaction (Pugh, 1980). Police officers, as a whole, remain opposed to the use of a strike action as a means to resolve labor/management conflicts (Westbrook, 1982).

A second source of internal stress identified in the literature revolves around the issue of management style, specifically that of middle managers. Police departments are traditionally organized on a quasi-military model, characterized as being impersonal, highly directive, authoritarian, and mechanized (Jernier, et al, 1974). This model is hypothesized to be in conflict with rank officer preference and may, if fact, contribute to higher levels of stress for both managers and officers. Supervisors, on the whole, however, do not support the participatory management style, and they avoid delegating to subordinates (Kuydendall and Unsinger, 1982). The relationship between subordinate job satisfactions and leadership skills of supervisors was weakly supported in another study (Brief: Aldag, Russel and Rude, 1981). Weak support exists amongst street supervisors in police agencies for strict hierarchical organization and authoritative leadership (Allen, 1982).

Another study (Jermier, 1979) on management style drew two conclusions: first, sergeants and patrol officers who partake in an authoritative management style reported low levels of job satisfaction and organization commitment. Second, sergeants and patrol officers who utilized the participatory management style tended to report significantly higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. A survey (Jermier and Berkis, 1974) of officers rejects the notion that officers subscribe to the authoritarian management style found in a quasi-military model. Instead, findings indicate that officers support a participative style of supervision (Jermier, et al, 1974).

A third source of internal stress identifies work assignment or manpower planning in the police department as being dependent upon the role and function of the patrol officer, the size of the police agency, and the style of policing that exists, such as law enforcement, order maintenance, service provision and crime prevention (Meagher, 1983). However, additional research (Cordner, 1980) indicates that while manpower planning refers to efforts undertaken to determine the numbers and kinds of employees needed and how best to utilize them, little goal orientation or forecasting of needs is found, and planning

is further inhibited by internal departmental demands and external constraints. Consequently, police personnel needs are met through a problem solving approach which is performed with little coordination or integration of agency wide demands.

Unfortunately, the literature does not address the negative psychological effects that such an apparent chaotic planning method would be expected to have on command personnel or rank officers. However, since patrol officer assignment to division rather than to district work appears to significantly affect work attitudes and personality functioning (McFerran, 1980), it seems reasonable to assume that poor planning of resource availability has a negative impact on job satisfaction of field officers. The literature does not address the existence of an individual's freedom to choose a work assignment or the effects that such a choice would have on an officer's morale. It would appear that if an individual would be matched to his/her preferred job assignment, job satisfaction could be increased and stress would be reduced.

The literature identifies department size as being a unique source of perceived stress for police officers (Kania, 1982). It is contended that an intimate relationship exists between smaller departments and the communities that they serve, and that this relationship affords the opportunity for the communities to shape police conduct (Kania, 1982). An identified cultural value of a small community is "toughness," and the existence of this value apparently dictates that officers new to the force must employ physical force as an initial means to establish control. Physical force is also used as a vehicle to establish a "tough" reputation and thus gain respect in the community (Kowalewski, Hall, Dolan & Anderson, 1984). It is reasonable to expect that this readiness to fight stance places biophysiological and psychological stress on the individual. However, the tough or macho image that rural officers supposedly maintain may cause them to deny the effects of stress (Bergen and Bartol, 1983). Unfortunately, denial of job stress may be a prerequisite to successful performance in rural law enforcement (Bergen, et al, (1983). The denial of stress, the readiness to fight, and the high visibility in a small community may contribute to the rural officers' belief that their lives outside of work are more stressful than those of office workers (Lester and Mink, 1979). It seems logical to assume that living and working in a small community places additional police socialization stressors on officers. Small town police forces are a tightly knit group that employ various tactics, such as joking, which can be taken seriously or not seriously, to force conformity or maintain a marginal status (Macrides,

1984). It seems logical that this constant exposure to socialization processes places stress on the individual.

A unique management style which causes internal stress in police departments is the employment of civilians in urban police departments as managers. Research indicates that officers are hostile to the approach and to these civilians (Dalton, 1979).

A second major conceptual strand of intradepartmental factors emphasizes organizational contribution to job satisfaction and mediates their stress response. Analysis of intradepartmental stressors is approached in two ways: discrete and unidimensional or multicausal analysis. With respect to the former category, a number of studies are reported, though consensus about what constituted salient variables in this category remains unclear. Rhodes (1984), for instance, found that in contrast to business and industrial employees, police officers ranked lower in the following five areas of job satisfaction: work, pay, promotions, supervision, and co-workers. Khoury and Khoury (1982) used these same five categories in a correlational study of officers' altruism, though, and found that perceived satisfaction did not sufficiently co-vary with altruism to justify causal interpretations. Another investigation of factors associated with job satisfaction revealed its positive relationship to level of rank, years of experience, and perception of political favoritism (Patton, 1984). In exploring the relationship between professional attitudes and job satisfaction, Schnitzius and Lester (1980) found the latter to occur in officers having greater identification with their professional references group and a stronger sense of calling. While the previously discussed studies are instructive in an attempt to link overall job satisfaction to discrete, unidimensional police agency variables, a lack of consensus about their precise role in reducing officer stress remains. This lack of clarity appears to be related to an over reliance on methodological simplification. Fortunately, a recent and growing body of empirical investigations about officer job satisfaction attempts to provide greater description of this area through multicausal consideration of associated variables.

Slovak (1978) argues that work satisfaction of police is a highly structured characteristic, composed of specific components that tend to be linked to a variety of independent factors including salaries, benefits, promotional opportunities, equipment, and policies and procedures. A variety of studies supports this complex relationship. A study of the relationship of officer motivation to job satisfaction, for example, revealed that

motivational hygiene factors (department policy, supervision, interpersonal relations, working conditions, status, job security, salary) and motivator factors (achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, advancement, and growth) show differentiated effects to a variety of demographic variables of individual officers in producing perceptions of satisfaction (Fuchs, 1983). Fry and Slocum (1984) found that the ability of groups of officers to effectively engage in conflict resolution to reduce stress is related to a complex interplay of technological, role structure and organizational effectiveness. Another study of job satisfaction as measured by work group cohesion found that cohesiveness varies with shift assignment, area worked, and length of service when combined effects of age and specialization, age and area worked, and age and race were controlled (Davis, 1984). A cross cultural study examining job satisfaction among Danish officers revealed that their lower turnover rate, in contrast to United States officers, could be explained by multiple factors of a lower incidence of violent crime, an open management style, more extensive training, and a high level of job scrutiny (DeLey, 1984). Sczawa (1979) in comparing job satisfaction of police officers from two urban departments found that background characteristics such as race and education and job related factors played a role in overall satisfaction and failure to include these discriminators in study design minimizes their impact in mediating perceived job satisfaction. Another study emphasizing interactive influences of select factors in explaining job satisfaction agreed that since satisfaction benefits the officer, the employer, and the general public, departmental improvements including career pathing, job enrichment, incentive programs, officer control in shift selection, the development of channels for officers to express their ideas and suggestions to top management is justifiable (Aleshire, 1980). The contribution that police agencies made towards individual officer stress, then, appears to be best understood in terms of a complex interaction between organizational variables of policy and procedure and officers' appraisal of those factors.

Maladaptive manifestations. The notion that occupational groups are capable of demonstrating maladaptive responses to stress reflects a growing influence of behavioral science in organizational behavior. A longitudinal study of police work values during organizational entry and assimilation showed that work values held by officers changed over time, and under contextual differences in employment, suggestive that a police socialization process differentially impacts officers (Hazer and Alvares, 1981). An organizational analysis of police stress and coping also concluded that the police

agency exerts a powerful social influence that resists variances in officer behavior which are inconsistent with organizational goals (Violanti, 1981). Parker (1980) found that despite differences in officer attitudes and demographic variables, the occupational socialization produced similarity in fostering respect for law, high job satisfaction, low dogmatic attitudes, positive attitudes toward civil liberties, low anomie, and moderate trust in people.

While no authors have attempted to operationalize organizational maladaptiveness, attempts to examine undesirable agency response, particularly with respect to community conflict provide an index of organizational adaptation. An analysis of police department failure to solve repeated terrorist bombings in San Francisco concluded that lack of managerial support as evidenced by their deference to political and medial pressures, arbitrary personnel changes, and poor communication associated with a militaristic management style all contributed to compromising an effective response from that police department (Spencer, 1979). Department openness to appraisal is found to be a positive step in self monitoring and correcting for unhealthy organizational behavior.

An emergent body of literature, addressing issues of organizational dysfunction, draws attention to the interaction between managerial structures (roles, policies, and procedures, goals, etc.) and behavior of employees. Kets de Vries and Miller (1984) state that organizational dynamics may be generally conceived of as symbolic cultures in which workers share common goals, values, and direction. The authors further identify that three major culture types having both positive and negative qualities exist. These include: fight/flight (paranoid and avoidance oriented, having positive strengths of mobilized energy, conviction, efficiency and strong internalized operations and negative aspects of strategy deficient, factional, suspicious, stereotypic in response, insular, and ignorant of competitive threats); dependency culture (charismatic centralized power and bureaucratic rule, procedure and take over oriented, having positive strengths of goal directedness, cohesiveness, focused strategies, revitalizing, and role clarity and negative aspects of critical judgment of subordinates, lack of moderation in decision making, excessive reliance on rules and regulations, lack of adaptation, and resistance to change, passivity among executives, apathetic and maintenance roles, with an exodus of capable executives); and utopian culture (technologically and organizationally innovative, having positive qualities of creative, harmonious, collaborative, democratic and adaptive interrelationships and negative

aspects of drained resources, increased risk taking, unrealistic analysis, excessive idealism, floundering, and tendency to deny reality) (Kets de Vries et al, 1984). Organizational ability to self identify their culture style provides them with valuable insights about resource availability and depletions that are transacted in relation to goals. The authors further describe five neurotic management styles, including paranoid, compulsive, dramatic, depressive and schizoid, that contribute to organizational dysfunction (Kets de Vries, et al). Finally, the authors identify resulting confused interpersonal relationships that serve as another manifestation of dysfunctional organization. These are binding mode (characterized by managerial perception of hostile outside world, cultivation of cliques and special treatment for selected workers, confused responsibility, and manipulation by guilt); proxy mode (characterized by symbolic leashing of subordinate to manager with aim towards fostering the latter's ability to protect, stimulate, and nurture the former), and the expelling mode (characterized by managerial, enduring neglect, rejection, and exploitation of subordinates for self serving ends) (Kets de Vries, et al, 1984).

How police organizations manage the stress of their officers has short and long term implications for the officers, their families, and the police organization itself. Management techniques that ignore the problem behaviors, hides transfers, fires or offers disability retirement to the officer do not ameliorate the problem (Stratton, 1978).

EXTERNAL SOURCES OF STRESS

Two external sources of stress for police officers stem from family and interdepartmental demands. Each of these areas is further discussed.

Family. Stress responses in police families are expressed in terms of the family unit itself, the marital dyad, the police officer family members, and the children of police families. In general, stress responses in families of police officers can include feelings of social isolation, unsupport, lack of emotional intimacy, and subservience that feeds marital and family conflict (Reiser, 1978). Moreover, families experience fear of injury, social stigma, and conflicts resulting from unpredictable work schedules (Kroes, 1976; Maynard, Maynard, McCubbin and Shao, 1980). Families additionally suffer as a result of the officer members' associated social rejection, due to their occupational choice, limited access to a wider world, disruptive work schedules, limited communication with spouses, tendency of masking feelings, and interpersonally

relating with children in authoritarian rather than loving ways (Nordlict, 1979).

The effects of police work on the marital dyad constitute an intensifying special interest area of family stress. Marital and occupational role conflict is posited to have a negative impact on marriages and nonpolice friendships as evidenced by wives' perceptions that husbands were emotionally detached and repressed (Hageman, 1978). A study of police wives indicated that their reports of disruptions caused by shift changes, perceived public expectations of their family, and trust in the judicial system are related to both satisfaction with their husband's career and length of time they had been a part of the police family (Stenmark, et al, 1982). Spousal lack of understanding about the nature of police officers' duties is cited as a possible reason for explaining a twenty percent divorce rate among married police (Leyden, 1977). A longitudinal study of one and five year post-test effectiveness of a marital enrichment program in promoting spousal understanding of the officers' profession and improving dyad communication showed significant improvements in the marital relationship though it had no apparent impact on the divorce rate (Stratton, Tracy-Stratton, and Alldredge, 1982).

Interestingly, stress reduction methods employed by police officers, such as off duty isolation, emotional distancing, and drinking have negative outcomes upon family and marital adaptation (Maslach and Jackson, 1979). While officers themselves found detachment a helpful intervention for managing job related distress, spouses viewed detachment as a fueling mechanism for intensifying marital difficulties (Maynard, et al, 1980). One distinctive difference in adaptational response is that while eighty percent of spouses of officers seek out organized activities for social support, only ten percent of officers did so (Maslach, et al, 1979). Marital satisfaction has been examined from the officers' perspective as well. An inverse relationship between marital satisfaction and length of service on the police force has been reported (Hageman, 1977; Maynard, et al, 1980). Officers who perceive less stress from external sources in work report higher marital satisfaction (Lester and Karsevar, 1970). Satisfied married officers are more likely than dissatisfied ones to have already been in police work at the time of marriage, hold more favorable attitudes towards women's liberation, had fewer children, and are more likely to spend time with spouses when they are off duty (Cherry and Lester, 1979). Finally, marital satisfaction of police is related to officers' perceptions of their wives' satisfaction with their careers, and not wives' ages, years

married, years of work as an officer, number of children, nor report of stress (Lester and Guerin, 1982).

INTERORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

A second conceptual strand related to the external category of stress includes interorganizational practices. Factors within this category include jurisdictional solutionism; perceived criminal justice system inequities (ineffectiveness of courts, unfavorable court decisions, inefficient courtroom management, and preoccupation with street crime); adverse government decisions; and inefficiencies of referral agencies (Eisenber, 1975; Kroes, Margolis and Iturrell, 1974).

Officers face tremendous pressures in attempting to reconcile perceived inequities in other legal and human service agencies for which they have no direct control. Officer socialization to police work is of great importance in attempting to reduce stress because of the profound extent to which occupational identity models other social roles and because of the limited autonomy and unrealistic expectations under which police departments and individual officers traditionally function (Bahn, 1984). It seems reasonable to assume that as police departments become increasingly proactive, in the sense of community intensive activities, vulnerability to blurring of specific roles of officers and departments is heightened. Consequently, police department administrators need to be articulate and definitive in committing themselves to clear mission statements and overall directional focus to prevent organization and officer emotional exhaustion.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

At the close of the nineteenth century, professionalized police departments in such cities as Cincinnati, characterized by strong centralized authority and administrative controls, established law enforcement practices and training programs that reflected these values (Anderson, 1979). This traditional style of police department developed to serve the functions of service provision and crime prevention (Meagher, 1983). In evolving beyond the apparent traditional or reactive approach to police work, many departments are adopting a proactive posture to their work. Consequently, police officers themselves and police departments as a whole are under constant scrutiny. As police departments seek public accountability and public understanding and acceptance of themselves, both as agencies and as collective individual members, the development of an extensive community relations function becomes essential. The community relations

function of a police agency is responsible for understanding and meeting diverse community needs, maintaining accountability to the public, and for maintaining an accurate professional image to the media. Each of these is further discussed.

MEDIA INFLUENCES

The U.S. Constitution, federal statutes, state and local laws and case law set the rules of behavior in the relationship between police and media. The laws restrict what information flows from the police to media and from media to police. In a free society the role of the media can be an adversarial role which places the media in the position of a watchdog and serves as an incentive for the police to behave in a lawful, responsible and humane manner. The role of the media and the police in a free society can be a cooperative role. The cooperative role can be utilized by a proactive police department to apprehend criminals, provide information to the public and officers, and shape public opinion.

DIVERSIFICATION OF NEEDS OF POPULATION

Issues salient to the area of diversified community needs include: domestic violence, minority relations, sexual assault, psychiatric commitments, and age related concerns. Over the past years attention has been given to the issue of domestic violence. Because the police are usually the first authority figures to arrive and intervene, they are increasingly expected to resolve conflicts. Police, on the whole are not trained to resolve domestic conflicts and many do not view domestic problems to be a police matter.

One component of domestic violence is wife beating. According to one study (Brown, 1984), police rarely referred the woman, who was assaulted, to a helping agency and the police usually calmed and chided the husband, the assaulter. It is evident from this study that segments of the police agencies do not view wife beating as a crime. A proactive police department would view the assault as a crime, arrest the perpetrator, refer the victim to an agency that specialized in counseling battered women, and urge her to file assault charges. The existence of a proactive police department reflects the values of the community. A high proportion of police in communities which have enacted legislation that gives officers authority to act and provides training programs teaching officers how to counsel in cases of domestic violence, report that they are willing to intervene (Buzawa, 1982).

A study attempting to predict officers' use of arrest, counseling or minimal action in response to battered women found that officers who acted from a largely professional base were likely to invoke arrest; officers whose attitudes were characterized as nonsexist had a tendency to use counseling unless the severity of the assault called for arrest, and officers who utilized minimal action held sexist attitudes (Saunders, 1979). It would seem logical that officers who subscribe to sexist attitudes should not be assigned to investigations of battered women. A Canadian police force that instituted a policy which encourages officers to file charges of assault, found that victims wanted officers to file charges, necessary grounds existed, common assault charges increased, assault causing bodily harm charges increased, and decisive police action appears to interrupt the cyclical pattern of violence and prevents more serious injury and death in wife assaults (Burris and Jaffe, 1983).

Another area of domestic violence is child abuse. French police forces, in charge of the safety of persons and effects, intervene when serious child abuse occurs (Lefeuvre, 1982). This proactive response allows quick coordinated intervention into pathologic family behavior. The Columbus, Georgia, Police Department instituted a family crisis intervention program which trains officers in the following areas: needs assessment intervention styles, management of stress and needs in a crisis, fact-finding methods, behavioral screening, and non-verbal communication (Arthur, Sisson and McClung). Another study (Hendricks, 1977) examined the application of transactional analysis to police contacts with family disputes and concluded that TA can be an effective tool that can increase officer effectiveness and reduce repeat calls. The preceding reports demonstrate that communities want a proactive police force and that proactive forces exist and are a viable social change agent.

Historically, police departments have been in conflict with those minority groups who occupy positions of lower socioeconomic and power status of society (Janeksela and Deming, 1976). Traditionally, police have been viewed by minority group members as being protectors of vested interests and, therefore, blocks to minority group member's achievement (Janeksela, et al, 1976). Studies (Smith, Visher,, and Davidom, 1984; Smith and Klein, 1984) have found that police are more punitive towards offenders who reside in low status neighborhoods. The hostile view that minority groups hold of police and the apparent biased discretionary decisions of police must be addressed by the police department, community leaders, and minority community leaders if the police-minority conflict is to be resolved.

Two studies (Janeksela, et al, 1976; Smith and Klein, 1984) offer guidelines for conflict resolution between police and minority groups which could be utilized by proactive police departments.

An aspect of police minority relations concerns itself with factors affecting rates of police shootings in American jurisdictions (Fyfe, 1982) and the contention that White officers have little regard for the lives of minority citizens (Fyfe, 1981). According to the latter study (Fyfe, 1981), data do not support the contention that White officers have little regard for minority citizens. Instead, analysis indicated that minority overrepresentation among police shooters existed and the overrepresentation was associated with racial patterns of assignment. The factor which contributed to shooting of citizens was a discretionary guideline which allowed for the use of force to apprehend persons suspected of property crimes (Fyfe, 1982). Based on this study (Fyfe, 1982) it seems logical to conclude that the communities which allow for the use of force in the apprehension of persons suspected of property crimes do not hold human life in high regard. One premise of a proactive community and police force is overall responsibility to foster the appreciation of human life.

Police and minority relations could be further enhanced if aspects of a group's culture that may affect the group's relationship with law enforcement agencies were known to the police (Carter, 1983). A proactive police force needs to be aware of the culture of the groups it serves. Such understanding would assist the police in operating within the context of the culture and aid the citizens of the group in their relationship with the police.

Another aspect of diverse community needs is that concerning the issue of sexual assault counseling. Of particular concern are the attitudes that police have towards rape and the victim. Of prime concern to officers investigating cases of alleged rape, the issues of victim credibility, victim consent, the seriousness of the offense, and victim characteristics are among the factors that police take into consideration before they render a dispositionary decision (Rose and Randall). The irony of this procedure is that the victim, unless the questioning is conducted with a high degree of warmth and empathy, can be as rigorously and insensitively cross-examined as the perpetrator would be. Attitudes held by police and civilians towards rape indicate they believe that in at least 25% of the cases the alleged victim precipitated the rape (Bracki and Connor, 1975). Both groups view the rapist's satisfaction as being violence related rather than primarily sexual or psychological (Bracki, et al, 1975). The implications for the proactive

police department are that carefully screened and trained officers must be available to conduct investigations so that victims are protected from being deduced as the perpetrators.

Another area where the proactive police department is meeting community needs is that of involving itself in psychiatric commitments. In the wake of new civil commitment laws, the police department is being increasingly called upon to arrest disruptive but nondangerous individuals (Bonovitz, and Bonovitz). Police involvement is the primary factor in determining whether referrals of disruptive and violent behavior will result in commitment (Durham, Carr and Pierce, 1984). The positive result of police involvement in psychiatric commitments is that the patients are treated in a community based hospital rather than a state facility and that treatment outcomes are significantly higher (Sheridan and Teplin). Because of the increased involvement of police in psychiatric commitment actions, it seems logical that officers receive intensive psychological and counseling training so that they can better assess and control disruptive and violent individuals.

A growing area of community related needs that the police department is expected to meet is that of age related needs. There is a decided lack of literature on police involvement in this area, but police are increasingly expected to be aware of and meet the needs of the elderly and teenagers who are not juvenile delinquents. In both cases, age specific knowledge of depression and anxiety is required.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

The proactive police force has the power to implement action which leads to social change. Consequently, the proactive police force is accountable to the public for its action. The proactive police force and the community that it serves are jointly responsible for maintaining a position of positive interaction. In order to develop and maintain positive interaction with the community, the police should receive extensive psychological and communication training. One form of police-citizen communications transaction training model, which has been found to be effective, is based on Transactional Analysis (People, 1977). One of the beneficial effects of applying TA is the freedom it gives the officer to communicate and direct the process on his or her terms (People, 1977). Another communication training technique which has been found to promote effective and empathetic interaction between police and public is a model which assigns officers

to role play three positions of transaction between a police officer and a citizen, that of the police officer, that of a citizen, and that of a neutral observer. Each assignment taught the officer the differential effect of position of perception and instructed the officer in the use of empathy (Koppelaar, 1983). Another study (Pearce and Snortum, 1983) examined course content covering safety factors in approaching a scene; methods for diffusing violent situations; information gathering, mediation, referral of disputants; and handling of victims, substance abusers, and the mentally ill; found that trained officers tended to rate their handling of causes more positively than did untrained officers; further, telephone follow-ups revealed that citizens gave more favorable evaluations of the trained officers as compared to untrained officers (Pierce, et al, 1983). The effective utilization of communications training can enable an officer to interact positively with the public. Effective communication skill allows and enhances the officer's ability to shape social situations.

The involvement of police in domestic violence, sexual assault counseling, psychiatric commitments, minority relations and communications theory dictates that the police receive extensive training in individual and group psychology. Such training would enable officers to intervene more effectively on an individual basis and interact positively on a community-wide level. A study (Veno and Gardener, 1979) which evaluated a community psychology program supported the preceding finding.

In order to increase accountability the police department must utilize public opinion measures. The measures can be based on citizen sampling to evaluate police-community relations (Roener, 1980) or the measures can be more extensive and include such relationships as effectiveness of the organization, compatibility between organizational and community measures of effectiveness, and others which indicate areas of potential conflict (Jolson and Schneck, 1982).

Another facet of accountability is the function of the police to sensitize the public to potential problems in their neighborhoods. The use of foot patrol officers in educating residents to the potential problems resulted in residents becoming more aware but also becoming more alert and apprehensive after three years of education (Hale, 1983). Another study which focuses on the use of foot patrols in reducing crime (and not as educators) found that the residents felt safer and were more active in preventing crime (Trojanowicz, 1983).

A proactive police department and a proactive community jointly participate, under the supervision of the police department, in criminal apprehension. However, non-police personnel are not placed in dangerous situations. One such utilization of the public in criminal apprehension entailed the use of alarms and "bait" alarms (devices planted in a cash drawer that trigger an alarm when the bait money is removed) in stores where armed robberies occurred frequently (Schnelle, et al, 1979). Citizens in such crime areas, particularly those working in stores, could be trained to be witnesses for the purpose of assisting police in criminal apprehension. Two methods of training, facial recognition (Woodhead, 1979) and cognitive recall (Geiselman, et al, 1984) were employed. The cognitive recall method has been proven to be very accurate (Geiselman, et al, 1984).

It is important for police to have an accurate picture of the occurrence of crime so that high crime areas can be adequately staffed. It is the responsibility of the public to report crime. Unfortunately, over half of all crimes that occur are not reported, apparently due to the belief that the police could not do anything about it (Biles, David and Braitwaite, 1979). Another study (Green, 1981) found that variables with the strongest influences on reporting are, in the order of magnitude, offense seriousness and age, 25-49 years of age. One problem with the police being responsible for defining the size and shape of the crime problem, they are caught in the political cross fire. If crime statistics are too high, they are blamed for failing to control and if the police fail to report crime, they are chided for being irresponsible and unresponsive (Selke and Pepinsky, 1982).

A high level of accountability for the proactive police department is dependent on the close interaction of the department and the community. A constant state of communication, feedback and evaluation is essential for accurate accountability.

Education Issues Implicating Law Enforcement Movement From Reactive to Proactive Roles

Education is a third conceptual strand in which police movement from reactive to proactive roles is evidenced. Four major categories of salient issues include: basic training and skill acquisition, physical training, psychological training, and process outcomes. Each of these is further discussed.

BASIC TRAINING AND SKILL ACQUISITION

What constitutes appropriateness and adequacy in generic education and training of police officers is a result of the confluence of political, social, economic, organizational and individual officer influences at any time in history. An analysis of historical periods of police reform (1840's, 1900-1920, 1930's and 1960's) are marked by severe challenges to the legitimacy of the state political-economic system and social order (Emmerhags, 1979). Educational emphasis during these periods compliment police priorities for state order maintenance rather than aggressive crime control. Those concerned for professionalization of law enforcement, however, argue that adoption of higher standards in police education and training are necessary to enhance police function beyond order maintenance issues (Johnson, 1983). Police academics caught in political, social and economic crossfire themselves attempt to reconcile traditional order maintenance and professional discordances by imposing a socialization framework for its police officer graduates. Four models of police socialization culture including traditional, neotraditional, neoprofessional, and professional act to distinguish police academics on the basis of role orientation, use of discretion, education and training requirements and management styles (McCreedy, 1981). Police organizations themselves express a priority goal in education to satisfy community needs (Southerland, 1984). A survey of law enforcement undergraduates reveals that officers themselves perceive their future roles to be more service and human relations oriented than crime control oriented (Golden, 1982), suggestive that current curricula do not adequately prepare field officers for issues they inevitably encounter.

Some consensus about appropriateness of curricular content for the generalist officer does exist. Both practitioners and educators favor acquisition of officer competency in rank ordered areas of communication, criminal justice, and social behavioral sciences (Tannehill, 1979). Officers themselves indicate that while academy training provided them with basic knowledge of criminal law, defensive law, and mechanics of arrest, specialty areas such as hostage negotiations, drug enforcement, criminalistics, and surveillance techniques were insufficiently attended to (Fullerton, 1983). Interviews of officers further identify that perceived social change as evidenced by changing crime trends, characteristics of offenders, and law enforcement practices (Covey, 1984) suggest a need for educational reform. Proactive approaches to police educational and training is offered as a linkage that police departments may use to maximize thoughtful planning and communication

between chiefs and their staff (Franklin, 1982). The remainder of this section summarized the growing demands for psychological and behavioral sciences training.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAINING

Contemporary thinking about police function legitimizes acquisition of a new role as behavioral scientist. Currently, police behavioral scientists are accustomed to training officers in handling issues of family conflict, domestic violence, mental illness and crisis intervention services as well as assisting officers to manage stress, foster human resources development, and receive individual and marital counseling (Reiser, 1983). At an organizational level, behavioral scientists act as change agents in assisting agencies in resolving management concerns, assist in agency problem solving, and develop trust and rapport among staff (Lieber, 1978; Burkhart & King, 1981). A large survey of urban police departments revealed their rank ordered needs for psychological services to include personal and family counseling for officers themselves, screening for job applications, and workshops in special problems of police work (Rios, Parisher and Reilley, 1978). Beyond the level of application to the police agency itself, however, psychological training offers a broad theoretical context in which professional police activity can be analyzed, evaluated, and improved (Taylor, 1983). The authors posit that a growing emphasis on psychological astuteness at the individual officer level will provide a central framework for organizing, planning, and directing future law enforcement activity.

A number of authors identify that officers will continue to assume dominant liaison positions between other community agencies with whom they must collaborate. Improved communication between police and community mental health agencies is shown to facilitate interagency interaction and streamline associated law enforcement procedures in handling persons with emotional problems (Hanewicz, Fransway & O'Neill, 1982). Human relations training is also found to increase officer awareness of the impact of communication misinformation in mediating community based prejudices that may be leveled against them (Murray, 1982). Potts (1982) states that role ambiguity in police work will pose particular challenges during the 1980's as police are increasingly immersed in broadening and diversified behavioral issues requiring sophisticated interpersonal intervention (Potts, 1982).

Psychological services may be either proactive (preventive) and/or reactive (treatment) based and have relevant application at individual officer, police agency,

and interagency levels (Loo, 1984). As such, the development of related behavioral science instruction and curricular consideration is proposed from the vantage point of generic and specific needs. Matthews (1982) suggests a generic psychology training component including research methods, principles of learning, self and behavior management, stress, psychopathology, human sexuality, aggression, attitudes, and social influence content areas. Specific educational training for behaviorally specialized field needs are found in areas including: drug abuse (Engs and Mulquenny, 1983; Barbara, 1982); crisis intervention, and psychiatric intervention (McClung, 1981; Godschaix, 1984; Swink, 1984; Mulovey, 1981; Kennedy, 1984; Janus, 1980; Newfield, Norbert, & Reish, 1975); stress management (McNulty, Jefferys, Singer, and Singer, 1984; Lester, Leitner, and Posner, 1984; Sarason, Johnson, Berberick and Siegel, 1979; O'Neill, Hanewicz, Fransway and Cassidy-Riske, 1982; Perrier and Toner, 1984); use and decision making about deadly force (Desmedt, 1984; Brown, 1984; Domm, 1981); juvenile issues (Little, 1981; Willman and Snortum, 1982; Nishimura, 1982; Griffiths, 1982); decision making about arrests (Greenberg and Visser, 1983); death education (Hendricks, 1984; Hall, 1982); terrorism (Soskis, 1983); police negotiation (Pierce, 1977); and sexual assault (McKinnon, 1981).

Theoretical And Decision Making Issues Implicating Law Enforcement Movement From Reactive To Proactive Roles

A review of police theory and measurement issues facilitating decision making is distributed among organizational management, crime control and reporting, arbitration/unionization, and high technology areas. While it is not within the scope of this paper to summarize major trend shifts in each area, a highlight of select articles suggests a foundation from which future police activity may be planned.

In a critical assessment of management challenges to police bureaucracies during the 1980's, Archambeault and Weirman (1983) suggest that a theoretical framework based on concern for productivity, humanistic consideration of employees, and the work organization as a total social and cultural system, advantages an agency by increasing productivity, decreasing organizational costs, building a teamwork perspective, providing a consistent process of shared decision making, and allowing flexible adaptation to changing conditions. Kuydendall and Robert (1982) similarly argue that since the 1960's police organizations have been moving from a mechanistic to an organic model characterized by concern for operations analysis, evaluating and

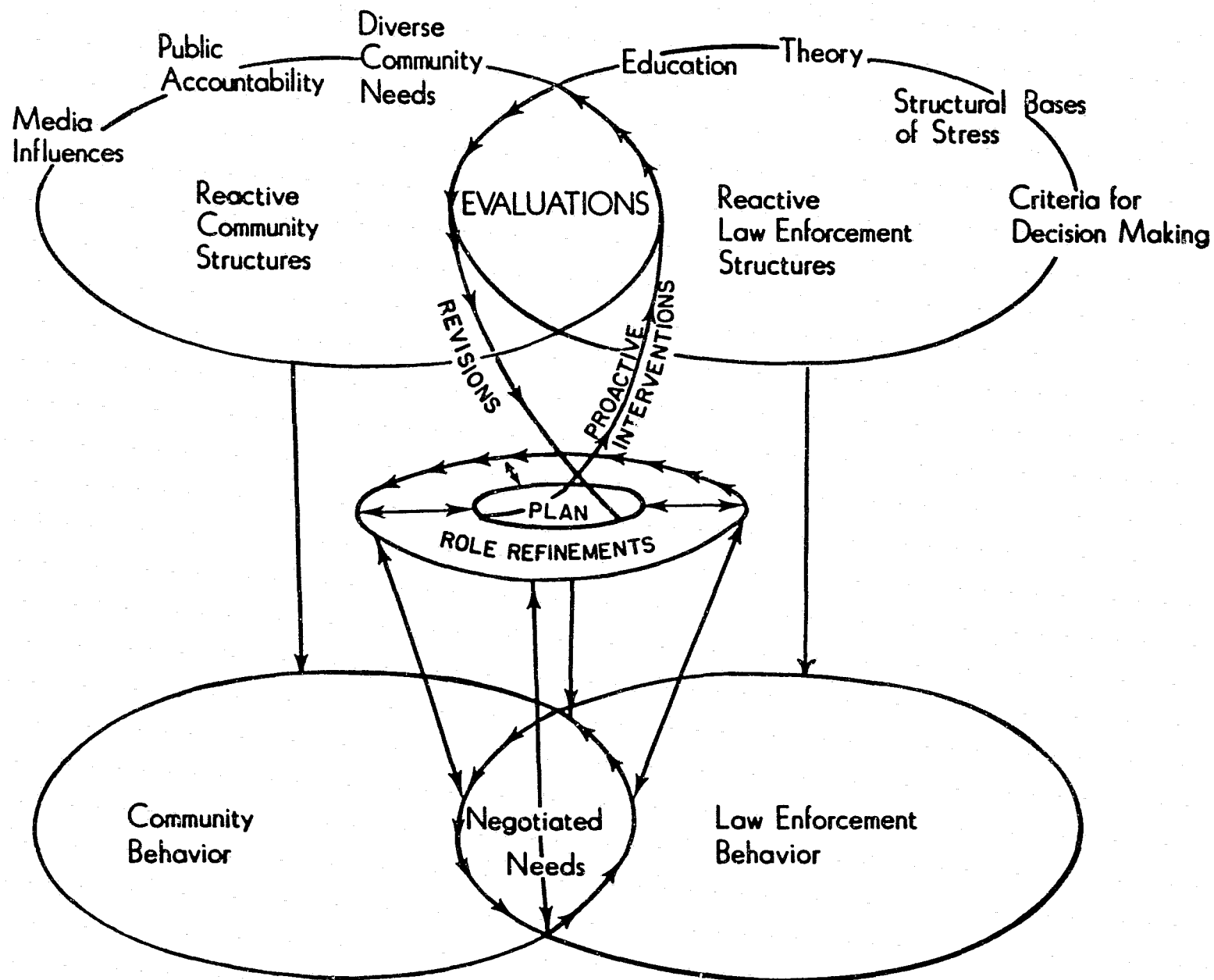
controlling individual performances, concern with work style, emphasis on interpersonal relationships, and high consideration for intrapersonal analysis. Such organizational structure and process changes seem consistent with a proactive orientation since they maximize fluidity of organizational resources, with changing contexts of both internal and external demands. Since police strategies do not exist in vacuums, but rather are shaped by contextual legal, political, and social processes, it becomes necessary that future attention establish and encourage active role participation by private citizens as well as police participation in community affairs (Moore and Kelling, 1983). The law enforcement and community interchange becomes a media from which a birthing of police roles as social change agents occurs.

Figure 1 shows that as a result of interchange between law enforcement agencies and the community, a convergence point of need negotiation serves as a base from which proactive role refinements may be facilitated (see Figure 1). As such, role refinements, plans and interventions for continued community and law enforcement exchange may be established. Ongoing evaluation and revisions of continuing dialogue continue to exert influence on further role refinements, need clarification, and mutual behaviors. This cybernetic model serves to suggest a basis from which agencies, special interest groups and individuals plan future goals and reallocate resources.

Naisbitt (1984/1982) identifies that significant trends of: information dissemination, high technology with concomitant high person to person contact, global networking among agencies, long term planning, decentralization and specialization, participative and self help efforts, and multiple option arbitration will characterize human service agencies. As such, police roles can expect to evolve along parallel courses

SUMMARY

The emerging role of the police is that of a proactive agent of social change. Police and community leaders will assess, plan, implement, and evaluate the needs of the community as they assume new identities as social and cultural mediators.



111

Figure 1. LAW ENFORCEMENT AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURES NEGOTIATE THE EMERGING ROLE OF POLICE AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: A SOCIAL PROCESS MODEL

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**THE APPLICATION OF NEURO-LINGUISTIC PROGRAMMING
AS A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY IN HOSTAGE/BARRICADED CRISES**

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ABSTRACT

Bandler and Grinder (1975, 1980) proposed Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP), which facilitates professionals in accomplishing therapeutic goals more efficiently and effectively. Neuro-Linguistic Programming is a way of organizing and understanding the structure of subjective experience. The primary concern of NLP entails the ways in which individuals process information yet not necessarily an emphasis upon specific content of the information. This information is processed primarily within the visual, auditory, or kinesthetic modes. The specific sensory modalities used in any given situation and their sequence are critical, in this case, to the negotiator for understanding the structure by which the subject processes sensory input. When observing and modeling the hostage-taker(s) or barricaded subject(s), the negotiator suspends his/her own belief system and adopts the communication patterns, strategies, and beliefs of the individual(s) being modeled. The work of Bateson (1972) provides the theoretical underpinnings for NLP theory. Bateson postulated four levels of learning. The first level is that of content. This level is the context at which most people generally process information. The second level involves the learning of context or learning how to learn. This stage ensures rapid learning of any new content specific area since the individual is capable of progressing through the learning process in an efficient and effective manner. The third level of learning is the learning of how to learn context. At this level, the individual is operating at a level of contextual pattern recognition. The modeler is able to easily identify and operate on the structure of any experience. The fourth level of learning is for Zen masters and yogis. Within the theoretical context of NLP, this paper presents strategies and suggestions for improving the quality of communication, and subsequently increasing positive outcomes in hostage/barricaded subject situations.

INTRODUCTION

A variety of methods exist which isolate and identify the unitary components of the negotiative process. These useful approaches to hostage negotiation include, but are not limited to, labor-management mediation, conflict resolution, business negotiation,

crisis intervention, and therapeutic counseling. Each approach has been found to be a useful weapon when stepping into the negotiation arena.

No single approach has the answer to successful negotiating. Neither is it our intent to preach the truth nor explain why techniques work or not in this paper.

The NLP model enables the negotiator to break down the negotiation process into a series of manageable tasks. These tasks can be sequenced into chains of behavior and thus become the building blocks of a successful negotiation. Neuro-linguistic Programming is a representational sensory processing system of communication which initiates and modulates behavior. This paper will provide an introduction to some of the basic underpinnings of NLP. However, for a more complete and exhaustive review of all the basic tenets of NLP, the reader is referred to Practical Magic by Steve Lankton.

DEFINITION OF NLP

Neuro-linguistic Programming (NLP) is both a process and a model of a process, the domain of which is the structure of subjective experience (Dilts, 1983; Dilts, Grinder, Bandler, Cameron-Bandler, and DeLozier, 1980). NLP is a model of human behavior and communication (Van Nagel, Sivozinski, Reese and Reese, 1985), which makes no commitment to theory (Dilts, et al, 1980). The value of this cybernetic model lies in its pragmatism and its practical applicability rather than in its truthfulness (Dilts, et al, 1980). The importance and utility of the model is only in how it relates to one's immediate ongoing experience (Dilts, 1983). Neuro-linguistic Programming deals with the manner in which people represent, decode, and process incoming and outgoing information and experience. Included are the interaction, organization, and sequencing of stored information into patterns and models of language and behavior (Van Nagel, et al, 1985). This extraordinarily complex model of human cognition and behavior identifies behavioral and communication patterns with the intent of deliberately interrupting these patterns for the purpose of achieving a predictable outcome (Einspruch and Forman, 1985).

ATTENTION TO COMMUNICATION PROCESS OR CONTENT

The importance in calibrating communication is that each individual has his own unique perception of the world. Individual differences in emotions, values, background, and viewpoints are unpredictable. Verbal exchanges routinely confuse what is said and what is meant to be said due to the inexactness of language to communicate the actual experience of objective reality. In other words, the content of communication can vary infinitely as a function of idiosyncratic perceptions and experiences of reality. The conflict does not lie in the facts of the situation or logic, but in the subject's thinking (Fisher and Ury, 1981). We can hallucinate about

another's understandings and, more often than not, be wrong. The truth of which we are trying to convince them becomes just another argument to be dealt with. Any misperception of reality or miscommunication which is received as threatening or offensive can create fear, anger, depression, or hostility, which can escalate to violence (Fisher and Ury, 1981). These problems exist whether dealing with terrorists, psychotics, or the media, for language and perspectives of each differ from our own.

MAPPING PRESENT INTERNAL STATE

When mapping (evaluating) the subject who may appear psychologically aberrant, it is more useful to view the subject regardless of the problem as someone who is functioning perfectly and repeatedly able to systematically coordinate behaviors with structure (Bandler, 1985). The problem confronting the negotiator is the subject's responses are not presently consistent with that which is requested at that moment. During the process of discovering the structure of the person's subjective experience we can determine how to effectively change overt behavior. Thus, the pragmatic negotiator's goal is to render harmless the suicidal or barricaded subject and assure the release of hostages without incident.

The emphasis is upon outcome rather than a focal orientation toward the clinical evaluation which is most often not readily available nor useful to the negotiator (Bandler, 1985).

The frame of communication must exist in order for there to be an active negotiation process. Logically, in order for a negotiation to occur some relationship or rapport must exist between subject(s) and negotiator(s). The term "rapport" is readily referred to by professionals, yet there is little sensory-based information on how to establish or maintain it. Communication and rapport are juxtaposed and interdependent in negotiation.

The NLP model presents observable components of both rapport and communication, which can be calibrated and managed.

SENSORY BASED INFORMATION

Identifying the goals of the negotiation process or delineating clearly the present state of affairs has much in common with good clinical procedures.

The first critical element is sensory-based information. Sensory-based refers to data or noticeable behavioral differences which are detected through one of the five senses (Lankton, 1980). Sensory-based data is less easily distorted or misinterpreted within professional jargon. Such a style of communication can be easily hallucinated in a variety of ways often resulting in misinterpretation. Sensory-based language is utilized often in descriptive report writing by police and provides the behavioral science professionals specific data to analyze.

OBSERVABLE DATA

A presupposition of Neuro-linguistic Programming is that a person cannot not communicate in some form and if we maintain clean open reception channels that which is being communicated will become obvious. There are mega-pieces and micro-pieces of the communication process within the negotiation. However, the negotiator does not have to wait until a trigger is pulled by the subject in order to make a point. After calibrating the observed base rates of physical operations or behaviors, such as breathing, alterations in these behaviors are prime indicators of fluctuation in the subjects emotional state (Dilts, 1983).

The negotiator is concerned with the micro-bits of information gleaned from unconscious involuntary behaviors; i.e., breathing, swallowing, for these provide the data for establishing base rates. Noticing larger shifts in emotional states is easier although less useful in that interpretations become overgeneralized. Behavior, however, cannot be calibrated if it is not first observed. The difference that makes the difference will likely lie in unconscious behavior; however, the combat conditions of hostage situations rarely permit the use of polygraph or bio-feedback equipment.

A primary datum source regarding changes of the internal emotional state lies in the individual's analog or observable changes in the physiological behavior. These changes can be noted usually by paying attention to shifts in breathing rate or direction, muscle tension, pulse rate, flushing or skin coloration changes, alterations in fullness of the lips or under the eyes, eye movement, pupil dilation, any slight shifts or variations in posture, idiosyncratic movement, and changes in skin pore size (Dilts, et al, 1980). Although each of these cues can be seen by a trained observer, the negotiator is not always in a position to visually scrutinize the subject. The negotiator can, however, detect auditory shifts in the subject's breathing rate or depth, changes in voice volume, tonality, timbre, increases or decreases in the rate of speech, or alterations in the choice of words (Dilts, et al, 1980).

The findings of Graunke and Roberts (1985), support the assumption that the sensory predicates utilized in language mirror the modality of the internal encoding process. This also provides basic insight into which sensory channel, i.e., auditory, visual, kinesthetic, olfactory, or gustatory, the client is accessing at any given point. The negotiator should be alert for changes in context which may shift the representational system or sensory modality being employed (Andreas, 1982). By matching the negotiator's sensory predicates to the representational systems of the subject, rapport can be enhanced (Yapko, 1981). The matching or mirroring of the physiological base rates also brings about rapport. This matching is a prerequisite to leading or directionalizing the subject's behavior.

It is concluded from personal experience with numerous hostage negotiations that paying attention to the time can also be an effective means by which to calibrate the negotiation process. The length of time of each exchange from the time the subject answers to the time he hangs up can become a variable to measure rapport. For example, often the first phone contacts are very short. Subsequent calls will become longer and more personal as rapport builds. As rapport breaks down so does the length of the conversation.

CONCLUSION

This paper is a preliminary introduction to Neuro-linguistic Programming, a strategy found successful in improving the negotiator's ability to perceive, identify, and utilize aspects of the communication process. The thesis presented in this paper is that all behavior is communicative, and further, there are no mistakes in communication, only outcomes. When the communication process is conceptualized in this manner, negotiator flexibility in response to the subject is greatly increased.

Hostage rescue and suicide intervention specialists are entrusted the responsibility of de-escalating crisis with the absolute minimum loss of life. The process of analysis and stabilization of these emergencies is enhanced by NLP strategies which consistently achieve positive outcomes against the infinitely changing circumstances of each communication interchange. The utilization of NLP techniques creates flexibility to the intuitive dimensions of rapport necessary to successful negotiation outcomes. William Ross Ashby's study of cybernetics in the Principle of Requisite Variety (1964) best summarized the art of successful communication in negotiation interactions as that between two matched positions, the element with the widest range of flexibility ultimately becomes the controlling agent.

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TWO SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING PERFORMANCE OF HOSTAGE NEGOTIATION TEAMS

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes two suggestions for improvement in the performance of Hostage Negotiation Teams. The first suggestion consists of a description of an organizational refinement of the functions of Hostage Negotiation Team Members. The second describes a method of enhancing role-play training exercises.

TEXT

Historically, Hostage negotiation teams have utilized three to five team members during operations. Various models have described their functions in various ways, usually labeling the members as primary, secondary, and tertiary negotiators. Since one of the goals of hostage negotiation or negotiations with barricaded subjects include bringing order and reasonability to a chaotic situation, it would seem helpful to more clearly label and define the positions and roles of the negotiators. Individuals within tactical teams clearly fill specific positions that help to maximize both efficiency and officer safety. Negotiation team members, although utilizing a significantly different set of technical skills, could increase their effectiveness in both operations and in training with more clearly defined individual functions within the team.

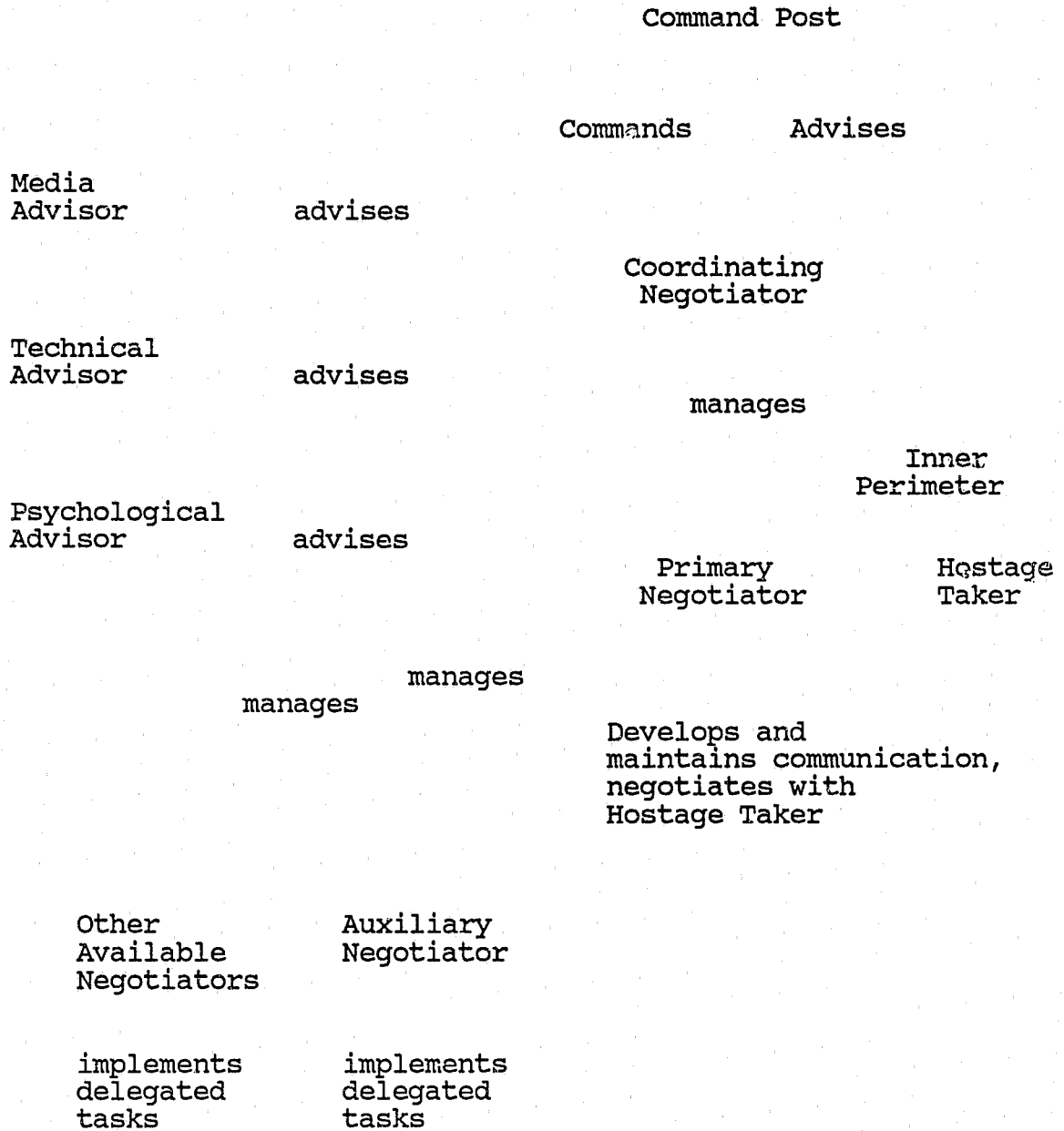
The following three positions can make up the core of a negotiation team: Primary Negotiator, Coordinating Negotiator, and Auxiliary Negotiator. Since most negotiation teams have more than three members, other negotiators present at the scene of operations may assist the Auxiliary Negotiator. Some activity may overlay and team members need to receive training in each position: The main benefit of this sort of organization is a clearly stated definition of the bottom line responsibility for each team member.

In this model the Primary Negotiator has as his main function developing and maintaining rapport and communication with the subject. Maintaining rapport and communication represents the highest priority and serves as a prerequisite for accomplishment of several subgoals. These subgoals include negotiating the optimal outcome from the authority's perspective, accumulating information of value to the tactical team, ascertaining information regarding hostages, and so forth. Obviously, none of these subgoals has a high probability of achievement without the existence of an open line of communication.

The second position in this model is the Co-ordinating Negotiator who serves as a manager and as the hub of communications for the negotiation efforts as a whole. Responsibilities of this position include serving as "insulation" for the Primary Negotiator and as an information conduit between the Primary Negotiator and the other personnel involved in the operation (Auxiliary Negotiator, tactical leader, command post, technical advisor, psychological advisor, civilians, etc.). The Co-ordinating Negotiator may also function as a consultant to the Primary Negotiator and has the responsibility of assuring that other tasks are accomplished. Such tasks can include recording and documenting events during the operation, acquiring negotiable items, etc. The Coordinating Negotiator can handle some of these tasks himself, however, other tasks can and should be delegated to the Auxiliary Negotiator or other personnel. Since the individual in the position of Coordinating Negotiator essentially acts as a manager, he should be one of the more experienced team members.

The third position in this model is the Auxiliary Negotiator who functions as an agent of the Coordinating Negotiator. The Auxiliary Negotiator has as his or her responsibility the implementation of any task delegated by the Coordinating Negotiator (i.e., recording, acquisition of negotiated items, debriefing of civilians, etc.). Clarifying this relationship between the Coordinator and the Auxiliary can decrease problems in the operation such as the inordinate amount of time often required to acquire negotiable items, lapses in documentation and breakdowns communication.

The following diagram represents the positions and functions of the model described above:



A second suggestion aimed at improving the performance of Hostage Negotiation Teams assumes that one of the very best training techniques is the role-play exercise. This suggestion focuses on improving the component of the role-play exercise which is most frequently minimized or at times completely neglected. This component is a well structured feedback session immediately following the conclusion of the role-play exercise. The feedback session should utilize the active observations made by those team members watching and listening to the exercise, but not actually playing any of the roles in the exercise. Team members observing the exercise represent an often untapped resource and can provide excellent information and suggestions on performance. Actively and effectively involving them as careful observers during the role-play exercise increases their own learning. Actively and effectively using them as feed-back providers after the exercise significantly aides in the learning of the team members playing the roles and it can also significantly improve and facilitate the cooperative team-work of the group in general.

To increase the overall effectiveness of role-play exercises in training sessions four steps can be taken. The first of these steps is to provide all the team members with instruction on how to provide useful feedback. This can be accomplished in a short time period prior to the role-play exercise and can be briefly reviewed on each training occasion. "Appendix A" describes several elements of useful feedback.

The second step consists of providing each team member not actively involved in the role-play exercise with a written guide to serve as a structure for his or her observations. Written guides can help each observer focus on specific elements of the negotiators performance during the exercise. It aids the observers in avoiding over-generalized feedback which has minimal value. "Appendix B" contains examples of how these guides may be structured.

A third step is simply to emphasize the importance of the feedback session in the learning process. This perception will become increasingly clear over the course of continued training sessions.

The last important step in this process is for the individual responsible for the training to insure that the feedback session is well-facilitated and that enough time is allocated for it to operate properly. Video taping the feedback session as well as the role-play, if possible, can serve as a resource to those team members who receive the feedback.

Both of the suggestions made in this paper essentially recommend refinements in organizational structuring. During an operation a Primary Negotiator will most often need to communicate a relaxed and flexible attitude toward the subject of negotiations. To increase the Primary Negotiator's ability to perform his or her task in a relaxed and responsive manner, he or she does need to be efficiently supported by other team members who are well organized and clearly understand their roles and responsibilities.

Profiting from the time invested in role-play exercises during training can also be substantially increased by thoughtfully prestructuring for a subsequent feedback session. An additional benefit of the well-facilitated feedback session is that it provides yet another opportunity for team members to practice effective communication skills with each other. The practiced ability to deliver constructive and, at times, confrontive feedback on performance to fellow team members in a respectful and helpful manner is certainly a skill which is also essential when communicating with a subject of an operation.

Appendix A

CRITERIA OF USEFUL FEEDBACK

1. The feedback should be descriptive and specific rather than critical and general.

(eg: "You may have been able to gain better initial rapport by acknowledging his fear" rather than "You screwed up when you insisted he had nothing to be afraid of.")

2. The feedback should focus on behavior which can be changed.

(eg: "You could have made a better relationship by speaking slower" rather than "You've got to get rid of your impatience.")

NOTE: Behavior, especially if specifically defined, is much easier to modify than an attitude or value.

3. The feedback should be well-timed and in small amounts with positive and negative feedback given separately.

(eg: "You did a good job of redirecting his attention when he threatened the hostages. You might have moved too fast or asked too many questions about his position in the room right before that" rather than a long dissertation, most of which will be forgotten or not incorporated.)

NOTE: Feedback is most effective when given in small and specific doses. The feedback needs to come in bits small enough to allow the receiver to respond to each one.

In giving feedback try to avoid the word "but" as a conjunction. In the English language "but" often functions as an unconscious directive to forget everything said prior to the "but." The form most commonly observed is as follows: positive statement BUT negative statement. "That's a nice looking tie but your shirt certainly needs a good pressing." The recipient of this kind of feedback usually comes away with a feeling of being criticized and remembers only the comment about the shirt. Although it feels clumsy at first, substituting the word "and" for

the commonly used "but" is a much more effective way to "package" feedback and to separate the negative and positive elements of feedback if they must be included in the same sentence.

4. Feedback should leave the choice and responsibility for change with the recipient.

(eg: "You might try letting the guy rant and rave for a few more minutes" rather than "Your stupid interruption only made him go on a longer tirade.")

NOTE: Learning usually occurs when a person decides to incorporate a new behavior into their performance and rarely occurs when a person is approached in an authoritarian manner. Giving feedback in a way that infers that the recipient will take that advice or be considered stupid is little different than arriving at a hostage scene and simply announcing over a bullhorn "surrender or die." This does not constitute a generally approved negotiation technique and in its milder form does not aid in improving the acquisition of skills for negotiators.

5. Negative feedback should include, if at all possible, a possible suggestion for improvement.

(eg: "He really really got mad when you agreed with him that his wife is frigid. Maybe you could stick with verifying only those things you can reasonably verify like how most men would feel about that.")

APPENDIX B

Written guidelines for observation and assessment during role-play exercises and for feedback following exercises.

NOTE: The following evaluation forms serve only as examples. Trainers are encouraged to tailor their own forms to reflect those aspects of Hostage Negotiations that they have emphasized in training sessions and wish to see implemented in their own team's performance.

Acknowledgment, recognition, and appreciation are extended to SA Fred Lancely, FBI, who presented me with the content upon which the following examples are based at the FBI's Seminar on Hostage Negotiations in January, 1985.

EVALUATION SUGGESTIONS
FOR ROLE-PLAY EXERCISE WITH A
"DEPRESSED" SUBJECT

1. How well did the Primary Negotiator utilize the guidelines for "depressed" subjects?

A. Matched the slowed "pace" of the subject's verbalizations and thought processes.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Established and maintained a good rapport.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Occasionally, when it seemed right to try, attempted directives.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Stayed alert to unrelated and sudden improvements.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Time perspective in the "here and now" (present).

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Demonstrated Patience

Very Well Poor
Comments and Suggestion:

G. Avoided desperate and unrealistic attempts to "cheer up" the subject.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Depressed"

-2-

2. How well did the Coordinating Negotiator do the following?

A. Acted as an advisor/consultant to the Primary Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Insulated the Primary Negotiator from others.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Relayed information to tactical.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Managed any needed "chores" through the Auxiliary.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Coordinated the negotiation in general.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Insured that someone was acting as a recorder at all times.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

3. How well did the Auxiliary Negotiator do the following?

A. Accomplished the tasks delegated by the Coordinating Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Accomplished any necessary debriefing of involved civilians.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Depressed"

4. General comments and/or suggestions about the exercise.

5. General comments and/or suggestions for the team in case of such an operation:

EVALUATION SUGGESTIONS
FOR ROLE-PLAY EXERCISE WITH AN
"INADEQUATE PERSONALITY"

1. How well did the Primary Negotiator utilize the guidelines for "depressed" subjects?

A. Established and maintained a good rapport.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Built the self-esteem of the subject.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Demonstrated understanding and uncritical acceptance.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Minimized possibilities of enlarging any possible "audience for failure."

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Made careful and experimental attempts at switching to a more directive approach.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Demonstrated an ability to understand and use the "attention" that the subject is receiving as a negotiation element.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

G. Avoided sarcastic and disrespectful comments regarding exorbitant demands.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Inadequate"

-2-

2. How well did the Coordinating Negotiator do the following?

A. Acted as an advisor/consultant to the Primary Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Insulated the Primary Negotiator from others.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Relayed information to tactical.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Managed any needed "chores" through the Auxiliary.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Coordinated the negotiation in general.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Insured that someone was acting as a recorder at all times.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

G. Considered using an opposite-sex Primary Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Inadequate"

-3-

3. How well did the Auxiliary Negotiator do the following?

A. Accomplished the tasks delegated by the
Coordinating Negotiator.

Very well

Poor

Comments and Suggestions:

B. Accomplished any necessary debriefing of involved
civilians.

Very well

Poor

Comments and Suggestions:

4. General comments and/or suggestions about the exercise.

5. General comments and/or suggestions for the team in case
of such an operation.

EVALUATION SUGGESTIONS
FOR ROLE-PLAY EXERCISE WITH AN
"ANTI-SOCIAL PERSONALITY

1. How well did the Primary Negotiator utilize the guidelines for "anti-social personality" subject?

A. Demonstrated the ability to communicate with the subject with an appreciation of his extreme egocentricity.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Convinced the subject that the safe release of the hostages was to his advantage.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Kept the subject's attention on the negotiations and away from the hostages.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Kept the negotiations reality oriented.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Avoided situations involving introduction of non-police negotiators/civilian "mediators."

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Anti-social"

2. How well did the Coordinating Negotiator do the following?

A. Acted as an advisor/consultant to the Primary Negotiator.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Insulated the Primary Negotiator from others.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Relayed information to tactical.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Managed any needed "chores" through the Auxiliary.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions

E. Coordinated the negotiation in general.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Insured that someone was acting as a recorder at all times.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

3. How well did the Auxiliary Negotiator do the following?

A. Accomplished the tasks delegated by the Coordinating Negotiator.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Accomplished any necessary debriefing of involved civilians.

Very well _____ Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Anti-social"

4. General comments and/or suggestions about the exercise.

5. General comments and/or suggestions for the team in case of such an operation.

EVALUATION SUGGESTIONS
FOR ROLE-PLAY EXERCISE WITH A
"PARANOID SCHIZOPHRENIC" SUBJECT

1. How well did the Primary Negotiator utilize the guidelines for a "Paranoid Schizophrenic" subject?

A. Established and maintained the best possible degree of rapport.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Allowed for and respected an appropriate amount of psychological distance (avoided ineffective offers of intimacy, personal closeness).

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Utilized the subjects "need to explain" to attain or maintain rapport-building efforts.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Consistently and successfully resisted the temptation to argue or "reason" the subject out of delusions.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Communicated an alliance and nonjudgmental acceptance of the subject's perceptions without coming across as insincere.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Gave reasonable consideration to publicity as a negotiable item.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

- G. Handled possible rejection by the subject (after some degree of success) without taking it personally.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

- H. Diplomatically avoided introducing friends or family members into the negotiation.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

- I. Demonstrated awareness of the possibility of the subject's having negative feeling regarding the mental health profession.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

- J. Patiently allowed the subject to vent emotions; tolerated lengthy delusional discourses without communicating annoyance.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Paranoid Schizophrenic"

-3-

2. How well did the Coordinating Negotiator do the following?

A. Acted as an advisor/consultant to the Primary Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestion:

B. Insulated the Primary Negotiator from others.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

C. Relayed information to tactical.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

D. Managed any needed "chores" through the Auxiliary.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

E. Coordinated the negotiation in general.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

F. Insured that someone was acting as a recorder at all times.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

3. How well did the Auxiliary Negotiator do the following?

A. Accomplished the tasks delegated by the Coordinating Negotiator.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

B. Accomplished any necessary debriefing of involved civilians.

Very well Poor
Comments and Suggestions:

"Paranoid Schizophrenic"

-4-

4. General comments and/or suggestions about the exercise.

5. General comments and/or suggestions for the team in case of such an operation.

IDENTIFYING CHARACTERISTICS OF HOSTAGE NEGOTIATORS, AND
USING PERSONALITY DATA TO DEVELOP A SELECTION MODEL

Vesta S. Getty, Ph. D.
Joseph D. Elam, Ph. D.

ABSTRACT

A survey of law enforcement administrators was used to obtain a list of personality characteristics which they felt were important in their selection of hostage negotiators, and personality test data was obtained from a sample of law enforcement personnel who were part of hostage negotiation teams. In this study, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) were used to obtain personality profiles of hostage negotiators and a control sample of municipal police officers. A scoring key was developed using personality test data, and the key was tested against the 39 negotiators and 31 control officers. Results from the test of the scoring key indicate that the scoring technique is fairly accurate in distinguishing hostage negotiators from the control sample. Results indicate that hostage negotiators would be described as being above average in their ability to communicate effectively with others, self-confident, good at divergent thinking and helpful and sympathetic in their dealings with other people.

INTRODUCTION

Previous research on hostage negotiator selection (Gettys, 1983; Elam, 1983; Smouse, 1983) indicates that very few U. S. law enforcement agencies use personality tests as part of their screening process for selecting hostage negotiators. Personality tests may be beneficial in selecting hostage negotiators, and data from the both the Elam and the Smouse studies indicate that several of the scales on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) can be used to distinguish between designated negotiators and police officers in general. This paper describes the process of (1) identifying those personality factors measured by the MMPI and CPI that are unique to negotiators and (2) the development of scoring rules for personality test data to aid in identifying people who are similar to a sample of hostage negotiators.

IDENTIFYING PERSONALITY FACTORS

The first step in developing a selection model for hostage negotiators is to measure personality characteristics of law enforcement personnel who are designated as hostage negotiators. It is assumed that the negotiators in this sample were self-selected, or were designated as hostage negotiators by their agencies because they possessed certain qualities that are presumed to lead to success in hostage negotiation. Personality tests administered to designated hostage negotiators gave us a "hostage negotiator profile" (Elam, 1983; Smouse, 1983). In this research, designated negotiators are compared to a control sample of police officers. If negotiators are in fact different from law enforcement officers in general, it should be possible to obtain measures that consistently distinguish the negotiators from a law enforcement control group.

The second step in developing a selection model for hostage negotiators is to investigate the personality characteristics for which administrators look when they select people as hostage negotiators for their agencies. Based on data from a survey of law enforcement agencies, Gettys (1983) was able to identify personality characteristics which agencies consider most important in selecting negotiators. The most frequently chosen quality was the negotiator's ability to talk easily with people. Personal qualities that were also given a high importance rating were the ability to listen, the ability to think and perform well in stressful situations, empathy, the ability the ability to "step back" and analyze the situation and the ability to respond in a genuine, caring way.

DESCRIBING HOSTAGE NEGOTIATORS USING PERSONALITY TEST SCORES

Elam, and also Smouse, report test scores on the MMPI and CPI for hostage negotiators and a control sample of police officers. From this data we can select five scales from the MMPI L, 1 (Hypochondriasis), 3 (Hysteria), 6 (Paranoia), and 8 (Schizophrenia), and five scales from the CPI Do (Dominance), Cs (Capacity for Status), Ac (Achievement via Conformance), Ai (Achievement Via Independence), and Ie (Intellectual Efficiency), which seem to most clearly distinguish the negotiators sample from the police control sample. Scores on these 10 "critical scales" were used to develop a personality description of a hostage negotiator.

Verbal Fluency seems to be an important characteristic of negotiators, and this quality can be measured by slight elevations of scales 1 and 3 on the MMPI. People who score in the middle ranges on these scales can be described by such positive adjectives as outgoing, socially extroverted, logical, and reasonable. People who score at the higher levels on the Do (Dominance) scale on the CpI, are described as the kind of people who prefer to be in charge, and who communicate their ideas effectively.

A good "self-image", as measured by scale L on the MMPI and the Cs (Capacity for Status) scale on the CPI also seem to be characteristics of good negotiators. Graham (1977) describes people with a low L scale as confident enough about themselves to admit to minor personal faults and shortcomings. Gough, McKee and Yandell (1955) provide a list of adjectives used to describe people with a low L scale, and the list includes such terms as perceptive, socially responsive, and self-reliant, independent, strong, natural, relaxed, able to function effectively in leadership roles. People who score high on the Cs scale are supposed to be ambitious, insightful, resourceful, and are considered to have a wide range of interests.

Reasoning ability, as measured by scale 8 on the MMPI, and the three intellectual interest scales on the CPI indicate that negotiators tend to be adventurous, sharp witted, creative and imaginative in their approach to problems.

Sensitivity to others, as measured by scale 8 on the MMPI, and the Cs scale on the CPI indicated that hostage negotiators are generally helpful and sympathetic. They also seem to have a strong sense of service and desire to contribute to the welfare of other people.

A composite profile of a designated hostage negotiator can be drawn using the data from the studies by Elam and Smouse. Figure 1 presents the average MMPI Profile of the negotiator sample compared with that of police controls, and Figure 2 presents the average CPI profile of the negotiator sample compared with the police control sample.

DEVELOPING A SCORING KEY

We wanted a method of distinguishing negotiators from ordinary police officers, so a scoring key (See Appendix A) was developed. The key was based on the 5 scales on the MMPI and the 5 scales on the CPI that seem to consistently distinguish negotiators from police officer controls. The five scales chosen from the MMPI were: L, 1 (Hypochondriasis), 3 (Hysteria), 6 (Paranoia), and 8 (Schizophrenia). The scales chosen from the CPI were Do (Dominance), CS (Capacity for Status), AC (Achievement via Conformance), AI (Achievement via Independence), and Ie (Intellectual Efficiency). Scores from 0 to 10 were assigned to personality test scores in such a way that they reflect the desirability of the various characteristics. A "perfect 10" negotiator would get ten perfect tens, and would earn a rating of score of 100.

TESTING THE SELECTION MODEL

Subjects. Thirty one (31) hostage negotiators from the original sample (Smouse, 1983) were used. Test data from eight (8) negotiators not used in the original sample were scored using the scoring key presented in Appendix A. When the mean scores of the new negotiators were compared to the original sample, there was no significant difference between the means (old=10.58, New=11.09, $F=0.00$), so the two groups were combined, and thirty nine (39) designated hostage negotiators were used in subsequent analyses. Personality test data from thirty (30) entry level police officers was used for the control group.

Scoring. A scoring key (Appendix A) was used to obtain data from the negotiator and control samples. Scores obtained from the personality tests were compared to the key, and a rating score was obtained. If a negotiator perfectly matched the list of characteristics of a designated hostage negotiator, he would obtain a "perfect" score of 10 on each scale of a total of 100. The officer who had few or none of the characteristics identified as typical of a negotiator could obtain a score of 0 on each scale, and a total score of 0.

MMPI™

MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC™
PERSONALITY INVENTORY
S.R. Hathaway and J.C. McKinley

PROFILE

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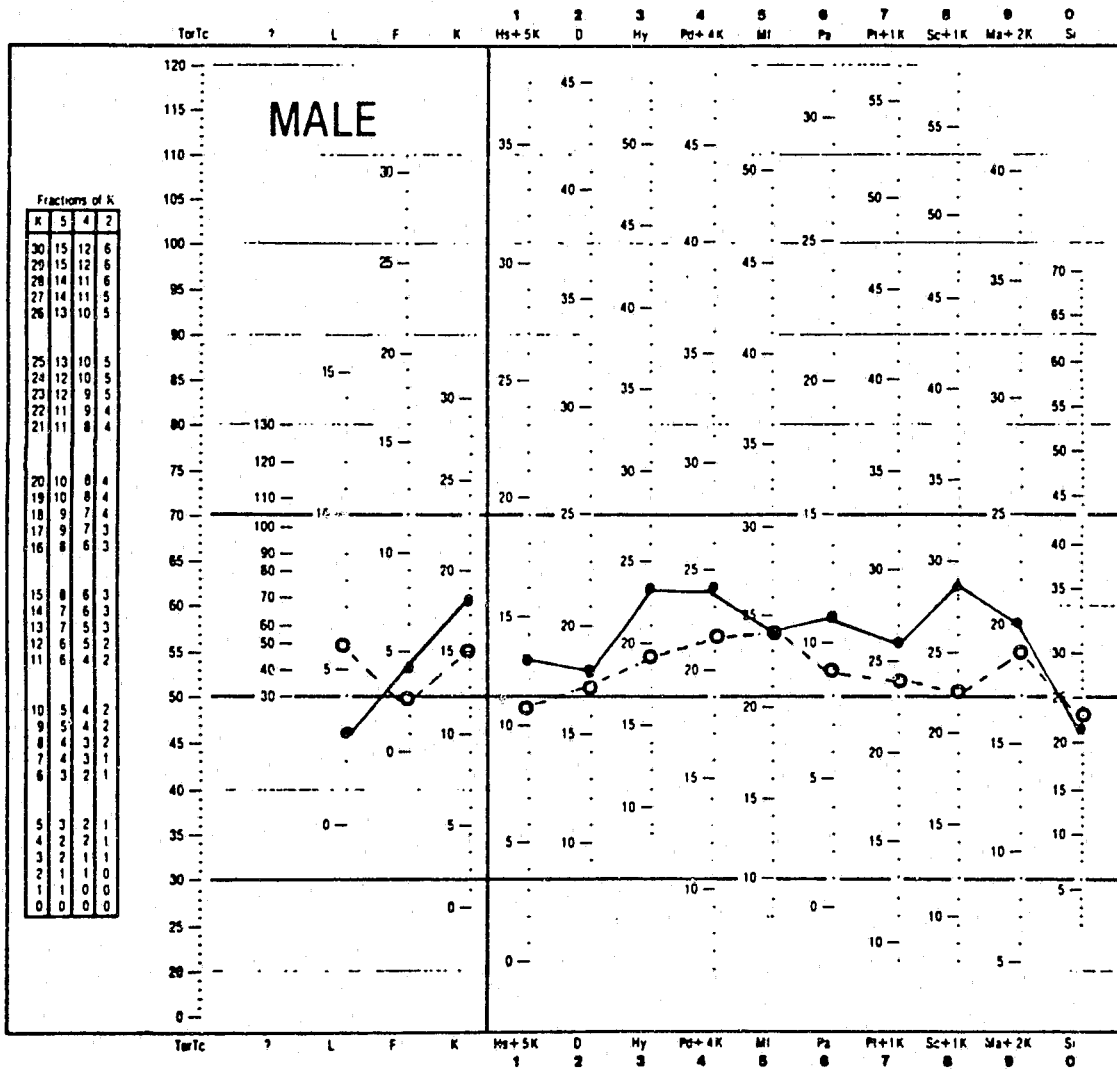


Figure 1. Mean Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory profiles for a sample of hostage negotiators and police officers.

PROFILE SHEET FOR THE *California Psychological Inventory*: MALE

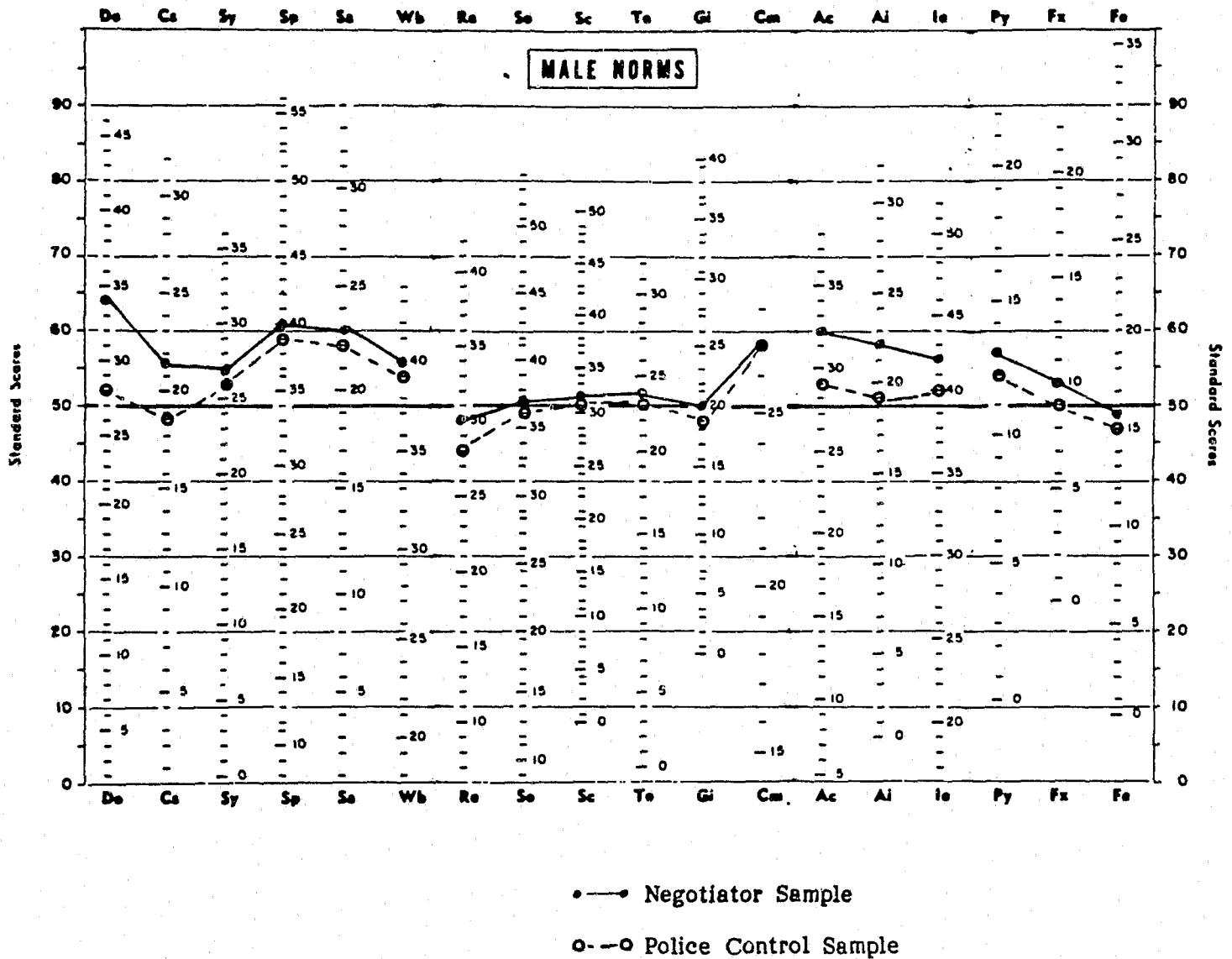


Figure 2. Mean California Psychological Inventory profiles for a sample of hostage negotiators and police officers.

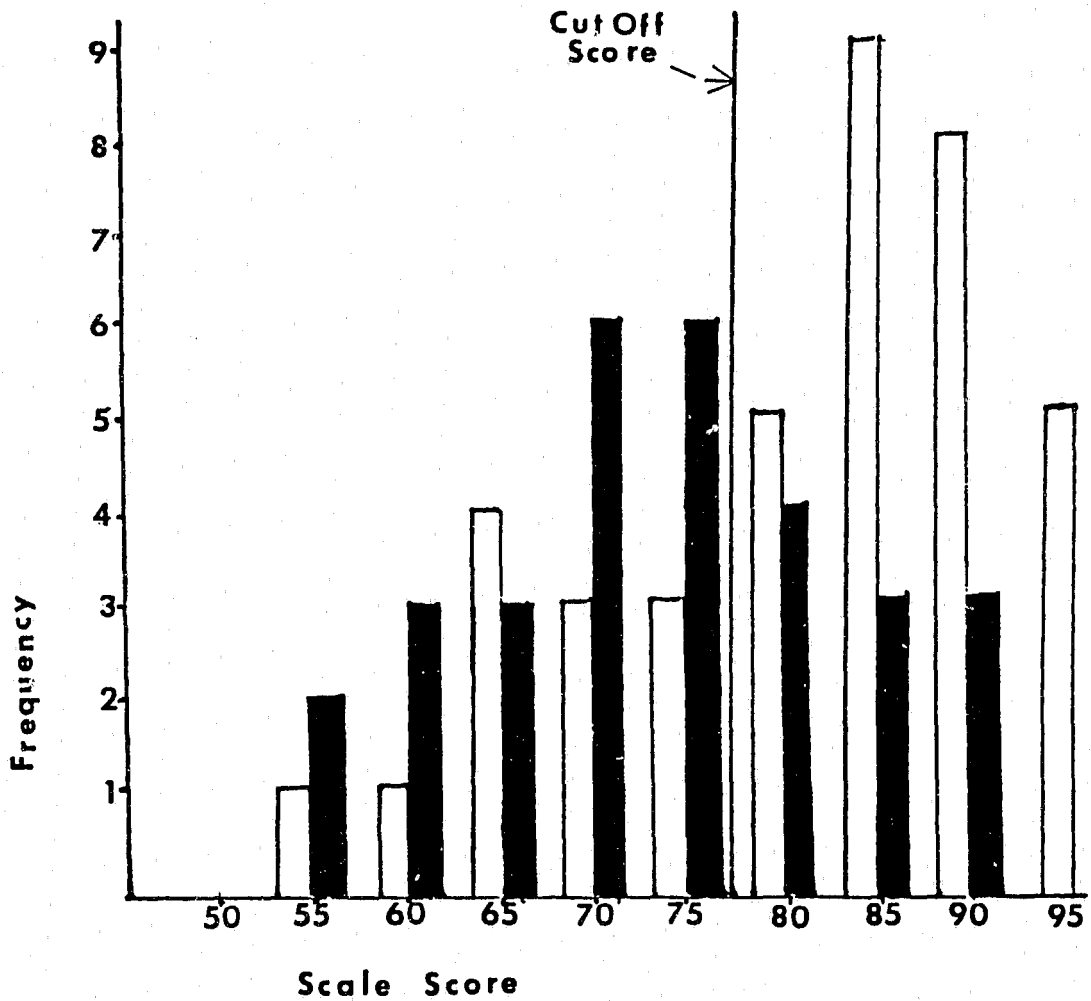
Table 1
Intercorrelation of Personality Measures for Negotiators and Controls

	L	Hs(1)	Hy(3)	Pa(6)	Sc(8)	Do	Cs	Ac	Ai	Ie	TS
Hs	-0.025										
Hy	-0.075	0.320									
Pa	0.110	0.001	0.108								
Sz	0.054	0.458	0.081	-0.016							
Do	0.094	0.087	0.388	-0.095	0.085						
Cs	-0.064	0.007	0.159	0.109	-0.195	0.289					
Ac	-0.243	-0.057	0.117	-0.149	-0.091	0.369	0.393				
Ai	0.065	0.281	0.340	-0.100	0.012	0.344	0.313	0.240			
Ie	-0.077	0.140	0.263	0.135	-0.105	0.383	0.547	0.487	0.426		
TS	0.142	0.319	0.465	0.198	0.135	0.623	0.666	0.559	0.640	0.776	
NC	0.159	0.050	0.164	-0.026	0.128	0.255	-0.354	0.155	0.278	0.141	0.368

Table 2.
Mean Scale Scores for Negotiators and Controls

Scale	Negotiator	Control	F	P
L	7.2	6.6	1.73	n.s.
Hs(1)	8.8	8.7	0.17	n.s.
Hy(3)	9.3	8.9	1.86	n.s.
Pa(6)	7.9	8.0	0.04	n.s.
Sc(8)	8.3	7.8	1.12	n.s.
Do	8.2	7.2	4.67	p<.05
Cs	7.9	5.7	9.62	P<.01
Ac	7.9	7.1	1.66	n.s.
Ai	7.9	6.3	5.59	p<.05
le	7.6	6.8	1.35	n.s.
Total	81.2	73.1	10.46	p<.01

The distribution of total scores for the hostage negotiator group and the police control groups is presented in Figure 3.



Negotiator Sample
 Police Control Sample

Figure 3. Frequency distribution of scale scores for the negotiator sample and the police officer controls. A cut off scale score of 76 correctly identifies 29 of the 39 negotiators. Twelve of the controls have scores above the cut off, which classifies them with the negotiator group.

RESULTS

The intercorrelation matrix of the 10 test scores, total scores, and hostage vs control data is presented in Table 1 on following page.

Of particular interest are the correlations between the scale scores from the personality tests and TS or Total Score and between the personality test scores and the NC or Negotiator-Control distinction. Correlations of greater than .300 have been highlighted for ease of inspections. Scales 1(Hs) and 3(Hy) on the MMPI, which seem to be measures of divergent thinking, show a high correlation with the total, and with some of the CPI scales (Ai and Ie), which also measure divergent thinking. The data indicates that all five of the scales on the CPI are significantly correlated with the negotiator-control variable.

Results of analysis of variance on scale scores and total scores for the negotiator and control samples is presented in Table 2. It is interesting to note that several of the scales from the CPI, as well as the total score, indicates that there are some significant personality differences between the negotiator sample and the police controls.

It is evident that there is a large overlap between the two groups. For illustration purposes, a "cut-off classification score" has been introduced to distinguish between "typical hostage negotiators" and "typical police controls". An arbitrary "cut-off classification score" of 76 was chosen for this sample of negotiators and police officer controls, because data indicates that for this sample, this cut-off score correctly classifies the maximum number of officers into negotiator and control groups. Using this cut-off score, twenty-nine of the thirty-nine negotiators were correctly classified. The total classification scores of ten negotiators from the sample of thirty-nine fell below the cut-off score of 76. For the thirty police officer controls, eighteen had a classification score that was below the mean cut-off score for the negotiators, and twelve officers had a classification score that was above the cut-off score. The accuracy of this classification scheme is statistically significant ($\chi^2=12.68$, $p<.01$).

While it is not possible at this time, and with this limited data, to establish a "cut-off selection score" which would accurately select people who would be good negotiators, it can be shown that this kind of scoring system is useful for identifying people who closely resemble a national sample of designated hostage negotiators.

Future research would involve collection of data that was tied to performance scores. We have no way to determine whether or not our sample of negotiators could be classified as "good" or "successful" as defined by the number of situations successfully negotiated. Eventually this technique may prove useful in developing a scoring key that can use personality test data to consistently identify police officers who have the potential to become good hostage negotiators.

APPENDIX A

MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY SCORING KEY

<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>Hs(1)</u>	<u>Hy(3)</u>	<u>Pa(6)</u>	<u>Sc(8)</u>
10	1	15-14	21-22	11	29-28
9	2	13-12	19-20	10	27-26
8	3	11-10	18-17	9	25-24
7	4	9-8	16-15	8	23-22
6	5	7-6	14-13	7	21-20
5	6	5	12	6	19
4	7	4	11	5	18
3	8	3	10	4	17
2	9	2	9	3	16
1	10	1	8	2-below	15-below

CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY SCORING KEY

<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>DO</u>	<u>CS</u>	<u>AC</u>	<u>AI</u>	<u>IE</u>
10	36-up	23-22	33-up	23-up	43-up
9	35-34	21	32	22	42
8	33-32	20	31	21	41
7	31-30	19	30	20	40
6	29-28	18	29	19	39
5	27-26	17	28	18	38
4	25-24	16	27	17	37
3	23-22	15	26	16	36
2	21-20	14	25	15	35
1	19-below	13-below	24-below	14-below	34-below

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POLICE PSYCHOLOGY: INFLUENCING ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER

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TEXT

In 1984 and 1985 the FBI sponsored symposiums on police psychological services. Virtually every principal police psychologist and mental health consultant to law enforcement agencies met to bring greater clarity to the critical issues that behavioral sciences face in law enforcement agencies. The meetings were an opportunity to extend, expand and shape the role of behavioral sciences through cooperative learning and networking processes. These recent FBI events symbolize the national recognition of the presence of psychology in the law enforcement community.

The implications for health and performance of police officers has been well documented and identified in the literature (Police Stress, 1977). The burgeoning area of police psychological services first focused on programs designed to deal with and combat stress endemic to the profession through remedial clinical services and protection for liability concerns of police agencies. Preventative, pro-active models (Monahan, 1980) and analyses of causal factors (Kroes, 1974; Reiser, 1979; Jacobi, 1975) provided for initiating psychological service units with police agencies. More crucial than programs themselves is the process that underlies the organizational commitment and employee participation. How and where should psychological service units be in the planning for organizational structuring of intervention policies? This paper intends to integrate three salient themes necessary in conceptualizing a police psychological services unit as an occupational health ombudsman: Firstly, the presence of psychological services in a police agency represents a prima facie restructuring of standard organizational policy. Secondly, the nature of the police culture and its development of

pathological normative behaviors involves a process of adaptation that lend to systems analysis and structural intervention strategies. Finally, the success of stress reduction strategies are tied to organizational commitment to/and the level of employee participation that emphasizes self-development.

The field of psychology has seldom been afforded the opportunity to demonstrate the spirit of its staled mission as in the service of law enforcement. Police agencies occupy a unique social and political position which offers psychologists a variety of opportunities to actively address the policies and practices of an institution that is profound in its reflection of societal attitudes, values and beliefs. The imperative of public service psychology is to effectively apply principles of human behavior to those institutions which are most concerned with promoting human service. Police agencies need sound psychological methodology to maximize their adaptability and minimize the institutional lag inherent in times of economic and social change.

The limits of influence and assistance in the police department by behavioral sciences are boundless. In many respects police psychology is a new genre of public service intervention. Its success will largely depend on the psychologists capacity to make a fundamental shift in role initiative. The initiative is based on the premise that psychology can be a useful force in police agencies by its capacity to contribute to human welfare. Isn't it ironic that the public agency most involved with the widest range of human behavior, most exposed to deviance in the human condition, has been so slow to utilize what psychology has to offer. Police psychology is a fertile area of interface between public service and public health. Police face an increasing need to be aware of the least harmful and most proven methods for dealing effectively with human crisis for their own safety. The effects of controlled violence on police personnel are not yet fully appreciated. Psychology's major concern cannot stop with attempts at solving everyday problems, it must also further scientific understanding of the underlying process of behavior change and health enhancement. Police psychology becomes a mechanism linking organizational behavior and health. This works in behalf of its personnel, and externally in its relationship to the community it serves. The implication of this role is no less than one of architect for social and human welfare. This challenge is a unique one; influencing the reform of an institution that cannot and will not reform by itself. Police psychological services can redirect and positively promote forces that shape the character of the law enforcement community. These services are very necessary in police departments but also in virtually all major institutions or organizational families. The

influence of an organization on the 20 year development of an individual and his family is too profound to leave to haphazard design.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL FAMILY

Rapid and complex changes in our society's fabric has prompted new and different demands upon the role and functions of psychological services to social institutions. This is especially true in police organizations where there are alarming and disproportionate disabilities related or accountable to stress. The provision for mental health or psychological services to the work place is not a novel concept. It has been recognized initially by industry and later by the public sector that a "work place service brings significant new ingredients to a situation which contribute measurably to the probability of success for preventive intervention" (Akabas, 1977, p. 10). Most of the caring and "social control" used to be administered by nuclear and extended families or resources in the local community. But as technologies have advanced and developed, local resource people and the family are less and less able or willing to provide these functions. Community support systems seem to have become inaccessible and over-burdened to working people. They are usually open when workers are unavailable and seem to be closed when workers are able and willing to seek services. The movement toward human services at the work place was originally designed to offer ongoing support and continuity of care without employee identification as a patient or need for the employee to provide rationale for seeking help. It implies a recognition that investment in human capital would have positive ramifications for employee morale and productivity. Police agencies have entered late into this proposition. The first sanctioned police psychological service unit was created some time in the late sixties. Only recently have police agencies recognized that psychological service units can provide support in addition to protection to the police agencies.

Today, psychological service units around the country are at different development stages, many are still concerned with trust and mistrust issues in the department. Others have attained acceptance of their presence work at restructuring policies, which encourage wide scale programs of self-development. "This redefinition and its consequences will depend on assumptions about how behavior is determined, on values about what is socially or individually desirable for health and on conceptions about the social forces affecting professional practice, and on expected impact of services on society (Kaswan, 1981, p. 290)".

Police Departments traditionally are the least tolerant of individual differences and weaknesses, devalue compassion and are least invested in reducing the stigma of

mental illness within its ranks. Administrative acknowledgement that emotional problems need to be expressed and dealt with, without fear of repercussion is a message of institutional caring and concern, as well as responsibility for human factor problems. This includes the seemingly endless personal and interpersonal problems that result from the continued contact with the high stress work environment. Since institutions, organizations and industries have assumed intentionally or otherwise, primary group function of validating individual identities, providing care, nurturance and autonomy - a systems approach to stress is called for. In a systems context the problems of burnout and stress related disability is defined as an interactional problem which may require modification of the high stress environment as well as working with the individual's style of coping and stress management. The recognized consequences of stress and burnout beyond individual pathology include ramifications such as loss of manpower, defectiveness of the agency to the outside community or environment as well as internal effects on staff. In a broader context psychological service units in police departments can serve to counter the damaging effects of community hostility which ultimately lead to social unrest.

POLICE AGENCIES AND FAMILY SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Organizationally, police explicitly identify themselves as a brotherhood, creating and providing ingroup social and political functions.

Police organizations tend to be closed ideological systems characterized by a lack of ongoing professional contact with outside groups or resources outside of law enforcement. This is manifested by a lack of ongoing external consultation or opportunities for off-site training or intersystem collaboration. This is typically rationalized by lack of funds as it is not viewed as a priority area. However, it also reflects a general unwillingness to expose itself to persons of greater expertise of new alternatives to its mode of training. Advancement in the police organization emphasized "employee homogeneity of values" or what William White (1977) called "primacy or program ideology decreases communication between employees due to lack of stimulation, and beforehand knowledge of how other members will respond to any question or issue. It also includes an extrusion or labeling of staff members that do not support program ideology as the "problem staff". These are persons usually discussed not by virtue of their ideas but on the qualities of their character. Finally, there develops an insulation of the agency from the community. Community feedback is filtered through the administration and often discounted as unfounded.

The psychological service unit acts to open "commerce" throughout the organizational system. It provides permission to express feelings heretofore labeled as unmanly, weak, and better left to be denied or repressed. The police psychological service unit must attain enough credibility so as to be institutionalized internally. This requires the psychological service unit to generate enough status to work with the administration honestly on policies that impinge upon the health and welfare of employees without fear of program dissolution.

Police departments tend to establish psychological service units when as an organizational family, adaptive coping mechanisms become depleted and threats to system homeostasis are imminent (i.e., drug problems, suicides, liability). Like a family in crisis, coping patterns, though obviously ineffective, become rigid. No alternatives seem possible or feasible. The psychological service unit must "shake" the system to facilitate other ways of transacting, not only by providing much needed symptom relief for employees in the system. This includes providing stress management training, dealing with marital problems, and psychogenic complaints, addressing the pressing training needs of special interest groups (i.e., hostage negotiators) and facilitating management meetings. Just as in the family system, the organizational transactions that fostered and supported the symptoms to begin with must be restructured. The plan here is to capitalize on successful relief of system members. Once members understand themselves as only one part of the dysfunctional system they can help to shift focus to organizational patterns as the targets for change. The target issues include the nature of decision-making in the organization and the examination of feedback processes by which the organization's employees regulate each others behavior. Psychological services helps to determine which transactions sustain deleterious syndromes and effect police stresses more than individual response to pressures.

It is well known that when stress becomes unmanageable it is often somatized. Four basic characteristics have been identified as encouraging somatization in dysfunctional families (Minuchin and Rosman, 1978. They include enmeshment, over protectiveness, rigidity, and lack of conflict resolution. These characteristics are by products of dysfunctional family system. The psychological services unit may be the only internal force that can induce structural change which result in symptomology and pathology in the system.

Psychological service units structurally initiate and support rationale for educational and behavioral technology. The basis of such a plan must include promoting active employee participation, as well as providing relief and support through clinical treatment.

SOCIAL CHARACTER OF POLICE AGENCIES

The long term isolation, insulation and alienation of police from the main stream of society adversely affects the social character of the police agency. Ultimately psychological service units must be concerned with reviewing organizational policies that either reinforce or deny self-development as root causes of occupational health and/or disease. One very obvious area of concern is the break down of social bonding. This makes fertile ground for adversely affecting the moral and ethical decision making apparatus of our police officers. In a recent APA presentation (1984) a noted Stanford psychologist, Phil Zimbardo, spoke of characteristics of Orwellian technology: 1984. Specifically, ways in which freedom of action and independence of thought are diminished through obedience training, solitude, isolation and mixed messages. He described how warmth, privacy, pride and individuality becomes disrupted by double-think interrogation and deprivation, and finally how truth becomes destroyed through arbitrary authoritarian decisions. All these forces diminish the range of thought and illustrate ways in which bureaucracy can engage in protective stupidity and infantilism. Modes of work can either stimulate life affirming attitudes or depress them through frustration and oppression (Maccoby, 1980). From our unique perspective we have observed how the social character of law enforcement has been subjected to an erosion of healthy values. Behavioral science has a responsibility for providing feedback, modeling community education strategies and opposing administrative insouciance that is inherent in closed systems. Psychological services increases the likelihood of a renewal of standards reflective of self-esteem and human development. It is important we empower police to be at the heart of our societal mission. This can only occur through an understanding of the work practices that effect law enforcement in our society. The police psychologist then has an obligation to help the organization understand how work practices stimulate attitudes, values and beliefs that will either lead to the direction of human development or to pathology. Work that does not stimulate human weakens the occupational culture. Over and over we find the presence of symptoms in a police population to be rational reaction to abnormal working conditions. They are the result of individual adaptation to humanly destructive conditions. Our job then is to explore the relationships amongst work, character and modes of adaptation, and symptoms. Understanding the emotional attitudes and dynamic traits in the law enforcement occupation gives meaning to symptoms and tell us something about their resistance to change. The most developed people are typically those who have struggled with impulses that enslave them (Maccoby, 1980).

THE ROLE OF CHANGE AGENT

The sine qua non of every practitioner is a blueprint for change. The practitioner who wants change happen needs a system of how change occurs. This requires selecting a model appropriate for your intended purposes. Up until recently, change in police departments laid primarily in the strain externally induced, such as a critical social incident and ensuing public outrage. Internal change can be generated through issuance of policy amendments that are actively mandated by the administration. Mandatory post shooting counseling is one such example of structural change internally. The psychological service unit is a connective that defines itself as a line of communication between labor and management, and the mainstream public. To be truly preventative we cannot just offer education and training but need to be oriented to the growth needs of personnel, as well as deficiencies and crisis needs. Programs that promote higher levels of participation and offer a continuum of services will reduce pathology in the character of their profession. Organizations need to target and mediate the isolating effects of police education training and socialization through ongoing education. The imperiled status of the police character is most obvious by its loss of perspective. The immense responsibility requiring reasoning, judgment and discretion by the individual police officer makes it incumbent for the community to begin to understand the police value system. This change process within police organizations is by necessity an evolutionary process. But a practitioner who treats symptoms alone will inevitably suffer the same burnout as the other system employees and do little to reshape the organization in a positive fashion. The fact that alcoholism and divorce have become pervasive normative behaviors in police organizations says something about the values and coping styles of our own society and its care or lack of care for its public servants. Career development must be geared to provide incentives for police officers to leave service when they are no longer capable of executing the reasoning, judgement and responsibility tantamount to good law enforcement decision making. A continuum of services approach providing clinical treatment, self-help manuals, biofeedback training, stress management training, peer and family counseling as well as a wider array of referral services is necessary. But most of all, psychological service units symbolize hope for change and support for the human development of police. "Today, many Americans have given up hope that work will be fulfilling. They seek their main satisfactions at home and in the leisure activities. However, to be creative at leisure while feeling dehumanized at work requires superhuman detachment. For most Americans, work is central to self-definition and personality development, both directly and

indirectly. Although people will accept stressful employment out of necessity, work that does not stimulate human development will weaken a democratic society. (Maccoby, 1980)."

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AN INTRODUCTION TO SERIAL RAPIST
RESEARCH BY THE FBI

Robert R. Hazelwood
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From 1979 to 1981, a series of rapes plagued community members and the police agency of a large southwest city. The rapist became increasingly violent in his attacks, and successfully eluded detection despite the best efforts of law enforcement. He was finally identified and arrested when an alert officer noted his license number while routinely patrolling a shopping center near one rape victim's residence.

Could law enforcement have done anything to have identified the offender more quickly?

From 1984 to 1985, the incidence of reported rape increased by 3.7 percent (Crime in the United States, 1985). This increase may be due to an actual rise in the occurrence of the crime, better reporting by law enforcement, or more willingness on the part of the victim to report the crime. Regardless of the reason, statistically rape appears to be occurring more frequently.

One of the most potent criminal influences to pervade our society is the multiple, or serial, rapist. His victims can number from as few as two to more than one hundred, and each person who has suffered through a sexual assault has been placed in fear of losing her life. The effects of rape do not cease for the victim when the offender leaves, but can last for weeks, months, or years. (Burgess and Holstrom, 1974)

Serial sexual offenders can create a climate of fear in the entire community, and pressures are placed on law enforcement to identify, locate, and apprehend the responsible individual in the shortest possible time. The manpower required to accomplish this task can be enormous. A police agency investigating a

(Note: Portions of this article were presented in testimony before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, April 9, 1986)

series of 18 rapes and 31 attempts had dedicated 50 officers to a task force to stop the crimes. A current investigation of a serial rapist (43 attacks to date) involved a task force of more than 20 investigators, 5 support personnel, and the assistance of crime technicians for 8 months.

FBI involvement in rape investigations is limited to training and providing investigative support when requested by the responsible law enforcement agency unless the sexual assault occurs on Federal property. This investigative support is most often in the form of criminal personality profiling. The profile of a serial rapist is predicated upon core behavior exhibited by the offender during the commission of the offense. Core behavior is defined as the verbal, sexual, and physical (force) activity of the rapist (Hazelwood, 1983). If well documented, it should provide the underlying motivation (power, anger, or a combination of the two) and from this, a profile is developed. For the training and investigative support provided by the FBI to be as current and comprehensive as possible, research on the serial rapist had to be conducted -- research designed to address those issues of concern to law enforcement.

Funded by a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (84-JN-AX-K010), the FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) joined with a team led by Dr. Ann Burgess of the University of Pennsylvania's School of Nursing in a research project to learn more about the serial rapist. Similar NCAVC research on serial murderers has recently been completed by the same team (Ressler, Douglas, Burgess 1983) (FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 1985).

This research included interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists responsible for 837 rapes and more than 400 attempted rapes. The interviews of the 35 Caucasians, 5 blacks, and 1 Hispanic took place in 12 states over a 20-month period. The number of rapes committed by those in the sample ranged from 10 to 59, and the average age of the offender at the time of interview was 35.2. The period of time that the offenders raped before being arrested for the first time ranged from three months to twelve years. Fifteen of the forty-one rapists were in sex offender treatment programs at the time of the interview.

The purpose of this paper is not to present conclusions or findings, but rather to set forth the research goals, the selection criteria, and the manner in which the interviews were conducted. A case study is included to demonstrate the type of information obtained through the interviews.

GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

Based on the experience of working with police agencies, victims of rape, and the mental health community, the research team established seven specific goals. These goals were:

1. To determine what measures the offender employed which allowed him to evade identification and apprehension over a long period of time.

2. To ascertain what, if anything, law enforcement could have done to identify the rapist more quickly, or to cause him to cease his activities and/or turn himself in.

3. To elicit advice from the rapists concerning the prevention of rape, and what they would suggest a victim do or not do in a rape confrontation.

4. To document the types of interviewers and techniques that would be most successful in the interrogation of subjects for prosecution purposes.

5. To determine what role, if any, pornography and/or detective magazines played in the crime. [It is noted the detective magazine issue arose as a result of earlier research (Dietz, Harry, Hazelwood, 1986).]

6. To understand what features of the crime would provide investigators with the best information as to type of the personality responsible for the unsolved rape.

7. To determine what, if any, commonalities exist in the backgrounds of serial offenders in rape, sexual murder, and child sexual abduction.

As the results of the interviews are statistically analyzed and studied, many additional areas of interest are certain to be addressed.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Interviews of incarcerated offenders were limited to those who had committed 10 or more rapes and whose judicial appeals had been exhausted. Attempted rapes and other types of sexual offenses were not considered when selecting the interviewees.

The criterion of 10 or more rapes was established for three reasons. First, logic dictated that an individual who had raped 10 or more times was quite successful in eluding law

enforcement. One of the research goals was to determine how the rapist accomplished this, and the more proficient offender is better able to provide a great deal more meaningful information than the offender who had only raped once, twice, or three times before getting caught.

Second, the research team was very interested in whether the serial rapist becomes progressively more violent over time. The likelihood of observing escalation of violence is much greater if there is a larger number of crimes to be studied.

Last, it is of interest to investigators to know what, if any, changes in core behavior or method of operation (MO) occur over time. This information is not always observable in cases involving a few offenses, and if observed, cannot be documented as being either atypical or permanent behavioral changes.

While the criterion of 10 or more rapes might be criticized as not being representative of the typical rapist encountered by law enforcement, consideration must be given to the hypothesis that all rapists are potentially serial rapists, but simply get caught before they can become serial offenders. It is also to be noted that it is the serial rapist who poses the greatest investigative challenge for law enforcement.

The second criterion, exhaustion of all judicial appeals, was one which was critical to the involvement of NCAVC personnel. All interviews were conducted by FBI Special Agents, and if any appeals were pending, the interviewers would have been legally precluded from speaking to the offender without first advising him of his constitutional rights.

Rapists meeting the criteria were identified in a number of ways. Local, state, and county law enforcement officers who had attended the FBI National Academy were extremely helpful in identifying a large proportion of the sample and provided invaluable assistance to the research team, as did several FBI Special Agents throughout the United States. Mental health professionals involved in sex offender treatment programs or affiliated with state prisons, as well as prison authorities, were also very helpful in identifying rapists willing to participate in the research. It is not likely that the research could have been accomplished without the interagency and interdisciplinary cooperation that took place.

THE RESEARCH INTERVIEW

The 41 interviews were conducted by members of the NCAVC along with other selected FBI Special Agents (SAs), all of whom had advanced degrees or extensive training in the behavioral sciences. Traditionally, such research has been conducted from a non-law-enforcement perspective. This research was involved in eliciting information of value to investigators tasked to solve the crime of rape. The utilization of SAs as research interviewers combined investigative, interview, and behavioral science skills not ordinarily found in violent offender research. This proved to be very helpful in eliciting information which law enforcement can quickly put to investigative use. For example, the research has determined that the less mature or less experienced rapist is more likely to steal items which are cumbersome and more easily traced (e.g., stereos, TVs, VCRs). To the less mature individual, such items are perceived as being easy to dispose of and no thought is given to the fact that they are difficult to transport, hard to conceal, and are easily traced. The more mature or experienced rapist is more likely to take money or jewelry.

The SAs prepared for the interview by studying all available documentation pertaining to the rapist and his crimes. When necessary, this documentation was reviewed with the permission of the interviewee. The material included police investigative reports, victim statements, pre-sentence investigation reports, medical and mental health records, and pertinent prison records.

Two SAs then met the rapist in the presence of a prison employee, normally a mental health professional, and explained the purpose and format of the interview. A statement regarding the purpose and confidentiality of the interview and indicating the prisoner's consent to participate was signed and witnessed. A copy of the form was provided to the prisoner. Only three individuals declined to be interviewed after meeting with FBI Agents. Researchers were not surprised at the willingness of the rapists to participate, as 36 sexual murderers had previously agreed to FBI research interviews (FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 1985).

The interviews were open ended and generally unstructured. In all but seven cases the prisoner consented to having the conversations tape recorded. The interviews, ranging from 4 1/2 to 12 1/2 hours in length, were mentally and emotionally draining to all involved. Interruptions for food and other reasons were left entirely up to the offender. Surprisingly, few desired food breaks, most preferring to continue the discussion.

Areas of discussion included, but were not listed to, familial and demographic information; education; employment; military history; hobbies and pastimes; marital history; sexual development; pre-offense, offense, and post-offense behavior; investigation and interrogation techniques; and rape prevention and confrontation.

Because of the large number of crimes involved, it would have been impossible to discuss the pre-offense, offense, and post-offense behavior for each crime. Therefore, the interviewers focused on the first, a middle, and the last assault in the offender's series of rapes. This technique proved to be quite successful in eliciting the desired information for a large number of crimes.

The Agents did not ask about sexual development and offense behavior until well into the interview when they had established rapport with the rapist. These discussion areas were the most troublesome for the offenders to deal with. The interviewers continued to develop techniques to overcome the offenders' reluctance to talk about certain topics. For example, when one offender was asked to discuss his family, he replied, "I can sum it up in one word: Hate." He was then asked to define hate as he was using the word, and the interview proceeded.

The final area covered was the offender's critique of the research interview. Comments or suggestions sometimes proved helpful in structuring later interviews. For example, FBI Agents are trained to exhibit their credentials when meeting someone in an official capacity. One of the first interviewees told the Agents he felt the show of credentials to be an unwarranted display of power which made him feel uncomfortable. Needless to say, credentials were shown only on request in future interviews.

Immediately following the interview, the Agents completed a 70-page protocol which had been adapted by the research team from the instrument developed for the serial murderer research. Tape recordings of the interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions then summarized for research use. Hard data (statistical information) were computerized and soft data (narrative information) were retained separately.

As mentioned earlier, these interviews were mentally and emotionally fatiguing. One cannot leave the interview without experiencing a strong sense of sympathy for the victims of rape and an occasional feeling of empathy for the offender. There were documented instances of childhood physical, sexual, or emotional abuse suffered by some of the rapists. When one reads of such occurrences or watches a man cry as he describes his father beating or raping his mother in front of him, one cannot help but feel a sense of outrage toward the parents of the

offender. It is important that investigators never cease to experience these essential human emotions. Without them, a person ceases to be effective as either an investigator or a researcher.

A CASE STUDY

The following case is indicative of the type of offender interviewed and of the information obtained during the interview or from documentation. While only a synopsis, it will provide the reader with insight into the development of a serial rapist and his behavior prior to, during, and after one crime. It should be noted that the subject, whom we'll call John, was not and had never been in a sex offender treatment program. Those who were in such programs tended to use institutionalized language.

Family

John was born in 1944 and was one of three children. He had a twin sister and a younger sister. He was raised by his mother and step-father, and didn't meet his natural father until he was in his late 20's. At the time of the interview, he stated that he considers his natural father a casual friend.

John's step-father was a logger and successful in his field until an injury forced him to become a warehouseman. The family moved several times during the step-father's logging career before settling in a city where John spent his teenage years. The mother became a waitress following her husband's injury, but prior to that time, she had not worked outside the home.

He was repeatedly in trouble with his parents as a child, a fact for which he held his sisters responsible. They would violate family rules and place the blame on John. His relationship with his parents was "at times explosive and at times rather close." When he went fishing or hunting with his step-father, the relationship was quite good, but when at home, he always "felt distant from them." He stated, "It seemed that the only time they would talk to me was when I was in trouble." John believed that his parents loved his younger sister (the step-father's natural child) more than him and consequently, he was very jealous of her.

John stated that he was not physically, emotionally, or sexually abused as a child, but subsequent statements proved to the contrary. His mother had a violent temper and was the one to avoid getting punishment from. "She would hit anywhere she could land and used belts, switches, or anything she could lay her hands on." John stated that most of his punishment consisted of

spankings with a belt and that he was informed as to why he was being punished. He related that his mother frequently used a great deal of profanity toward him. She would say such things as, "You little son of a bitch," or call him "bastard" or "asshole." "Even to this day," he claimed, "she tries to manipulate people by putting them down or making them feel guilty." He identified his mother as being the dominant parent, and indicated that she would "harp" at the step-father until he did what she wanted. To get away from the fighting between his parents, John ran away from home on several occasions.

John advised that he has been a "loner" since early childhood and that as a child, his closest friends were relatives. He could not easily meet or interact with people, and still cannot do so today.

His childhood pastimes included hunting and fishing, building model cars, and playing softball. As a child he enjoyed reading comic books and the Hardy Boys adventures. Adolph Hitler has always fascinated him. He said, "I've never understood how he could have controlled so much with so little."

John did not abuse alcohol as a child and went to church somewhat regularly, but he could not recall the denomination of the church.

Education

John has a tested IQ (Wechsler) of 125. He had to repeat the first grade due to the residential moves of the family, but he was a good student between the first and sixth grades and reported that he enjoyed going to school during those years.

In the seventh grade, outside interests began interfering with school attendance. He preferred working on cars and shooting pool to going to school. When in school, he would become disruptive and was frequently suspended, creating further problems at home. He had to repeat the seventh grade and at the age of 16 dropped out of school.

After being arrested for check forgery, he briefly returned to school and reported that he enjoyed it. However, at the age of 17, he again left school and joined the Marines. At the age of 26, and while in prison, he obtained his GED. He stated, "I just came to the realization that I couldn't get very far without a GED." At the time of interview John had accumulated 96 hours of college credit while in prison.

Sexual Development

John can first recall becoming sexually aware when he was eight or nine years of age. He recalls "being in a ditch somewhere (with a female agemate) and trying to do it." He could not recall who initiated the sexual activity. He stated that prior to this, a 16-year-old female cousin took several male children to a mountain cabin for mutual fondling, and they were caught. He recalls being spanked for this activity.

The age of nine seems to be sexually significant for John. At this age, he began having a fondness for female panties. He reported hiding under a table so he could look up his sisters' dresses while they did the dishes. He would also attempt to see the panties of sitters who cared for him and his sisters.

He denied ever peeping on his mother, because "that's taboo." However, he did peep on his aunt during pre-adolescence, and at the age of 13 began window peeping. His goal was to observe women in some state of undress, preferably with panties on rather than nude. He continued to window peep until his final arrest.

He remembered a male cousin "messing around with my twin sister and the two of them trying to talk me into having sex with my younger sister." John, who was nine or ten at the time, did engage in fondling with his younger sister, but felt guilty and stopped the activity. He had been stealing panties off clotheslines, and at this age, he was also caught in a woman's house while taking panties out of her dresser.

John began masturbating at the same age (nine) he began the panty thefts. He would either use panties to masturbate with or he would fantasize about panties while masturbating. He stated he masturbated on a daily basis. If he had panties available, he would ejaculate onto them and "afterwards most times I'd throw them away because once I had achieved orgasm, then the panties would be a symbol of something wrong." He preferred panties which had been worn over new ones. When asked why, he replied, "It seemed more intimate, like they had more contact with a female." If the panties belonged to someone he knew, it would be more satisfying to him because he could associate a person's body with the garment. He stated that cotton panties "did nothing for me." He wanted them "silky and smooth." John began wearing panties while a teenager, but would only wear them until he ejaculated. After a General discharge from the Marine Corps, he began wearing panties for extended periods of time. During the course of the interview, John casually mentioned that

he was wearing his favorite pair of panties beneath his prison garb. When asked how he obtained them, he said a female friend of his buys them, wears them for while, and then mails them to him.

He voluntarily sought psychiatric help for his obsession with panties after he left the Marine Corps. He said, ". . . What I was having problems with was the fetish for women's panties. I was going through the problems of whether I was a homosexual, what the hell was the matter with me because I enjoyed these things."

John stated he didn't consciously think about committing a rape until after he had already done so. He went to a woman's home seeking consensual sex and used threats and physical force to obtain the victim's compliance. Only later did he realize that he had actually raped the woman.

He experimented with homosexuality while in the Marines, but "realized that this wasn't the way I wanted to go, this wasn't for me."

Military

John entered the Marines at the age of 17, with the consent of his parents. Although records indicate he excelled in basic training and served four years, he left the service with a General Discharge. While in the military, he had "a little problem with authority" and "didn't always do what I was told." He served in Vietnam and was released from military service at the age of 21. He stated, "After I came back from Vietnam and I got out of the Marine Corps, I seemed hell bent on destruction." On one occasion he was in a rage and put his arm through a car window, requiring 86 stitches. He fell out of a car that was traveling 40 mph and wrecked another car while driving at 130 mph. In the latter incident, he suffered severe head injuries and stated, "Some folks think that's what kind of deranged things back there, kind of got me goofy."

Employment

John's employment record is erratic at best. After his military service, he was employed as a logger, a truck driver, a factory worker, and in home manufacturing. When asked why he changed jobs so often, he replied, "I think basically, I got bored with the jobs. I think a lot of it, too, was immaturity. I'd do the job for a while and then I didn't like it no more, so I'd find some reason to quit."

Sexual Activity in Marriage

John was married for the first time at the age of 20, and only because the girl was pregnant. He and his wife stayed at her parents' home for a few days after the wedding, but he realized that he didn't want to be married, "so we both went our own ways." A daughter was born of that marriage. Sexual activity with his first wife was restricted to vaginal intercourse in the missionary position.

Two years later, John met his second wife. They remained together for two years and had two sons. He stated that his irresponsibility led to the divorce. Again, vaginal intercourse in the missionary position was the norm during the marriage.

At the age of 25, John met his third wife in a bar. They lived together for approximately six months and divorced "because we couldn't stand each other." John stated that "sex started getting a little creative. I started getting into different areas. Not necessarily bondage or anything like that, just experimenting in different ways of doing it. Learning how to last longer and things like that, because she was one of those women that it was very difficult for her to reach an orgasm. You had to work at it, you had to be there for quite a while. Before it was always, wham, bam, thank you ma'am. That's all I knew. With her it started becoming more satisfying, I guess. I 'm not sure exactly why . . . it was just mostly different positions and ways of controlling the ebb and flow of the whole thing, I guess to where I could last longer to where she could reach a climax. And I can remember that that's where it really started becoming fun."

Three years later, he divorced his third wife and lived with his fourth, whom he married after being imprisoned for rape. Following his release from prison, they remained together for two months. He advised that "sex was great, but it was like I had another warden or second parole officer." He and his fourth wife had a son and after they separated, he took custody of the child.

John married for the fifth and final time at the age of 32. He advised that sex with this wife was excellent and that they were completely happy until he told her about his fetish for panties. His wife's knowledge of this fetish placed a great deal of strain on the marriage, but they remained together until he was again sent to prison for rape. She visited him regularly and they lived together when he was released. Thirteen days after being released, he was returned to prison for another rape and the relationship ended.

Criminal History

John told of always wanting to be a police officer, but admits, "I always seemed to be running in the wrong direction." (It was not uncommon for the serial rapists to tell SA interviewers about a desire to be in law enforcement. Perhaps it is the perception of power and authority associated with police work that is appealing to them.) He had minor problems with the law as a juvenile because of running away from home. When he was 16, he and friends were arrested for check forgery. He also stole gas and hubcaps as a juvenile. John was arrested several times for burglary, breaking and entering, and on three occasions for rape. He has been sentenced to prison for each of the rape offenses.

John estimated that he had committed over 5,000 burglaries, primarily to obtain panties to satisfy his fetish. He reported that he would sometimes remain out all night attempting to steal panties. He estimated that he stole valuables in less than one-half of his burglaries. John was responsible for 18 rapes and most of them occurred as an afterthought during a panty theft. His current sentence is for more than 15 years.

Pornography/Detective Magazines

As a teenager, John enjoyed looking at sunbathing magazines, which "was all the pornography we had." Today he enjoys the more explicit material available but says, "It doesn't make me want to go out and do crazy things like they say."

He used to read detective magazines frequently when he was in his twenties and early thirties. The stories concerning rape interested him the most, and he read each one several times, using them for masturbatory fantasies. He didn't believe that the magazine covers had anything to do with his selection of a particular publication. He didn't enjoy the stories in which rape victims were killed, and stated, "None of my victims were ever harmed and for a person to kill somebody after raping them, it just makes me mad." It is obvious that John doesn't equate rape with harming a person. None of his 18 rape victims was beaten and John was proud of the fact that he had never "hurt" anybody during his assaults.

First Offense

Pre-Offense: John was 24 years of age at the time of his first rape offense. He was married to his second wife and was having consensual sexual relations with her. (Forty of the forty-one rapists reported consensual sexual activities at the time they were raping.) At the time of the offense, his friends

would have described him as a hard drinking, profane, "macho" individual who was nocturnal. He was renting a home and drove a green 1957 Chrysler Windsor. Although the car was nine years old, he took very good care of it. He found no particular pleasure in driving and only drove when he had to go someplace.

On the evening of the rape, his wife was away from home and he had been drinking with some friends, ". . . figuring I could get some satisfaction." A friend and he went to a home where the friend had sex with a babysitter who was present. He and his friend returned to a bar and continued to drink.

Offense: After dropping his friend off, John decided to return to the babysitter and also have sex. He was very intoxicated at the time. When he arrived at the home, he discovered that the babysitter had gone, and the mother of the child, a woman in her early twenties, was at the residence. She was wearing a housecoat when he knocked on the door. They had met at a party on the same evening, and she readily admitted him to the residence. While using her bathroom, he took a pair of her panties and put them in his pocket. He sat beside the woman on her couch and attempted to fondle her, but the victim talked him into leaving. He drove around for a while and then returned to the residence. He entered through an unlocked rear door and found her talking on the telephone. Without speaking, he ". . . just kind of jumped on her real fast and wrestled her to the floor and opened her housecoat." When she screamed, he told her to "Shut the fuck up." Without speaking further, he vaginally assaulted her, reaching orgasm very quickly. John advised that after the assault, he was extremely remorseful and began crying. The victim told him to just leave her home. He left and immediately returned to his home.

Post Offense: Following his return home, he was very worried that his wife would find out about the attack and that he would go to jail. He began drinking more heavily in an attempt to alleviate the fear and guilt that he was experiencing. He stated, "I know it created a feeling of guilt that caused problems between my wife and I because I knew I had done something wrong. But I didn't know how to go back and rectify it or undo it. I would get uptight and upset real easy and I'd get mad and it wasn't nothing she had done." Out of character, John began staying at home, leaving only to go to work. He didn't miss work following the attack and his personal appearance did not deteriorate. John did not commit another rape for five years.

Rape and Resistance and Prevention

When asked what he would have done if the victims had resisted, John indicated that he would have left because it wasn't his intention to hurt anyone. He stated, "Raping them is one thing. Beating on them is entirely something else." He didn't feel that his victims could have prevented the attack because they were all in their homes alone and the majority of them were sleeping when he initiated contact.

John's reaction to resistance may differ considerably from another rapist's, and his advice must not be generalized to other rapists (Hazelwood and Harpold, 1986).

Interrogation Techniques

Each rapist was asked what type of person and technique would be most successful with him in a hostile interview situation; that is, what would be most likely to contribute to the rapist's cooperation when he was being interrogated regarding his culpability in rape offenses.

John stated that for him, the most important feature about a police interrogation would be the detective's attitude. "If he walked in real cocky and belittling, I would not cooperate." While the race of the detective would not be important to him, he would be less likely to cooperate with a female because he would be embarrassed and self-conscious.

The accent of the detective would not be a factor in John's cooperation, but he would feel more comfortable with a person dressed in casual clothes as opposed to a uniform. He advised that the interviewer would have to be on an intellectual par with him and that he would be more likely to talk with the officer during nighttime hours. He advised that he becomes angry when his space is violated and feels that a comfortable distance should be maintained with nothing between him and the interviewer. While he would be uncomfortable in any location, because of the embarrassment he would experience he believes the environment should be private. He stated that intimidating moves by officers anger him and cause him to cease conversation.

This advice is, of course, provided by only one offender and is not applicable to all situations.

Sex Offender Hotline

During one of the initial interviews, the rapist (not John) was asked what, if anything, the criminal justice system could have done to have caused him to turn himself in. His surprising response was, "Have you thought about a hotline? You've got hotlines for runaways, drug abusers, rape victims, and suicidal individuals. Why not one for people who have committed or are contemplating committing deviant criminal sexual acts? You know, I didn't just start raping. I have had sexual fantasies about kidnaping a woman and making her my slave since I was a teenager. I knew it wasn't normal at the time, but who could I talk to about it? Not my parents or friends or anyone else. They would have thought I was crazy or sick."

From that point on, all rapists interviewed were asked about a hotline for offenders. When John was asked this question, he replied, "I don't know if I would have used a hotline because so many of them (the rapes) were so spontaneous and unprepared. If I would have, it would have been after the fact. After I committed the assault." Many of the interviewed rapists responded more positively to the hotline issue (but possibly less honestly) than John.

As previously mentioned, the case presented here has been greatly reduced due to limited space. The transcription of the interview was more than 140 pages long. Nonetheless, this summarization of John's case does reveal the type of information gathered during the research interviews.

SUMMARY

The NCAVC has conducted research on violent serial offenders since 1978. The serial rapist injuriously affects the lives of an untold number of victims and is responsible for the expenditure of money, time, and manpower by the law enforcement community. The FBI is assisting local law enforcement in its investigative task by providing training and criminal personality profiles and by conducting empirical research with other professionals in the field.

The interviews of 41 serial rapists have been completed and the statistical analysis of the data is ongoing. While primarily intended for the law enforcement community, it is anticipated that the results of this research will enhance the knowledge of all professionals who must deal with the offense, the offender, and the victims of rape.

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MANAGING A FORENSIC HYPNOSIS PROGRAM

Neil S. Hibler, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

In the past hypnosis has been often relied upon as an investigative aid to enhance memory. Accordingly a great controversy has resulted for neither human memory nor hypnotic access to it are without error. This paper presents issues which underly inaccuracies in memory, and describes procedures used by federal investigative agencies to manage their use of the technique. Among the safeguards discussed are concerns arising from the memory process, the investigation, the hypnotic interview and the need to corroborate information which is hypnotically developed.

INTRODUCTION

Police departments and courts across the country have been wrestling with how best to use hypnosis for investigation. Initially, the technique seemed to be so promising an aid to memory that witnesses and victims were hypnotized as a matter of routine. Training programs sprang up to prepare police officers as hypnotists resulting in a ground swell of excitement and hope. Yet this has been offset by instances in which hypnotic information was misleading or simply wrong. Subsequently an indelible mark has been left in case law which has forced the courts to limit its use.

Mass advocacy for hypnosis has since past. While some clear, indisputable successes yet occur, the present course is unmistakably uneven, a true reflection for the modest promise that may be expected from the technique. What the early applications of hypnosis did not fully recognize was that memory, regardless of how it is accessed, is imperfect. Hypnosis cannot change this basic fact. Moreover, hypnosis can potentially increase the likelihood of misremembering. Further, safeguards appear to be helpful, but cannot guarantee the accuracy of recall.

The "great debate" in forensic hypnosis necessarily includes anchors to numerous psychological processes and their interactions. Perception, memory,

motivation and the role of suggestion are but a few of these factors. One reasonable conclusion which might be drawn from the current status of our knowledge is that sometimes hypnosis is an effective method of enhancing memory, and sometimes it is not. We simply do not understand the human mind, much less the phenomenon of hypnosis, well enough to fully explain hypnotic retrieval of memory. Yet, we have some exciting insights.

Perhaps some of the most persuasive research is that by Loftus (1979). In particular, she argues that memory is naturally malleable, and hypnosis has the potential to deform recollections even further. In this regard, Orne (1979) has astutely explored factors such as expectation and suggestion which can easily distort recall. Perhaps one way to briefly delineate these factors is to consider influences as being internal (within the psyche of the witness) or external (environmental circumstances which influence the internal process).

Among those factors which comprise the internal sources of contamination are the mechanisms by which information is intrapsychically handled. These include the dissonant effects of confabulation, or need for closure which is met by filling in missing pieces of information to have a satisfying whole. There are also ego defense mechanisms that the witness self imposes to understand the event in a manner which maintains self-esteem. External factors are the grist for this mill which include all that which is perceived and may directly or indirectly satisfy internal needs.

The natural interaction of these internal and external factors presents great potential for distortion. Well recognized examples include information which is incidentally or unintentionally exposed to a witness which may feed the need for closure. Another is investigative zeal which may evoke a witnesses' desire to please. Yet, despite these opportunities for contamination, there are instances in which hypnotically recalled information is accurate. We know this because in those instances the investigation did not stop with hypnosis; it continued to document the validity of the enhanced memory.

Confirmation of hypnotically derived information would seem to be indispensable, the only way to actually understand the consequences of the hypnotic effort. It is to this end that Udolf (1983) cogently advises that all uses of hypnosis for forensic memory retrieval ought to be

tested. Similarly, Hibler (1980, 1984) has advised that while independent corroboration of hypnotically developed information is essential, any forensic use of hypnosis involves some risk. Certainly, any witness who has been exposed to the technique is as well exposed to the hypnosis controversy. Consequently, if data obtained by hypnotic interview is uncorroborated, the testimony of that witness is suspect. It would therefore seem reasonable to consider circumstances in which the potential risk of hypnotic interview may be worthwhile, and where merit is indicated, to use precautions to control as many of the potential contaminants as possible.

The following discussion presents the controls employed within federal investigative agencies in reviewing cases for hypnosis, steps taken to minimize external influences during investigation, and procedures for the hypnotic interview itself.

PRE-HYPNOTIC CASE MANAGEMENT

Putting hypnosis aside for a moment, consider the potential value of testimony based solely upon perceptions at the time of the crime and possible intervening effects of post-incident events. These are questions which ask: what is logical to expect a witness or victim to have seen, or heard, and what influences may have distorted those perceptions since the crime?

Usually, an interviewee's detailed recitation of what occurred makes it clear whether it was possible or not to have witnessed anything of potential investigative value. Where doubt has existed, it has frequently been helpful to re-enact the crime. This allows a better understanding of the distances between persons, lighting conditions, and the speed with which the crime occurred. Re-enactments can also be an anchor for recall, which seems helpful in diluting implications that the witness "ought" to provide greater recall than is reasonable.

Another factor which merits attention stems from victims' and witnesses' almost unavoidable motivation to understand what occurred. Their eagerness to learn more about the crime can produce naturally occurring distortions as they attempt to interpret and integrate bits and pieces of data to which they are exposed. This can result in a formidable problem, particularly if the conclusions of others are revealed. Investigative contacts are of special importance because they can easily have an authoritative appearance. Therefore, even witnesses who seemed to have

been at the right place and at the right time to have credibly perceived a crime, could distort their perceptions because of exposure to what others believed, implied, or suggested. Among these potential sources of contamination are other witnesses statements, reactions by loved ones, and the questions asked by the police. Perhaps a worst case example of police mismanagement is the presentation of a suspect's photograph, accompanied by the suggestion that there is cause to consider that this individual is connected with the crime. Even without hypnosis, such a violation of good investigative procedure questions the potential of a witness to be uninfluenced. Likewise, cases in which a suspect has been identified present grave concern because the very identification of a suspect may in itself influence the beliefs of witnesses. Therefore, when there is doubt that a witness perceived anything that would be of investigative value, or where witnesses have talked to one another, have been exposed to improper lineup procedure, or learned the identity of a suspect, hypnosis is likely to only place the investigation at greater forensic risk.

As well, there is a concern for efficiently managing resources so that investigative techniques are not only reasonable, but logical. Therefore, only major cases, such as felonies, are considered appropriate for hypnosis, as the technique involves expense, time, and effort which can be justified only by severe circumstance. Further, reserving hypnosis as a last resort properly emphasizes traditional techniques such as gathering of physical evidence and extensive pursuit of standard investigative leads. At a minimum these seem more viable than the risk that hypnosis entails. Perhaps most importantly, if the only way to determine if the accuracy of hypnotically derived information is corroboration, traditional procedures will have to be employed anyway. Consequently, hypnosis is used only after all other techniques have been exhausted.

Another vital aspect of case management assures the prudent use of hypnosis by isolating authority for its approval. The more spectacular the crime, the greater the pressure to resolve it. Letting investigators at the scene decide whether to use hypnosis can easily result in premature or unwarranted applications. Personnel assigned to a case may well be too close to be objective, due to their enthusiasm, pressure exerted by supervisors or the community itself. Therefore, federal agencies have established case review procedures which carefully consider the progress of the investigation, examine any procedural flaws which may have developed, and assure that all other suitable resources have been utilized. Finally, the

decision to use hypnosis is made by senior investigative personnel who are not involved in the case.

It is important to note that these investigative elements are invariably foreign to doctors who are expert in clinical uses of hypnosis. Skilled practitioners are often eager to assist but may be unaware that their well intended contributions could easily be misused. Even in the hypnotic interview itself, knowledge and skill in hypnosis can well be insufficient in assuring the investigative purpose for the procedure. Emphasizing that hypnosis is used for investigation, federal investigative agencies use both investigators and doctors to assure the full potential of the technique.

THE FORENSIC HYPNOSIS INTERVIEW

Federal investigative agencies require that hypnotically trained mental health professionals manage all aspects of trance in forensic hypnosis sessions. The use of professionals is important for several reasons. First is concern for the well being of interviewees who may have been subjected to great trauma. Federal agencies want to be certain that witness' or victims' reidentification with the crime does not adversely arouse emotions. Further, there is the desire to assure that subsequent trial testimony regarding hypnosis is provided by an expert. Likewise, details of the case should be handled by investigative experts. Accordingly, specially trained investigators participate in what has come to be known as "a team approach" (Ault, 1980, Hibler 1980, 1984). The roles of each are specified in a standardized script, which sequences the course of the interview in consideration of both hypnotic and forensic factors. Additionally, all interviews are videotape recorded so that there is a clear record of all that occurs.

The forensic hypnosis session begins with administrative remarks by the "hypnosis coordinator" (a specially trained investigator) who identifies persons present, the date, and time. The mental health professional then speaks with the interviewee to determine his/her understanding of hypnosis, their reason for participating, and any factors which may be important to understanding the interviewees' emotional status. The mental health professional explains what he believes is important to understand about hypnosis, what will occur during the interview, and emphasizes that the procedure to be used is somewhat of an experiment; there is no obligation to have new insights, or even to volunteer to continue. Information

that may evolve could be the same as previously recalled, different, new, or a mixture. Further, it is explained that after hypnosis the interviewee will be able to recognize similarities or differences to pre-hypnotic statements. Following this, the hypnotic coordinator asks the interviewee to read an informed consent form, which is then signed.

To minimize the possibility of inadvertently suggesting or otherwise cueing responses from the interviewee, the team is essentially uninformed about the case. Their knowledge of what occurred is provided only in the interview itself, by a unprompted debriefing of the witness prior to inducing hypnosis. This pre-hypnotic statement constitutes a video recorded transcript of recollections to document the interviewee's pre-hypnotic knowledge of the event. At the same time it informs the team about the interviewee's understanding of the incident. Actually, this debriefing is the same sort of elicitation that occurs in hypnosis. The interviewee is asked to simply "tell us about what happened." After he or she has concluded, the doctor and special agent may ask the interviewee to expand any areas that require classification. This process continues until the team is satisfied that they have as complete of an understanding of the event as they need to comprehend the interviewee's role, perceptions, and experiences. This is also an important opportunity to continue establishing rapport and to demonstrate that it is all right to be unclear or unknowing of various details of the incident. The doctor then initiates trance with the interviewee, and when both are satisfied with hypnosis, a time regression is used to aid the interviewee in re-experiencing the crime. Next the interviewee is asked to spontaneously describe what is occurring. This free recall is virtually without interruption except to occasionally acknowledge that the interviewee is understood and to prompt continuance. Examples of these simple acknowledgments might include "uh-hum," "O.K.," or "I hear you." These should be used only after a protracted silence, so as to avoid selective reinforcement of particular statements. Likewise prompting to continue the narration should only follow silences. Prompts typically consist of phrases such as, "what is happening now?" and "go on." Care is also taken to encourage the revivifications or reliving of the event by phrasing in the present tense. Sometimes, an interviewee may persist in describing things in past tense, and revivification may be facilitated by saying words to the effect; "go ahead and experience this now." Once the initial recall is concluded, the experience is repeated several times, with each repetition permitting closer examination of what occurred.

In the repeated recall of the event the hypnotic coordinator is careful to use open-ended questions in expanding and detailing the narrative. Examples include "I wonder if there is more to tell me about that?" Additionally, questions are carefully worded so as to avoid implying any state or condition. For example, instead of asking, "how big is he?" it is preferable to ask, "what size is he?" or "what is his weight?" Similarly, to inquire about how old a subject is, the word "old" is intentionally avoided in favor of asking "what is his age?". Compound questions are not used. It is easier for the interviewee to answer one question at a time, and for the coordinator to await a reply before asking another question.

Most interviews require only these exploratory comments. It is recognized that intrusions increase the likelihood of distortion by potentially emphasizing various aspects of the recollection. Yet, sometimes there are images available to the witness which, because of their richness, appear to be much more detailed than simple inquiry can describe. Accordingly, there are a number of techniques which may be used (to the minimum extent possible) to determine whether further information may be elicited. To diminish the possibility of suggesting that increased detail is inevitable, it may be helpful to preface these special techniques with remarks that the interviewee should report "just what is there." These techniques include television methods, ideomotor signaling, and automatic writing.

Special effects which can be created for television, such as stop action, slow motion, instant replay, planning, and focusing are familiar to all television viewers. If suggestions for these effects are used for hypnosis, they ought to be offered with tentativeness, so as not to imply that enhancement "must" be possible. In the same manner, ideomotor signaling has been helpful in letting finger movement indicate responses for "yes," "no," "I'm not sure," and "I don't care to say." Also the description of an object may be enhanced by automatic writing using ideomotor drawing. These techniques may also be effective in defining the limits of recall. Recognizing that there is little scientific basis for ideomotor responses, they appear to represent intuitive beliefs. Incidentally, testing the limits of recall could be easily confused with pressuring for a response. Therefore, the interviewee is reminded, "just describe to us what you can see--just what is there," or "only as clearly as it is available to you." These phrases have been helpful in letting the interviewee know that it is all right to be incomplete.

It has also been helpful to mention to interviewees that even further detail may come to mind post hypnosis, and if that should occur, it should be reported so that this information can be investigated. It is important to recognize that post-hypnotic recall often occurs spontaneously, and has frequently allowed critical information to be reported. If handled in this manner, instructions by the hypnosis coordinator regarding later spontaneous recall would seem more a reminder to bring such thoughts to the attention of authorities than to imply an expectation that there is yet more to come. Incidentally, post interview recollections occur frequently in routine, non-hypnotic police interviews.

After trance is concluded, discussion of the trance experience and details which were forthcoming is handled with continued respect for possible cueing. As well, other techniques may be employed to better understand the descriptions which were initiated in trance. For example, a facial image may be constructed by use of a police artist or the facial facsimile system developed by Smith and Wesson known as the Identi-Kit. In other instances, a photo lineup may be presented which could include a properly constructed series of photographs to include likenesses of individuals who are generally suspect because of their prior criminal history. Additionally, a display of license plates or a "mug book" of automobile styles may be used in identifying shapes, styles, and sizes of vehicles. Sometimes it is useful to clarify a description post-hypnosis by bridging back to an image which was described in trance. This is accomplished simply by asking the interviewee to close their eyes, envision the image again, and then describe what they see.

FOLLOW-ON INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITY

The use of hypnosis is, by design, a last resort to better understand what a witness may have perceived. Usually hypnotic interviews are long, often taking four to six hours or more. These interviews produce an extensive amount of data. From this information, details which appear to have investigative importance are identified and investigative leads are set forth. Actually, hypnosis is used only to explore a witnesses' experience, and thereby generate additional investigative opportunities from which an otherwise stalemated investigation might proceed. Importantly, the hypnotic information cannot stand alone for it is of unknown validity; independent corroboration is the only way by which the merit of any detail can be assessed.

MAINTAINING THE PROGRAM

In-service training is essential so that the skills of the hypnotic team are sharpened in training. Video tapes of prior sessions can be reviewed to learn from one's own example. Also, practice sessions (using volunteer interviewees) can be helpful in developing rapport and teamness between the mental health professional and hypnotic coordinator. Training of the investigative force should emphasize the recognition of factors which are suitable for hypnosis, and instruct how to protect potential interviewees from inadvertent contamination. Finally, a record should be maintained as to the results of all investigative sessions. This will aid in understanding the limits of the technique while more accurately shaping the expectations of all involved.

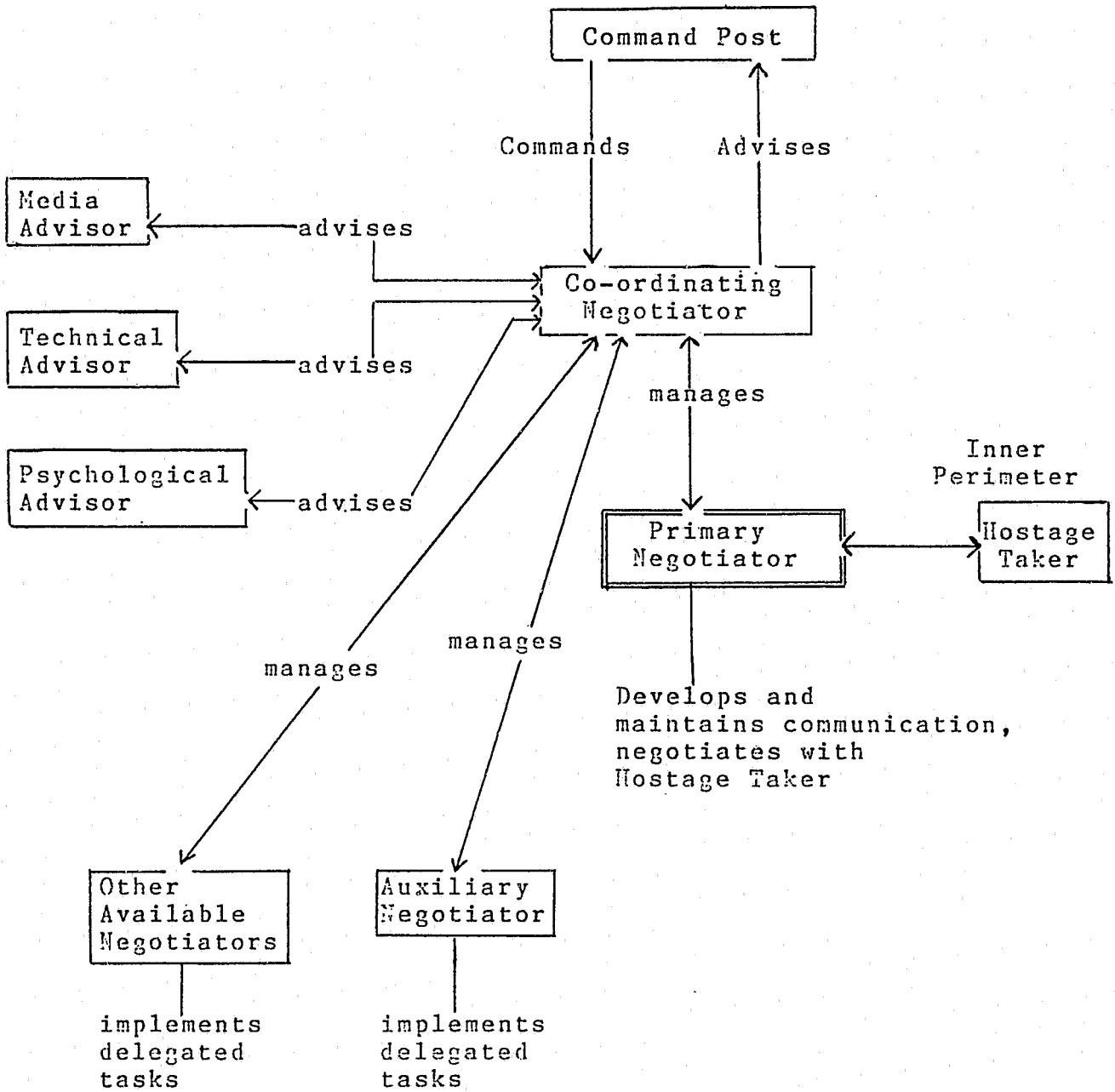
CONCLUSIONS

Management of hypnosis as an investigative technique is required for the well being of the interviewee and keeping the promise of assisting the case. Certainly the procedures just discussed do not directly address internal influences which may distort memory, nor do these procedures wholly control those that are external. Rather, there are procedures which are designed to manage what are known to be more obvious and controllable sources of contamination. At the same time, these procedures responsibly pursue information which may be invaluable to the resolution of serious crimes. Many precedents which have been established in the forensic hypnosis arena have been based on well intended, but sometimes desperate attempts to bring about justice. Unfortunately, these attempts have at times demanded more of hypnosis than was reasonable. It seems abundantly clear that hypnosis cannot by itself be relied upon to produce reliable information. It may be more accurate to say that perception, retention, and recall of memories are processes which are not well understood, and can produce erroneous results. Consequently, witness testimony of any form is potentially unreliable. Hypnosis is but a reflection of these human frailties. Yet sometimes, hypnotic recall is accurate. Perhaps this resource can be responsibly managed for law enforcement so that it is not relied upon for more than it promises. This can be accomplished by making every effort to control those influences which appear likely to contaminate knowledge, and being sure to independently validate any developed information which may be important to the investigation.

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The following diagram represents the positions and functions of the model described above:



CRIMINAL PERSONALITY PROFILING

James M. Horn, M. F. S.

PROFILING DEFINED

Criminal personality profiling is the study of unsolved crimes in an attempt to provide the behavioral and personality characteristics of unidentified offenders. Currently, the most commonly profiled cases are sexual assaults and homicides. However, virtually any crime where available evidence indicates a mental, emotional, or personality aberration by an unknown offender may lend itself to the profiling process. Offender-demonstrated psychopathology, as in cases evidencing sadistic torture, evisceration, post-mortem slashing, post-mortem exploration, lust murder, and rape, often provides significant insight into the personality of the offender. The offender's behavior at the crime scene includes the victim and all locations involved in the crime, including abduction/encounter, assault, and body disposal sites (Ault & Reese, 1980).

In sexual assault cases, the profiler carefully evaluates the offender's verbal, physical (force), and sexual behavior to deduce motive and personality characteristics. In homicide cases, the profiler first determines whether the offender is organized or disorganized. Such a classification helps ascertain valuable information about the offender, including his motive. In either case, a profile is a composite behavioral sketch of a personality type, not a specific person. The investigator uses the profile to focus his investigation on individuals who have similar characteristics. As with computers, if the pathologist, laboratory technicians, and investigators provide incomplete or inaccurate information to the profiler, the profiler likely will produce an inaccurate profile.

One of the foundations of profiling is that different offenders in different locations commit similar crimes in similar ways because of similarities in their personalities. They may commit almost identical crimes for nearly identical reasons. The experienced investigator or profiler notices that these offenders may share many personality, environmental, social, and physical

characteristics. Knowing what type of person commits a crime in a certain manner can help the investigator identify offenders responsible for new crimes.

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR PROFILING

To prepare a profile, the profiler needs the following items:

1. Complete photographs of the crime scene, including the victim if it is a homicide. Also, profilers find it helpful to have some means of determining the angle from which the photographs were taken along with a general description of the immediate area. One enterprising police officer developed the excellent technique of photocopying his crime scene sketch, attaching one copy to each photo, and then outlining in red the area included in the photograph.
2. A map depicting all significant locations.
3. The complete autopsy protocol including, if possible, any results of toxicological exams performed on the victim.
4. A complete report of the incident that includes such standard details as date and time of offense, location (by town as well as by actual site of incident), weapon used, investigative officers' reconstruction of the sequence of events, and a detailed interview of any surviving victims or witnesses. Usually, these items are part of all investigations and do not require extra written material. Most investigators also include background information in their reports, but it seems that profilers find the least amount of information in this area. The investigative officer simply cannot write down all of the many details concerning the victim that he collects while investigating the crime. Whenever possible, the investigator should give the profiler the following information about the victim:
 - a. Occupation (former and present)
 - b. Residence (former and present)
 - c. Reputation at work and in the neighborhood
 - d. Physical description, including dress at the time of the incident
 - e. Marital status, including children and close family members

- f. Financial status (past and present)
- g. Information and background of victim's family and parents, including victim's relationship with parents.
- h. Medical history, physical and mental
- i. Fears
- j. Personal habits
- k. Social habits
- l. Use of alcohol and drugs
- m. Hobbies
- n. Friends and enemies
- o. Recent changes in lifestyle
- p. Recent court action(s) (Ault & Reese, 1980)

Agencies should complete the investigation and all laboratory tests prior to requesting a profile. This ensures that the profiler has immediate access to the necessary documents and that the investigating agency does not use the profile as a substitute for a thorough investigation.

FORENSIC PATHOLOGIST'S CONTRIBUTION

The forensic pathologist can greatly enhance the investigation by providing information which includes the following:

- 1. Cause of death
- 2. Manner of death
- 3. Mechanism of death
- 4. Assistance in the identification of the decedent
- 5. Type of weapon involved
- 6. Estimated time of death
- 7. Delineation of fatal and incapacitating wounds from less serious ones
- 8. Length of time the victim might have lived with the fatal wound
- 9. The functions the victim could have performed after being injured
- 10. Position of the victim at the time of the injury
- 11. Direction of the injury
- 12. Ante-mortem and post-mortem wounds
- 13. Indications of sexual assault
- 14. Possible bite marks (Douglas, 1982)

Bite marks left in human flesh often remain unrecognized or even ignored as evidence. It is estimated that fewer than 5% are ever recognized or worked up (Souviron, et al., 1982). Forensic pathologists have used bite mark evaluation only since about 1972. Their increasing recognition of the potential of bite mark impression evidence has produced, in recent years, significant results in court. Serial murderer Theodore Bundy was convicted in a case that relied heavily on the forensic odontological matching of his teeth to bite mark impressions on the body of a victim. Bite marks are found most frequently in sex-related violent crimes (Mittleman, et al., 1980).

Investigators should interview forensic pathologists to ascertain any additional opinions, feelings, or suspicions they may have that they normally would not mention in their reports.

ELEMENTS OF A PROFILE

From accurate and thorough information, the profiler can create a profile of the unknown offender that includes information such as:

- Age
- Sex
- Race
- Marital status/adjustment
- Intelligence
- Scholastic achievement/adjustment
- Lifestyle
- Rearing environment
- Social adjustment
- Personality style/characteristics
- Demeanor
- Appearance and grooming
- Emotional adjustment
- Evidence of mental decompensation
- Pathological behavioral characteristics
- Employment/occupational history and adjustment
- Work habits
- Residency in relation to crime scene
- Socioeconomic status
- Sexual adjustment
- Type of sexual perversion or disturbance
- Prior criminal arrest history
- Motive (Douglas, 1982)

The entire profiling process involves seven steps:

1. Evaluation of the criminal act itself

2. Comprehensive evaluation of the specifics of the crime scene(s)
3. Comprehensive analysis of the victim
4. Evaluation of preliminary police reports
5. Evaluation of the medical examiner's autopsy protocol
6. Development of the profile with critical offender characteristics
7. Investigative suggestions predicated on construction of the profile (Douglas, 1986)

FBI RESEARCH

The FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime is conducting significant research on serial or repeat violent criminals. FBI Special Agents interview incarcerated felons to obtain insight, straight from the source, into the criminal's mind and behavior. All felons interviewed have exhausted their legal appeals, and they sign a consent form prior to the interview. The Agents conduct these interviews only after they have thoroughly reviewed the inmates' files and relevant case reports. The interviewers are then able to minimize the inmates' exaggerations and fabrications. The NCAVC researchers use a 70-page protocol in conducting these interviews, and the average interview lasts eight to nine hours.

In one research project, they studied 36 murderers in sex-related homicides. This research revealed that this group has some outstanding features when viewed as representing a population. The following list summarizes these features:

- They were all males
- They were predominantly white (92%)
- They often had good intelligence (mean IQ around bright normal)
- They often had a history of poor academic performance
- They very often had a history or unsteady employment (80%)
- They often were employed as unskilled workers (66%)
- They often had a least one parent missing in the family(43%)
- They often had the father leave by age 12 (47%)
- They often had the mother as the dominant parent (66%)
- They often had instability in the family residence (68%)
- They often had a pre-adult institutional history (41%)
- They often had a psychiatric history (86%)

They often had a high rate of suicide attempts (36%)
They often described a cold relationship with father or father figure (72%)
They often came from families that had criminal, psychiatric, and alcoholic histories (50% or more for each)
They often were physically and psychologically abused as children (42% and 74% respectively)
They often have sexual interest in voyeurism, fetishism, and pornography (over 70% for each)
Ressler, et al., 1984)

Then the researchers placed the 36 murderers into an organized/disorganized dichotomy, they classified 24 as organized and 12 as disorganized. Additional characteristics of these two types of offenders include the following:

Disorganized offenders are:

- Likely to be first or low birth order children
- Likely to come from a home with unstable work for the father
- Likely to have been treated with hostility as a child
- Likely to be sexually inhibited, sexually ignorant, and have sexual aversions
- Likely to have had sexual problems in relation with the mother
- Likely to be frightened and confused at the time of the crime
- Likely to know who the victim is
- Likely to live alone
- Likely to commit crime close to home or work

Organized offenders are:

- Intelligent
- Skilled in occupation
- Likely to think out and plan the crime
- Likely to be angry and depressed at the time of the murder
- likely to have a precipitating stress (financial, mental, female, employment)
- Likely to follow reports of the crime in the media
- Possibly could change jobs or leave town

(Ressler, et al., 1984)

NCAVC researchers have completed interviews of 41 serial rapists and are now analyzing the data. Each offender committed at least 10 rapes, and, again, had exhausted all appeals.

Continued research interviews of serial murderers, rapists, child molesters, and, in the future, arsonists, will further enlighten society about the personality characteristics of these offenders. We hope this research will help us refine the profiling process as well as improve profilers' abilities to create accurate profiles. Presently, however, profiling remains an art rather than a science, and law enforcement agencies should not rely on a profile as the sole reason to implicate a suspect. Profiles are based upon probabilities, and they may not match the offender in every characteristic. However, many FBI profiles have proved remarkably accurate when the offenders were identified. In addition to profiling elements, members of the NCAVC have been known to accurately predict the location of the buried body; the name of the street on which the offender lived, including the intersection nearest his residence; and the type of dog the offender owned.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROFILER

Hazelwood believes successful profilers have a number of common attributes, including:

- investigative experience
- research experience
- common sense
- intuitiveness
- ability to isolate emotions
- ability to analyze and arrive at logical conclusions
- ability to think very much like the criminal
(Hazelwood, et al., 1987)

The value of investigative experience, as already mentioned, facilitates placing new cases into categories of those previously worked.

Probably the most valuable research experience is obtained through the actual interviews of incarcerated serial offenders. Information directly from "the horse's mouth," especially when the interviewers are thoroughly familiar with the cases being discussed, can shed new light on the study of a criminal's thought processes.

Common sense is a necessary attribute for a profiler. One cannot find the answers to the questions inherent in unsolved crimes in the department's manual of operations. The profiler must be flexible and remember that, like fingerprints, no two crimes or criminals are exactly alike.

Intuition may be closely related to experience. The gut feelings experienced pathologists, investigators, or

profilers get may result from their recalling previous cases, even subconsciously.

Working heinous crimes that involve man's inhumanity to man can be emotionally draining and stressful. The profiler needs to limit personal involvement in the profiling of these grisly and sometimes stomach-wrenching cases to avoid burning out. For pathologists, investigators, and profilers to continue in this field, they must learn to isolate their personal feelings about the crime, the criminal, and the victim. Although often much easier said than done, the professionals' isolation of affect is essential not only for their personal well-being, but also for their ability to render objective opinions and conclusions.

Although some characteristics listed in profiles appear to have been pulled out of thin air, almost all are derived through analysis and logic. A profile may state a primary characteristic, such as "financially, the offender is upper-middle class or higher," and thereafter include as a secondary characteristic, "the offender operates a motor vehicle that is less than five years old." The offender deemed to have a macho type personality may be predicted to operate a correspondingly "macho" vehicle within the limits of his income. This vehicle would change according to the geographic region, translating into a pick-up truck, four-wheel drive vehicle, or a sports car.

The last attribute, to think like the criminal, may enhance the mental and emotional stress of full-time profiling, however, and be less desirable than approaching the facts and circumstances of the case from a more emotionally detached perspective (FBI Special Agent H. D. Teten, Unit Chief, Institutional Research and Development Unit (retired), personal communication, March 21, 1985). However, correctly thinking like the offender may enable the profiler to produce the criminal's motive as well as his intent. It may even help explain his actions. The profiler attempts to determine the offender's personality type by using a formula of: What plus Why equals Who.

The profiler must exercise care when interpreting the ritualistic behavior of an offender, such as the placement of personal items in a particular way on or near the victim's remains, because of the irrational thought process that may have produced it. It is more important to determine whether or not the crime reveals a ritualistic pattern, for this may help the profiler predict the offender's future behavior (Reese, 1979).

PROFILING SEXUAL ASSAULT CASES

Rape is behavior that serves primarily the nonsexual needs of the rapist (Groth, et al., 1977). The victim's statement of the rape incident is crucial for an accurate profile. Hazelwood, who has detailed the process of behavior-oriented interviews of rape victims, emphasizes that interviewing the victim is more crucial to effective profiling than analyzing the offender's behavior or even compiling the profile (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). Hazelwood recommends asking the victim the following questions to obtain behavioral information about the offender. These questions should supplement rather than supplant the investigator's standard interview of a rape victim.

1. Describe the manner in which the offender approached and gained control over you.
2. How did he maintain control of you and the situation?
3. Specifically describe the physical force he used and when during the attack it occurred.
4. Did you resist either physically, verbally, or passively? If so, describe each instance you can recall.
5. What was his reaction to your resistance?
6. Did you resist either physically, verbally, or passively? If so, describe each instance you can recall.
7. Describe all sexual acts forced upon you or performed by the offender on himself and the sequence in which they occurred, including repetitions.
8. As precisely as possible, try to remember what he said to you, his tone of voice, and his attitude at the time he spoke.
9. Did he demand that you answer questions, repeat phrases, or respond verbally in any manner whatsoever? Attempt to recall specifically what he demanded you say.
10. When, if ever, did his attitude appear to change? In what manner did it change, and what occurred immediately prior to the change?
11. What actions did he take to ensure that you would not be able to identify him? Did he take any precautions to ensure the police would not be able to associate him with the time?
12. Did he take anything when he left? Have you carefully inventoried your personal belongings (undergarments, photographs, etc.) since the assault?

13. Did you receive any calls or notes from unidentified people prior to or since the assault? Have you had any experience which would indicate that he specifically targeted you for the assault?
14. How do you believe individuals who associate with the rapist on a daily basis would describe him as a person?

(Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987)

Most rapists exhibit physical, verbal, and sexual behavior, and through the interview, the investigator must clarify these behaviors in detail to assist the profiling process. Physical behavior may range from little or no touching of the victim to severe beating, mutilation, or fatal excessive force. Verbal behavior may range from silence to compliments to derogatory yelling. Sexual behavior may range from self-masturbation to repeated vaginal, oral, and anal penetration with the penis or a foreign object.

The offender's physical behavior reveals whether his needs include inflicting physical or sadistic pain upon the victim. A lack of verbal behavior, as when the offender remains silent, may reveal his fear that the victim will recognize or remember his voice or speech peculiarities. Verbal behavior may reveal whether the offender fears women and puts them on a pedestal, as when he begs or politely asks for compliance. It may also reveal his hate, anger, and need to dominate women, as when he addresses his victims obscenely and demands compliance to his orders. Sexual behavior may indicate his experience level, dysfunction, homosexual tendencies, or even his history of incarceration. The profiler would consider anal intercourse from the last two perspectives, as well as in terms of the rapist's need to degrade and humiliate his victim, or even as simple experimentation.

Uncommon circumstances in a case may lead the profiler to opine about the source of the offender's idiosyncrasy. For example, one child abductor drove his victim several miles to an outdoor toilet, where he then molested her and left her in the bottom of the toilet to die. The profiler indicated that urolagnia or coprolagnia might be a factor in this case. The convicted offender corroborated this hypothesis when he related how his brothers held him down as a small boy and urinated in his mouth.

An incarcerated serial rapist interviewed as part of a research project had concentrated on victims who were all similar in size and appearance. He often performed an enema on his victim. This offender revealed that he had been incestuously involved, from a very young age, with his attractive mother. His victims reminded him of her. The

incestuous acts had included enemas. His attacks started after his mother died while in her early middle age.

In sexual assault cases, the interpreter must know the exact order of all sexual behavior. The rapist who makes the victim fellate him before vaginal or anal sex often has a different personality and different needs than the rapist who requires fellatio after anal intercourse. Live victims can usually relate the order of sexual acts. Pathologists, however, find it difficult to guess this order in cases of murdered rape victims. Several cases submitted for profiling have included a pathologist's opinion that anal intercourse took place, even though the pathologist found no evidence of rectal trauma or semen present.

A rapist's modus operandi usually reflects his experience level with victims and the judicial process. An experienced rapist takes more care not to be seen or not to leave any incriminating evidence, including fingerprints, semen, hairs, or fibers. Such a rapist may require his victims to bathe, shower, or douche prior to his departure. On the other hand, inexperienced rapists or inadequate personality types often leave incriminating evidence.

PROFILING HOMICIDE CASES

As in sexual assault cases, the profiler must examine the behavioral aspects of homicide cases. They initially judge the murderers as being organized or disorganized, although in reality few killers are purely one or the other.

A disorganized murderer's crime scene will suggest panic, fear, irrationality, and immaturity. The disorganized killer is a loner who prefers his own company to that of others. He experiences difficulty in interpersonal relationships, and consequently feels rejected and lonely. His crime and crime scene evidence frenzy and lack of prior planning. He often lives or works near the crime scene, making little or no effort to conceal it. He seldom penetrates the victim with his penis, although he may masturbate to the point of ejaculation on, near, or, as in one case, into an open wound in the body (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980).

An organized killer would tend to leave a crime scene that evidences planning, intelligence, experience, maturity, and little or no emotional involvement. This offender, generally a rational, fully functional person, usually exhibits few, if any, outward indications that he has the capacity or inclination to commit such a crime. John Wayne Gacy of Chicago, Wayne Williams of Atlanta, and Theodore Bundy were all productive members of society, had

no arrest histories, and were not known to harbor any resentment toward society. These organized killers truly can be the unsuspected, nice guy next door.

Organized killers are usually self-centered, but show an amiable facade to society. They do not avoid contact with society in general. They are methodical and cunning, and they generally live and work some distance from the crime scene. They are indifferent to the interests and welfare of society, and, subsequent to their crimes, behave as if they feel no remorse or guilt whatsoever (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980).

On the other hand, alcohol or drug abuse may cause an organized killer to perform in a very disorganized manner, thereby distorting the crime scene. Emotional attachment to the victim may likewise distort a crime scene by producing a disorganized scene by the hands of an otherwise organized person. Experienced profilers often can detect these distortions and advise the local law enforcement agency to be alert for predictable post-offense behavior patterns. Investigators can readily detect and exploit such an offender's efforts to cope with his crime. For example, if the profile suggests that the killer is experiencing strong feelings of guilt over the crime, a sympathetic newspaper story about the victim's family on the anniversary date of the crime may draw the killer back to the victim. The police might then watch the cemetery where the victim is buried, or even place a listening device on the headstone. Several killers have been caught when they went back to put flowers on the grave (Porter, 1983).

The differences between the two types of killers is such that some crimes evidencing strong indications of both types may be profiled accurately as involving two killers. Such was the case when a young mother of two was abducted from her isolated night-shift employment, raped, mutilated, murdered, and cannibalized. Profiles found the presence of semen in the vaginal vault (an organized trait) in a victim who was grossly disfigured and cannibalized (a disorganized trait) inconsistent with a crime committed by one person. They also logically and accurately predicted that, of the two people involved in the crime, the organized person drove and the disorganized person rode as a passenger.

Interpreters base a profile like this on the characteristic patterns or factors of uniqueness that distinguish certain individuals from the general population (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Unfortunately, when a victim lives a high-risk lifestyle, commonly associating with criminal elements of society, the profile may fit a number of associates or suspects. These cases complicate the

investigator's efforts to narrow the suspect list to one. Such cases clearly demonstrate the limitations of profiling and emphasize the FBI's position that profiling should be considered as simply another investigative tool to be added to the arsenal of crime-solving techniques already in use.

Accurate profiling results from a team effort that requires thorough, professional, accurate work from investigators, forensic pathologists and their laboratory technicians, and profilers. Although profiling may never advance from an art form to a science, its accuracy and resulting contributions toward quicker identification and apprehension of violent felons will likely ensure its place in the everyday functioning of our legal investigative system.

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**PSYCHOPATHIC DEVIANCY AND GENETICS:
A PRELIMINARY REPORT FROM THE TEXAS ADOPTION PROJECT**

Joseph M. Horn, Ph.D.

TEXT

"Since its beginning American psychology has had a love affair with environmentalism." The interesting part of this admission by Davison and Neale (1982) is that it comes at a time when the ardor is cooling. Many psychologists now recognize the importance of biological influences in both normal and abnormal behavior, but just as lovers may ignore unpleasant truths about those they adore, some psychologists cling to naive environmental formulations in spite of good evidence that such views are erroneous. Harry Miller (1980) has provided some illuminating examples of this in his article on **Hard Realities and Soft Social Science**. In the present article, an alternative to the commonly accepted environmental explanation of why crime runs in families is examined.

Until recently, environmentalism has dominated the study of crime and delinquency in the United States. One specific environmental factor that has received considerable attention is child-rearing practice; of which, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) conclude:

In study after study, the child-rearing factors associated with aggression and delinquency are described in similar, if not identical, language. The Gluecks, Baumrind, Hirschi, West and Farrington, and Patterson all find much the same thing. Nor are these patterns found only in America or England. In Finland, Pulkkinen followed a cohort of children beginning at age eight and found that the children who later became most aggressive lived in homes with indifferent, selfish parents. In Sweden, Olweus found that aggression among young boys was the joint product of the boy's temperament (calm or hot-tempered while an infant) and the extent to which the mother was "negative" (hostile, rejecting, cold, indifferent) and "permissive" (lax in monitoring and controlling behavior).

Although deviant child-rearing practices are normally thought of as part of a criminogenic environment, there is one way they could reflect the operation of genetic factors. If child-rearing derives substantially from the personality of the parents, any genetic contribution to adult personality or deviance would also have a role in parenting. Further, since each parent gives each child 50 percent of his or her genes, deviant parents could contribute directly to genetic predispositions for

personality and deviance among their offspring. In this scenario, the deviant child-rearing practices among the parents are just indicators of genetic influences that operate in both the parents and children. Genes segregating within families can produce both deviant parents whose child-rearing is bad, a fortiori, and the children whose own personality predispositions make them, perhaps, specially vulnerable to mistreatment. Since not all children of deviant parents would receive the predisposition for deviance from their parents (each parent passes on a different randomly selected 50% of his or her genes to each child), it is expected that some children will not become delinquent even if the child-rearing is uniformly bad. Such an outcome is required for a genetic theory to be supported. Environmental theories, on the other hand, are harder pressed to explain why some children seem immune to their poisonous environment.

Can this alternative view of deviant child-rearing be tested and is there evidence to support the genetic hypothesis? The answer is yes on both counts. First, data exist showing that the parents of delinquents are, as a group, characterized by deviant personality profiles. Wilson and Herrnstein say:

We have evidence, for example, that the parents of delinquent boys are more likely than the parents of socially similar nondelinquents to have distinctive personality profiles, as measured by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), including higher scores on the Pd (Psychopathic deviate) scale. Patterson found, as did Goodstein and Rowley, that the mothers (but not the fathers) of antisocial children had elevated MMPI scores, especially on the Psychopathic deviate scale. The parents, particularly the mothers, of delinquents tend to be irritable, easily angered, and often depressed. Some of those feelings may have resulted from their attempting to cope with an especially difficult child ("insanity is hereditary; you get it from your children"), but we think that for the most part they predate the arrival of the child.

Given that some of the parents of delinquents are known to have high scores for psychopathic deviancy, it is not surprising that they are poor parents. It is hard to see how an impulsive, manipulative, antisocial person without a well-developed conscience could be anything but indifferent, selfish, hostile, rejecting and cold toward children.

But it can't be easy to rear a delinquent child. How can this possible influence on the personalities of parents be assessed? The answer is with the study of adopted children who have been separated from their biological parents at birth. If the correlation between biological parents and their adopted-away children is not diminished by the separation, the influence of shared environment on the personality of both parents and children can be ruled out. In addition, if adopted children resemble their

biological parents on psychopathic deviancy more than they resemble their adoptive parents, the evidence for the operation of genetic influences becomes stronger. These possibilities can be evaluated with data from the Texas Adoption Project.

THE TEXAS ADOPTION PROJECT

Adoptive families were selected for inclusion in this study if they adopted a child whose biological mother had taken an IQ test while she was living in a home for unwed mothers. All the unwed mothers were Anglo or Mexican-American and came generally from average or above average socioeconomic circumstances. Their mean IQ was 109 on the Revised Beta. Most of the unwed mothers who were tested for intelligence were also given the MMPI. Very little information and no test data were available for the putative fathers. Eligibility criteria and funding permitted 300 adoptive families to be examined for IQ and personality using the MMPI. Both adoptive parents were tested along with all adopted children and any natural children of the adoptive parents. Other details are given in Horn, et al (1979), Horn, et al, (1982), and Loehlin, et al, (1982).

Recently we have embarked on a ten year follow-up and retesting of the children in the adopted families. Their average age is slightly over 17 now, and we have greater confidence in these later personality assessments than we did for the earlier ones. For the present only the preliminary results for the psychopathic deviancy scale (Pd) of the MMPI from the ten year follow-up will be discussed. This scale was chosen because it has been shown to be predictive of delinquent and criminal behavior in both children and adults (see Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985, for a review); and, as indicated before, it can identify parents whose children are at risk for future delinquency.

RESULTS

Table 1 gives the correlations for psychopathic deviancy among all possible combinations of parents and children in the study. Two of the correlations are between family members that share environment but no genes: adoptive mothers X adopted children and adoptive fathers X adopted children. Both of these correlations are insignificant. The next two numbers are for relatives that share both genes and environment: adoptive mothers X natural children and adoptive fathers X natural children. The fathers and their natural children show a significant correlation ($p < .05$). The final correlation is between relatives who share only their genes: unwed mothers X their adopted-away children. This correlation is significant at the .01 level.

There is no evidence in these correlations for the notion that rearing a high Pd child can elevate parent Pd and produce the parent-child resemblance found in the families of delinquent children. Significant correlations emerge only for relatives who share genes. The absence of significant correlations for relatives that share only environment also means that high Pd parents are not

elevating the Pd of their offspring. Furthermore, the adopted children show a higher correlation with the unwed mothers they have never seen than with the adopted parents who have reared them from birth. This finding clearly supports the contention that high or low Pd scores are not the product of different environments. Rather, they appear to derive from the genetic factors that increase or diminish the Pd scores of their progenitors. A final piece of evidence against the influence of child-rearing (or any other common family factor) in delinquency comes from the correlation between unrelated children reared together. For the 107 pairs we have retested so far, the correlation for Pd is $-.01$! Whatever the parenting strategies (or absence of strategies) employed by the parents, they are not operating to produce sibling similarity in Pd.

What do the adopted-away offspring of the very high Pd unwed mothers look like? Thirty-six of our unwed mothers scored more than 70 (two standard deviations above the scale norm of 50) on the Pd scale. Their average score was 81. If hereditary factors are influencing Pd scores, the children of these women should score above the mean for their age even though they were reared by adoptive parents whose Pd scores are average (55 for adoptive fathers and 53 for mothers) for adults. The adopted-away children had an average score of 62 on Pd. This is four-tenths of a standard deviation higher than the mean of 58 given by Hathaway and Monachesi (1963) for twelfth grade boys and girls in Minneapolis.

We can also look at the genetic influence from the other direction, from children back to parents. With this form of analysis the question becomes where do high Pd children come from rather than what happens to the children of high Pd unwed mothers. Willerman et al, in press, selected 20 adoptees with Pd scores greater than 70 and compared the Pd scores of their biological mothers and adoptive parents with the same data gathered for 48 adoptees whose Pd scores were not more than 55. For this study we required that the validity scale scores not exceed 80 for F or 70 for L. If this restriction is removed, however, the results do not change very much.

Results showed that the biological mothers of the high Pd adoptees had Pd scores that averaged 70 whereas the mean for the biological mothers of the low Pd adoptees was 63. The difference is highly significant ($p < .003$). The adoptive fathers in the two groups showed no difference on Pd (both = 55), but the adoptive mothers did (51 for low Pd and 56 for high Pd, $p < .05$). This difference could be due to the impact of the deviant child on the parent, but two facts mitigate against this hypothesis. First, the parents took the MMPI ten years ago when the children were only seven years old on the average. Certainly the most troublesome period for these adopted children was yet to arrive. Also, there was no indication from the parental ratings of personality taken at this earlier time that the high and low Pd children could be distinguished. In addition it seems highly unlikely that adoptive mothers with Pd scores averaging only 56 could have created high Pd in their adopted children. It has already been shown that the common family environment doesn't exert a detectable effect on

the Pd scores of the children; and, besides, an average Pd of 56 does not indicate any significant deviancy among the adoptive mothers.

DISCUSSION

Taken as a whole, the results presented here support the view that the predisposition to crime and delinquency measured by the Pd scale of the MMPI has, at least, a significant part of its origin in genetic factors. There is a significant tendency for high Pd children to come from high Pd biological mothers even when the children are reared by adoptive parents whose Pd scores are near average. Living together under the rearing conditions provided by the same adopted parents did not produce the slightest resemblance in Pd among unrelated children. And finally, the adopted children resemble (correlate with) the biological mothers they never saw more than they resemble the parents who reared them from birth.

This is not to say that all or even most crime is traceable to a genetic predisposition. After all, the adoptive parents in the present study were selected for economic and emotional stability. We do not know what would have happened to some of the adopted children if they had been placed into homes where the economic and emotional situation was much worse. What can be stated, however, is that in spite of the relatively favorable environments in which the children were placed, there emerged considerable individual differences in psychopathic deviancy as measured by the MMPI (S.D. = 11.2). Further, we know that these individual differences are traceable to the biological mothers rather than the adoptive parents. This seems enough to ask that genetic factors be given some prominence in theories about why crime runs in families.

It could be argued that the Pd scale does not measure those aspects of parent personality that are most relevant to child-rearing and to the possible creation of delinquency proneness in children later on. Perhaps a more complete assessment of the personalities of the parents would have shown just how the adoptive parents were influencing their children. An analysis of the parent-child correlations for all the clinical scales of the MMPI does not support this idea. There were no significant correlations on any of the scales for adoptive parent-adopted child combinations. The analysis did reveal, however, that heredity was influencing other aspects of personality. Both the Depression and Schizophrenia scales showed significant correlations ($p < .01$) between the unwed mothers and their adopted-away children.

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TABLE 1

Correlations of K-corrected Pd Scale Scores for Parents and Children

	<u>Adoptive Mothers, Adoptive Children</u>	<u>Adoptive Fathers, Adoptive Children</u>	<u>Adoptive Mothers, Natural Children</u>	<u>Adoptive Fathers, Natural Children</u>	<u>Unwed Mothers Adopted Children</u>
Correlation	.01	.11	.02	.20*	.23**
N	245	248	72	72	135 (a)

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

(a) The sample size for this pairing is less than for the adoptive parents X adoptive children because not all the unwed mothers took the MMPI and many adopted families had more than one adopted child.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDELINES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL SCREENING IN
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Robin E. Inwald, Ph. D.

TEXT

As more law enforcement agencies add psychological testing to their pre-employment screening programs, there is increasing concern that these procedures follow appropriate professional standards. Members of the American Psychological Association's Police Psychology Section, as well as other interested mental health professionals, were recently asked for their opinions about a series of guidelines developed to aid administrators and psychologists using psychological testing for selection purposes. Preliminary results of this survey of "Proposed Guideline for Conducting Pre-Employment Psychological Screening Programs" (Inwald, 1985b) suggest that while there is not full agreement as to the exact minimum requirements for psychological screening programs, there is enough consensus to warrant attention to some major points. Table I contains a list of the second version of these guidelines, while table II shows the percentages of agreement based on responses from 27 police psychologists representing 16 different states. The average number of psychological evaluations completed each year by these respondents was 271.

As can be seen on this table, 93% of psychologists answering this survey agreed that pre-employment psychological test results should be used as one component of the overall selection process, and that they should not be used as the sole criterion for a "hire/no hire" decision. The same percentage also agreed that psychologists should attempt to retain their "professional consultant" status, rather than performing selection tasks more appropriate for

personnel officers, such as making final hiring decisions. Although two psychologists had some reservations about these guidelines, none disagreed. While there are certainly some cases where psychological disturbances are so severe as to suggest an individual could not function effectively in any responsible job setting (the reservation expressed by one of the two above-mentioned psychologists), most candidates do not fall into this category.

There is a degree of error associated with psychological predictions of this nature (usually in the direction of falsely predicting individuals will fail as officers when they later succeed), and there is no clear definition of what makes a "good" officer. Therefore, most psychologists agree that factors, such as background investigation data and other outside information, should be considered in addition to psychological recommendations when administrators make their final hiring decisions.

With regard to using specific "cut-off" scores for hiring decisions, 89% agreed that they should not be used unless there is "clear evidence that such scores are valid and have been cross-validated in research studies in the agency where they will be used."

The issue of whether or not clinical interviews (that usually follow written testing) are necessary has been debated by professionals. While these interviews have not previously been validated regarding their individual contribution to predicting future job performance, they are a standard part of most psychological screening programs. Eighty-five percent of the psychologists answering this survey were of the opinion that such interviews should be conducted to gather further information and verify written test results. Ninety-six percent agreed that when computerized tests are employed, a mental health professional should be on hand to interpret and verify the written results (a fuller discussion of the nature and need for followup interviews can be found elsewhere-Knatz and Inwald, 1983; Inwald, 1984, a, b, c, 1985a).

Written reports, that give clear, jargon-free interpretations of written test results, information gathered in interviews, and a summary of results including a psychological rating or recommendation, are the obvious "product" to be received by law enforcement administrators who employ psychologists to conduct pre-employment assessments of applicants. Eighty-one percent of the psychologists in the survey agreed that job-related written psychological reports should be prepared for each candidate tested, and 85% agreed that a rating system should be developed that provides for more than a "yes" or "no" determination of psychological suitability. Finally, 96% agreed that a comprehensive rationale and definition of the

screening program's goals should be provided to the police agency, and 85% agreed that validation efforts should be made to tie final "suitability ratings" to behavioral criteria measures of job performance.

A task force is currently being organized to further develop these guidelines. Using the American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Mental Health Standards (1984) as a guide, it is hoped that supportive commentary (rationale and "pro" and "con" statements) can be generated for each of these proposed standards. When a formal document of these standards and their rationale has been prepared, it may eventually be presented for endorsement by the leading law enforcement and psychological professional association.

Submissions of "pro" or "con" statements regarding each individual guideline are requested at this time. Individuals who are interested in serving on the task force, or who would like to develop commentary on the guidelines should contact: R. Inwald, Ph. D. at Hilson Research Inc., 119019 83rd Ave., Kew Gardens, NY 11415 or call: 718-846-4622 or 718-805-0063.

TABLE I
PROPOSED GUIDELINES FOR MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS
VERSION II

The following statements are proposed as guidelines for professional practice in the area of pre-employment psychological testing of law enforcement officer candidates. They do not represent mandatory standards but are presented as a useful framework for agencies and individuals who are charged with the responsibility of conducting defensible psychological screening programs.

1. Pre-employment psychological test results should be used as one component of the overall selection process. Psychological recommendations should not be used as the sole criterion for a "hire/no hire" decision.
2. A comprehensive rationale and definition of the psychological screening program's goals should be provided to the law enforcement agency. This should be developed in conjunction with administrators and guided by an appraisal of agency needs as well as the realistic abilities of mental health specialists.
3. A rating system should be developed that provides for more than a "yes" or "no" determination of psychological suitability.
4. Both formal and informal training efforts should be made in order to clarify goals and psychological testing procedures for administrators.
5. Before conducting their own clinical assessments of candidates, practitioners should familiarize themselves with the specific field of psychological testing for law enforcement officers.
6. A psychological "job analysis" obtained by interviewing departmental personnel, and/or taking survey information regarding those psychological attributes considered most important for effective officer behavior should be conducted.
7. A comprehensive test battery of written psychological instruments should be administered to candidates, with the results available to psychological staff before followup interviews are conducted.
8. Written tests selected should be validated for use with law enforcement officer candidates and the selected tests should be normed by sex and race. In smaller departments, data comparing populations and job requirements

can be developed to support the transportability of validation studies from larger agencies.

9. Specific cut-off scores should be avoided unless there is clear evidence that such scores are valid and have been cross-validated in research studies in the agency where they will be used.

10. Written tests should be pilot-tested before being adopted into a final psychological screening battery.

11. Written instruments should contain well-defined, preferably behavioral, scales and should avoid the need for largely subjective interpretation.

12. "One-on-one" followup interviews for all candidates should be provided before a final evaluative report is made in order to properly verify written test results and to gather additional relevant information.

13. A standardized, behaviorally-oriented interview format should be employed, with all psychological material including background data and test results, evaluated by interviewers in advance.

14. Core questions in the interview, also allowing for open-ended followup questions, should be periodically reviewed and possibly edited so that practitioners can increase their probability of collecting the most relevant information in a limited period of time.

15. While a clinical assessment of overall emotional adjustment may be made, clinical diagnoses or psychiatric "labeling" of candidates should be avoided when the goal is to identify those individuals whose emotional adjustment difficulties may adversely affect specific job performance.

16. Written "job-related" psychological reports should be prepared for each candidate tested, avoiding psychological jargon and "hospital language".

17. Administrators directly involved in making hiring decisions should be provided with full written reports and the information necessary for easy interpretation of all documents.

18. Psychologists should attempt to retain their "professional consultant" status, rather than performing selection tasks more appropriate for personnel officers (such as making final hiring decisions).

19. Validation efforts should be made to tie final "suitability" ratings to behavioral criteria measures (e.g. terminations, disciplinary infractions, excessive absenteeism, lateness and/or supervisory ratings etc.).

20. If possible, baseline data on critical criteria measures (such as rates of serious incidents, negative reports, etc.) should be collected for future comparisons before a psychological testing program is implemented.
21. Clear disclaimers should be made so that reports evaluating current emotional stability or suitability for a job in law enforcement will not be deemed valid after a specific period of time (such as six or eight months).
22. Pre-employment test results should not be used for purposes other than making pre-employment hiring decisions and doing followup research where individual officer identities are protected.
23. Provisions should be made for the security of all testing materials of either on or off agency premises.
24. If candidates will be denied employment based on psychological testing results, they should be allowed an opportunity to appeal negative decisions.
25. Only licensed psychologists or mental health professionals adequately trained and experienced in psychological test interpretation and psychological assessment techniques should be retained to conduct psychological screening for law enforcement agencies.
26. When mail order or computerized tests are employed, a mental health professional should be given the primary responsibility for interpreting and verifying individual results.
27. If a decision based, even in part, on psychological results is challenged, providers of the psychological testing services should be prepared to defend their procedures, conclusions, and all recommendations.

TABLE II

OPINION SURVEY OF PROPOSED LAW ENFORCEMENT
PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING GUIDELINES FOR MENTAL HEALTH
PROFESSIONALS (N=27)

Guideline No.	Agree w/ No Reservations	Agree w/ Some Reservations	Disagree	Omissions
1	93% (25)	7% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
2	96% (26)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
3	85% (23)	15% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
4	85% (23)	15% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
5	96% (26)	0% (0)	4% (1)	0% (0)
6	67% (18)	26% (7)	7% (2)	0% (0)
7	81% (22)	19% (5)	0% (0)	0% (0)
8	70% (19)	26% (7)	4% (1)	0% (0)
9	89% (24)	7% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
10	78% (21)	15% (4)	4% (1)	4% (1)
11	63% (17)	37% (10)	0% (0)	0% (0)
12	85% (23)	11% (3)	4% (1)	0% (0)
13	79% (21)	22% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)
14	93% (25)	7% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
15	85% (23)	15% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
16	81% (22)	15% (4)	4% (1)	0% (0)
17	78% (21)	22% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)
18	93% (25)	7% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
19	85% (23)	15% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
20	67% (18)	30% (8)	4% (1)	0% (0)
21	63% (17)	30% (8)	7% (2)	0% (0)
22	81% (22)	15% (4)	4% (1)	0% (0)
23	96% (26)	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (1)
24	63% (17)	26% (7)	11% (3)	0% (0)
25	96% (26)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
26	96% (26)	4% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
27	89% (24)	11% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)

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POLICE PEER COUNSELING--AN EXPANDED PERSPECTIVE

Dr. J. Linden
Dr. R. Klein

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION

Peer counseling is certainly not a new concept, and in its informal form has undoubtedly existed in all occupations for a long time. The process of friends or co-workers helping each other in times of need happens all the time. While true in all types of work, it is especially so in police work that no one understands the problems inherent in the job better than another person in the same occupation.

Police officers can especially benefit from peer counseling due to the unrealistic expectations placed on them. The police officer is expected to always be in control, to never be afraid, to always have solutions to other people's problems and not to have any problems of his own. Nowhere is the "John Wayne" syndrome more obvious than in the police officer, who society expects to exemplify the qualities of the "real man". Police officers pay for these unrealistic expectations in terms of an exceptionally high level of stress and ultimately with a life expectancy of up to fourteen years less than the average person.

Traditionally, police officers have turned to each other for support and have "shied away" from seeking assistance from professionals in the field of psychology. The reasons for this are twofold: they didn't feel that anyone else really understood their problems, and they bought the hype that real men shouldn't have any problems. Also, police officers tend to become a very incestuous group, turning to each other to the exclusion of other members of society for everything from support to social contacts. Once a person becomes a police officer he or she rapidly sheds previous friends in other occupations and it becomes "us" (police officers) against "them" (all others).

This phenomenon has been a mixed blessing and has not been without problems. While it is probably true that no one other than a police officer understands the problems and the unrealistic expectations placed on them, much of the advice and counsel provided by other police officers, while well meaning, has been without direction and in many cases has served to exacerbate rather than help the problem.

Recently, with the recognition that "real men", even police officers, do have problems, peer counseling has been formalized with much of this direction being provided by psychologists. Basic psychological principles are being taught to officers, such as listening skills, unconditional acceptance, problem assessment, crisis intervention, and realistic referrals for problems that are beyond the scope of the peer counselor.

THE CALIFORNIA MODEL

Modifying some of the methods and concepts of the Los Angeles Police Department's peer counseling program Drs. Linden and Klein developed a training program that was ultimately approved by POST (The California Commission on Police Officers Standards and Training) for presentation to police departments throughout California.

The program is based on the premise that, with proper guidance, police officers are in many cases most appropriate helpers for the majority of problems faced by police officers, at least for the initial contact. The idea was to "lower the level of intervention", that is, assist the officers with problems before they become debilitating.

This model utilizes a team-teaching approach, combining basic counseling theories with the practical on-the-job experience of police work. The psychological methods are taught by Dr. Linden with the practical aspects supplied by Dr. Klein.

Each peer counseling training class meets for a total of twenty-four hours and consists of explanation, demonstration, and practice. Basic psychological principles are presented, the application of these principles to police work is demonstrated by the instructors, and the class then practices these skills. For the practice sessions the class is divided into small groups consisting of a counselor, a counselee, observers and one of the instructors. At the conclusion of each exercise each person in the group provides input as to their opinions and observations.

After the basic concepts of psychology as they apply to peer counseling are presented, specific problem areas are identified and each student has an opportunity to practice counseling skills in these areas. These include relationship problems, alcoholism, stress, burn-out, problems of women and minorities in law enforcement, and post traumatic incidents.

The feedback provided by the nearly 300 officers who have gone through the peer counseling program has been very positive. They have especially appreciated the team-teaching approach designed to bridge the theory/practice gap in which theories are presented by Dr. Linden with validation provided by an "insider" Dr. Klein.

THE FUTURE OF POLICE PEER COUNSELING

Police peer counseling is an idea whose time has arrived and an approach whose implementation is being very well accepted by police officers. The concept is being so well received that plans are being developed to extend the scope of peer counseling within law enforcement with the expectation of providing coordination of all psychological services from the initial recruit screening, continuing for the entire time of employment and terminating with retirement counseling.

While certain of the services would not appropriately be done by the peer counselor, such as recruit screening, the role of the peer counselor could certainly be expanded. As envisioned, this expanded role would involve the peer counselor in support groups for new recruits and their spouses, teaching in the recruit academy, in-service training for police officers, handling post-traumatic incidents, and providing retirement counseling.

The services of the peer counselor could first be utilized in the recruit academy to teach such subjects as managing stress, alcoholism, assertiveness training, and the psychological and psychosomatic symptoms associated with any post-traumatic incident. The advantage of utilizing the peer counselor in the recruit academy would be twofold: first, teaching skills that the peer counselor has learned; and second, introducing the recruits to the peer counselor and the concept of peer counseling.

Simultaneously, the peer counselor could conduct support groups for spouses of new recruits. As we all know, many changes take place in a person once he or she becomes a police officer and many of these changes are detrimental to a relationship. These changes could be explained to the spouses and methods of constructively dealing with them could be presented.

In-service training presents an opportunity for the peer counselor to not only present specific subjects but to simultaneously introduce himself/herself and introduce the concept of peer counseling to all the officers.

Post-traumatic incidents are a natural area for the peer counselor to be involved in. While we typically think of the post-traumatic incident as being limited to officer-involved shootings, realistically, the scene is much broader. Other areas which might well be included in this category include major automobile accidents, suicides, major disasters, and airplane crashes. Additionally, the

group counseled could be broadened. Not only officers directly involved in the incident, but a number of other people could potentially benefit from counseling. These are the "behind the scenes" people and include communications personnel, other officers who might only peripherally be involved, and command officers.

If desired, the services of the peer counselor could be used for handling a variety of situations which law enforcement officers inevitably encounter in performing their duties. These include such things as handling mentally ill people, suicide threats, barricaded subjects, domestic disputes and death notifications.

Another area that peer counselors need to get involved in to maximize their efficiency is developing community resources. The peer counselor is trained to identify behavior that is beyond the scope of peer counseling. Thus, they must develop viable resources within the community for referrals. Once having identified and evaluated these resources, the peer counselor can act as a "go between" assisting the officer in making use of them.

Finally, the peer counselor could be used to develop training for officers who are about to retire, either on a service retirement or a disability retirement. The average police officer dies within five years of retirement. This might be a combination of the fact that police work is typically more than just a job, but rather is a very large part of their lives and their sense of identity, as well as many unrealistic expectations of what retirement is really like.

In summary, police peer counseling is based on the premise that often the best person to intervene with a police officer in times of stress is another officer. For problems that require more than supportive counseling, appropriate referrals are made, but the vast majority of contacts with peer counselors are dealt with at this first level of intervention and do not require more professional help. The California Model, begun in 1982, has trained over 300 officers throughout the state and has been widely acclaimed by those who have gone through the training. For the future, peer counseling looks to expand its role from just counseling of officers in need, to such areas as academy training, spousal support groups, development of community referrals, assisting members of the community in crisis intervention situations and retirement counseling.

THE USE OF DRAWINGS IN CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE INVESTIGATION

Carol Marcy, Ph.D.
Joe Hock, M.A.

ABSTRACT

The investigative interview done with children in sexual abuse cases presents some unique challenges. Law enforcement officers are asked to assess a complaint of child sexual abuse and analyze specific elements of the behavior in order to determine what crimes have or have not been committed. The validation of information depends on the officer's knowledge of child behavior, child development and patterns of sexual abuse. The officer must also have the ability to gain the child's trust so that the necessary information can be obtained.

Although the primary purpose of the interview is fact finding, it will be clinical as well. The officer's interview is not only an opportunity to determine the fate of a case or to provide evidence for court, but it is opportunity to have an important therapeutic impact on the child's life.

This paper will explore children's drawings as a means of accomplishing some of these essential elements. Drawings can be used as a technique for building rapport and trust as investigative aids which solicit relevant information and concrete evidence. They can also provide a way to maintain witness credibility and a way to confront the offender. We will discuss ways in which an attempt can be made to enter them as evidence in both juvenile and criminal court.

As a way to summarize this material we would propose to develop an outline for training which would provide the investigating officer with the knowledge he or she needs to accept the challenge set forth in child sexual abuse cases. This model would place the drawings within the larger context of the investigative interview, determination of charges and preparation of cases for both criminal and juvenile court.

The Use of Drawings in Child Sexual Abuse Investigation

- I. Introduction.....
- II. A Conceptual Framework of Child Sexual Abuse.....
- III. The Role of the Law Enforcement Officer.....
- IV. The Investigative Interview.....
- V. Children's Drawings.....
 - A. The Investigative Interview
 - 1. The Environment
 - 2. The Engagement Stage
 - 3. The Fact Finding Stage
 - 4. The Planning or Problem Solving Stage
 - B. Perpetrator Accountability
 - C. Validation
- VI. Drawings as tools for the court.....
 - A. Spontaneous exclamation (excited utterance)
 - B. Statements for purposes of medical diagnosis or treatment out of court
 - C. Past recollection recorded
- VII. Training.....
 - A. The concept of child sexual abuse
 - B. The role of the law enforcement officer and his/her relationship with others involved in the case
 - C. The investigative interview and validation of child sexual abuse.
 - D. Children's drawings and child sexual abuse
 - E. Normal child development
 - F. Child sexual abuse and the law

I. INTRODUCTION

In child sexual abuse cases, a child's memory, suggestibility, and ability to communicate become issues during the first investigative interview. Investigators are often in a unique situation to obtain early accurate reports from children, but often do not know how to do so, relying heavily on leading questions and purely verbal reports.

When a child is the only person privy to knowledge that may lead to an arrest of a child abuser, it is difficult to refrain from pumping the child for information. But children, especially younger ones, have great difficulty reporting events on a purely verbal basis. Their reports tend to be less rationally ordered than adults and typically present a less coherent whole (Sheehy 1980). They have often been threatened to remain silent by the abuser. This makes verbal disclosure difficult as well.

Techniques that do not require exclusively verbal accounts can be used effectively to obtain detailed, accurate reports from children. A recent study by Price (1984) suggests that props are useful in providing a context to maximize narrative detail in childrens' accounts. Moreover, despite the use of props in studying the memory of two and a half, four and five year olds, not a single child's account or reenactment contained elements of fantasy.

Investigators are currently using anatomically correct dolls in obtaining testimony about sexual abuse from children. At present this method is being questioned by the courts for being too leading. Berliner & Barbieri, (1984) state that more detailed, accurate reports could undoubtedly be obtained from children if interviewers gave them other relevant props to aid their reports. Malpass and Devine (1981) have found that in addition to verbal prompts, a child is likely to need some concrete retrieval cues. Sgroi, Porter and Blick (1982) suggest that drawing could be effectively and creatively utilized.

Typically the police interview consists of a verbal dialogue which places the young child in a distinct disadvantage. Including elements of play such as drawings, dolls, and other props would be tremendously beneficial.

In this paper we will focus on the role of children's drawings during the investigation of child sexual abuse. In order to set the stage, we will define child

sexual abuse by providing a conceptual framework. Against this backdrop we will discuss the police officers role in both the investigation of and prosecution of alleged child sexual abuse. Because the interview the officer conducts with the child is crucial and challenging, we will cover some important elements of that process. We will explore how drawings can be used as an integral part of the interview and then how these may be entered into court as evidence. Our bibliography will be organized and grouped into topics for training the child sexual abuse investigator.

II. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Child sexual abuse may be defined as a sexual act that is imposed on a child who naturally lacks the emotional, maturational and cognitive development to assimilate or withstand the premature introduction to sexually by an adult. The ability to lure a child into a sexual relationship is based upon the all-powerful and dominant position of the adult or older adolescent perpetrator, which is in sharp contrast to the child's age, dependency, and subordinate position. Authority and power enable the perpetrator, implicitly or directly, to coerce the child into sexual compliance (Sgroi, Blick, Porter, 1982).

This kind of sexual interaction is generally an experience with which the child has difficulty coping physically, intellectually or emotionally. Physically, the child may find the experience highly sexually stimulating but rarely satisfying. Intellectually, the child's stage of cognitive development may not be sufficiently advanced to permit comprehension. Emotionally, the child may not be mature enough to isolate his or her own feelings of others. Thus, a sexually abused child may suffer anxiety from excessive, unfulfilled physical stimulation, distortions and misconceptions due to intellectual limitations, and emotional disturbances from his or her own and incorporated feelings of guilt and shame (DeVine, 1980).

In a publication by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1980), child sexual abuse is seen as contacts between a child and an adult when the child is being used as an object of gratification for adult sexual needs or desires. Others, see the perpetrator meeting nonsexual needs. According to Sgroi, Blick, and Porter (1982), the offender wishes to gain importance, power, dominance, admiration and wishes to be seen as knowledgeable in order to meet narcissistic needs. The child may feel at first that this is his or her only means of gaining special attention.

The child's age and developmental stage, the relationship of the abuser to the child, and the presence and degree of violence associated with the abuse are factors which determine the severity of the impact on the child. In general, the closer the relationship and the more violent the incident, the more difficult it will be for the child to cope with the experience. In addition, the reactions of the child's parents and the professionals who become involved in the case can contribute substantially, for better or worse, to the child's ability to resolve the situation (Jones, Jenstrom and MacFarlane, 1980).

Sexual abuse can be categorized by the relationship of the perpetrator to the child (Jones, et al, 1980). The first category involves a parental figure. This may or may not be the natural parent but someone who fulfills this role for the child. A diagnosis of incest involving parents or parent figures must take into account the emotional and psychological relationship between the adult and the child, as well as social norms and legal definitions.

The second category of relationships involves a family member who is not a parent or parent figure. This could include grandparents, aunts or uncles, siblings, nieces and nephews. The child may see the abusing adult as a powerful figure in the family and as a source of support, approval, and nurturance or the relationship may be distant, involving little trust or regard.

The third category is that of a person who is significant to the child but not a parent. This may include an admired neighbor, a favorite teacher, or a babysitter. This person may be trusted and held in high regard by the child.

The final category addresses the stranger, where sexual abuse occurs by someone not known to the child. Here there is likelihood that more violence has occurred and the degree of violence is important.

When sexual abuse occurs with an adult known to the child, those behaviors encountered usually fall within a predictable pattern (Sgroi, Blick, Porter, 1982). That pattern of behavior also occurs in an environment that appears to have some common elements. If the abuse occurs within the family framework, the physical manifestation may simply mirror a larger psychological and behavioral reality. Typically the perpetrator plays an extremely dominate and controlling role with all family members. The

family is isolated from others (neighbors, school, work) because interpersonal interaction with others is seen as untrustworthy. The world is a hostile place from which the family must be protected, consequently the family members are encouraged or required to meet all social needs from within. There may be no role boundaries, that is, no one clearly plays mother, father, or child. A lack of limits may pervade every aspect of family life. Powerful family members have no limits on observing less powerful individuals, or on touching their bodies or their belongings. In one family the adolescent daughter had no privacy. It was as if the door to her room did not exist because her father could come and go as he pleased.

Generally, the abuse starts gradually with less intimate types of sexual activity, such as, exposure and self masturbation to actual body contact, like fondling and then to some form of penetration. Oral penetration may progress to vaginal or anal penetration. This may happen slowly over a period of years very often with little if any violence. The activity can also be seen in five separate phases: the engagement phase, the sexual interaction phase, the secrecy phase, the disclosure phase, and often a suppression phase following the disclosure. Thus, the sexual behavior progresses over time usually in the direction of greater intimacy. As the child grows older there may be a parallel increase in frequency as well. When the disclosure is finally made, it is rarely the first time.

III. THE ROLE OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER

The police investigation of child sexual assault is usually concurrent with interviews by child protective service workers, health professionals and/or social workers. It is the specific task of the law enforcement officer to assess a complaint of child sexual abuse and analyze the specific elements of the behavior in order to determine what crimes have or have not been committed (Graves and Sgroi, 1982).

The primary goal in the investigation is to gather evidence to prove that a crime has been committed and then to determine who has committed the crime. The officer must keep in mind at all times the need to be collecting valid evidence to be used later in court. At the same time the officer must keep in mind that the victim's physical and emotional well-being must be guarded.

The investigative interview is the most important part of the validation process (Sgroi, Porter, Blick). For several reasons, this process is particularly unique in child sexual abuse cases. Very often there is little or no physical evidence. Interview techniques will need to vary depending on the age of the child. These children have been threatened not to talk, consequently they may be reluctant to reveal appropriate information. They may also be resistant to talking about sexual matters. Because of their age and experience, their knowledge of sex may be distorted and their vocabulary deficient and unsophisticated. In order for a successful interview to take place, a special set of skills needs to be applied by the officer (DeVine, 1980). Dolls, puppets, or drawings as well as role playing can be used very successfully.

IV. THE INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEW

In order to provide a brief overview of the process, it may be useful to envision the structure of the interview as having three stages: the engagement stage, the fact finding stage, and the planning or problem solving stage. In order to create an atmosphere for exchange of information the investigating officer has to develop rapport and trust with the child victim. It is this basic ground work which allows the child to feel comfortable enough to share this sensitive information.

It is essential to engage the child initially and just as essential to continue this engagement throughout the investigative process. The officer must be sensitive to whether or not the child is still responding on a useful level. Often he will find that after sensitive material has been revealed the child will withdraw or change the subject. Engagement can be used to continue meaningful investigative communication.

While engagement facilitates an atmosphere of trust and mutual cooperation, the officer will find that some victims are more ready to open up, while others require a great deal of effort to reveal even sparse information. For engagement to occur the officer must communicate a non-judgemental attitude, a willingness to listen and an empathetic understanding. Often the officer will be called upon to suspend his or her own personal judgements and feelings.

The officer must make clear that he or she empathetically understands the problem or if not, that every effort is being made to do so. The officer shows his

or her willingness to listen through tone of voice, rhythm of speech, body language and kinds of responses that are given. If the officer communicates these to the child victim, then gradually a basis of trust will be established that will allow the revelation of the emotionally charged but pertinent information.

When the child feels bonded enough to share the details of the abuse, the officer begins the process of exploring the dynamics of child sexual abuse and seeks to validate this information. It is during this fact finding stage that the nature and extent of the sexual abuse is sought. How did it begin? What happened next? Where did it occur? What occurred? Was anyone else there? When did it happen? How long has it been going on? Did any one else know? What made you go along with this? How did you feel about this special relationship? Why are you telling now? These and other questions help focus on the information needed to establish the case.

Because the way in which this information is shared with others may dramatically effect the well being of the child, sensitivity to the planning or problem solving stage is essential. Whenever possible, it is best to respect the wishes of the child. At times, however, factors such as ensuring the protection of the child or complying with legal requirements will have to take precedence. By explaining the need for disclosure and the type of information to be shared, the officer and the child can usually come to some agreement (DeVine, 1980).

This three part interview format allows for the maximum benefit of the investigation. The engagement stage allows for the development of an atmosphere of trust and mutual cooperation. It is only when this careful ground work has been laid that fact finding can occur. The sensitivity of the material and the welfare of the victim demand that the fact finding be as thorough as possible and yet take into account the age, the emotional and cognitive development status of the child. In this manner the necessary valid evidence can be collected. The planning stage helps prepare the child for the next steps and guards the victim's physical and emotional well being.

V. CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Having provided an overview of the investigative process, we will now focus more intentionally on the use of children's drawings. We will discuss specifically how they can be used to enhance various specific components of the process.

Because part of the dynamics of sexual abuse included elements of secrecy and coercion, verbal expression in relationship to the abuse becomes particularly difficult or inhibited. Threats, promises and inducements have commonly been used with the child for a long time in order to facilitate the abusive relationship. Some examples are: "If you say anything, I'll have to go to jail for 20 years"; "I'll kill your mommy if you tell"; "This is our secret and can never be told." Because they involve the sphere of verbal disclosure, the realm of play and specifically drawing in the investigative process can be particularly useful.

Both play and drawing are a child's natural language of expression. According to Erikson (1965), play is the most natural self healing measure childhood affords. It assumes freedom from external constraints and provides an opportunity to express both internal and external experiences without fear of punishment. By drawing the secret instead of telling, responsibility is lifted from the sexually abused child. He or she can tell without telling and be released from the fear of reprisal.

The investigative interview serves a dual purpose, both of which can be facilitated through drawing. First there is the need to affirm or disprove the existence of abuse. Valid information is essential. Kramer (1971) tells us that children are not sophisticated enough to lie in their drawing. According to September (1980), the ability to express unconscious thoughts in images surpasses verbal ability. This may be particularly true for the sexually abused child. The use of art as an interviewing technique is going to provide us with information that also invites increased credibility for the case.

The second function of the investigative interview is clinical. This interaction between the officer and the child not only impacts the child's life present, but also to a great extent in the future. It is very important that the officer be sensitive to the needs of the child. Often when a disturbance has been cause by a traumatic event, symbolic expression in art can help the child master the experience even without psychotherapeutic intervention (Kramer, 1971).

Art is a powerful tool and if used wisely by the investigating officer, can be used to benefit both the development of the case and the emotional status of the sexually abused child. We will discuss specific ways in which a child can be encouraged to draw at various points during the investigative process.

A. The Investigative Interview

1. The Environment

Typically interview rooms are drab and intimidating. The room used to interview children should be bright, comfortable and less inhibiting. In the Montgomery County Police Department, the child's interview room is equipped with toys, a child's desk, a couch and comfortable chairs. Drawing material is readily available and there are non-evidence drawings done by children hung all over the walls. This provides the officer an opportunity to say to a reluctant child, "All of these drawings were done by other children who have come to this room for the same reason you are here." In this way the officer established his or her credibility by showing that the officer has spoken to many children who have been through similar abusive situations. The child is also made aware of not being alone in his or her crisis. This helps the child feel more comfortable when beginning the interview.

2. The Engagement State

Often it is difficult to separate parent and child for the interview. Inviting a child to play and draw may entice him or her to enter the interview room more readily.

Later the child will be asked to draw some very specific pictures, but the purpose of the first drawing is simply to enhance the interaction between the officer and child. This drawing can be of the child's choice, a "free" drawing. This exercise is liable to produce a liberating effect of relaxing the child to explore the potentials of the media and to feel more at ease with the officer (Naitove, 1982).

If the child is particularly inhibited or defended, the process can begin with the Winnicott Squiggle game. In this exercise the officer and the child choose contrasting colors. The officer closes his eyes and makes a mark on the paper and asks the child to make a picture out of it. Then the child is invited to tell about the picture. The procedure is reversed by the child making the squiggle and the officer completing the picture (Naitove, 1982). Taking turns provides a structure and sets the stage for talking about the drawings. The officer can also tap into the child's present feelings about being in the police station, about the officer, etc.

Engagement has occurred through entertainment. Through mutual participation, trust is built. Thus, through the use of art materials a supportive alliance is facilitated which will permit the expression of emotions, an initial working through of the trauma and a telling of the story from which important evidence can be gathered.

3. The Fact Finding Stage

In this next section, drawings are used to gather the necessary information to determine whether or not abuse has taken place. In these drawings the child will be asked to perform a specific task. It is important to remember that instructions should provide a clear concise, but simple framework. They should be formulated within the abilities of the individual, in relationship to their physical, perceptual and cognitive skill level. They should provide neither too much or too little freedom (Naitove, 1982).

During this portion of the interview, it may be desirable to audio or video tape the interview. The child's drawing becomes his or her written statement about the abuse. The tape reinforces that statement.

It has been shown that recall is enhanced if accomplished by drawing (Price, 1984). Younger children in particular may draw nothing more than a lot of lines and scribbles but the verbal explanation that accompanies these efforts will be quite understandable and revealing (see Appendix example #1).

A good place to begin with investigative drawing is to have the child make a crime scene sketch (see #2&3). If the abuse occurred in the child's home, ask the child to draw a detailed picture of the whole house. Once the house has been established it becomes an easier task to direct questions that are open ended, such as, "Where in the house did your father do things to you?" In many cases the abuse has occurred in several locations.

It is important to remember that typically the abuse has occurred over a period of time. Children tend to take direct questions concretely and may end up only describing one incident in Dad's bedroom, when in fact there were many. By starting with a picture of the house it may be easier to discover the multiplicity of the offense.

The child's credibility is also enhanced when crime scene photographs, closely match the child's description. It is also possible that the crime scene is

not a house, but a car or an area in the park or woods. In each case, a drawing provides helpful location, identification, and validation (see #4).

Another important element that is often confusing is time. When did the abuse occur? Younger children have not yet learned to distinguish time in the adult sense. Yesterday is much like a week ago or a year ago. However, if asked, "When did the abuse begin?", or "What time of day did it usually occur?", the child can indicate in drawings whether it was night or day, winter or summer (see #5). Drawings can be used to pinpoint events that occurred during Christmas, etc. (Sgroi, Porter, Blick, 1982).

"What happened between you and your father?" Drawings by the victim of the victim and of the suspect engaged in sexual contact, help the officer clarify to what extent the abuse occurred (see #6&7). Some abuse involves fondling while others consist of forcible rape. The drawing supports the child's report of the abuse when appropriate terminology and verbal sophistication is lacking.

Captions on drawings can be used to demonstrate statements or requests made by suspects or victims. A request by the suspect, "Don't tell Mommy," or "Come here and touch it," or a cry, "Help," by the victim are powerful additions (see #8&9). When entered as evidence, they may make the difference in a decision to prosecute for a more serious charge, for captions help indicate a state of mind.

Because interviewing young children presents a special challenge due to the lack of necessary vocabulary for identifying body parts and sexual activity, Sgroi, Porter and Blick (1982) suggest a creative approach. Usually young children have a name or description for a body part, such as: "ding dong," "monkey," "sweet thing," "popsicle," "mountain," "privates," "booty," etc. Through drawings, the officer can distinguish which part is being described (see #10). By allowing the child to give a vocabulary lesson, the officer will understand with a great deal more confidence, what is being talked about. Clarifying terminology is important with young children as well as adolescents.

Investigative drawings are not only confined to the victims creations. They are prepared, anatomically correct drawings which can be used to help the child explain the story, define body parts and demonstrate the extent of the sexual abuse (Forensic Mental Health Assoc., 1984) (see #11&12). These types of drawings are particularly helpful

with extremely shy or withdrawn children or those with handicaps. A good technique is to allow the victim to choose from the series of drawings of at various degrees of maturation. The child is asked to pick the one most like him or herself and the one which is most like the suspect. This enables the officer to get important information without a question of suggestibility. Then the child can be asked to point to where he or she was touched and when they were asked to touch.

Another type of investigative drawing is the one made by the officer. These drawings can be used in the same way as the anatomical drawings. A technique here is for the officer to draw the victim and the suspect, possibly by letting the victim describe how they should be drawn. When on the same page ask the child to connect with a pencil or crayon the parts of the bodies where contact was made (see #10).

Drawings are another way of describing and documenting any usual oddities like concealed tatoos, moles in the genital area, circumcision, pubic hair (shape and color), or scars (see #13). Again this is a way to gain credibility of the witness and validate the story. Oddity drawings carry major weight for probable cause for arrest warrants and search warrants. This is because these oddities could only be seen during specific acts or inappropriate exposure to certain parts of the body.

A child may describe activity in a drawing that is more sexually sophisticated than his or her normal stage of development (see #14). This provides the means of validating the occurrence of abuse.

Various types of drawings can be used during the fact finding portion of the investigative interview. They are an important source of information and concrete documentation as to the existence of sexually abusive behavior. A child's drawings, which are directed and yet allow a freedom of expression, provide a structure similar to an open ended question. More pertinent information is gathered without closing down various possibilities too soon. Perhaps the abuse happened in more than one room; perhaps there was more than one person involved. Prepared drawings provide more structure for a child who has difficulty communicating freely. These also allow the opportunity to clarify vocabulary and indicate areas of the body touched. Drawings done by the officer can help facilitate what was done to whom, by whom, and where.

4. The Planning or Problem Solving Stage

During this stage of the interview, drawings can be used in several ways. They can help the child express his or her expectations of the interview. A child may draw the abusing parent behind bars. This provides the opportunity for the officer to discuss with the child realistically what the outcome is liable to be.

By asking the victim to draw a picture of his or her family, it is possible to gain information important to placement issues (see #15). The drawing helps assess those relationships which in turn helps determine the best course of action for the victim. Identification by the victim of his parents as positive, caring, and nurturing figures is regarded as indication for an optimistic attitude for reinteration of the trauma and the family unit (September, 1980). It is to be remembered that the drawing may speak more clearly to the unconscious fears and desires than words will do, and consequently reveal the child's real wishes as opposed to those being forced upon him or her.

B. Perpetrator Accountability

Because typically in child sexual abuse cases in there is very little if any hard evidence, confronting the accused is a challenging task. Often the offender will cling to a stance of denial way on into treatment. Perhaps in an effort to maintain his supreme authority in the house, he will play against his wife's doubts and her need for security. It is difficult to get him to admit to anything. Drawings made by the child that describe the activity with a clarity that the perpetrator can readily see, may offer a unique opportunity for confrontation (see #6&14). The power of the drawing may yield the needed confession.

C. Validation

Validation of child sexual abuse depends almost entirely on the investigative interview (Sgroi, Porter, Blick, 1982). It depends on the officers ability to interpret behavior, physical signs and information elicited from investigative interviews. It requires a fundamental understanding of the dynamics and mechanics of child sexual abuse, good interviewing skills and capacity to assess the credibility to assess the credibility of the information elicited. Drawings can be used throughout the interview process to build rapport, to gain wider knowledge, to elicit more concrete evidence and to aid in the appropriate determination of the case at hand. All of this is

enormously helpful for an officer struggling to make sense out of a case that offers little or no concrete evidence and to interview a child who may find it difficult to talk about what has happened.

It is also very typical that some time before the case is brought to court, the child will take back his or her story (Sgroi, Porter, Blick, 1982). This suppression may be as a result of intense pressure from various members of the family. They will attempt to induce guilt or ostracize the child from the rest of the family. Sometimes what actually happens after the disclosure is very different from what the child expected. If a child is faced with a drawing he or she made during the initial interview, it may be less easy to deny the reality of the abuse and the painful memories associated with it. The child may be more easily encouraged to stick with his or her story.

VI. DRAWINGS AS TOOLS FOR THE COURT

Since the focus of this paper is the use of investigative drawings, it should be noted that out of court investigative drawings are considered hearsay and subjected to the hearsay rule. For out of court drawings to be used in a court hearing, they must fall under one of the hearsay exceptions.

The need for children's hearsay statements in sex abuse cases is demonstrated primarily by the fact that statements often constitute the only proof of the crime. Physical corroboration is rare for crimes committed are usually non-violent in nature. In addition, witnesses other than the victim and perpetrator are rare.

Courts have evaluated and admitted child hearsay statements (drawings) by using a variety of approaches and exceptions to the hearsay rule. We will give examples of how this can be done.

A. Spontaneous exclamation (excited utterance):
The rationale of this exception is that under certain circumstances extreme excitement or shock may inhibit the declarant's capacity to reflect or contrive. Any statement arising during this period is assumed to be free of conscious fabrication and is considered sincere and trustworthy. Thus a drawing made during this shock period (time lapse between the incident and the statement or drawing be relatively brief), would be admissible under this exception.

B. Statements for purposes of medical diagnosis or treatment out of court: Statements and drawings use for the purpose of diagnosis and treatment of sexual abuse may be admissible under this exception. Here the reason the drawings were used was for the purpose of diagnosis and treatment. The exception would then allow the drawings to be admitted as evidence.

Under this exception, the writers suggest, that even investigative drawings, done by officers or victim, prior to physical examination, be given routinely to examining physician, to assist in the diagnosis and treatment. This routine practice could at least set the stage for drawings to be admitted into evidence through this exception. In addition they could assist physicians in their role.

C. Past recollection recorded: This exception allows the admittance of investigative drawings into evidence for the purpose of recollection of the previous event. Here a witness, who first hand knowledge of the event and was suffering some impairment of recollection, may use the drawing for the purpose of recall.

Along these same lines, another exception which is similar to past recollection recorded is past recollection refreshed. Here a drawing may be used by witness in court for the purpose of refreshing the witnesses memory. The main difference is that in past recollection refreshed, the drawing is not admitted into evidence.

Hearsay statements are important in child sexual abuse cases. Drawings can be entered as evidence in a variety of ways as exceptions to the hearsay rule. It is important for an officer to be aware of these exceptions as well as his or her own local or state laws that can impact the case. It is also important for the maximum benefit of the child, that the officer coordinate his or her efforts with protective services, health professionals and the attorneys involved in the case.

TRAINING

This paper has focused on the use of children's drawings as a viable part of the intervention of law enforcement in child sexual abuse cases. We have seen how valuable drawings can be if properly utilized during various stages of the investigative interview, in confrontation of the accused, and in the preparation of the case for court. In consideration of training the investigating officer, let

us go back to the larger picture of the role of the law enforcement officer in child sexual abuse. We would like to suggest a series of topics that would address a thorough orientation and education for an officer whose difficult task it is to investigate allegations of child sexual abuse. We have chosen to organize our bibliography in this manner in order to provide useful resources for those doing training in this area.

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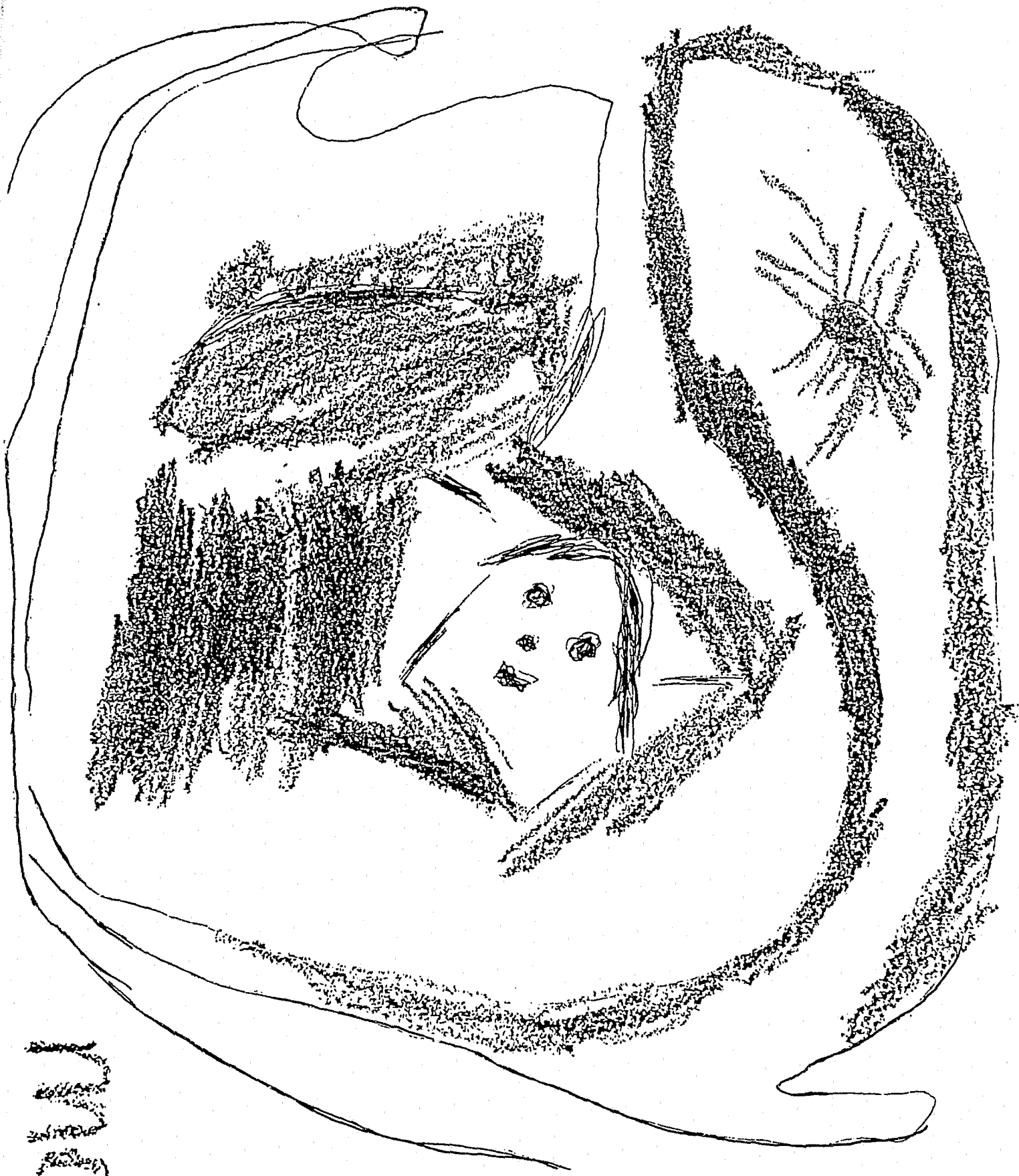
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Melton, G., J. Bulkley, and D. Wulken. Competency of Children as Witnesses. In J. Bulkley (Ed.), Child Sexual Abuse and the Law. American Bar Association, July, 1981, 125-144.

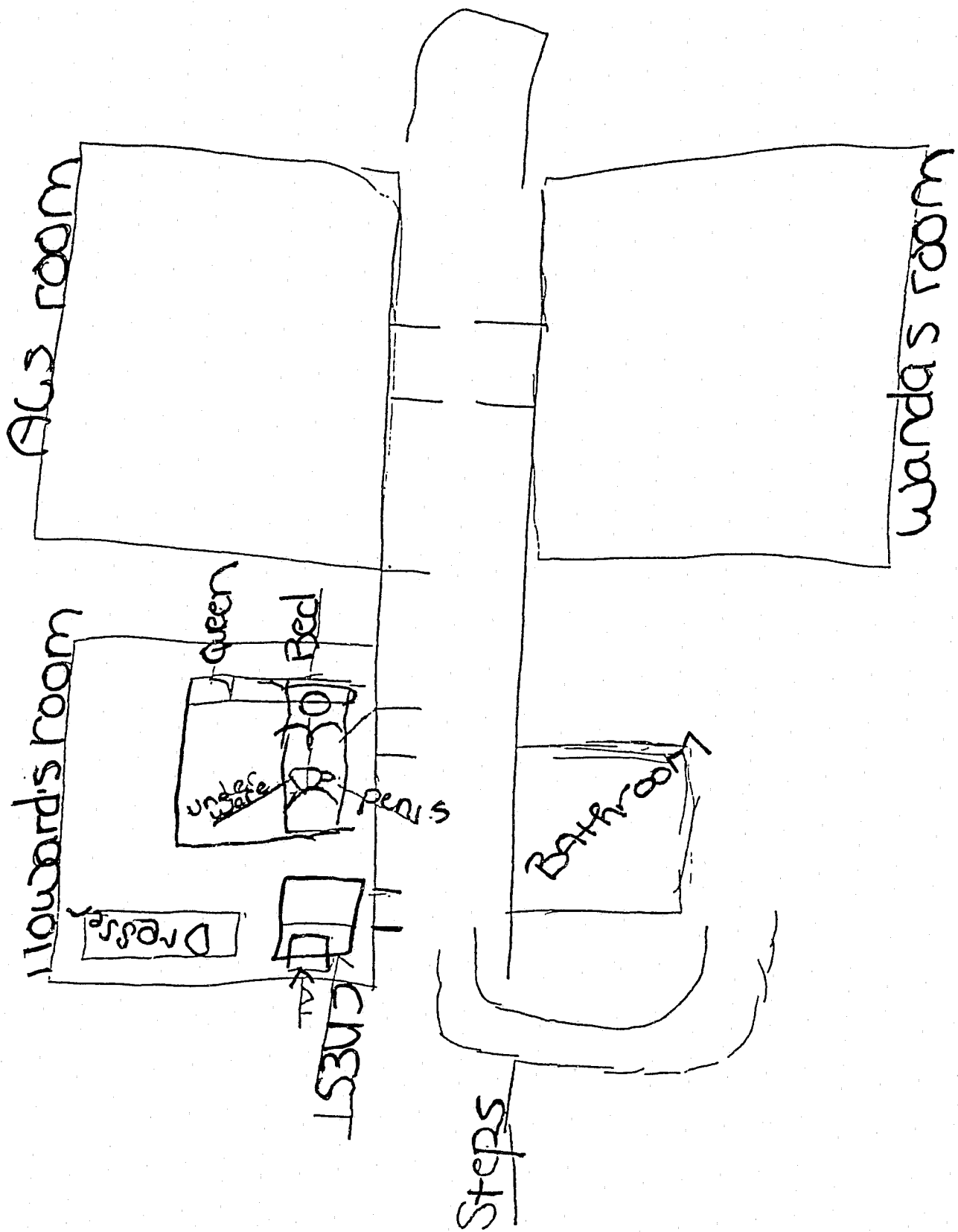
Yun, J. A. Comprehensive Approach to Child Hearsay in Statements in Sex Abuse Cases. Columbia Law Review, 1983, 1745-1766.

A P P E N D I X



Example # 1

Although undiscernible on its own, this drawing depicts a four year old victim's submission to anal intercourse with his babysitter's son during his nap time.



Example # 2

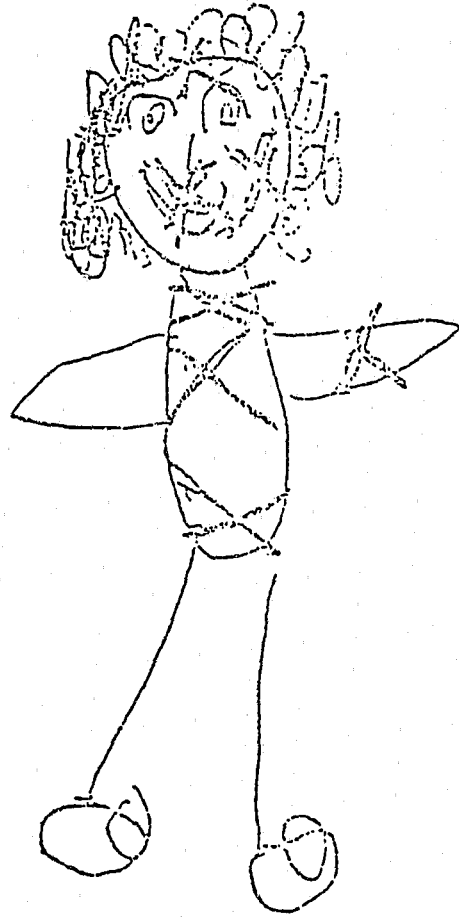
Decription of the second floor of victim's house which identifies the room in which the abuse occured.

9/19

Damien

Example # 3

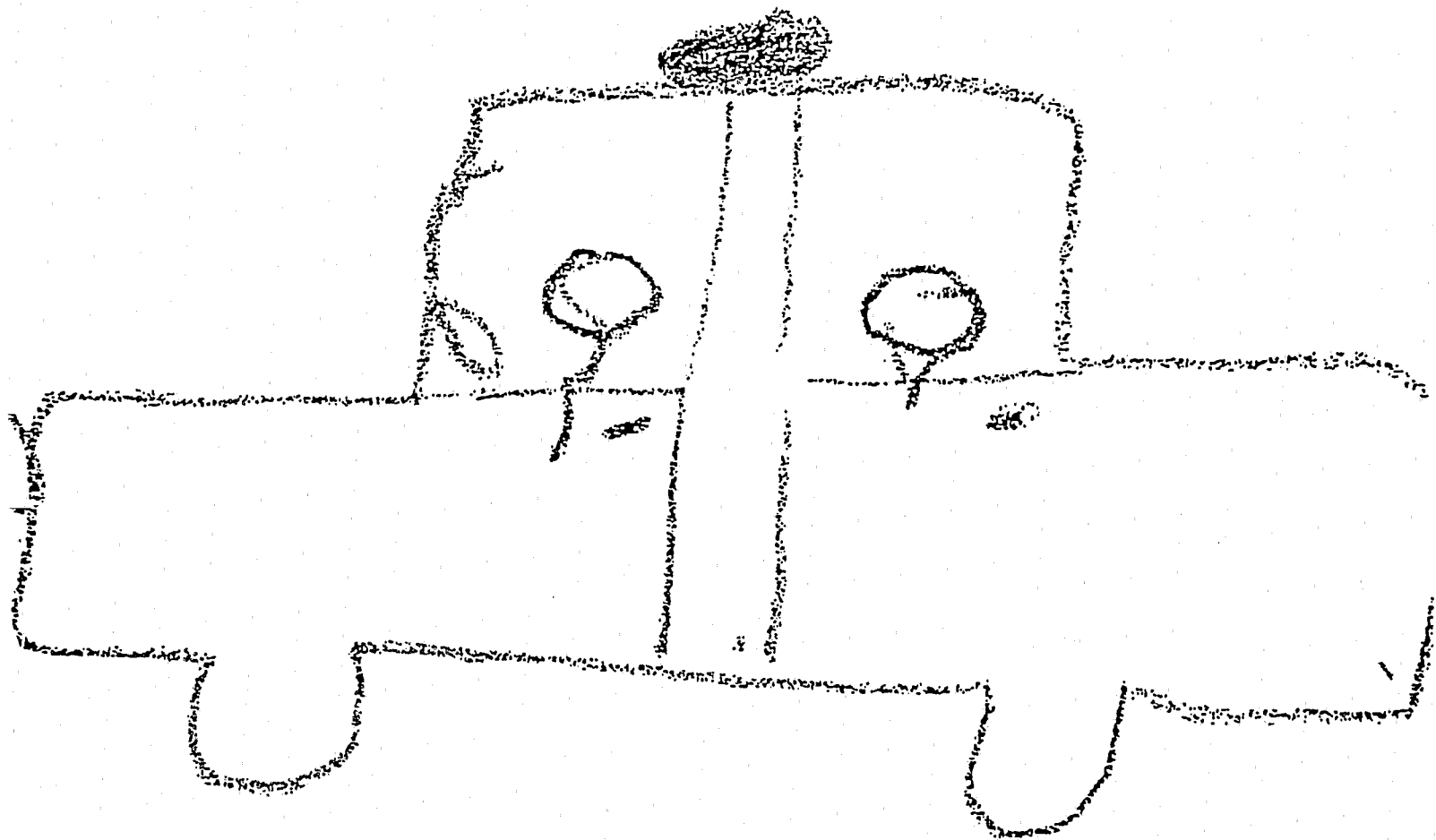
Drawing depicts fellatio
by abusive mother occurring
in bedroom, livingroom, and
on the couch.



Lips

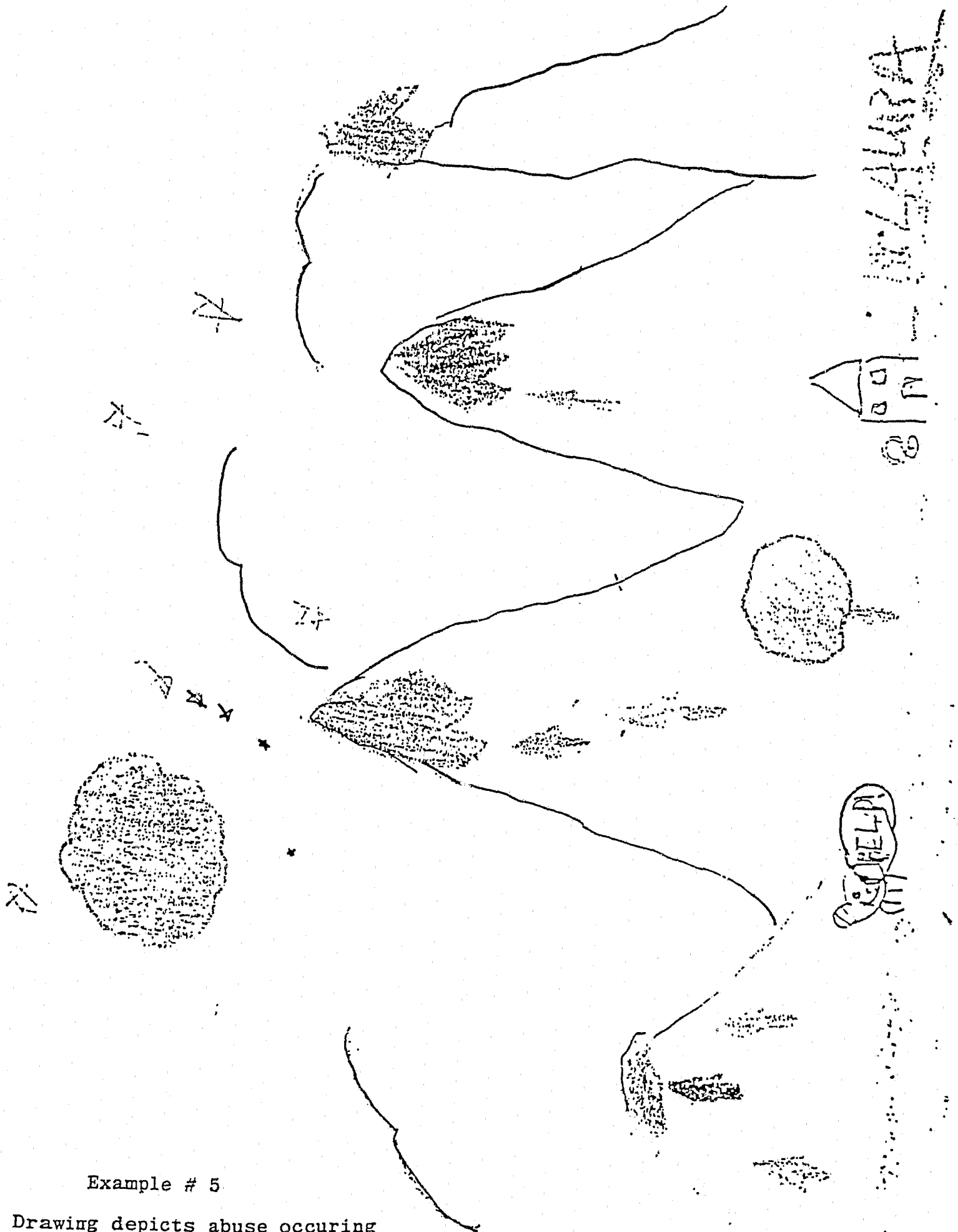
Bad B Room

Living Room
couch



Example # 4

Picture shows Taxi Cab in which a three year old female was sexually assaulted. The original picture indicated the correct color of the cab.



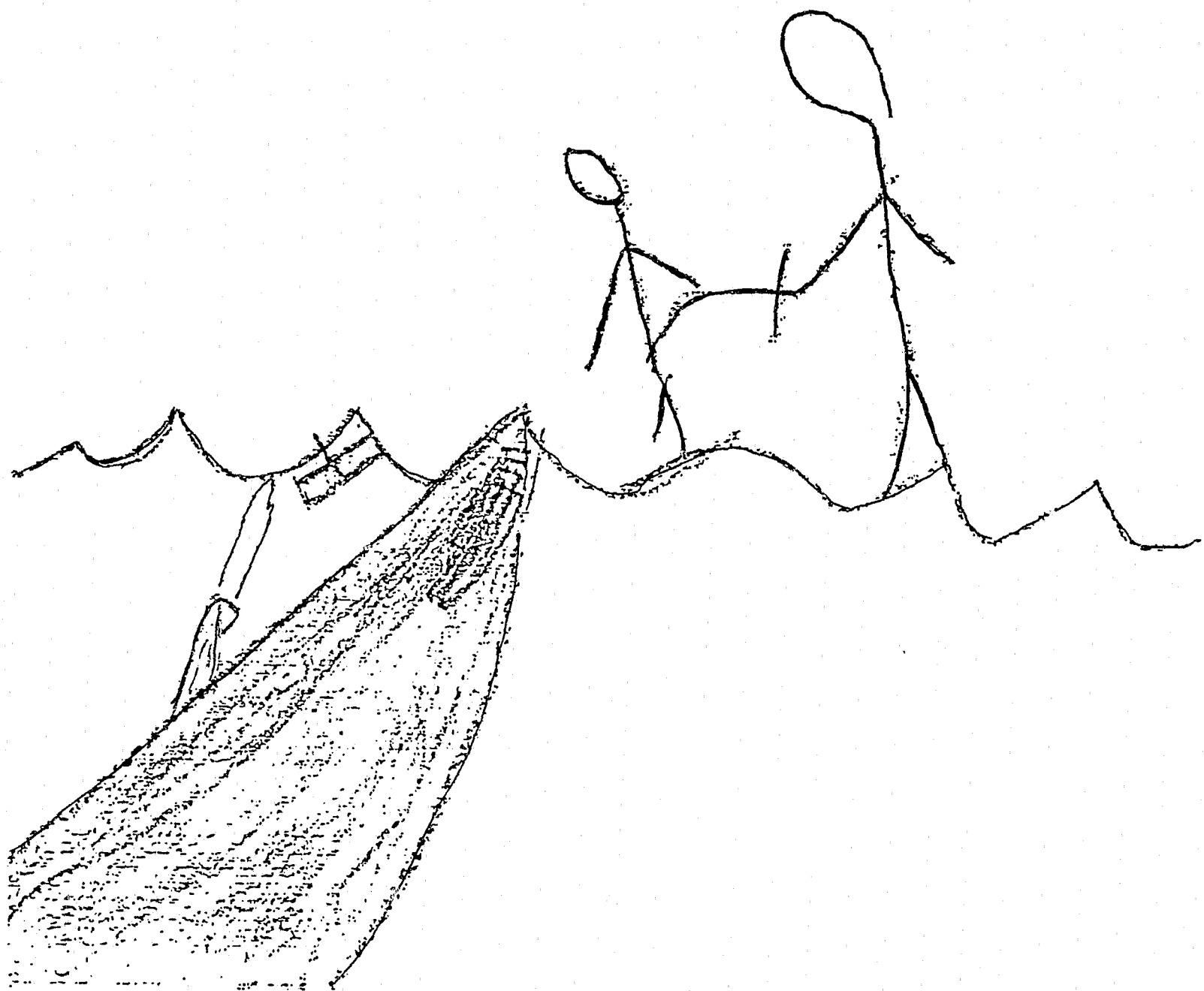
Example # 5

Drawing depicts abuse occurring while on summer vacation.



Example # 6

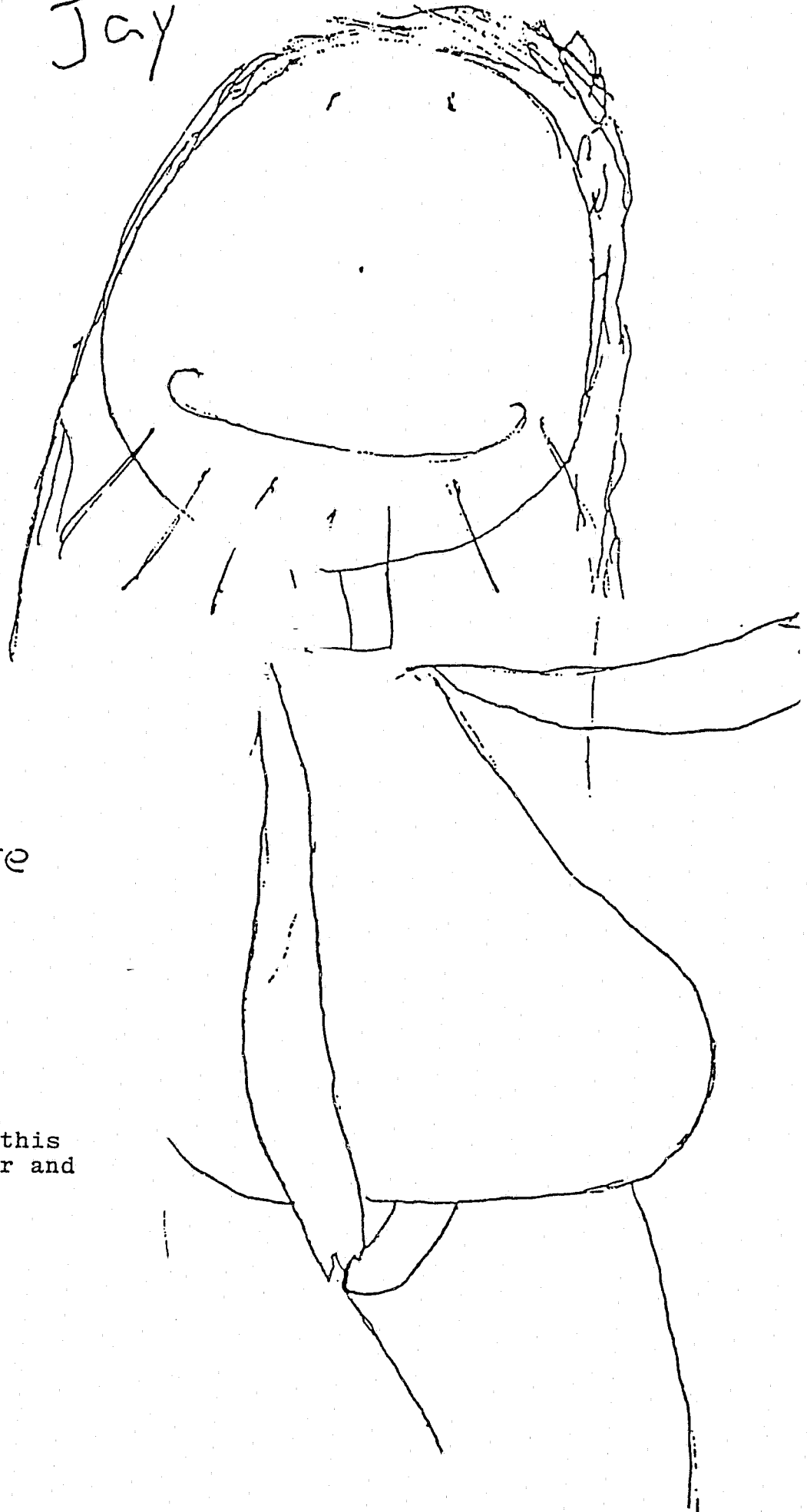
Sexual intercourse between father and daughter in bed. Note facial expression of victim (top) and abuser (bottom).



Example # 7

Female victim explains being forced to urinate on abuser father for his gratification.

Jay



Come here
toach it

Example # 8

A six year old male drew this picture of his male abuser and what abuser would say.

5/10/04

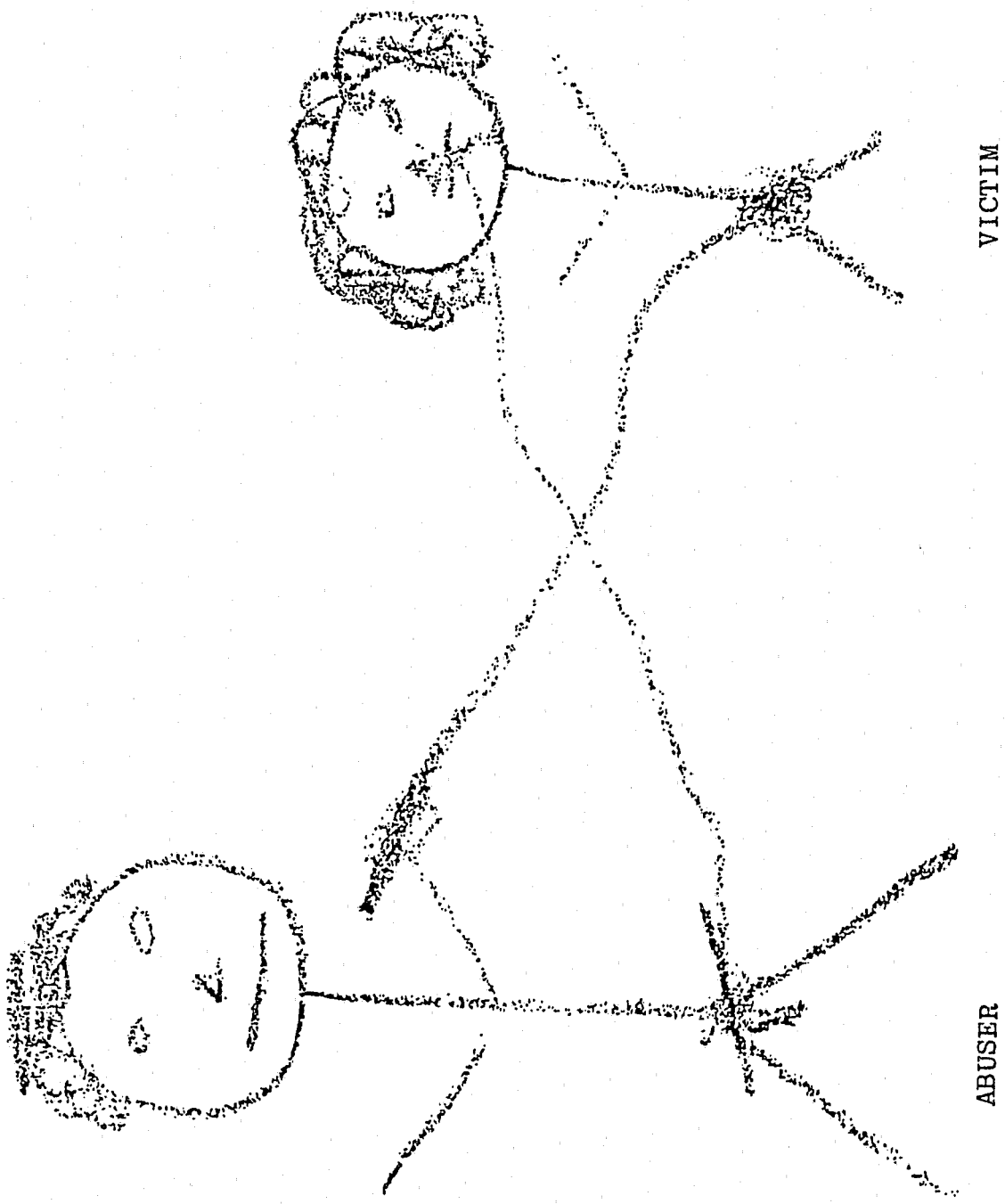


Example # 9

Caption describes areas that the male victim was forced to kiss.

Handwritten scribble

Handwritten initials or signature in the top left corner.

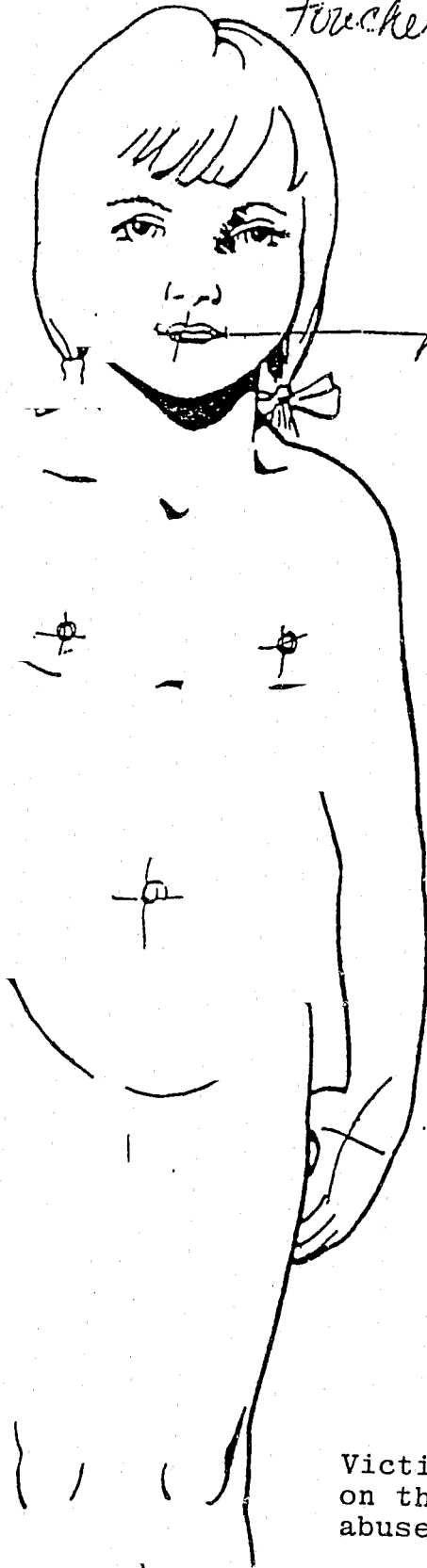


Example # 10

Victim explains the "sweet thing". This is the child's terminology for penis.

toucher^{her} with his hands

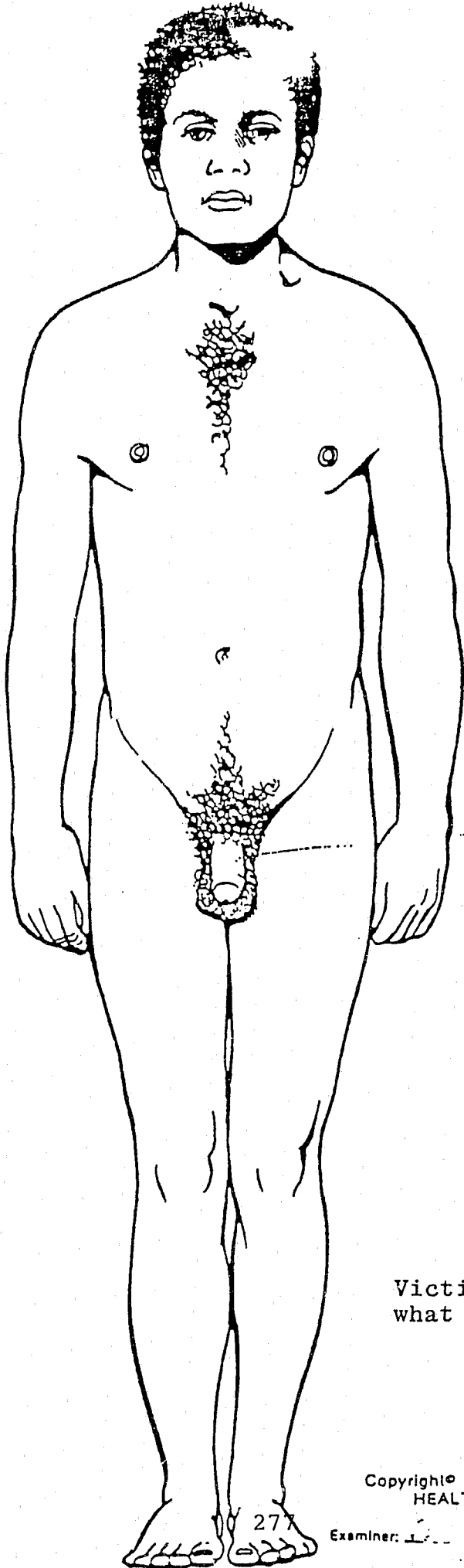
put tongue in mouth.



bite her arm demonstrated didn't hurt her.

Example # 11

Victim points out places on this drawing where the abuser touched her.



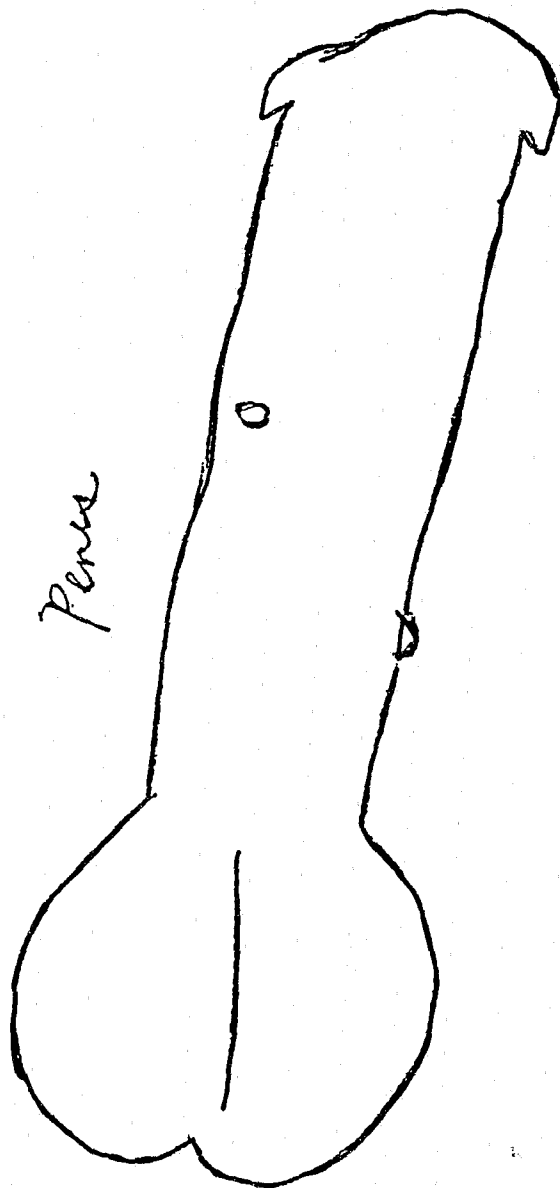
he told me
to hold his pen
tack his penis
off out -
She said no

Example # 12

Victim points out on drawing
what abuser told her to do.

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HEALTH ASSOCIATES, INC.

Examiner: _____ Date: 2/7/84



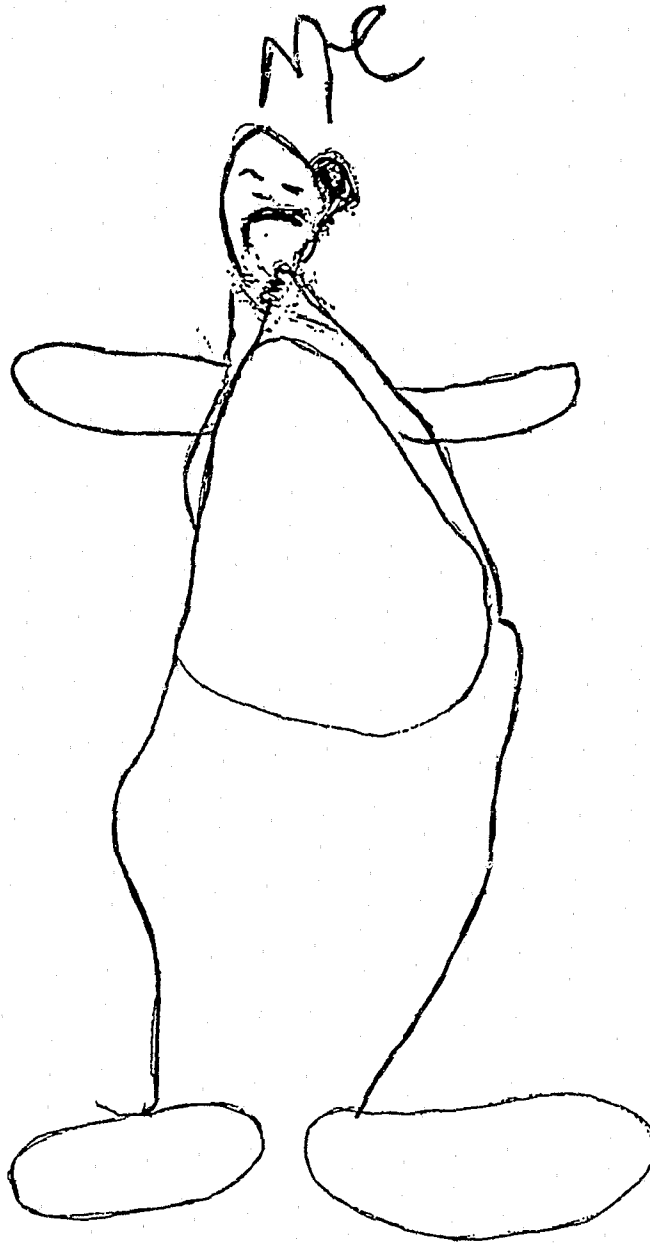
Example # 13

A twelve year old female victim describes moles on penis of defendant.



Example # 14

Six year old draws penis and ejaculation during fellatio.



Example # 15

Self portrait of a seven year old male shows depression and sadness in current family situation.

PSYCHOLOGISTS ROLES IN HOSTAGE NEGOTIATIONS

Michael J. McMains, Ph.D

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, the role of psychologists in hostage negotiations has been as a consultant on the emotional status of the hostage taker and on strategies to use in dealing with hostage takers. This article suggests that the role of psychologists can be expanded. Starting with a discussion of the psychologist as a professional, as a consultant and as a participant-observer, this article goes on to suggest that psychologists can be effective participants in the selection of negotiators, in the training of negotiators, and in the development of the Crisis Response Team. Appropriate areas of psychological knowledge and selected ethical issues are discussed.

TEXT

Over the last decade, the involvement of psychologists in police departments has increased at a constant rate. From a modest beginning of two departments having full-time staff psychologists, the field has grown until more than 200 police psychologists attended the National Symposium of Police Psychology at the FBI Academy in September of 1984. Psychology has become such an integral part of modern police departments that the IACP has voted to establish a Committee on Police Psychology similar to its committee on Police Legal Advisors. The expansion of the FBI symposium to the World Conference on Police Psychology in 1985 is yet another indication of the increasingly important role of psychologists in law enforcement.

Along with the general involvement in law enforcement has come specific areas of police-psychologist interaction which has proven valuable to both law enforcement and psychology. One such area is that of hostage negotiations. Beginning with Harvey Schossberg's development of guidelines for hostage negotiation in New York City, the use of psychologists as consultants in this specialized area has gained rapid acceptance within law enforcement.

Two reasons may have spurred this acceptance. First, the negotiation approach to hostage situations works. Frank Boltz, NYPD's chief negotiator until his retirement, was involved in hundreds of hostage incidents without one person being killed (Hassel, 1984). Houston P.D., over a three-year period has been involved in 168 incidents with only one fatality, and San Antonio has had one self-inflicted fatality in 110 incidents since the inception of its hostage negotiation team in 1975. Hostage negotiations has reduced the number of injuries and/or deaths in high intensity confrontations between police and others.

Second, the issue of vicarious liability has sensitized many police administrators to the value of low risk intervention in hostile conflicts. Cases such as the United States v. Downs, 522 F.2d 990 (6th Cir. 1975), in which the Sixth Circuit Court ruled that the FBI was negligent in not negotiating combined with the Federal Civil Rights Action, Title 42, USC, 1983, 1985 opened the way for municipalities to be sued for the negligence of its agents or agencies. This has brought the risk of not having a negotiating capacity available to the awareness of police and city administrators.

Generally, the psychologist's role in hostage negotiations has been clear. It has been as a mental health consultant to the negotiators and/or field commander. The issues psychologists have addressed are the mental status of the hostage taker and the most appropriate methods of approaching the hostage taker (Fuselier, 1984).

However, there has not been universal agreement among mental health professionals about the value of the consultant in this role. Saltz (1977), for instance, has suggested that psychiatrists (psychologists) have no special expertise in such situations. Of course, this a logical extension of Dr. Satz' opinion that mental health professionals have no special expertise about anything.

Alone, Dr. Satz's comments would not reflect a serious criticism. However, when the current national training programs for negotiators are examined (Hostage Negotiation, U.S. Marshalls Service, Camp Beauregard, Louisiana, December 1984; Hostage Negotiation Seminar, FBI Academy, February 1985; Hostage Rescue Operations Workshop, IACP, San Antonio, 1984), it is evident that the role of psychologists in the hostage situations gets little attention. Though all these programs spend considerable time on the personalities of hostage takers, none of them devote significant time to the role of the psychologists in hostage negotiations generally, the role of psychologists in a hostage incident specifically, or the role of the

psychologists in the operational unit responsible for managing such incidents. In fact, if not in theory, it would seem that most federal training programs agree with Dr. Satz's assertion that the psychologist has no role in the hostage negotiation incident.

It is the position of this paper that psychologists not only have a role as a mental health consultant at the time of a hostage incident, they have even a larger role than has been recognized to date. Not only do psychologists have special knowledge about personality dynamics that can be helpful to both the on scene commander but they have experience, knowledge and training in a number of areas that can facilitate the resolution of hostage incidents. Further, it is time that psychologists utilized this knowledge to develop greater input in every phase of the hostage negotiation incident; from the establishment of the unit, the selection and training of the negotiators, the development of the team, the operation of the incidents, the review and critique of the operation, and the interface with the media and the educating of administrators. This paper will discuss aspects of the expanded role of the psychologist in hostage negotiations.

THREE ROLES OF PSYCHOLOGISTS

There are three general roles that psychologists need to consider in developing their roles in hostage negotiation. They are the role of the professional, the role of the consultant, and the role of the participant-observer. Though similar and sometimes overlapping, there are some differences in these roles. Psychologists who are involved in hostage incidents need to be clear about when and where they utilize which role.

PROFESSIONAL

The US Bureau of Census has established the following prerequisites as necessary in defining a professional:

"(a) A professional worker is (1) one who performs advisory, administrative or research work which is based upon the established principles of a profession or science, and which requires scientific or technical training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing, or

(b) one who performs work which is based upon science or art, and which work requires for its performance an acquaintance with the established

facts, or principles or methods gained through academic study or through extensive practical experience, one or both" (More, 1985).

Though discussing law enforcement rather than psychology, Greening (1978) elaborates on the above definition by listing the following elements of a profession:

"(1) An organized body of knowledge, constantly augmented and refined, with special techniques based thereon.

(2) Facilities for formal training in this body of knowledge and procedure.

(3) Recognized qualification for membership in, and identification with, the profession.

(4) An organization which includes a substantial number of the members qualified to practice the profession and to exercise an influence on the maintenance of professional standards.

(5) A code of ethics, which, in general, defines the relationships of the members of the profession to the public and to the other practitioners within the group and normally recognizes an obligation to render services on other than exclusively economic considerations."

Generally, psychologists fit this definition of professional in that they require education and experience to perform the work of psychology. In addition, most psychologists strive to stay current in their field, belong to an organization that maintains professional standards and that has recognized qualification for membership, and attempt to live within the Ethical Standards of Psychologists of the American Psychological Association (1981).

However, in more specific ways, psychologists who become involved in hostage negotiation incidents need to consider two professional issues: (1) What body of knowledge is it that they need to be considered professional in relation to hostage negotiations, and (2) how does their role in law-enforcement in general and in hostage negotiations specifically mesh with the APA's Ethical Standards?

Clearly, psychologists who participate in hostage negotiations as a consultant on mental health issues and on strategies for approaching hostage takers need to be

knowledgeable about personality theory, psychopathology, interpersonal behavior, psychotherapy, and counseling. However, it is less obvious that they need to be familiar with some specialized areas of knowledge, such as the principles of hostage negotiation, the issue of vicarious liability, the literature on the prediction of violence, the area of terrorism, and the art of profiling both hostages and terrorists groups.

Though the issue of appropriate training and knowledge may seem to be a strawman, an anecdote of a San Antonio hostage incident illustrates the reality of the problem.

In April of 1983, a Mexican national took his aunt hostage in San Antonio. He spoke only Spanish. He was holding her at knife point, the bilingual negotiators were out of touch and the department psychologist was not bilingual. Consequently, a Hispanic psychologist who was the ward director for the Hispanic program at the local state hospital was asked to come to the scene, to aid in the evaluation of the hostage taker, and to suggest culturally appropriate methods of managing the person.

Upon arriving at the scene, the departmental psychologist found the actor, his aunt, the local psychologist, his wife (who was a psychiatric social worker) and several police officers on the porch of the house in which the aunt lived. Neighbors were milling around the yard. Raspa (snowcone) dealers were walking up and down the street in front of the house. The media people were taking pictures and a general circus-like atmosphere prevailed.

After the department psychologist consulted with the on-scene commander, the decision was made to deal with the situation as a regular incident. A perimeter and a command post were established. Non-essential personnel were evacuated from the area. Only the number of policeman necessary to secure the area, to contain the hostage-taker and to provide cover for the psychologist were assigned to the incident. A patrol officer was assigned to find one or more of the bilingual negotiators.

After approximately one and one-half hours, the Hispanic psychologist and his wife advised the P.D. that the actor was a paranoid schizophrenic

who was actively psychotic and that the best strategy was to rush him. They stated that they were frustrated in that the hostage taker insisted on outrageous demand, i.e., \$7,000,000, a Boeing 707 on the street in front of the house, and free passage back to Mexico where he would be safe from those trying to kill him. Finally, they decided that they could not afford to spend any more time with the incident and that they were going to leave soon.

Perhaps, the basic principle in hostage negotiation is that time is on the side of the negotiators. Every training program emphasizes the necessity of trying to extend the time of the incident. Lanceley (1985) points out that extending the time of an incident has at least eight advantages:

- (1) The passage of time increased the basic human needs, giving negotiators bargaining tools of food, water, etc.
- (2) The passage of time reduces anxiety on the part of the hostage takers and the police, making it less likely that irrational aggression will occur.
- (3) The passage of time increased rationality.
- (4) The passage of time allows for the formation of the Stockholm Syndrome, decreasing the likelihood of aggressive action toward the hostages.
- (5) The passage of time increases the hostage's opportunity for escape.
- (6) The passage of time allows for better decision making because more information can be obtained about the hostage-taker, the event, the background of the event, the relationship of the principle parties involved, etc.
- (7) The passage of time allows for the establishment of rapport between the hostage-taker and the negotiator.
- (8) The passage of time allows hostage takers to reduce their expectations of success as they become more realistic about their situation.

Additionally, the IACP (1984) points out that as the passage of time increases the chances of mistakes on the part of the hostage taker, wears down the resistance the hostage taker can mount, and increases the options available to the negotiator, since not being locked into a set schedule allows for more freedom.

Had the consulting psychologist understood the principles of hostage negotiation, he would not have pressed for a tactical solution to the problem. Instead, he would have recognized that the longer the incident continued the more fatigued the individual would have become, the more likely the hostage taker would be to make a mistake, and the less likely it would be that anyone would get hurt.

If the psychologist had understood the need to extend the incident, he may not have committed to help with the incident and then have to leave before it was over. Though he left extolling the patience of the police department, he was only helpful in one of the two roles traditionally played by psychologists in hostage incidents. He was only helpful in evaluating the mental status of the hostage taker, not in helping develop an approach to the incident that reduced the chances of injury. He did not help the profession by being available for only part of the problem.

The issue of the ethics of psychologists involved in a hostage incident is no less important to consider. What are the ethical considerations in participating in a situation in which people may be killed or injured? How do the ethical standards apply to the request for evaluations of a person's dangerousness, when that evaluation may lead to the decision that the person evaluated has to be killed?

The preamble to the Ethical Standards of Psychologists (1981) states:

"Psychologists respect the dignity and worth of the individual and strive for the preservation and protection of fundamental human rights. They are committed to increasing knowledge of human behavior and of peoples understanding of themselves and others and to the utilization of such knowledge for the promotion of human welfare. While pursuing these objectives, they make every effort to protect the welfare of those who seek their services and of the research participants that may be the object of their study..."

Succinctly, the question this principle raises is this, "In a hostage incident, is the psychologist protecting

the welfare of the person seeking his service and of the human subject who is the object of his study by consulting?" To argue that the police department is the client and is therefore the only one needing consideration begs the question raised by this principle. The psychologist has a responsibility to both the police who seeks his services, professional opinion and advice, and he has a responsibility to the person who is the object of his study, the hostage taker. He must clearly recognize that there are persons on both sides of the line toward whom he has an active responsibility. On the one side, he has an immediate responsibility to the police department because they are the ones asking for his direct services, who are paying his fees, and who are listening to his advice. He must provide them with his best professional judgment, based on his continuing study of the field. He must not overextend his opinion or allow himself to be seduced into a position of rendering opinions on issues for which he is not trained.

On the other side, the psychologist must recognize that he has a responsibility to the hostage and the hostages. It is more frequently the hostage taker and hostages who are in serious danger. Most modern police departments can bring far more firepower and manpower to bear on an incident than can the hostage taker (Hostages are at risk of being hurt or killed 78% in assaults (Schlossberg)). As the unwitting subject of the psychologists evaluation, the hostage taker must be seen as a human being who is being evaluated in a limited context.

Perhaps the solutions to this issue lies in the avowed goal of hostage negotiations. Goldaber (1984) has described it as finding the "win-win" solution to a volatile conflict situation. The goal of a hostage negotiation incident is to resolve the situation in such a way that no one is hurt or killed. Schlossberg (1982) has described it as a conflict situation in which the needs of the police are number one, the needs of the hostages are number one, the needs of the by-standers are number one, and the needs of the hostage takers are number one. Implicit in this is the recognition that the welfare of everyone involved in the incident is primary. The psychologist's role is to apply his experience, training and expertise in such a way as to reduce the tension of the situation and increase the chances of a successful resolution of the problem. In that way, psychologists can respond to hostage incidents within the ethics of psychology. Another way of saying this is that everyone is the client. The goal for psychologists is to find a solution to the conflict laden situation which is acceptable to both sides and which does not require force on the part of either side.

Other ethical guidelines important to psychologists involved in hostage negotiations include those of responsibility, of competence, of moral and legal standards, of confidentiality, and of the welfare of the consumer.

Principle 1d of the APA Ethics Guide makes it clear that psychologists have to maintain the highest professional standard, even when an employee of a government agency. When psychologists are employed by municipalities, by police departments or when they are sworn officers, they are not relieved of the necessity to act within the standards of psychology which means, in part, that they are bound by the requirement to consider both sides.

Principle 2, on competence states:

"The maintenance of high standards of professional competence is a responsibility shared by all psychologists, in the interests of the public and the profession as a whole. Psychologists recognize the boundaries of their competence and the limitations of their techniques...They maintain knowledge of current scientific and professional information related to the services they render."

This standard makes it clear that psychologists must be qualified to offer service in line with their education, training, and experience. In addition, they are charged with the responsibility of continuing their education so as to keep abreast of changes in their field. Not only do psychologists who participate in hostage negotiations need to be informed in areas discussed above, and in the areas of psychology discussed below, but they need to make every effort to stay current. Regular participation in seminars, regular review of the literature, and frequent discussions with peers are essential in helping psychologists stay current and balanced.

Miron (1979) raised the issue of the role of the volunteer consultant in hostage negotiations. He questions whether or not the volunteer has a clear allegiance in an incident, and if the unpaid expert can be expected to deal with the same issues as the consultant who is paid by the city, by the police, or who may be a sworn officer. Specifically, Miron questioned the role played by a psychiatrist, Dr. Muldon, in the South Molucan terrorist incident in Holland. Miron suggests that Dr. Muldon's role was not clearly defined and that he was placed in an ambiguous situation when he was asked to both negotiate and to help decide whether or not to assault the train in which hostages were being held.

From the discussion on ethical considerations above, it should be clear that the position of this paper is that the psychologist (psychiatrist) represents the interests of everyone in a hostage incident. Dr. Muldon's role should clearly have been to work at a mutually agreeable settlement to the hijacking. Failing that, the professional's responsibility is to keep his/her input within the bounds of responsibilities, reliable, and valid knowledge.

In addition to the issue of in whose interest is the psychologist working, a second ethical issue was involved in the South Molucan incident. It was an issue of the reliability and validity of the methods used to determine, through a telephone conversation, whether there existed a rebellious attitude on the part of hostages, and an issue of the reliability and validity of predicting whether the perceived rebellious attitude was going to be translated into rebellious behavior which posed more of a threat to the hostages than did the assault. In short, the issue is one of competence. Did the mental health professional over extend his training and experience? (For a full account of the South Molucan incident see Ralph Baker's, Not Here, But In Another Place).

Principle 3, c, again makes it clear that psychologists must be concerned about not only the legal and civil rights of their client (the police department), but also the rights of the hostage taker, whose right to due process may be abridged by a tactical resolution to an incident.

Principle 6, "Confidentiality" states,

"Psychologists have a primary obligation to respect to confidentiality of information obtained from persons in the course of their work as psychologists. They reveal such information to others only with the consent of the person or the person's legal representative, except in those unusual circumstances in which not to do so would result in a clear danger to the person or to others..."

Confidentiality is important to consider because of the dramatic and often public quality of hostage situations. Frequently, a hostage incident is a media event and the psychologist is sought out by the press to comment on why this person took hostages or on whether or not the person was mentally disturbed. Such information needs to be considered confidential. The media is not professionally concerned with the peaceful resolution of the hostage

incident nor is it in any way part of the decision making process. Consequently, they have no right to any information obtained from or about the individuals involved in such an incident without consent from the individuals. Though the press will want to argue that the First Amendment guarantees of the rights of a free press, it is essential that psychologists recognize that the First Amendment was not meant to allow the press to violate the individual's right to privacy, and that the psychologist consciously adheres to the individual's right to privacy.

Finally, Principle 6e, the Welfare of the Consumer, states,

"Psychologists terminate a clinical or consulting relationship when it is reasonably clear that the consumer is not benefiting from it. They offer to help the consumer locate alternate sources of assistance."

This principle requires that psychologists monitor their effectiveness in hostage incidents. They must devise a method of systematically evaluating the accuracy of their assessments, and they must keep a running log of their recommendations as well as the effectiveness of their recommendations. They need to be a part of the debriefing so they can get feedback from others involved in the incident (i.e., negotiators, commanders, tactical personnel) as to the helpfulness of their input. Finally, whenever practical, psychologists need to interview the hostage taker with the goal of systematically gathering the person's evaluation of effectiveness and/or non-effective techniques. At such time as psychologists decide that they are not effective, they have a clear responsibility to inform the agency of this decision and to remove themselves from the process.

To summarize, the demands of professionalism require psychologists to get special training before becoming involved in hostage negotiations, to stay current in the field by participating in in-service and continuing education, and to think through and practice within the ethical standards of psychology. By doing so, psychologists can make contribution to hostage negotiations by both utilizing their professional expertise appropriately and by providing police agencies with a model of professionalism. Psychologists are charged with the responsibility of maintaining their professionalism at all time. Even though other roles may vary, the role of the professional constant throughout all aspects of their involvement with police agencies.

CONSULTS:

Though psychologists are always responsible for their professionalism, their role as a consultant will vary somewhat depending on the prevailing attitude, needs and values of the agency. Bindmans (1964) has defined consultation as :

"...mental health consultation is an interaction process or interpersonal relationship that takes place between two professional workers, the consultant, and the consultee, in which one worker, the consultant, attempts to assist the other worker, the consultee, solve a mental health problem of a client or clients within the framework of the consultee's usual professional functioning. The process of consultation depends on the communication of knowledge, skills and attitudes, through this relationship and, therefore, is dependent upon the degree of emotional and intellectual involvement of the two workers."

Caplan (1963) has identified four types of consultation:

- (1) client-centered case consultation
- (2) program -centered administrative consultation.
- (3) Consultee-case consultation, and
- (4) Consultee-centered administrative consultation.

Figure 1 summarizes the consultation roles open to psychologists in hostage incidents which will be discussed below as well as the departmental personnel with whom they would consult and the knowledge areas important in that role.

Traditionally, it has been client-centered case consultation which psychologists have been called on to provide in hostage incidents. It is the evaluation of hostage takers personality structure, their potential for dangerousness and their potential response to tactical and to the negotiators interventions that have been the concern of most PD's.

For instance:

In an incident with a former San Antonio State Hospital patient who was diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic, the scene commander asked about the possible outcome of the tactical decision to move the armored tactical vehicle to the front of the actors apartment, as a show of force. The commander was advised that the actor would probably see the move as an intrusion on the safe-space of his apartment and since he was clearly psychotic during the incident, since he was armed, and since he saw the police as part of a conspiracy to silence his expose' of the Kennedy assassination and the Judge John Wood assassination; he was likely to respond to the incident by firing on the vehicle. The decision was made to move the vehicle anyway resulting in the actors firing at the police officers in the van. If it had not been for the bullet-proof glass in the windows of the vehicle one of the tactical team would have been killed.

Two crucial points about client-centered consultation are illustrated by the above incident. First, it makes clear the fact that the decisions in a hostage are made within the framework of the profession of the police, not in the framework of psychology. It is the police departments responsibility to deal with armed actors, even when they are mentally disturbed. To be consultants to police departments, psychologists must be clear that they do not have the power or the responsibility to decide how to handle a specific incident. They have the power and the responsibility to render their best evaluation of the hostage taker and their best opinion of the likelihood of the consequences of specific actions. If the police professionals in charge of such an incident decide to act in a way contrary to the way the psychologist would act, they must be respected for their professionalism and for the responsibility the public and the law places on them.

A second point this incident illustrates is that it is important that the consultant have an established relationship with the consultee prior to a hostage episode. As Bindmand points out, the communication of knowledge on the part of the consultants (their credibility) depends on the degree of emotional and intellectual involvement of the consultant and consultee. In the incident described above, the psychologist had not worked with the on-scene commander prior to the incident. Consequently, the commander did not weigh the opinion of the psychologist heavily. No relationship had been established that allowed the commander to have a legitimate opinion about the credibility of the consultant. Failing this, the commander had difficulty accepting advice that was counter to his training, knowledge, and experience.

Police officers are trained to move into and confront aggression. To be advised to move back did not make sense to the commander and barring any experience that would lead him to trust the psychologist, he could not accept the psychologist's recommendations.

Two years later the same commander was responsible for another incident in which an actor had shot and killed his ex-girlfriend through the closed front door of his house. Subsequently, the actor barricaded himself inside the house and refused to negotiate with police. The same psychologist responded to the incident, reviewed the actors criminal history (he was on probation for aggravated assault with a deadly weapon), work history, and probation record. It was discovered that his probation officer had been concerned about his apparently deteriorating mental status and that the precipitating events had been the dissolution of the actors relationship with his girlfriend.

When it became clear that the actor was not going to respond to either attempts to contact him by phone or through the bullhorn used by the negotiating team (he had not responded in six hours of constant attempts to make contact with him), the question asked the psychologist was, "What is the likelihood of his responding aggressively, if the tactical team enters the house?" In light of the actors history of directing his aggression at specific people or places when he deteriorated in the past, and in light of his total failure to respond (no movement had been observed in the house), and in the generally depressive nature of his history, the psychologist suggested that the actor may well have attempted suicide and that the tactical team was not likely to be the focus of his aggression. Entry was made and the actor was found unconscious in the bathtub, a victim of a self-induced drug overdose.

In this instance, the commander paid close attention to the evaluation and recommendations of the psychologist. Having had experience with the commander in similar situations and having had bi-weekly contact with him at the police department since the first incident, the psychologist had developed a relationship which made the psychologist more credible than he was at the initial incident.

Psychologists who are consultants, either internal or external (Bindmand, 1969) need to have regular contact with the command personnel that they are going to serve prior to the incidents which require their input. Simple expedients like attending staff meetings, making informal visits to the commanders, and giving in-service programs can serve this function.

In addition to their consultation to command, psychologists provide case-consultation to the hostage negotiation team. Questions of how to open negotiations with a particular personality, how to reduce hostility, mistrust, and tension and how to anticipate issues which might be particularly sensitive for a particular personality type are frequently asked. In order to be prepared for these questions, psychologists would be wise to review the crisis intervention literature, the power and bargaining literature, the motivation literature, and the literature on communications skills, as well as the more traditional literature on personality dynamics and psychopathology.

Several thoughts suggest themselves in considering case consultation to negotiators. First, as with commanders, psychologists need to establish their credibility. Again, by spending time with the negotiators prior to an incident, psychologists can develop a working relationship with them that will reduce the resistance which the professional might otherwise encounter at the time of a hostage incident. Training exercises, in-service schools, and systematic schedules for riding with negotiators in their other job responsibilities are some ways of developing trust and rapport.

Second, before giving opinions on the personality of the person with whom the hostage negotiators are dealing, or before suggesting negotiating strategies, psychologists need to develop as clear a picture of the actor as possible. This means that the psychologist will have to develop skill in gathering information from sources which he may not normally deal. For instance, probation records, arrest records, hospital records, interviews with friends, relatives, and neighbors may all be valuable sources of data.

In using such sources, two caveats need to be kept in mind. First, there is no need to be rushed into a premature assessment or recommendation and second, the credibility of the source of information must be evaluated. The use of time in a hostage situation has been discussed above. The only other comment that needs to be made is that sometimes the on-sight commander will try to pressure psychologists into a premature opinion. These are the psychologists opinions, and the psychologists stand responsible for them, not the police officer. Make it the most professional job possible, regardless of the pressure. Do not be rushed by assertive police officers.

An incident with a mental patient illustrates the second point.

The incident was precipitated by the patient's neighbors reporting his having shot at them through the walls of their apartment. The responding officer observed a .22 caliber revolver in the patient's possession and called his supervisor, rather than agitate the person any further. The tactical team and the hostage negotiating team were mobilized.

During the course of the negotiations, the complainant neighbor reported that the patient had several large caliber weapons in his apartment and that the shootings had been unprovoked. A check with the apartment manager revealed that the neighbor had been putting his stereo against the wall adjacent to the mental patient's and had been turning up the volume. When questioned by the patient, the neighbor has denied his actions, telling the patient that he was hearing things and that he was "crazy."

Frequently, friends, family or neighbors have agendas based on their past relationship with the actor. It is important for the consultant stay alert for this possibility.

Third, it is important that psychologists monitor hostage negotiations incidents as observers. As observers, they can remain free of the requirement to respond to the demands of the hostage taker. This allows for the monitoring of relevant information about the hostage taker and the situation that the psychologist might otherwise miss. Information about the actor's current mental status, about the tension level in the incident, about specific topics that illicit emotional responses or about which the

actor is particularly sensitive are some of the areas psychologists can observe if they are not directly involved in negotiations. In addition, psychologists have the time to think through diagnosis and strategy if they are not directly involved.

Psychologists can serve as program-centered administrative consultants in relation to hostage negotiations. They can provide input into the selection procedures used in picking negotiators, into the design and content of negotiator training, and into the design of programs to develop the crisis response teams, of which negotiations are a part. As consultants their job is to provide professional expertise and knowledge to administrators, supervisors, and trainers, not to negotiators or to commanders.

Scuro (1984) has pointed out the importance of demonstrable, job-related, selection procedures in police work. Negligent selection has been an issue on which many liability suits have been decided. Psychologists have had an increasingly important role in the selection of negotiators.

In the early stages of hostage negotiations, selection was based on guidelines offered by several authors which seemed to have some face validity. For instance, the IACP (1975) suggested that the chief negotiator should have the following characteristics:

- (1) He must be ambitious, viewing the confrontation as a chance for success rather than a possible failure. He should be a veteran winner. Age, however, should be considered only in that people of approximately the same age seem more compatible, especially if the abductor is emotionally disturbed.
- (2) He must be capable of developing a game plan and then putting it to use. He must know as much as possible about his opponent. He must be able to translate this knowledge quickly into arguments that appear logical and irrefutable.
- (3) He must be able to avoid emotional involvement with the victim or abductor. He must understand himself well enough to know when anger, fear or frustration are taking hold and reducing his effectiveness.

(4) He must have the killer instinct-the ability to look his opponent in the eye, demand concession and sense a willingness to concede or compromise. Having done so, he must be able to state the solution in terms understood by and acceptable to his opponent.

Subsequently, Miron (1979) suggested a screening battery for New York State Police negotiators which included:

- (1) A background information form
- (2) The Motivational Analysis Test
- (3) The 16 Personality Factors Questionnaire
- (4) Picture Situation Test
- (5) Belief Alternatives Test
- (6) Personal Opinion Test
- (7) The Characteristic Qualities Test.

Goldaber (1984) has proposed a weighted scale for the evaluation of negotiators. Utilizing an unstructured interview with general questions, a three member board evaluates candidates on dimensions similar to Therapist Variables discussed in psychotherapy research (Truax and Carkhuff, 1965; Rogers, 1959).

The San Antonio Police Department uses a structured interview like the ones currently used in assessment centers in many police departments. Candidates are given a set scenario and asked a set series of questions about the scenario. The screening board rates all applicants on the same questions and on the same dimensions. Appendix A is the record form used to rate applicants. It combines Rogerian variables with the interpersonal qualities rated by 250 SAPD officers as the most important in dealing with citizens.

Clearly, there are a variety of ways of approaching the selection of negotiators. The method chosen by any given department will depend on time and budget constraints. Whether or not a department will want to standardize their own procedures and do the research necessary to validate those procedures will depend not only on the resources available to them but also on the size of the negotiating team and the number of incidents each negotiator has to manage. If it is a small department which has few episodes, validation research may not be possible because of the restricted range. As a program-centered administrative consultant, psychologist can put these issues into perspective for police administrators. They can act as

facilitators in helping administrators think through their options, in developing cost estimates for the different screening procedures available, by explaining the relative merits of various methods, and helping develop cost-benefits analysis.

An issue of the validity of the negotiator's training is important because of the most frequently awarded liability suits is that of negligent training (Scurio, 1984). Psychologists can have significant input into the design of research strategies which will help police administrators deal with the problem of valid training. Psychologists who choose this type of consultation need to be well versed in statistics, research design, test-validation, unobtrusive measures, and social psychology.

Even though there are statistical problems like the issue of having too small a number of incidents to have reliable criteria against which to evaluate training, there are potential solutions which will make it easier for departments to defend themselves against charges of negligent training. For instance, by establishing the tasks involved in the job, either by rating scales or by behavioral analysis, then by training to a specific degree of accuracy on those behaviorally defined tasks (Turner, 1985), a department can better deal with this issue. Psychologists can consult with administrators and trainers on methods of rating job requirements, on behaviorally defining job tasks, and on performance based training.

Still another area of consultation in the training of negotiators is that of curriculum development. Areas of psychological knowledge that are relevant to hostage negotiations include the recognition and management of abnormal behavior, active listening, crisis intervention techniques, stress management, the psychology of aggression, and death and dying. Expertise in the above named content areas along with knowledge of test construction, curriculum evaluation, and statistics are necessary for professional consultation in this area.

Organizational development issues such as team building can be areas of valuable input for consulting psychologists. By working with team supervisors on strategies, such as pairing divergent personalities during training, cross-training negotiators and tactical personnel, developing joint training exercises, and establishing team problem-solving exercises, the psychologist can help overcome the intense individualization that both negotiators and tactical personnel bring to a hostage incident. Basic police training emphasizes individual initiative, individual

discretion, and individual, action-oriented problem solving. The development of co-operative rather than competitive attitudes, of mutual support and respect, and of team problem-solving are important areas of concern for hostage negotiations. Psychologists need to be familiar with social psychology and organizational development to be effective in this consultation role.

As consultee-centered case consultants in hostage incidents, psychologists can provide valuable input in two-areas: First, by providing an ongoing monitoring of the hostage negotiators stress level and by intervening at appropriate lulls in the negotiations to coach the negotiators on previously learned relaxation techniques, the psychologist can help reduce the dilatory effects of stress on the negotiator themselves. The focus is direct intervention with the consultees, focused on short, well defined techniques for dealing with negotiators needs rather than the assessment and intervention with the hostage taker. The goal is to change the consultees so that they function better on the job. It is not a general therapeutic relationship and it is not designed to change the negotiators personality, or to illuminate the negotiators pathology. Rather, it is focused on enhancing job skills in the negotiator dealing with their clients, the hostage taker.

Second, and related to the first, by monitoring the negotiators communications skills and the hostage takers reactions to key words, the psychologist can help negotiators avoid the use of phrases, inflections and tones that irritate the actors. Though there are times during a lengthy negotiation that the tactic may be to keep the hostage taker on an emotional roller-coaster in order to deplete his/her energy, this must be a conscious decision by the on-scene commander rather than a side-effect of the negotiators customary style of communicating. Psychologists can work with negotiators both during training and during the incident to help develop methods of communicating which are more in line with the over-all tactical plan. In order to do this kind of consultation, psychologists need to be aware of the hostage negotiation literature, the crises intervention literature, communication skills literature, and literature on effective stress reduction techniques.

Finally, as consultee-centered administrative consultants, psychologists can provide input which will facilitate changes in negotiators, supervisors, and administrators before and after incidents occur. By using their resources as teachers and seminar facilitators in in-service training programs for hostage negotiators, psychologists can have a direct role in changing behavior,

thoughts, feelings, and/or attitudes of negotiators. For example, teaching them to better understand the personalities of the people who frequently take hostages, psychologists can facilitate changes in negotiators behavior, attitudes, and feelings in ways that will make them more effective at the job. For instance, one SAPD negotiator commented, after a class on the Recognition and Management of Abnormal behavior, "Before this class, I thought of mental cases like I did of rattlesnakes...they are unpredictable, strong and dangerous. Now I see them a little different. They are not always crazy, they have needs like the rest of us and they can be managed sometimes without killing them." Some of the unpredictability was gone and the negotiator had a different way of dealing with the abnormal person.

Parenthetically, SAPD uses a 16 hour training program to develop sensitivity in negotiators which uses the checklists in Appendix B. After four-hours of didactic presentation, each negotiator is given a Hostage Taker Profile sheet (which came directly from DSM III) and a Violence Risk Checklist which is a compilation of factors from Magargee (1984), and from Monahan (1981). They view two video-tapes, Schizophrenia from the series The Brain, which appeared on PBS, and the CBS News Special, Thou Shalt Not Kill. Negotiators are told that their risk is to identify at least 80% of the symptoms seen in the films and to estimate the actors dangerousness. Subsequently, a group discussion of the identified symptoms and the potential dangerousness is held. Any errors in perceptions on the part of individual negotiators are identified through the use of the checklist. Negotiators failing to identify the appropriate symptoms or failing to make a realistic estimate of the persons potential for violence are recycled for additional training.

On the second day, practical problems are run, which include personality characteristics and factors associated with violence which were not seen the first day. The negotiators are divided into three person teams and they are asked to evaluate the personalities and the potential dangerousness of the persons in these problems. One team handles the incident while the others observe from an unobtrusive distance. The task is again the correct identification of the relevant data at the 80% level. Both the working team and the observers have to use the checklists and have to turn them in for scoring. Again, any one not achieving an 80% recognition rate must retrain.

Similarly, psychologists can serve an educational function with administrators which will lead to more departmental support for negotiators and for negotiated settlements to conflict situations. Again, the focus is job related and designed to improve the administrative, procedural, and departmental management of hostage takers. The persons receiving the input from the psychologist are administrative personnel and the goal is to change attitudes of these administrators in regards to the management of hostage incidents.

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER:

Psychologists who are involved in hostage-negotiations do so as participant-observers. Sullivan (1970) has discussed the psychiatrist's role in therapy as one of a participant-observer, pointing out that therapists can not understand client's communication except from their own experience. Similarly, the consultant in a hostage-negotiation incident can not understand the incident, the people involved or their role except in the framework of their own experience. Psychologists have a set of behaviors, opinions, thoughts and feelings which colors what they are able or willing to do in any situation. Similarly, their experiences, training, values, and ethics provide a structure in which psychologists must function if they are to be comfortable within their profession. Frequently, these attitudes, training, values and experiences are at odds with their clients and it is essential that they understand the influence of their own person on their interactions in hostage situations.

The incident discussed above in which a consultant from the state hospital volunteered to help with a hostage-incident illustrates the point. He came to the incident with preconceived ideas about the police department, about the police's propensity for the use of force and about how clients who were armed should be managed. He expected the department to act swiftly and with force. He did not expect police officers to be the ones to be concerned about the danger to the hostage posed by the knife (an observation the psychologist missed altogether). He came to the scene with the idea that use of the large number of personnel available to overwhelm the hostage taker was the way to manage the incident. That was the way he and his staff dealt with hostile clients at the hospital. Clearly, his personal attitudes about the police and his prior training and experience influenced the way he dealt with the incident.

All psychologists has similar beliefs, values, habits and assumptions which they bring to their professional work. Before becoming involved in hostage-negotiations, it is important for psychologists to examine their attitudes about issues such as:

- (1) The Use of Deadly Force
- (2) Power and Authority
- (3) Time and Decision-Making
- (4) The Rights of Criminals/Underdog
- (5) Being on Call
- (6) Teamwork

The importance of the first issue is self-evident. There may come a day when the decision has to be made to "take the actor out." Psychologists who are going to work with hostage negotiations need to have examined their attitudes about being a part of a system which has the power to take a persons life. More than an ethical issue, this question is a personal one, a moral one, because it is the individual psychologist who as to struggle with questions of their own competence, worth and ability if their best advise is not good enough and people die. The one incident which the San Antonio Police Department's Hostage Negotiation Team does not discuss is one in which the actor killed himself. After the initial debriefing in which everyone wondered if they had done enough, the incident is rarely discussed. Mostly, because, it is considered a failure by the psychologist as well as by the team. Psychologists working with hostage negotiations have to be able to accept the failure when someone dies. They have to be able to distinguish between their expectations of success and their expectations of performing successfully (Hartsough, 1985). One can do the best job possible professionally and still have people die.

Having a clearly defined attitude toward power and authority is important on two counts. First, as discussed above, psychologists are not in control of the hostage incident. They must recognize and be comfortable with the police authority. This requires that psychologists know both themselves and the police counterparts; themselves to the degree that they not let any unresolved attitudes about authority influence their interactions with the police and their police counterparts to the degree that they can have a clear understanding of the people in authority with whom they are working. Just as it is important for the commander to have trust in the psychologist, the psychologist must have trust in the commander, knowing that there is mutual and shared goals.

Second, psychologists need to have an appreciation of their own power and authority. They need to recognize that others look to them for expertise which they will sometimes not have. They need to realize that the kind of power that others attribute to them is seductive and that there will frequently be a pull to go beyond their expertise. Without a conscious examination of their own power needs, psychologists can easily succumb to this attributed power, going beyond their competence for the sake of their ego.

By virtue of their training, psychologists have an attitude toward time and decision making that sometimes places them at cross purposes with police officers. Psychologists are trained to be slow, thorough, compulsive and meticulous in their examination of problems. They are expected to do literature reviews in preparation for research, to consider alternative hypothesis to the data they gather, and to present an opinion only after considering their own competence to speak to the problem. All of this means that psychologists will frequently be slow to formulate an opinion at a hostage scene. Their use of time will be slower than the police officers who are trained to make quick assessments and to formulate fast solutions. This difference in training can generate conflicts for which psychologists are not prepared unless they are familiar with their own attitude toward time as well as the police officers attitude.

Psychologists attitudes about criminals and criminal's rights can be unarticulated influences on hostage situations. If psychologists sees the hostage taker as an unfortunate underdog who has been victimized by society, their sympathy will communicate itself to the police, rendering them important as a consultant. On the other hand, if their attitude is excessively law and order oriented, they may well have problems adhering to the ethical principle discussed above, i.e., they may have trouble acting as agents of everyone involved in the situation.

Being on call twenty-four hours a day is a necessary commitment for psychologists who work with hostage-negotiation teams. Incidents rarely occur at convenient times. Hostage-takers always create an incident when there is something better to do. Psychologists need to have a clear sense of priority about hostage incidents vis-a-vis their other responsibilities. They have to have thought about the amount of client time, of family time and of personal time they are willing to sacrifice to work effectively in this area. They need to have a mechanism

established for rescheduling other responsibilities when a incident occurs and they need to have forewarned their other clients that they may be unavailable during times of crisis. If psychologists are not comfortable with this kind of uncertainty, or if their clients or family can not tolerate unpredictable schedules, they probably should not be involved with hostage-negotiations.

Finally, Psychologist's who work with hostage incidents have to have considered their feelings about being a part of a team. By training, and perhaps by inclination, psychologists are individualistic and critical. They are subject to intense scrutiny in graduate school and they are examined by themselves and by others in public forums as their careers develop. As a result, psychologists tend to be too individualistic for teams. They have to make a conscious effort to develop cooperative rather than competitive attitudes. They have to practice being open and non-defensive. In short, they have to live the qualities they recognize as important in negotiations: the personal qualities of empathy, genuineness, and unconditional positive regard and the technical skills of problem definition, brain-storming, evaluation, implementation and evaluation (Gordon, 1980).

As observers, psychologists serve an essential role. As discussed above, psychologists only have the necessary time for evaluating the situation, the hostage-taker, the hostages, and the negotiators if they are somewhat removed from the negotiations. Similarly, they can only provide administrators, supervisors, and trainers input into selection procedures, into training curriculum, into skills training, and into follow-up procedures, if they can maintain their role as observers. If they are personally invested in the program design or the negotiation procedure, they may not be sensitive to the meaning of data they have collected. Their interpretations and advise may be more influenced by their needs for power, or status, or prestige, or money than by a fair evaluation of the situation, program, department, or incident. To do a fair evaluation, a certain degree of objectivity is necessary. Objectivity is easier to preserve as an observer than as a participant.

Consequently, psychologists have to become observers of their own behavior. They must recognize their own attitudes and needs, but they must also recognize their own humanness and monitor their own stress. Crisis interveners have recognized their need for psychological support, stress-management skills, good nutrition, relaxation skills, and exercise in surviving crisis situations themselves (Greenstone and Leviton, 1982).

Disaster relief workers have used stress inoculation (Meichenbaum, 1985) and debriefing (Mitchel, 1984) successfully to help them manage their own stress. Experiences with combat stress reactions (Belensky, 1981) and post-shooting trauma (Nielsen, 1980) have demonstrated that highly trained individuals who plan for crisis develop stress related difficulties. Psychologists need to be aware that they are not immune to these problems. Stress can cloud their judgment, can restrict their affect, and can alter their behavior, just as it does any other human being. They need to be observer enough to recognize the signs of stress in themselves and to develop appropriate methods of managing it. Not only do they need to debrief others, but they need to be debriefed themselves. Not only do they need to teach others to be realistic in their expectations of themselves, but psychologists need to examine their own expectations carefully. Not only do they need to help officers to develop a balanced life-style, they need to live their own advice. Psychologists need to be attuned to their own needs and their own limits, providing a living example of the skills they expect others to practice. They can do this if they become acute observers of themselves.

In conclusion, psychologist can provide valuable input into hostage negotiations through a wide variety of roles. First, they can provide a model of professionalism which is appropriate at all times. Second, they can serve as consultants before, during, and after hostage incidents. Finally, they can develop the art of being a participant-observer, recognizing their own humanness and providing a living model of what they teach. Through an artful combination of these roles, psychologists can have a significant impact on police departments and on their own professional practice -- an impact that will serve to benefit both police and psychology.

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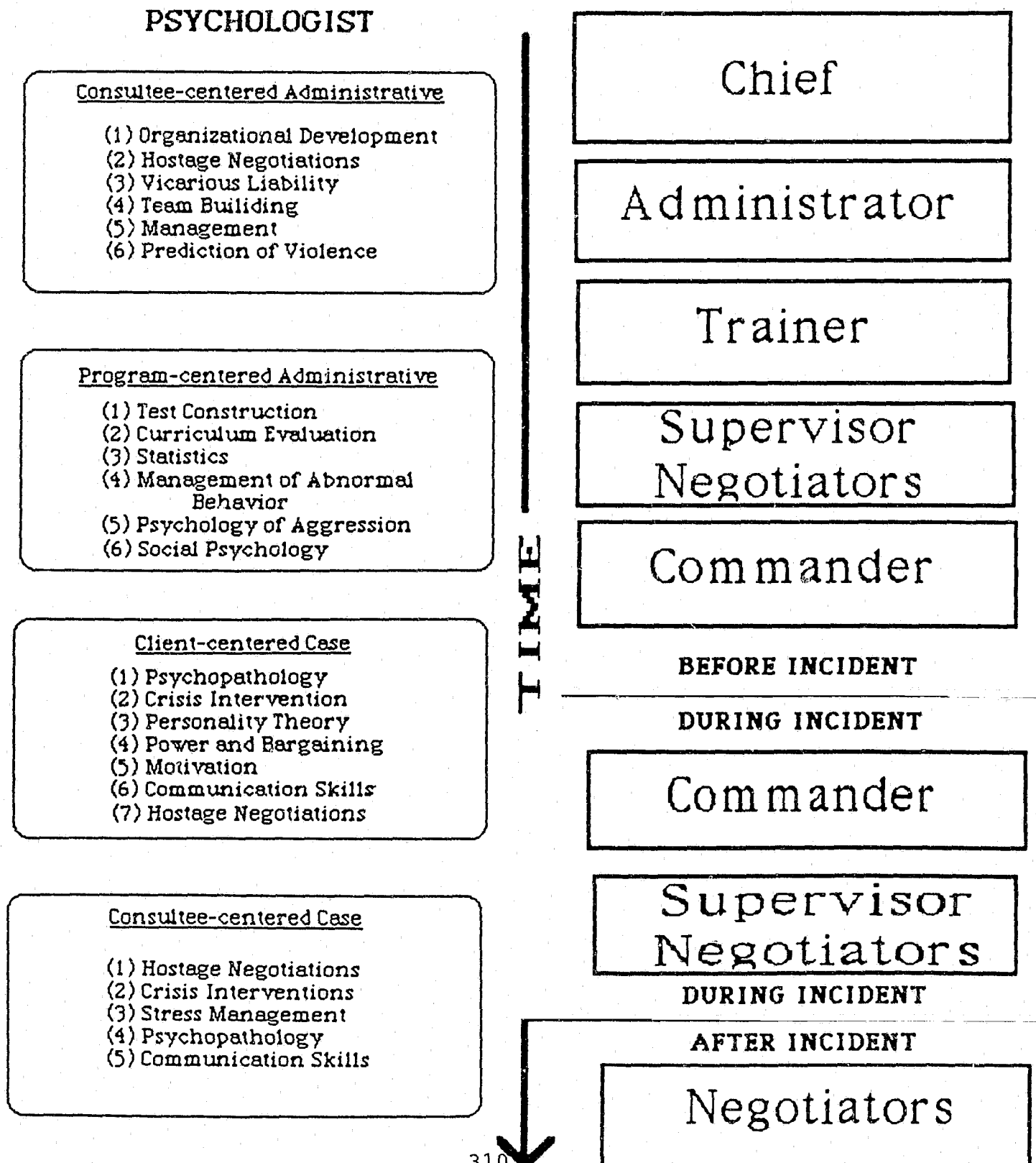
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Figure 1: Consultation roles for Psychologists in Hostage Negotiations, Consultee, and Knowledge Necessary



APPENDIX A

HOSTAGE NEGOTIATOR ASSESSMENT: INTERVIEW EVALUATION SHEET

Date: _____

Applicant's Name: _____
Date of Birth: _____ Age: _____

Rating Scales: Personal Characteristics

A. Decision Making: Ability to think through a problem, consider relevant information, to come to a timely judgement and to take reasonable action.

Quite Poor	Poor	Low Average	Average	High Average	Good	Quite Good
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Example: _____

B. Ability to Control Anger: Ability to maintain composure, to act assertively and to confront others in an appropriate way, even when the other person is aggressive (pushy).

Well	Good	High Average	Average	Low Average	Poor	Uncontrolled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Example: _____

C. Stress Management: Ability to perceive, understand and function appropriately under the stress of the interview.

Quite Low	Low	Low Average	Average	High Average	High	Quite High
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Example: _____

D. Self Confidence: Ability to present self in a way that communicates that applicant is sure of self and confident of his/her ability to handle situations.

Quite High	High	High Average	Average	Low Average	Low	Quite Low
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Example: _____

E. Openness and Honesty: Ability to present thoughts, feelings and actions in a straightforward manner.

Quite Closed	Closed	Low Average	Average	High Average	Open	Quite Open
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Example: _____

F. Independent: Ability to evaluate situations, to form judgement and to take action without unreasonable reliance on others (unnecessary change).

Quite Independent	Independent	High Average	Average	Low Average	Dependent	Quite Dependent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Example: _____

G. Flexibility: The ability to consider new information or a new understanding of a situation and to change the proposed action.

Quite Inflexible	Inflexible	Low Average	Average	High Average	Flexible	Quite Flexible
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Example: _____

H. Personal Security: Ability to present self in a way that shows a sense of safety and freedom from chronic tension, anxiety or fear.

Quite Secure	Secure	High Average	Average	Low Average	Insecure	Quite Insecure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Example: _____

I. Understanding of Others: Ability to see the other person's point of view in ambiguous situations and to communicate that understanding.

Quite Low	Low	Low Average	Average	High Average	High	Quite High
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Example: _____

Overall Rating (circle one): Poor (63-46) Borderline (45-37) Average (36-19) Good (18-9)

_____ Acceptable Personal Rating = _____
 _____ Unacceptable

Date: _____, 198____
 _____ Signature, Rank

APPENDIX B
HOSTAGE TAKER PROFILE

NAME: _____

AGE: _____

LOCATION: _____

CASE # _____

CATEGORY	CRITERIA
<u>Schizophrenia</u>	
at least one of:	
A. <input type="checkbox"/>	(1) Bizarre delusion, such as delusions of being controlled, thought broadcasting, thought insertion, or thought withdrawal.
<input type="checkbox"/>	(2) Somatic, grandiose, religious, nihilistic or other delusions without persecutory or jealous content.
<input type="checkbox"/>	(3) Delusions with persecutory or jealous content if accompanied by hallucinations of any type.
<input type="checkbox"/>	(4) Auditory hallucinations in which either a voice keeps a running commentary on the person's behavior or two or more voices converse with each other.
<input type="checkbox"/>	(5) Auditory hallucinations on several occasions with content of more than one or two words having no apparent relation to depression or elation.
<input type="checkbox"/>	(6) Incoherence, marked loosening of associations, markedly illogical thinking, or marked poverty of speech, if associated with (one of): (a) blunted, flat, or inappropriate affect (b) delusions or hallucinations (c) catatonic or other disorganized behavior
B. <input type="checkbox"/>	(7) Deterioration from previous level of functioning in work, social relations, self-care.
C. <input type="checkbox"/>	(8) Prodromal or residual symptoms (circle) (a) social isolation or withdrawal (b) impairment in role functioning (c) markedly peculiar behavior (d) impaired personal hygiene (e) blunted, flat, inappropriate affect (f) digressive, vague, circumstantial speech (g) bizarre ideation - magical thinking (h) unusual sensory experiences
D. <input type="checkbox"/>	(9) Prodromal onset > 45 y.o.

Paranoid

- E. (10) Persecutory delusions
 (11) Grandiose delusions
 (12) Delusions of jealousy
 (13) Hallucinations with persecutory/grandiose content
-

Manic-Depressive

- Manic Phase: (1) Distinct periods of elevated, expansive or irritable mood
 (2) Duration: 1 week
 (3) Three of the following (circle):
(a) increase in activity or physical restlessness
(b) more talkative - pressured talking
(c) flight of ideas - thoughts are racing
(d) grandiose - inflated self-esteem
(e) decreased need for sleep
(f) distractability
(g) excessive involvement in self-defeating behavior (sexual indiscretion, spending sprees, etc.)
 (4) No schizophrenic symptoms
-

- Depressive Phase: (5) Dysphoric mood or loss of interest or pleasure in all or almost all usual activities or past-times (circle):
(a) depressed
(b) blue
(c) sad
(d) low
(e) down-in-the-dumps
 (6) Four of the following symptoms (circle)
(a) poor appetite (weight loss)
(b) increased appetite (weight gain)
(c) insomnia (early morning)
(d) hypersomnia
(e) psychomotor agitation
(f) psychomotor retardation
(g) loss of interest in pleasure
(h) loss of energy
(i) feelings of worthlessness (guilt)
(j) slowed thinking processes
(k) lack of concentration
(l) suicidal ideation
(m) suicidal gesture

- (7) Lack of psychotic (schizophrenic) features
-

Personality Disorders

Anti-Social Personality:

- (1) Age \geq 18
- (2) Onset before 15 y.o.
- (3) Three or more (circle):
- (a) truancy (5 days/year; \geq 2 years)
 - (b) expulsion/suspension from school
 - (c) delinquent conduct
 - (d) running away (\geq 2X)
 - (e) repetitive lying
 - (f) casual sexual relations
 - (g) alcohol/drug abuse
 - (h) thefts
 - (i) vandalism
 - (j) underachievement
 - (k) chronic violation of rules
 - (l) starts fights
- (4) four of following, since 18 y.o. (circle):
- (a) poor work history (\geq 3 jobs/5 years; \geq 6 mos. unemployment/5 years; \geq 3 days absence or lateness/month; walking off job)
 - (b) poor parenting skills (malnourished children; child's illness due to neglect; failure to get medical care for child; child fed and clothed by neighbors; failure to arrange caretaker for child $<$ 6 y.o.; squandering of household monies)
 - (c) arrest record
 - (d) poor sexual attachment (multiple marriages; multiple affairs/year)
 - (e) irritability and aggressiveness (spouse; children; other)
 - (f) failure to honor financial obligations (debts; child-support, etc.)
 - (g) impulsivity - failure to plan
 - (h) disregard for truth (repeated lying, aliases, "conning")

- (i) recklessness - DWI
 - (j) continuous pattern of anti-social behavior since 5 y.o. (no 5 year period free from antisocial acts)
-

Inadequate Personality:

- (1) Highschool dropout
- (2) Poor work history (several job changes)
- (3) Poor marital history (sometimes spouse is dominant and overbearing).
- (4) Communications: "I am going to prove to them _____."
- (5) Poorly planned event
- (6) Sexual difficulties, unrelated to drug use, alcohol or periods of depression
- (7) Grandiose fantasies
- (8) Exorbitant demands
- (9) Excessive politeness
- (10) Use of others as spokesman, upon initial contact

SAPD AGGRESSION INDEX NEGOTIATOR_____

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	AGGRESSION PREDITORS SAPD HOSTAGE NECE NEGOTIATION UNIT					
2			VALUE	DEFINITION		
3	AGE		1	17-25		
4	SEX		1	MALE		
5	RACE		1	BLACK, HISPANIC		
6	SOCIO/ECONOMIC STATUS		1	LOW		
7	SUBSTANCE ABUSE		1	ALCOHOL, STIMULANTS, OPIATES		
8	IQ		1	LESS THAN 90		
9	EDUCATION		1	DROP-OUT, LLD, ED, UNDER-ACHIEVER		
10	RESIDENTIAL STABILITY		1	FREQUENT MOVES		
11	EMPLOYMENT HX		1	FREQUENT CHANGES, UNEMPLOYED		
12	HI RISK POPULATION		1	PARANOIDS, MANICS, PSYCHOPATHS		
13	COGNITIVE DISPOSITION		1	RATIONALIZES USE OF VIOLENCE		
14	AFFECTIVE DISPOSITION		1	HEROES, INSTRUMENTAL USE		
15	HX ARREST		1	VIOLENT OFFENSES		
16	CONVICTED		1	VIOLENT OFFENSES		
17	MENTAL COMMITMENTS		1	DANGER TO OTHERS		
18	JUVENILE RECORD		1	VIOLENT CRIMES		
19	FAMILY VIOLENCE		1	VICTIM, PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION		
20	HX. ARSON		1	MORE THAN TWO		
21	SIMILAR SITUATION		1	PRECIPITATING=CURRENT EVENT		
22	HX. HI INTENSITY		1	PROGRESSIVE INCREASE		
23	^ IN 2 WKS.		1	INCREASE IN # OF EVENTS		
24	> 2 MIN. EP.		1	DURATION > 2 MINUTES		
25	HX. SADISM		1	> 1 EPISODE WITH ANIMAL		
26	RELIGION		-1	MORAL / ETHICAL TRAINING		
27	EMPATHY		-1	NEEDS, CONVERSATION, HOODS		
28	ATTRIBUTION SUCCESS		-1	SEES LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS		
29	NON FAULT		-1	DOES NOT PERSONALIZE EVENT		
30	TOTAL					
31						

CONFIDENTIAL CASE#_____

ANGER MANAGEMENT: A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR REDUCING
INCIDENTS OF POLICE MISCONDUCT

ERIC NIELSEN, D.S.W.

ABSTRACT

Anger Management: A training program for reducing incidents of police misconduct.

The number of civil suits against police agencies continues to increase. A significant number of these actions are derived from officers who lose control of their own impulses and/or mismanage the agitated and hostile citizen.

A training program emphasizing both self-awareness and the practical application of relevant psychological theories was developed through the Salt Lake City Police Department. The program incorporates elements of psychological intervention yet formats these interventions in the form of training. This has reduced the resistance and helped gain broad-based support for the program.

While the program has gained acceptance among line officers, it is also useful in mitigating the administrations liability under theories of negligent training and failure to supervise and direct.

Preliminary evaluation revealed that there was a substantial reduction in the number of complaints registered against officers who successfully complete the course.

Such a program is recommended as a preventive tool to reduce the incidence of police misconduct.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

One of the most pressing issues facing police administration is that of the problem policeman. The officer who unsatisfactorily carries out his job can create havoc in not only an agency but in an entire community.

The problem officer is typically characterized as one of two types. The first type is the marginal officer who does just enough to get by and is prone to absenteeism and tardiness. This consistently low performing officer has been referred to as the drone officer (Robinette, 1985). The second type is the officer who overreacts and frequently responds impulsively to situations and citizens.

Approximately twenty-seven percent of all civil suits filed in a five-year period against police and police agencies alleged excessive use of force; six percent claimed misuse of firearms (Schmidt, 1985). Situations such as these can be most vexing to police administrators. Alleged police misconduct suits now exceed 6000 per year. The typical suit consumes 111 hours of defense time plus another 97 hours of investigation time. Aside from the possible damages to citizens/suspects, the drain on police resources needed to manage such complaints and suits is dramatic, and administrators become personally vulnerable when officers lose control and act impulsively.

Vicarious liability theories including negligent appointment, negligent retention, negligent assignment and/or negligent entrustment may be exercised to bring the police administrator and police agency into these civil actions. Traditionally, administrators have relied upon psychological screening and supervisor monitoring to weed out the unstable officer. However, two other related theories of recovery are increasingly being employed against police administration which have little to do with negligent employment. The first is failure to properly supervise. This is most likely to be invoked when similar problems, recognized previously, have received little or no administrative action. The second theory, failure to train, is becoming increasingly visible in firearm issues and in the use of other types of force. The prudent administrator must turn more of his attention to the training and actual performance of his officers. Certain officers are able to turn a routine, in-control situation into a combative, violent confrontation. A patterned aggressive or provocative approach to citizens can create a high probability of aggressive responses from others (Toch, 1977). The primary responsibility of the police officer, when he arrives on the scene of any detail, is to take charge. The police officer who is not in control of his own impulses and emotions cannot effectively assume control of a crime scene, domestic dispute, or traffic accident.

The traditional approach to precluding this problem has been to assess the individual officer's mental stability prior to hiring or, when circumstances warrant, fitness-for-duty assessments. While valid, this approach only assesses one form of stability and fails to consider his skill competency. An officer may be considered mentally healthy yet when required to deal with provocative and negative situations hour after hour, his abilities erode. In general, he is either dealing with the unwanted and criminal element of society, or he is dealing with "average" citizens under adverse conditions. Continually confronted with hostile attitudes and provocative communications, even the most stable individual may react in aggressive ways. To assist the stable officer, attention must then be shifted to his skill competency in dealing with such situations. Unfortunately, few come to law enforcement completely prepared to deal effectively with hostile and aggressive people. Further, the training of new officers is typically focused on physical restraint and effecting the felony arrest. It does not increase their competency in dealing with irate and hostile citizens.

A TRAINING APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

A training program was developed within the Salt Lake City Police Department to increase the officer's competency in managing both his own impulses and the hostility and aggression of individuals encountered during patrol activities.

In meeting the primary goal, five specific objectives were developed:

1. To reaffirm the basic mission of the police officer, i.e. to take charge of all aspects of the detail.
2. To assist the individual officer in recognizing the civil liability created by impulsive and overly aggressive behavior.
3. To assist the individual officer in understanding the psychological processes and features related to anger, hostility, and aggression.
4. To assist the individual officer in developing an understanding of his own psychological processes related to anger, hostility and aggression.
5. To assist the individual officer in developing new coping strategies for managing his own and other's anger, hostility and aggression.

By approaching the problem through a training program, the civil liability arising out of failure to direct, supervise and train were ameliorated. Additionally, a general training program for all patrol officers reduced the resistance to personal development through psychological treatment. Rather than being referred for psychotherapy, officers were scheduled for training along with other officers in their division. Mental health professionals who have worked with forced treatment and evaluation clients can attest to the resistance and generally marginal outcomes. By intervening through training, these negatives were largely eliminated. All patrol officers were eligible and ultimately expected to complete the training so that no officer felt identified as substandard, crazy, or incompetent. High-risk officers were incorporated with peers from their own division and thereby saved the negative effects of being stigmatized.

The general premise of the anger management training program is that the emotion of anger, hostile attitudes and certain behavior patterns separately or together create a readiness to act in aggressive and sometimes violent fashion. When these predisposing conditions are associated with certain cues or stimuli, aggressive responses are likely to occur. In developing an educational strategy to manage this psychological/behavioral sequence, efforts are aimed at three specific variables.

The first of these is the nature of aggression eliciting cues. Officers who understand kinesics, territoriality and the stimuli to which they respond aggressively can make more decisions about their own behavior and may better understand the behavioral sequences of others (Berkowitz, 1964; Berkowitz & LePage, 1967; Green & O'Neal, 1969). In this way, the officer gains more control over his own reactions and the behavior of individuals with whom he must interact.

The second variable is the nature of the internal cognitive process that can mediate and control behavioral responses (Novaco, 1977; Novaco, 1976; O'Donnell, 1973). Officers with some understanding of their own psychological processes are more likely to reflect about these processes before acting. Likewise, officers who engage in consequence thinking and/or use rehearsed relaxation techniques are more likely to have strong mediating cognitive processes. These processes in turn reduce the probability of impulsive aggressive behavior.

The third area of concern in the training program is the development of more effective communication and management approaches to the hostile individual. This incorporates the constructive development of interpersonal dominance through bodily posture and movement as well as the use of threats to obtain social control (Kaufmann & Feshbach, 1963; Milburn & Watman, 1981). Many officers intuitively develop these skills but many never do. The use of these types of skills puts the officer effectively in control of others and thereby reduces the probability that he will be seriously provoked or pressured in aggressive ways.

CURRICULUM:

Anger management was developed as a twelve-hour lecture/participation program with an accompanying manual. The course relies heavily on examples in the form of video vignettes, 35mm slides and anecdotal situations. The course is typically team taught by two instructors from the psychological services of the Salt Lake City Police Department in three separate four-hour sessions. This format reduces student fatigue and allows for small group discussion, individual exercises, and group lecture. Class size is restricted to less than twenty persons allowing for a good deal of personal attention from instructors.

As material is covered, students are asked to follow along in the manual and to complete personal work sheets on their own processes and reactions. The goal is to increase their own introspection and self-awareness.

The general course content is as follows:

DAY I

- I. Introduction to Anger Management
 - A. Definitions and role of officer
 - B. Review of violent and aggressive crime rates
 - C. Review of civil and criminal actions against police officers
- II. Psychological and Behavioral Theories Regarding Anger and Aggression
 - A. Psychoanalytic components, i.e. defenses
 - B. Social learning components, i.e. stimuli and the role of imitation
 - C. Ethological components, i.e. territoriality and nonverbal behavior
- III. Administration of Taylor-Johnson Temperament Analysis

DAY II

- I. Physiological Components of Anger
- II. Integration of Prior Information into Stress Behavior Model of Functioning
- III. Debriefing on Taylor-Johnson Temperament Analysis

DAY III

- I. Small Group Exercises
 - A. Cognitive control techniques
 - B. Relaxation techniques
 - C. Anticipation and rehearsal
- II. Threats and Their Use in Controlling Behavior
- III. Biofeedback Demonstration and Exercises
- IV. Final Test

Follow-up for specific technique training is managed on an individual basis, available at no cost through the psychological services of the department. It has included traditional psychotherapy for those officers who realize they are subject to impulse or other emotional problems which interfere with their work capability.

Additionally, many become interested in strengthening their ability to relax and inoculate themselves against provocation. In these circumstances, biofeedback training and self-hypnosis are used to enhance the ability to emotionally dissociate and/or cognitively relax in the face of threat.

CONCLUSIONS

The program, while incorporating elements of psychological intervention, is conducted as a training program and is probably best characterized as an educational approach at prevention of police misconduct.

The anger management program has met with considerable success. Consumer satisfaction ratings are typically in the superior ranges, and officers regularly report that the content is relevant and useful in the performance of their patrol activities.

A small pilot program was conducted in mid 1984, with the Traffic Division of the Salt Lake City Police Department. For a one-year period, the Traffic Division officers were averaging two internal affairs complaints per month. After completion of the Anger Management Program, the division had a total of one internal affair complaint for the one-year period that followed.

The program provides patrol officers with useful information relevant to controlling their own impulses and managing hostile people. The program offers police administrators a mechanism for protecting against civil actions and reducing the number of police misconduct complaints.

The program has been widely accepted and has been useful in a variety of settings. The success of this training approach indicates that such training would be useful in any police organization which engages in patrol functions.

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VALIDATION OF POLICE OFFICER RECRUIT CANDIDATES'
SELF-REPORTED DRUG USE ON THE INWALD PERSONALITY
INVENTORY DRUG SCALE

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TEXT

There has been growing recognition of the importance of screening out psychologically unsuitable persons among police officer recruit candidates before they are hired (Spielberger, 1979). Police officers occupy a unique and important position in our society. They carry a weapon and are empowered to use it in a wide variety of situations. They have wide ranging powers of arrest. Being a good officer calls for an ability to stay physically fit, exercise good judgment-sometimes under dangerous conditions-respond quickly to challenges, cooperate with fellow officers, and be able to take direction from supervisors. Being a good officer also calls for an ability to withstand a great deal of stress, stress that has been described by a large literature (for example, Ellison and Genz, 1983 and Martin, 1980), without resorting to pathological adjustment mechanisms such as substance abuse. Resistance to temptation such as the temptation to take bribes or take confiscated illegal substances for personal use also constitute aspects of being a good police officer. Recently, the recognition of the importance of psychologically testing and screening police officer recruit candidates has been enhanced by court cases (for example, McKenna vs. Fargo, U.S. District Court, New Jersey, May 1978 and Conte vs. Horcher, Appellate Court of Illinois, June 16, 1977), that have held municipalities or counties liable for the unjustifiable injurious actions of individual law enforcement officers in their employ.

Attempts to screen police officer candidates through the use of psychological tests reach back at least several decades. Understandably, initial attempts involved using tests developed for purposes other than police selection. Examples are early attempts to use the Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale (Humm and Humm, 1950) and the Edwards Personal Preference Scale (Colarelli and Siegel, 1964). The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) has become the most widely used and researched test (Murphy, 1972). Predictive validity studies using the MMPI have produced positive results (Hargrave and Berner, 1984). But results have often been less than impressive (Shusman, Inwald and Landa (1984). In their review of the relevant

literature, Shusman, Inwald and Landa concluded that correlations between candidates MMPI scales and future police officer performance ratings range from .18 to .61. Successful use of the California Personality Inventory and Cattell's 16 PF also have been reported for use in psychologically screening police officer recruit candidates (Hogan, 1971; Fabricatore, Azen, Schoentgen, and Snibbe, 1978; and Hargrave and Berner, 1984). Like the MMPI, though, the CPI and the 16 PF have limited utility, perhaps because they were not specifically designed for the purpose of police officer candidate selection.

In contrast to these tests the Inwald Personality Inventory (IPI; Inwald, 1983) was developed for the specific purpose of selecting police and correctional officers. Many of the items of the IPI are in effect self-reported admissions concerning behavior at least theoretically relevant to future performance as a police officer. Examples are items concerning frequent firings, job lateness, difficulties with the law, and drug use. One of the basic tenets of the IPI is that persons who report a great deal of negative behavior in areas such as job performance and use of substances are relatively poor risks in the context of evaluating potential police recruit candidates. The opposite argument could easily be made, however. For instance, it could be argued that a high degree of self-reported negative behavior simply reflects honesty on the test-taker's part and for this reason a high degree of self-reported negative behavior might actually correlate positively with future success as a police officer.

Initial reports indicate the IPI performs better than do traditional psychological tests for the purpose of police officer recruit selection (Inwald, 1983; Shusman, Inwald and Landa, 1984). Data presented in Inwald (1983) shows that the IPI Drug Use Scale in particular is one of the best scales in terms of correlates with future academy performance. Specifically high Drug Use scores correlated with indicators of poor performance such as frequent lateness, absences, and assignment to restricted duty. Thus the literature supports the IPI's presumption that a high degree of self-reported negative behavior will correlate with poor future performance. Nevertheless, more confirmation of this presumption is necessary, particularly since it is a crucial one to the use of the test.

This study adduces additional data relevant to the validity of the Drug Use Scale of the IPI and in particular, the validity of various items on the Drug Use Scale of the IPI. It does so using IPI data from two groups of

candidates for police officer positions with the Chicago Police Department: those showing positive indications of drug use and those showing no indication of drug use. In all cases indicators of drug use were based on analyses of urine specimens provided by the candidates.

METHOD

In 1985, approximately 1,000 persons were evaluated for possible selection as recruits for positions as police officers for the Chicago Police Department. Psychological testing using both the MMPI and the IPI was built into the selection process (Ostrov, 1984). To reach the psychological testing phase of this screening process a candidate had to pass a civil service examination, assessment center procedure, and a physical fitness examination. These procedures removed about 2/3 of the persons applying for police officer positions from the recruit candidate list. For purposes of psychological testing, eligible candidates were called in groups of approximately 200. Before taking the IPI, recruit candidates were warned that any dishonesty on their part when responding to the IPI could result in their not being hired or immediately being terminated were they to be hired.

As a separate part of the screening, just before psychological testing was administered, another screening procedure took place. This procedure consisted of asking recruit candidates to provide urine specimens for analysis to provide evidence regarding possible illicit drug use (Cravey and Baselt, 1981). Candidates in the first group tested (hereafter called group I) probably were less aware of the purpose of their providing urine samples than were candidates in the second group tested (hereafter called group II). The reason is that after group I was tested some media publicity was given to the fact that urine analysis drug screening was taking place in connection with Chicago police hiring. The urine analyses were conducted by an independent laboratory. Urine was screened for possible presence of THC, canabanoid metabolites, cocaine metabolites, barbiturates, opiates, and other illicit substances.

Upon a positive finding of possible illicit substance use, recruit candidates were questioned. Those unable to provide a legitimate excuse for having evidence such substances in their urine were excluded from the recruit candidate hiring list. It should be noted that the IPI's taken by recruit candidates in groups I and II were administered and scored without knowledge by the

administrator or the recruit candidates of the results of the urine analyses. Presumably a large proportion of any recruit candidates who used illicit substances in the recent past would have been unaware of what their urine analyses might show since knowledge as to how long traces of abused substances stay in abuser's bodies remain largely unknown to the general public.

For purposes of this study, subgroups of recruit candidates evidencing illicit drug use in their urine samples were compared with matched subgroups of candidates who did not evidence illicit drug in their urine samples. Results from group I and group II were analyzed separately to evaluate whether any significant results obtained in group I would be confirmed by results stemming from group II.

Candidates providing drug-positive-urine-specimens were compared with an equal number of candidates providing negative urine specimens. Since the drug-negative-urine-specimen subgroup was much larger than the drug-positive-urine-specimen subgroup, random samples of drug-negative-urine-specimen candidates were chosen to compare with the drug-positive-urine-specimen candidates. These drug-negative samples were formed by randomly selecting for each drug-positive candidate a like-age, same-sex, same-race drug-negative recruit candidate. Apart from the constraints of the matching procedure, the drug-negative samples were selected randomly from among the group I and group II drug-negative recruit candidates.

There are fourteen items in the Drug Use Scale of the IPI. For purposes of this study item frequency endorsement was compared first for urine-analysis-drug-negative and drug-positive candidates in group I and then for the urine-analysis-drug-positive and drug-negative candidates in group II. Comparison were made through use of Chi Square. Differences in frequency of endorsement were considered significant if the probability of type I error was .05 or less. Since the directionality of results was predicted one-tail tests were used throughout.

RESULTS

Of 175 recruit candidates in group I, 43 showed positive indications of drug use through analyses of urine specimens provided by them. Table I shows their demographic characteristics (see Table I).

Table I: Demographic Characteristics of Group I Urine-Analysis-Drug-Positive Recruit Candidates.

	Black	White	Hispanic
Male	21 (49%)	8 (19%)	7 (16%)
Female	4 (9%)	2 (5%)	1 (2%)

Mean Age = 29.0

Table II: Demographic Characteristics of Group II Urine-Analysis-Drug-Positive Recruit Candidates

	Black	White	Hispanic
Male	18 (53%)	6 (18%)	3 (9%)
Female	5 (15%)	2 (6%)	0 (0%)

Mean age = 30.3

Group II comprised 182 recruit candidates. Of these 182 candidates, 34 provided urine samples that showed positive indications of illicit drug use. Table II shows the demographic characteristic of these 34 recruit candidates (see Table II). For Group I and II, in the vast majority of instances positive urine analyses corresponded to presence of cannabinoids indicative of marijuana use, not other drug use. In a minority of instances, cocaine, THC or barbiturate use was shown.

Table III shows the item by item comparison between urine positive and urine negative candidates on Drug Use Scale items of the IPI for Group I (see Table III). Results show that three items are particularly discriminating: "I have smoked marijuana with people around;" "I have smoked marijuana more than two times in a week;" and "I smoke marijuana on social occasions." In each instance the urine-analysis-drug-positive subgroup endorsed the items in a way indicative of greater drug use.

Table IV shows the comparisons between endorsement rates for IPI Drug Scale items for Group II urine-analysis-drug-positive and drug-negative candidates (see Table IV). Two of the items that were significant for Group I were significant for this group as well. Those items are "I have smoked marijuana with people around" and "I have smoked marijuana more than two times in a week." In addition to these two items, these items significantly distinguished between the Group II subgroups: "I have tried hard drugs;" "I have not tried cocaine;" and "I have tried cocaine more than once." As was true for Group I, candidates showing positive urine analyses were more likely to endorse IPI items indicative of drug use than were recruits whose urine analyses were negative for drug use.

DISCUSSION

Results clearly show that IPI Drug Scale Items successfully distinguish between drug-positive and drug-negative recruit groups. Two items in particular were successful for both groups studied. Both items concern marijuana use. For each significant item comparison, for both groups studied, urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates endorsed items in a way indicative of more drug use than indicated by urine-analysis-drug-negative candidates' endorsements.

It is of interest that an item indicative of current marijuana use, namely, "I like to smoke marijuana to relax," was endorsed by only two urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates in group II and no urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates in group I.

Table III: Inwald Personality Inventory (IPI) Drug Use Item Endorsements for Group I Urine-Analysis-Drug-Positive and Urine-Analysis-Drug-Negative Police Recruit Candidates

<u>Item</u>	<u>Number of Drug-Positive Candidates Endorsing Item²</u>	<u>Number of Drug-Positive Candidates Endorsing Item²</u>
I have smoked marijuana with people around	12 ³	4 ³
I have smoked marijuana more than two times a week	13 ³	1 ³
I have smoked marijuana on social occasions	8 ³	1 ³
I have tried hard drugs	4	3
I have been arrested on a charge involving the use of drugs or alcohol	4	2
I have tried cocaine more than once	5	3
I have not tried cocaine	9	4
There have been times when I did not know what I was doing or what was going on around me	2	4
I have successfully completed a drug rehabilitation program	0	1

1. Only Drug Use items endorsed by a least one candidate are shown.
2. Number of endorsements correspond to number of candidates endorsing an item in a way indicative of drug use.
3. Endorsement frequency difference is significant at p less than .05 by 1-tailed Chi square.

Table IV: Inwald Personality Inventory (IPI) Drug Use Item Endorsements for Group II Urine-Analysis-Drug-Positive and Urine-Analysis-Drug-Negative Police Recruit Candidates.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Number of Drug-Positive Candidates Endorsing Item</u>	<u>Number of Drug-Negative Candidates Endorsing Item</u>
I have smoked marijuana with people around	17 ³	2 ³
I have smoked marijuana more than two times a week	15 ³	1 ³
I smoke marijuana on social occasions	7	3
I have tried hard drugs	9 ³	2 ³
I have been arrested on a charge involving the use of drugs or alcohol	3	1
I have tried cocaine more than once	8 ³	1 ³
I have not tried cocaine	14 ³	1 ³
There have been times when I did not know what I was doing or what was going on around me	4	3
I once sold a small quantity of drugs to a friend	2	1
I like to smoke marijuana to relax	2	1
I have taken Valium or other tranquilizers in my life	4	3

1. Only Drug Use items endorsed by at least one candidate are shown.
2. Number of endorsements correspond to number of candidates endorsing an item in a way indicative of drug use.
3. Endorsement frequency difference is significant a p less than .05 by 1-tailed Chi Square.

A third marijuana item, "I smoke marijuana on social occasions" significantly distinguished drug-positive and drug-negative recruits in group I but not in group II. In group II, drug-positive candidates endorsed this item more than twice as frequently than did drug-negative candidates. As noted earlier, two marijuana-related items, "I have smoked marijuana with people around" and "I have smoked marijuana more than two times in a week" significantly distinguished urine-analysis-drug-positive and drug-negative candidates in both groups. *It could be speculated that these items were endorsed at a relatively high level among the urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates because they are phrased in the past tense. It is possible that the item, "I smoke marijuana on social occasions" was endorsed less frequently but still at a relatively high level by the drug-positive subgroup because they feel that mere social smoking of marijuana should not or would not be held against them or because they feel that their smoking marijuana on social occasions could be discoverable in a background investigation. Liking to smoke marijuana to relax, in contrast, might be viewed as both unacceptable to the police department and also as undiscoverable in a background investigation.

Despite successful discrimination between urine-analysis-drug-positive and drug-negative recruits, it should be noted that a great number of urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates attested to no drug use at all on the IPI. Thus, while the IPI is useful for discovering drug behavior, it is also productive of a high rate of false negatives among demonstrated drug users. It is of interest too that the mean number of item endorsements for the urine-analysis-drug-positive group is 2. Inwald's (1983) norms show a mean Drug Use Scale score for police officer candidates of less than 1 with a standard deviation of 2.5. Her cutoff score for rejecting a candidate as unsuitable is 2 standard deviations above that mean, i.e., 4. As a result, using Inwald's norms many of the drug-positive recruits would not have been rejected using the IPI drug scale as a sole criterion.

On the positive side, persons showing a score of four or more on the Drug Use Scale clearly are at an extreme and, given the results presented in this paper, are much more likely to be drug users than non-drug users. It also should be pointed out that the IPI apparently elicited information that the urine analyses did not. Thus, combining Groups I and II, among the 77 urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates, 23 attested to past cocaine use by responding "False" to the item, "I have not tried cocaine."

In contrast, cocaine metabolite was discovered among only a few of the urine-analysis-drug-positive candidates. The urine analyses cover only a limited time frame. The IPI can reach back much further. In a sense, too, all of the positive attestations among the urine-analysis-drug-negative subgroup represents information that the urine analyses did not gather. Due to the nature of the IPI Drug Use items, there can be no IPI false positives other than those that are due to careless responding on the test. Any endorsement of a Drug Use item in a direction indicative of drug use can at the very least represent a basis for careful and detailed questioning on the part of a psychologist during a follow-up interview.

To conclude, use of the IPI Drug Use Scale as a criterion for identifying police recruit candidates as psychologically unsuitable to be police officers is extremely useful. It is likely to result in many false negatives but also identify many true positives not otherwise ascertainable. The IPI is a useful tool for use in screening police officer recruit candidates but its use to be supplemented by other means of screening such as urine analyses and careful background investigations.

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**NEUROPSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN
HOSTAGE NEGOTIATIONS: INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS**

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ABSTRACT

It is acknowledged that hostage negotiators receive specific training in communication skills necessary for dealing with: (1) terrorist hostage takers, (2) psychiatrically disordered hostage takers (i.e., individuals evidencing mild-moderate-severe psychotic dysfunction), or (3) those individuals who share characteristics of both these categories. This paper introduces the notion that some hostage takers may have a history of closed head trauma, albeit mild, in conjunction with a long-standing criminal personality and evidence a pattern of communication that may be mistaken for a psychotic process. The purpose of this paper is to inform those who either conduct or receive hostage negotiation training of several types of dysfunctional communication manifested by individuals with neuropsychological impairment due to mild head trauma.

INTRODUCTION

Law enforcement training in, and direct application of, hostage negotiation skills remains an ongoing project given high priority (Cawley, 1974; Culley, 1974; Eichelman, Soskis & Reid, 1983; Fowler, DeVivo & Fowler, 1985; Gettys, 1983; Gettys & Elam, 1985; Miron & Goldstein, 1979). Police psychological service providers continue to work with law enforcement agencies in developing procedures which include, but are not limited to: (1) issues in negotiator selection (Culley, 1974; Eichelman et al, 1983; Elam, 1983; Gelb, 1977; Gettys, 1983; Gettys & Elam, 1985; Miron & Goldstein, 1979), (2) negotiator training (Cawley, 1974; Culley, 1974; Eichelman et al, 1979; Fowler et al, 1985; Gelb, 1977; Miron & Goldstein, 1979; San Francisco Police Department Hostage Negotiation Reference Manual), (3) operational/procedural guidelines (Culley, 1974; Eichelman et al, 1983; Gelb, 1977; Miron & Goldstein, 1979), (4) debriefing/critique/analysis following critical hostage events (Fowler et al, 1985; Gelb, 1977) and (5) categorization of abduction (Culley, 1974; Eichelman et al, 1983; SFPD Hostage Negotiation Reference Manual).

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it is intended to apprise those engaged in training and/or application of hostage negotiation skills of several aspects of communication which reflect brain dysfunction, albeit mild. Some of these considerations (i.e., dealing with the mildly mentally handicapped) have been introduced elsewhere (Tully, 1984; Tully & Cahill, 1984). This dysfunction may be confused with a psychotic-like process and, by misinterpretation of verbal interactions, reduce overall effectiveness of negotiation strategies. Secondly, with increased awareness of

neuropsychological processes it is hoped that analyses of these types of situations can further refine communication strategies with this type of offender.

BACKGROUND

There is a developing literature in the area of brain dysfunction in aggressive criminals (Cleckley, 1976; Monroe, 1970, 1978; Spellacy, 1977; West, 1981; Yeudall, 1977; Yeudall & Wardell, 1977). With reference to this paper is the general finding of these studies which suggests that neuropsychological language processes are disrupted in some criminal personalities with histories of aggressive behavior. Given that the criminal population life-style is high-risk for sustaining injuries to the body (especially the head/brain region) it would not be surprising that their subsequent behavior would be influenced by the common behavioral sequelae following mild head injury (Boll, 1982; Boll & Barth, 1983; Rimel, Giordani, Barth, Boll & Jane, 1981). Of particular interest to those in public service employment (i.e., safety/law enforcement personnel) would be the material presented by Taylor (1982). He stated that there are often cases of "organic masqueraders" (e.g., those disorders that are initially thought to be clear manifestations of psychological reactions). He presented several studies which concluded that some organic problems (i.e., general physical problems) accounted for the presenting psychiatric problems. Taylor concluded that "... roughly 10% of persons seen for psychological symptoms, if adequately evaluated, will be found to suffer from a causative organic disease" (p. 6).

PRINCIPAL CLINICAL FEATURES OF LANGUAGE DISORDERS

The presence of a speech disturbance is often an accompanying symptom in psychiatric populations. However, the sequelae of a concussion (mild head injury) can also produce speech difficulties. Differentiating between functional and organic language disorders can be difficult and frustrating, especially when knowing the difference makes the difference in a crisis situation.

There are many types of language disturbances found in head injured adults. This paper presents only select neuropsychological symptoms that may be present when negotiators interact with hostage takers.

DYSARTHRIA

Dysarthric individuals exhibit defective speech sounds during conversation. Individuals with this deficit may sound intoxicated (i.e., slurred speech). Comprehension of speech, grammatical skills and word finding abilities are likely to be intact and within normal limits. In this case it would be articulation, appropriateness of word sounds, rhythm and clarity of speech that

would be impaired. Under stress and fatigue this deficit is likely to be more pronounced.

APHASIC SYNDROME

Individuals with aphasic difficulties are defective in the content of (produced) speech or the comprehension of speech or both. Aphasia can affect the degree to which an individual can understand instructions and/or produce meaningful conversation. These problems are not attributable to either hearing or articulation difficulties.

Abnormal utterances follow consistent patterns. These patterns are different than those of natural language functions. When distinguishing between different types of language disorders it is advisable to recognize the difference between fluent and non-fluent speech. Fluent speech is characterized by normal rhythm, speed and emphasis but may occur within a context of limited comprehension during conversation. Non-fluent speech is an expressive difficulty in that the production of words is dysfunctional, yet the individual retains adequate comprehension during conversation.

Fluent speech. Impaired language reception within the context of fluent speech falls within the typology of receptive aphasia (i.e., Wernicke's Aphasia). The comprehension of both spoken and written language is extremely affected yet the individual is unaware of the impairment. Although the maximum symptoms of receptive aphasia produce severe impairment an individual may experience degrees of impairment, albeit subtle, that constitute dysfunctional comprehension of either written or spoken language.

The following symptoms are presented in order to help the reader identify subtle impairment in communication with a language disordered person. Semantic jargon is a disorder of word meaning involved in naming and conversational speech with oral comprehension being moderately impaired. Individuals produce adequate words/sentences with defective meaning. Fluency and vocabulary appear intact. Neologisms and paraphasias may exist. Word substitution occurs but the substituted word is from a different category than the target word (e.g., "engine" might be used in place of "telephone"). These individuals may be euphoric and aggressive. They may also be partly or totally unaware of their defective speech. They will reject reflection (i.e., via reflective listening) of their jargon speech by another person. If severe, speech productions may appear similar to those of regressed schizophrenic patients (i.e., "word salad").

Verbal paraphasias are evidenced in the form of a disorder of naming within a context of intact conversational speech (i.e., "smoker" is used in place of the target word "pipe"). Words are often substituted within the same category. Mild verbal (phonemic) paraphasias, often overlooked in everyday conversation, can be manifested as impaired word content (e.g., "predident" used in place of the target word "president"). Individuals with receptive disorders may also manifest logorrhea (i.e., excessive verbal

productions). Language disorders and thought disorders can be similar in this regard since excessive speech can be present in both disorders. Graphorrhea (excessive written communication) is present in some thought disorders and its content is similar to disconnected verbal productions; excessive written communications is not present in the language disordered person.

Anomic symptoms, a relatively common language disorder, appear as impairments in an individual's ability to name objects directly (e.g., a "pen" becomes "the thing you write with"). However, these individuals can: correctly point to a named object, repeat the name of the object after being told the correct word and identify the correct word from a group of words. Anomic disturbances have been noted to be occasionally apparent in schizophrenia. Disturbances such as anomia also appear when an individual is fatigued or distracted.

Neologisms (newly created words) may be noted in both functional and organic conditions. In a psychotic process neologisms are often fusions of separate words or recognizable parts of separate words. Such is not the case with language disorders. At times this disorder is only present when a highly specific verbal response is necessary. Conversational speech would remain mostly comprehensible (grammatical words relatively intact) with select content words primarily affected. In mild impairment, neologisms may be limited to the use of only one or two words. These may be uttered once by the individual then corrected in subsequent conversation.

Non-Fluent Speech. Individuals with impaired language production after brain/head injury are usually found to be experiencing an expressive aphasia (i.e., Broca's Aphasia). Speech production becomes telegraphic, halting, labored and accompanied by frustration of the speaker. Comprehension has been found to be unimpaired. This condition is not usually confused with a primary psychiatric condition and its brief mention here is only for comparison with impaired receptive language.

LANGUAGE DISORDER OR THOUGHT DISORDER

As noted by Lechtenberg (1982) those individuals with fluent aphasic symptoms are often mistaken for individuals with thought disorders. Receptive impairment is sometimes accompanied by logorrhea in the absence of graphorrhea while a schizophrenic process may produce graphorrhea in parallel to disconnected jargon. Language disorders and thought disorders share the following features: vagueness, loose associations, discursiveness, circumlocution, meaningless verbiage and neologisms. They differ in the following ways: (1) paraphasias are not characteristic of schizophrenia and (2) language disordered individuals often enlist the help of the examiner in targeting/retrieving the appropriate word.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The best tact to take in situations that involve such disorders would be to: note the presence and extent of the impairment, establish and maintain basic and concrete communication within the context of rapport building, and avoiding a type of interaction which embeds main points and/or instructions into complex sentences. As noted, these individuals have limited awareness as to existence of their impairment. The use of reflective listening when reflecting back "jargon speech" is not advisable.

It is suggested that further research (i.e., via analyzing hostage negotiation transcripts) be conducted in order to know more about negotiation patterns and eventual outcomes with hostage takers exhibiting criminal personality and a language disorder as noted above.

SUMMARY

Law enforcement personnel and police psychological service providers continue to work together in developing and refining hostage negotiation skills training. In the categorization of abduction it appeared that language disordered individuals may have been labeled, and possibly treated, as thought disordered individuals. In order to facilitate the identification of a speech disturbance the principal clinical features of select neuropsychological symptoms were briefly discussed. Differences and similarities between language disorders and thought disorders were noted. When discussing everyday perfunctory matters language disordered individuals' verbal production is usually within normal limits. Under pressure the individual may begin to evidence subtle features of the symptoms addressed in this paper. During a hostage situation what initially may appear as a thought disorder (due to the bizarreness of expression) may very well be dysfunctional verbal thought formation becoming more prominent during the stress of the situation. Recommendations were made when negotiators interact with a language disordered individual. Future research was also recommended.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF POLICING VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary law enforcement officers must function as counsellors, social workers, psychologists, negotiators and investigators, as well as traditional police officers. Their work alternates from dull and boring to moments of sheer panic, when life and death decisions have to be made in a matter of seconds. The combination of factors in police work—dealing with terrible situations and traumatized victims, and working under the threat of physical danger, results in overwhelming stress. It is this unusual amount of stress that makes explicable the belief that police officers in the United States have high rates of problem drinking, suicide and divorce. How exactly does stress cause attitude and behavior changes, impair family and social relationships and develop cynicism, apathy and an unwillingness to seek help? This article explores these concerns and the early warning signs of poor adaptation to the stress created by policing violence. Some techniques to combat poor adaptation are also outlined.

TEXT

Law enforcement in America has its origin some three and a half centuries ago. In 1636, an informal watch was formed in Boston, Massachusetts. Composed of local citizens, this watch was merely to safeguard the community from robbers and others who would do harm. It had developed into the first formal police department by 1838.¹

Each date represents an early effort by a community to establish a formal, yet simple, system for the enforcement of its laws. Both systems employed untrained local citizens to act as observers with law enforcement responsibilities. In performing their duties, these individuals were not exposed to unusual dangers. Their's was a low-key function. By current standards, there was little job stress. The laws were clear and few, their functions were routine and the population they patrolled was usually known to the officer.

Over the years the law enforcement profession has changed dramatically. As the crime rates grew and the new laws were added, the responsibilities of law enforcement officers became more complex. Today the typical law enforcement officer in an American community is under great amounts of stress. Contemporary law enforcement officers, unlike earlier counterparts, must function as counsellors, social workers, psychologists, negotiators and investigators, as well as police officers fulfilling their mission of serving the public. Dr. S. Al Somodevilla of the Dallas, Texas, Police Department has stated:

It is an accepted fact that the police officer is under stress and pressure unequaled by any other profession.

STRESS OF POLICING

This agrees with Schaefer's statement, (e)motional stress, the real danger in police work, is alive and flourishing with police organizations.²

The problems inherent in being a police officer today are innumerable. Aside from the boredom, there are times of sheer panic, when life and death decisions have to be made in a matter of seconds. While the "action oriented" stress may be more obvious, it is necessary to note that the boredom present in police work can provide as much stress as responding to and investigating crimes. As Dr. Harvey Schlossberg (formerly with the New York Police Department Psychological Services Unit) has stated:

Most police work is very dull and boring....
If it was really like it is on television,
I don't think anyone would do it very long.³

This is not to say that there isn't stress in other occupations; however, it has been stated that the police profession is among the most hazardous in this respect, ranking even higher than air traffic controllers.⁴ The behavioral results of officers attempting to deal with these problems can be tragic.

These behavioral results are evidenced in the statistics dealing with police suicides,⁵ alcoholism rates,⁶ divorce rates⁷ and admissions to hospitals for stress-related cardiovascular disorders.⁸ Due to the unusually high rate of heart attacks and hypertension, one State Supreme Court upheld payment to widows of officers who died of heart attacks, whether occurring on the job or not.⁹

The public has an immediate interest in the problems of police stress in that the public can be directly involved. This involvement can range from an inadequate police response to a service call, to an officers' improper use of deadly force.

This awesome responsibility on the part of law enforcement to serve and protect has prompted many mental health professionals to take it upon themselves to assist officers in dealing with their operational responsibilities. As a part of their efforts, these professionals have taught officers about human behavior so that they can better deal with the public.¹⁰ This training has now evolved to the point where the officers are requesting and receiving mental health care for themselves.

VICARIOUS VICTIMS

Policemen can and often do become vicarious victims--stressed, altered and in some cases destroyed by the crimes they investigate. The job of the police officer pushes and pulls at him from many directions, forcing him to play the "hard nut" in one situation, then to move smoothly into the role of a sympathetic helper in the next. Often he will choose to ignore or repress the emotional problems of role conflict, ambiguity and stress caused by "shifting gears" into the various roles. When he does this, the conflicts within him can only intensify. He would do better to understand in broad terms why and how his job is stressful, and to bring sensible coping strategies to bear on his problems.

An officer's life is usually taxing for many reasons. In the course of his work, he sees the worst manifestations of human behavior--and consequently feels compelled to hide his professional life from his family for its own protection. More, his daily work with victims of crimes emotionally drains him. He is emotionally strained by dealing regularly with emergencies. All such variables add up to stress, and stress produces: (1) family problems, (2) unsystematic and often counterproductive defense mechanisms, and ultimately (3) burnout. If the investigator looks for the early warning signs of stress in himself, however, and learns some effective stress management techniques, he will be able to maintain his physical and mental health in spite of the demands of his profession.

PROFESSIONAL DEMANDS

Regardless of the myths promulgated by the media about the glamor of policing, police officers routinely see the worst manifestations of human behavior. They deal with molested children, muggings of the elderly and defenseless, senseless beatings and murders, suicides, mutilated bodies and rapes. The sum total of these experiences can lead to depression, despair and discouragement.

It was Kenneth Oxford, in his role as the Chief Constable of Merseyside, who wrote an article in 1982 entitled "Policing the violent society".¹¹ He pointed to two intrinsic elements which must be kept in mind when discussing police effectiveness, or ineffectiveness. The first was that of the duties and responsibilities of the police. The second dealt with the realities of police work as opposed to the myths.

At some point in time, a sort of profound emotional "hardening" occurs, the method by which an officer can deal with all the human misery he sees, Dr. Martin Reiser, considered by many to be the father of police psychology, has referred to this process as the "John Wayne syndrome".¹² The syndrome allows an officer to protect himself by becoming cynical, overly serious, cold, authoritarian and emotionally withdrawn, especially from his family. Because he loves all his family, he builds a protective "bubble" around them. He does not tell them of the human suffering he has witnessed at work for fear they will become frightened. Yet his very attempt to protect his family often serves to alienate him from it and leads to lack of communication within it.

PERSONAL EMOTIONS

Another difficult pressure on police officers stems from their constant exposure to victims of crime. If the victim has been killed, the officer must face the shocked relatives and friends, then deal with his own emotional response to the death. If the victim is left alive, he must deal with him or her at the most traumatic, time, the period immediately following the crime. Victims of rape and other violent crimes are often extremely emotional and draw on the officer's every resource to calm them. The officer's own emotional reaction festers as he tries to comfort the victim, knowing his words matter little in the light of what the victim has just undergone. Then he must face seeing the rapist in court wearing a three-piece suit, accompanied by his entire family, all of whom avow his innocence, despite evidence to the contrary. When the sentence seems inadequate to the officer, as it often does, he must simply swallow his anger.

Although police officers are periodically killed in the line of duty, police psychologists say that the emotional dangers are far greater than the physical ones. The fact is that police officers respond on a routine basis to situations that would be emergencies to others.¹³ Although statistically the chances of being killed in the line of duty may be slight, the threat of being killed takes a huge emotional toll. This is particularly true when policing a violent society.

The combination of factors in police work--dealing with terrible situations and traumatized victims and working under the threat of physical danger--results in overwhelming stress. And it is this unusual amount of stress that makes explicable the belief that police officers have unusually high rates of problem drinking, suicide and divorce.

Police stress is universal; it has no geographical boundaries or political affiliations, and it is found whenever there are police officers functioning in their enforcement roles. In America, however, such stress may be heightened by the unusual violence found in some cities, which reputedly have more armed citizens than armed police officers.

Concern about police work is underlined in a recent survey conducted by the Training Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on the training needs of state and local law enforcement agencies. The respondents represented by sample 90.0 per cent of all sworn officers in the United States, and the majority of these rated the category "handle personal stress" as the number one training priority.¹⁴

Stress and its consequent impact on the body and mind have long been explored in scientific and quasi-scientific studies. More work needs to be done, however, on the specific relationship between stress and the day-to-day job of the police officer. How exactly does stress cause attitude and behavior changes, impair family and social relationships and develop cynicism, apathy and unwillingness to seek help? These concerns will be explored, together with the early warning signs of poor adaptation. Also, some techniques to combat stress will be outlined.

THE FAMILY

Police officers may hear from their spouses: "You're different", "You've changed", "You've become cold, callous, almost emotionless and unfeeling", "Whatever happened to the kind, considerate, patient, understanding person I used to know?". Experienced, veteran officers have almost certainly heard comments like these because their profession affects the way they live, impacts on their

emotions and consequently affects their relationship with others, especially family members.

Family members should thus be educated to identify the early warning signs of maladaptation to investigative stress, for they are in a position to see the changes in attitude as they occur. The hardened attitudes that officers will develop to get through the workday will stand out dramatically and inappropriately at home.¹⁵

First, family members should be aware of being deliberately excluded from the officer's life--as, for example, when the officer identifies himself primarily as a member of a closed law enforcement community and adopts the attitude, "Silence is security, sex is survival, keep your cool, and stay on top".¹⁶ Secondly, the spouse should see if the officer has increasing difficulty relating to members of the family or is less able to respond emotionally or talk about feelings. Thirdly, the spouse should be on the lookout for defense mechanisms discussed hereafter.

At the same time, because the integrity of the family is affected by the stress on the officer, the officer and his department should be educated in ways to prevent damaging that integrity. Above all, the family members, including the officer, must be regarded as a whole unit or support system. All members use the family unit as a resource pool for support and strengthening, and a change in the status of any of them will alter the balance of the whole unit. Thus, to keep the officer a vital and healthy member of the law enforcement community, he must be maintained as a vital and healthy member of his family.

The effects of stress created in policing are equally dangerous to the spouse. The spouse of a policeman from Surrey, England, is quoted as saying:

When the tension rises a little part of me dies and each time I find it harder to believe that the next officer killed won't be my husband.¹⁷

Because of feelings such as this, there currently exists in the London area a telephone Care-Line. Using this telephone system, wives of police officers can help other police officers' wives who wait alone in fear for husbands braving street violence.

DEFENSE MECHANISMS

Defense mechanisms arise as a response to stress--and they become habituated through use. As the officer starts to succumb to the stress of his job, he begins to perceive that the offenders are winning, that everything

that is meaningful to him is slipping out of his reach, that his family is upset and that he doesn't seem to care about the public he serves. On the basis of these perceptions, he alters his behavior and attitudes to make them less threatening; in other words, he adopts defense mechanisms.

Defense mechanisms, in fact, may be thought of as mental functions that protect an individual from internal and/or external threats, conflicts, impulses and hurts. They include isolation of affect, displacement, substitution, repression, rationalization and projection. While an individual can attack, compromise, or withdraw on a conscious level, on an unconscious level he will employ these defense mechanisms to protect the integrity of the self--that picture of image of self without which he cannot function. The process by which defense mechanisms are developed hinges on the individual's perception. For an event to be stressful, it must be perceived as such in the mind. And how one perceives a situation will largely dictate one's response. The mind goes through three basic steps when confronted with a problem. First the problem is perceived; then an analysis is conducted; and, finally, a decision is made. The first step--perception--is a variable which can be manipulated and which, accordingly, can influence the remaining steps. One way to change perception is to adopt defense mechanisms.

Defense mechanisms were first identified by Sigmund Freud in 1894 in his study. Anna Freud later identified ten defenses by name.¹⁸ and by 1979 H. P. Laughlin had differentiated 22 major defenses, 26 minor defenses and three special reactions and combinations.¹⁹ Of these, several are adopted most frequently by police officers.

ISOLATION OF AFFECT

Perhaps one of the most deceptive and, if not controlled, emotionally dangerous defenses used by officers is that of isolation of affect. Although extremely effective for the officer while on the job, this defense is most responsible for domestic conflict, marital unhappiness and divorce. Isolation is in use when "an idea or object is divorced from its emotional connotation."²⁰ Police officers see it in killers and rapists who speak about their crimes expressionlessly. They see it in hospitals where medical and nursing professionals cope with patients with such detachment that they seem cold and indifferent. And they see it in themselves when they stand over a pitiful victim and calmly order an investigation.

This altered perception of reality--this ability to view events less intensely--permits the officer to appear in control at all times, to live up to his image and to deny

any emotional stake in the situation. At the same time, however, it necessarily carries into his social roles as father, husband and neighbor. The emotional divorcement that allows him to perform well on the job cuts his ties at home. He will hear: "Why are you always so detached from what you're doing? I can't seem to get through to you any more." Or, "You have no feelings!"

SICK HUMOR

An adjunct to emotional isolation is grotesque humor--the kind that is not funny and is not meant to be. "Sick" humor works. It maintains an officer's sanity because it acts as a safety valve and lessens the emotional impact of the crime. The officer, in effect, reaches out to others instead of sitting on his emotions. By speaking the unspeakable and being understood, he can ventilate his wounded feelings and share his pain.

Using such humor as a release, however, is usually very controlled. It is expressed only within earshot of fellow policemen who are directly involved, and, conventionally, only veterans can get away with it--as if they have paid their dues through the years, have no more emotions to invest and have all but dried up their coping resources. Richard Lazarus notes a similar defense mechanism among laboratory technicians at work on dissections.²¹ As long as sick humor is tightly controlled by its practitioners, it performs a useful function. Once it finds its way out of the locker room or laboratory, however, and into the public eye, it is a clear sign of maladaptation to stress.

DISPLACEMENT

Displacement is in operation when an emotional feeling is transferred, deflected, and redirected from its internal object to a substitute external one. The emotional feeling is thus displaced to a new person, situation, or object.²² Policemen often see this phenomenon in the course of their work--as when a rape victim will revile the police for not arriving in time or when feuding couples will turn in fury on the officers who are trying to separate them. But officers are often not aware of employing such a defense themselves--of taking their anger and job stress home and venting it on their spouses or children.

Displacement, in fact, is usually the defense most to blame for strife in the officer's home. If the officer could recognize the symptoms, however, he could consciously employ a more acceptable defense. Displacement frequently, if not universally, operates in conjunction with substitution, (a defense mechanism) through which an unacceptable or unobtainable goal, emotion, drive, attitude,

impulse, interest, or need, which is consciously intolerable or repugnant, is replaced by a more acceptable one.²³ In everyday life, substitution may be as simple as chopping wood to release hostility.

REPRESSION

Repression has been referred to as the primary and most important ego (self) defense.²⁴ Laughlin defines it as "the automatic, effortless, and involuntary assignment or relegation of consciously repugnant or intolerable ideas, impulses, and feelings to the unconscious."²⁵ For example, a rape victim, when questioned by police officers, might not remember any details relating to the attack, even though the assailant was unmasked and the attack was in broad daylight. If the information is truly repressed, the victim will not know that she knows it for her mind has protected itself by keeping this information out of her consciousness.

Although police may not use this defense themselves, they often see themselves victimized by it. Nothing is more trying to an investigator attempting to solve a crime than a victim--his best witness--who cannot recall a single thing.

RATIONALIZATION

Rationalization as defense is in use when the ego (self) justifies, or attempts to modify, otherwise unacceptable impulses, needs, feelings, behavior, and motives into ones which are consciously tolerable and acceptable.²⁶ It is one of the most frequently used defense mechanisms. Officers rationalize why they become officers, why they work sex crimes, why rapes occur and why they have become the type of individuals they are. On a daily basis, investigators rationalize why they work long hours, spend long hours separated from their families and even risk their lives. Too often these rationalizations are left unexamined and end by upsetting the lives of the very egos they are supposed to defend.

PROJECTION

Finally, projection is a defense mechanism of major importance. Known as the defense of "blaming others", projection occurs when consciously disowned aspects of self are rejected by disowned and thrown outward, to become imputed to others...a mirror-defense.²⁷ Thus people who are never neat will accuse others of being messy, and individuals who swear often will be unduly offended when someone swears in their presence. In law enforcement, the investigators who can't seem to solve a crime will find it easier to blame their lack of success on someone or something than to face the fact that they may not be clever

enough to sort out the evidence and conduct a proper and orderly investigation.

Defense mechanisms are used daily and productively by all people--so it's all right if you've identified some of these defenses in your life. But they can become counterproductive if they are habitually used to excess, for the wrong reason or in the wrong place, and they can lead to burnout.

BURNOUT

The complexities of the tasks and the many demands, responsibilities and deadlines places on police officers force them to be on the alert throughout the workday. Each is expected to be constantly energetic and self-motivated, and each is expected to be independent and task-oriented as well as a strong team member.²⁸ When the officer cannot meet these expectations--when he no longer has the energy or interest in his work--the chances are he suffers from burnout.

Burnout is a common affliction of those employed in the human services and is easier to observe than to define. Cherniss defines it as to fail, wear out, or become exhausted by making excessive demands on energy, strength, or resources.²⁹ Unfortunately, such a definition pays little attention to the emotional and attitudinal effects of burnout. Burnout often includes the psychological withdrawal from work in response to excessive stress or dissatisfaction; loss of enthusiasm, excitement and a sense of mission in one's work²⁹ and a change in attitude from empathy to apathy.³⁰ Burnout has been called a disease of overcommitment which, ironically, causes a lack of commitment. Above all, it is a coping technique as regards occupational stress and, as such, it uses defense mechanisms of projection, withdrawal, detachment, avoidance-oriented behavior and lowering of goals.

"What's it all for?", "Why am I doing this?", "I hate to go to work", "I have nothing to offer any more." Statements such as these are frequently made by victims of burnout. They are not adjusting or coping well.. they remain in a state of disequilibrium, and they strain to make it through each day. Studies have indicated that burnout correlates with other damaging indices of human stress, such as alcoholism, mental illness, marital conflict and suicide.³¹

The 1980s have seen an increased interest in the concept of burnout and in the supportive role peer counselling can play in an officer's career. "Employees who experience short-term crises need to be heard, need to have the opportunity to feel understood, and need to receive peer

recognition of the extent of the problems they face."³² Such counselling formalizes the locker room sessions that are in force in most police departments, but it improves those sessions by using time-tested professional skills.

EARLY WARNING SIGNS

The numerous symptoms which may relate to success disorders can be grouped in three categories: (1) emotional, (2) behavioral and (3) physical. The number of symptoms a person may exhibit is not important, but rather the extent of changes noted from the person's normal condition. Further, the combined presence of symptoms determines the potency of the problem. Indicators range from isolated reactions to combinations of symptoms from the three categories. Finally, the duration, the frequency and the intensity of the symptoms indicate the extent to which the individual is suffering.³³

EMOTIONAL

In the emotional category, symptoms include apathy, anxiety, irritability, mental fatigue and overcompensation or denial. Individuals afflicted with these symptoms are restless, agitated, overly sensitive, defensive, preoccupied, and have difficulty concentrating. These officers will overwork to exhaustion and may become groundlessly suspicious of others. They may be arrogant, argumentative, insubordinate and hostile. Their feelings of insecurity and worthlessness lead to self-defeat. Depression is common and chronic.

BEHAVIORAL

Behavioral symptoms are often more easily detected than emotional ones, for sufferers withdraw and seek social isolation. Such individuals are reluctant to accept responsibilities and/or tend to neglect current ones. They often act out their misery through alcohol abuse, gambling, promiscuity and spending sprees. Much of their desperate behavior is a cry for help and should be recognized as such. Other indications could be tardiness, poor appearance and poor personal hygiene both at work and at home. These patterns can lead to domestic disputes and spouse/child abuse.

PHYSICAL

The physical effects of stress are extremely dangerous. The individual may become preoccupied with illness or may dwell on minor ailments, taking excessive sick leave and complaining of exhaustion during the workday. Among the many somatic indicators are headaches, insomnia, recurrent awakening, early morning rising, changes in

appetite resulting in either weight loss or gain, indigestion, nausea, vomiting and diarrhea. Such psychophysical maladies may be a direct result of excessive stress upon the officer.

COPING STRATEGIES

Officers could perform well under stress and reduce their chances of falling prey to a stress-related disorder if they (1) monitored their own stress reactions and (2) learned skills that would help them cope with stress effectively. Unfortunately, many resist such procedures, believing that to admit the need of stress management is to admit they can't cope and to sound like weak sisters to their macho friends.

The philosophy of stress-management, however, emphasizes two reasonable and manly techniques; exercise and relaxation, both normal means to good general health. More, it recommends seriously and ruthlessly structuring one's life so time is systematically allotted for various but important needs. Depue recommends a division into occupational time, family time and, the one most difficult to find, personal time.³⁴

Effective stress management practices include the following:

1. Eat three meals a day, including breakfast.
2. Avoid sugar, salt, animal fat and processed white flour in your diet.
3. Pursue a regular program of physical exercise or other leisure activities.
4. Form new friendships and maintain old ones.
5. Get enough sleep each night (6-8 hours).
6. Practice abdominal breathing and relaxation.
7. Schedule time and activities for yourself by yourself and schedule the same to spend with others socially.
8. Stop smoking.
9. Limit your alcohol and caffeine intake.
10. Pace yourself and allow for an even flow of demands.
11. Identify and accept emotional needs.
12. Recognize early warning signs of stress.
13. Allocate time and energy to allow for outside interests and stimulation.
14. Take appropriate dietary supplements if needed.
15. Avoid self-medication.
16. Take one thing at a time.
17. Give in once in a while.
18. Talk out your worries.
19. Make yourself available.
20. Learn to accept things you cannot change.

CONCLUSION

Law enforcement officers have long lives--and sometimes died--with the knowledge that their occupation seems to breed alcoholism, divorce and suicide. Many, in fact, hold their job directly accountable for much of the misery in their lives, not reflecting that they might change the trends themselves. Today, we know that, as a rule, personal problems stem not from the job itself but from the failure of the officer to deal effectively with the stress created by the job. Thus, officers must "self-diagnose" their problems, measuring their level of happiness, job satisfaction, personal growth, family relationships and other subjective concerns. Above all, they must assume responsibility for their own mental and physical health.

Policemen work a good job and a rewarding one. Although the negative aspects of the job are often highlighted, no one should ever doubt its value to the individual and to society. One should, however, understand thoroughly and systematically how to cope with those negative aspects. Police officers must realize that they do not have to become vicarious victims while policing violence. They must be willing to assume self-responsibility for their mental and physical health. And they must face the fact that there are no short cuts to stress management. They must commit themselves strongly to understanding stress, its symptoms and its causes, in order to achieve and maintain their personal and professional health.

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THE NEXUS OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

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(Edited Transcription of Oral Presentation)

TEXT

I looked at the ambitious schedule and I know I have the toughest job. I'm going to try to keep you awake and also, I do want you to know that very often I speak to the same group for three days for 8 hours a day. All I have today is one hour and a quarter maximum and I'm going to try to present to you a point of view on a number of things. When Jim Reese called me about doing this, he asked me to address particularly the naivete of not just the public but people in the mental health field regarding criminal matters and to talk about "the nexus of criminal behavior". There are two sources for my saying what I'm saying. One is that I was a part of the longest in-depth clinical research treatment study, that I know of that has been done in North America. This was at Saint Elizabeths Hospital, now known to many of you as the home of one John Hinkley, Jr. I was there until 1978. Although I am in private practice, I've by no means left the field of criminal behavior, because on a daily basis, I am interviewing people who are sent to me by the courts, who come through probation and parole, who are dragged in to me by their parents, sent to me by the schools and who come from other sources.

The comment that was made about work with children is that I've recently gotten into the area of evaluation for courts of custody matters where in some cases there is alleged abuse.

To talk about the naivete of people in my field, I certainly am an expert at that, because as those of you who have read The Criminal Personality know, the first chapter of those three volumes is titled "The Reluctant Converts". The Reluctant Converts does not refer to criminals. It refers to the late Dr. Yochelson and myself. How reluctant we were to take our sacred theoretical cows to pasture and to slaughter them.

Every statement that I'm going to make here is 180-degrees different from what I would said had I been invited here 15 years ago. But then, I probably wouldn't have been invited here 15 years ago.

Despite the fact that the 1980s is an era of conservatism, and certainly an emphasis on individual responsibility, and even in the mental health field we hear that

people are responsible for their choices. But every time you lift up a rock, you can see that the conventional wisdom is alive and well and comes crawling out. And that is that if you have a bad kid, you must have bad parents who are at fault. Bad schools, that the kid is being shut out of the main stream. That the criminal in short is a victim. People say that isn't so and yet the human mind tries to make sense of these individuals. Dr. Hare said earlier this afternoon that there really is no known cause of the psychopath being the way he is and yet on a daily basis as I deal with parents, teachers, school counselors, people in the mental health field and corrections, and attorneys, both defense and prosecution, the desire to find out why is always there. And of course, if you have a kid like this, or there is somebody in your family like this, you begin to think about the mistakes that you made as a parent. I'm a parent. I've got two kids and when I'm asked about them, I do say they're bringing us up very well. The child brings up the parent as well as vice versa. But if something goes awry, how quickly still people tend to ask why. To make sense of something that seems to elude any attempt to understand why.

Dr. Yochelson and I were very much involved in asking "why" in the Saint Elizabeths studies. Some physical studies were done, we looked at social factors in the larger environment, Dr. Yochelson spent up to 8,000 hours with some criminals and interviewing others who knew them well. He wanted to understand why these people were the way they were. And they were not all Saint Elizabeths people. The study was based there, but some of them came to us from other areas and were never in Saint Elizabeths Hospital.

I can take anybody in this room and if you or I had followed the path of the men in our study or the people that I deal with on a daily basis, I could find something in your past or mine to explain it away. To explain why you are the way you are. Because in my field, people are very clever. They're often more clever than correct. After the fact, we can explain anything. And you know the gag (I use this in every talk because I think it says something) that is if you come early to see your "shrink," you're anxious; if you come late, you're resistant; and if you come on time, you're compulsive. Always an explanation after the fact. But let me tell you what we found and what I have continued to find since is that, yes, the environment does have an impact. Some people believe that what I am saying is that, no matter what we do as parents, no matter what the schools do, no matter what the government does, nothing makes any difference. Well, if I thought that was the case, I wouldn't be standing here. But what impressed us finally in this search to understand these individuals, was not the environment from which a person comes, but how he perceives and how he deals with that environment.

One of our men who came from the "other" Washington, the far southeast, Anacostia, where most of you if you are doing any touring probably won't visit. It's an area with many problems. It's overcrowded, there's a lot of crime, lot of poverty. And we interviewed one of these men. He was called the Gorilla. You name it, he had done it. He came from a family where a father had been in prison and a brother had followed suit and there was a mother who was trying to hold things together and a sister. And we talked to the sister and this is what was interesting. We said to her, "With crime at your doorstep, with role models that were pretty bad, with opportunities for crime all around you, why is it that you did not follow that path?" Because she had been a worker for the Red Cross for 20 years, a very stable woman. She gave an answer in three words, "I wasn't interested." It said it all, because people make choices and they make them from a very, very early age.

Being in a suburban practice, I see families where there are good role models, positive role models, parents of integrity, parents who are nurturing, economic opportunity, good schools, three kids. Two of the three seem to identify with those parents, what the parents are doing seems to make a difference. And although the schools have problems, these are kids who deal with those problems and stay in school and have an objective. But you've got that third kid. He may be the firstborn, the middle or the last, we've not found any relationship that is causal, that's the kid that's hanging out at the shopping mall, he's skipping school.

This is the kind of youngster who, from an early age is restless and dissatisfied. The youngster who seems to seek excitement for its own sake. I could go through a whole litany, but I think it isn't worth it because I want to move on to other things and say that you could look at the schools, you could look at the parents, whether in the inner city, the suburbs or in rural areas, and you could find problems. People often will say that one of the reasons people go into crime is that they're propelled into crime. They're out of the social mainstream. They don't have the opportunities that most of us do. It simply isn't true. These are people who rejected the mainstream long before the mainstream rejected them. These are individuals who have enormous energy. They need very little sleep; they can stay up night after night and party. Which means drug use and alcohol and so forth. But when a probation officer asks them why, after three weeks, they don't have a job, they reply that they didn't have any money, they couldn't get on a bus, they were sure there were no openings, people wouldn't hire them, they were too tired. When it came to doing what society expected of them, it was as one 13-year-old said to me, "like being a dog on a leash." This is the kind of youngster who may be able to put on a good facade and some of them do well in school, obviously some of them are very clever. And Dr. Hare was bringing out the cleverness of the

psychopath who is very good at casing out other people, doing what he thinks they want him to, feeding them what he thinks they want to know or what they ought to hear, so some stay in school and they work and they hold jobs because those provide wonderful covers. As one boy said to me, he said, "Those kids that act up in school and don't do their work, they're dumb. I do my work and then I do what I want on the outside and nobody ever suspects me." The patterns are different but the objectives are the same. The kind of person who is restless, dissatisfied and wants excitement for the sake of excitement, and that means doing the forbidden.

Some people say there is no such thing as a "criminal mind." They say that's a throw back to Lombroso, to the 19th century, to bumps on the head, and all of that, you know, the phrenology, and that we are all potentially criminals. I was even asked by somebody in a group when I was talking about assault. And he said, "Well, everybody has thought of killing his wife." In other words, the argument that there is larceny in every soul. We're all criminals at heart. My response to him was to say that I didn't know about him and I didn't know about everybody, but no I hadn't thought of killing my wife. And that I think that most of my friends with good marriages have not. It might have said something about him, I don't know. There is such a thing as a criminal mind. There is a mind that thinks differently and anybody in law enforcement and in corrections who has had exposure to these people year after year, know that criminals have a very different view of themselves and the world. Sure, superficially they appear to have the same needs as all of us, and they can conform their conduct to whatever the laws are, but there is a mind that looks at life differently. And this is what people who are in the schools often don't recognize. They often call them emotionally disturbed. People who are in the psychiatric profession find such paradoxes, they assume they are mentally ill. Educators ask how are we failing these people? There must be something that's wrong with us. And so it goes.

What I try to do in my evaluations of these individuals and what I believe the court wants to know is not about the person's toilet training or psychological speculation about how he got to be that way. They want to know who the person is. Roger Depue of the Behavioral Science Unit put it very well when he said, "We have to know who the criminal is." And so I want to tell you a little bit about this world view, the mental processes. What my late colleague, Dr. Yochelson, did was to go beyond a listing of traits or characteristics or speculations about the cause. And that is he spent the last 15 years of his life finding out and understanding the mental mosaic, the thinking patterns, in fine detail. And that, I think, was one of his great contributions.

Now, you may say criminality depends on the laws. You may be a criminal in Hawaii for one offense but not in Alaska. I'm not talking about laws, I'm talking about minds. There was a man who said to Dr. Yochelson, "Doctor, if rape were legalized today, I wouldn't rape but I'd do something else." This is the kind of mind that no matter where you put this individual, in what culture, no matter what the laws were, he would still be a "criminal". Because to him the oxygen of his life would be to defy the mores, the restraints, the laws of that society. Sure, there is a continuum when you talk about thinking patterns and for anything that I'm going to say now to make sense, please consider a continuum. Obviously, everybody who lies or anybody who stole a candy bar as a kid, is not going to be a criminal. I once made a terrible mistake. I had one of these five-minute TV programs to summarize what I had found and I started to list characteristic thinking patterns. I got off the air and then recognized that probably every viewer was identifying his or her child or himself or herself with these patterns because they are all like along a continuum. Who among us hasn't told a lie? But for the criminal, the person I'm talking about, lying is a way of life. He doesn't only lie to get out of a jam or to cover his tracks but he also lies when there seems to be no ostensible reason for it. Of course, a psychiatrist would say he's a compulsive liar. There's nothing compulsive about it. He can tell the truth when he thinks it will serve his best ends. But in lying, there is power. He preserves a view of himself and the world. For him, lying is a tool of the trade and the lies that seem to make no sense at all to us, they make a lot of sense when you consider that it is exciting to him to lie. And that by lying he does preserve a view of himself and the world.

So it is with some of the other characteristics that I'm going to talk about. So don't get a case of medical students' disease and say that, "Well, I have these things or my wife has them or my supervisor or my kids. Is he turning everybody into a criminal?" One of the reviews, unfortunately a very prominent one, of Inside The Criminal Mind on the front page of the Los Angeles Times Book Review Section, claims that I made a criminal out of 90% of all American males. The reviewer missed the main point of the book. And that is to say that if you do have a person who is an extreme liar, a person who is extreme in the other features that I am describing, the whole is more than the sum of the parts.

Let me give you some examples here. The kind of individual that I am talking about, if he walks into this room, that purse that's on the floor, and let's say that I'm that guy, that's my purse. Thinking this way about the purse is not a mental illness. I know right from wrong. Ostensibly, the purse belongs to this lady here, but it's mine. In the sense that all of life is a chess board and I deal with people and objects as though they're pawns. All I have to do is to figure out how to

get what I've already decided is mine by stealth or by force. This is a view that these people have. They pursue power and control for their own sake. Even if they have jobs where they have legitimate power and control, they often misuse it or else that's not enough. There's got to be something illicit on the side. The rapist, that's got nothing to do with sex. These people that I've interviewed who are rapists, they have girlfriends, they have wives, they have consenting sexual relationships. But that, to use one of their terms, "It's dead. There's nothing in it." And so a man may have sex with his wife and then go out on the prowl and rape somebody because there's no power to this person equal to reducing a female to a quivering, pleading speck of humanity. And so a rape is about power and conquest. It has nothing to do with hating his other, nothing to do with being sexually deprived, or some of the other nonsense that has been in the literature. In fact, I haven't met a rapist yet who has not committed other kinds of crimes as well. Not one. They have all committed crimes in other areas. Now, I'm not suggesting that everybody that commits a crime has committed all kinds of crimes. I'm simply saying that a person gets to be known for the crime for which he's caught. If he's caught for rape, he's a sex offender. But when I say that the rapist has committed other crimes, I'm talking about property crimes, assaultive non-sexual crimes, possibly drug use and mis-use crimes and perhaps others as well.

So it's power, it's control, it's excitement, it's conquest, it's the chess board view of life that they have. These are individuals who are loners in the sense that, if you are one of these people that I'm talking about, you say you trust me. I'd better not be complimented because trust means that I won't snitch or I'll go along with you. There's a whole area of semantics and there's a lot of ignorance about semantics. If you're talking with a criminal about success and failure or trust or the word problem or even the word understand, you're talking Arabic and they're talking Turkish. What these people mean, for example, by "trust" is one example. By a "problem," it doesn't mean if I hear a man saying that he's got a problem, that I should rejoice that I've got a candidate for psychotherapy. What he means is he's dug himself into a hole and he's in a jam. That's what he means by a problem. When he says, "I want help," by and large it's for me or somebody to bail him out. Success or failure, if I talk about success, what I mean is you set a very modest objective and you work toward it and you get there, and that's a springboard for something else. For the criminal, it's to be number one overnight. And failure is anything less than being number one. These are people who think in extremes. They're either number one or they're nothing at all.

What I'm saying is that the police psychologist and I would say all psychologists must understand the criminal from his point of view. Not from our labels. Not from the psychology of

the responsible person. And if we understand the criminal from his point of view, not to agree with that view, then we can see that he uses language differently, I don't mean the four letter words and street talk, but everyday English words. Even the word as I said, understand. How many times do I hear, "But doctor, you don't understand." You know, we've all done that. Here you come back to the continuum when you were a kid and you wanted to borrow the car, "But Mom, you don't understand." Well, your mother understood very well. You just weren't going to get the car. But these people say, "You don't understand." It is a tactic to put the other person on the defensive. To locate the flaw in the other person's understanding and to get the focus off him. And then, of course, we're accused of misunderstandings and then we start to think, because after all we try to be constructively self-critical, that we've misunderstood and we've lost him. These people are very wily in the way they use words and in the tactics they deploy to accomplish their objectives. There is a different kind of psychology here. A different kind of mind at work.

When I said they are loners, not only is there no such thing as trust as you or I might use the word. Loyalty, friendship, love. What do they mean by love? It's either a sentimentality of I love my mother which doesn't mean that he won't turn around and revile her in four-letter words when he doesn't get what he wants or it simply refers to sex. These people are loners in that they see human relationships as avenues for conquest and triumphs. They have their buddies but have you ever observed a group of delinquent kids. Their sense of humor, the way they interact, they build themselves up by cutting others down. Their sense of humor is at the expense of other people. They are loners in the sense that nobody ever really knows them. That they live a life apart and they keep people at bay. They wrap themselves in a mantle of secrecy and there is a sense of power in that.

Now, of course, the things that I'm saying are very different from what they tell you and me when they are held accountable. What the criminal says when he's held accountable by and large bears little reality. Little resemblance to the reality of the thinking before, during and immediately after the crime. These people take the victim's stance and they do it rather blatantly or rather subtly. Their excuses for what they've done are only limited by their imaginations.

One of our more educated criminals could quote Plato and Aristotle, but he knew less about responsible living than my miniature Schnauzer. This was a man who said that the criminal operates by "cogito ergo est", I think, therefore, it is." For these people, thinking makes it so. Their world revolves in line with their wants, for their desires, what they do they principally do for a build up and they demand a certain type of

recognition. Even respect. They use that word. "I want respect." It doesn't mean they want respect for their accomplishments. It has to do with fear and intimidation and wanting to get their way.

Very often, as was said earlier this afternoon, these people are regarded as mentally ill because there are paradoxes that just seem so strange. As one of these men said, I can change from tears to ice just like that. And these individuals are very sentimental. They do some very odd things. One man breaks into a woman's apartment, rapes her and has a discussion about religion for 45 minutes after. A man holds up a bank, but upon finding out it's the teller's birthday, he gives the money back to her. Truman Capote's In Cold Blood, Perry who puts a pillow under the head of one of the Clutter family victims to make him comfortable before he is executed. Sentimentality and brutality reside side by side within this individual. And some people think that that on the face of it can make some grounds for mentally ill. For being called mentally ill. As Doctor Hare said so well, when these people do things that are bizarre, it is others' instinctive response to assume they must be sick. Bob Ressler said the same. These people do some very bizarre things. But what we were interested in is the mind. Is it deliberate, is it purposeful, is it rational, does it know what it's doing? Remember, we were shrinks at Saint Elizabeths Hospital. We thought we were dealing with mentally ill people. After all, many of them had been adjudicated by the courts, not guilty by reason of insanity. You can imagine what the most frequent diagnosis was, that diagnosis that is used when we don't understand what we're seeing, some form of schizophrenia or another. The people in our study declared not guilty by reason of insanity were about as mentally ill as this table unless you wanted to torture the definition of mental illness. What they were able to do and the speakers this afternoon have attested to the fact that these people are test-wise, they're psychologically sophisticated, even though they may be uneducated. They are able to ferret out what the examiner wants. In fact, the mental processes in the insanity defense are exactly like those in a bank robbery. You have your objective to knock off a bank, you have your scheme, your modus operandi, your getaway and your celebration. And so it is in the insanity defense. For a felony where you've been caught, they have the evidence, you know you'll get a long sentence, your objective is to beat the charge. Convince them you're sick so you have a scheme. And you have a way of doing it. Once you convince them you're sick, you get into the hospital and then you want to, so to speak, knock off the hospital, convince them you're healthy now so you can get out. You have a scheme, a modus operandi. You feed the doctor what you think he wants to hear. You participate in all the activities. They thought that was fascinating but not unexpected. The so-called psychopath utilizes the facilities of

institutions more than others who are not of that ilk. And then of course, you have your getaway, don't you, when you're discharged, the celebration and the buildup. The same mental patterns are at work. These are people who are bad not mad.

A couple of other features. These are people who do horrendous things but they all know right from wrong but, as one of them said, I can make anything right wrong, I can make anything wrong right. Right is what I want to do at the time. Now you have a discussion of right or wrong with that kind of semantic interplay. No matter how terrible the crimes are and this was one of the most astounding things to us, no matter how many crimes the person committed, no matter how serious they are, how long-standing the criminal patterns. Every criminal whom I've talked to believes that at heart he's a decent human being. As one of them said, "If I thought of myself as evil, I couldn't live." You see, they know right from wrong and you may say, Oh they say I'm a criminal, I broke the law, I mean if they're looking at you from behind bars, it's a matter of record. But their view of themselves that they are decent people who you and I and the world obstructs was also pointed out. These people who have no concept of social boundaries can be the greatest constitutional lawyers. Well, you might say, how is it that they support this view of themselves to themselves as decent people. Well, there are several sources. One is, all I've described are the malevolent characteristics of this kind of person. But many of them are very talented. There's a lot of talent in America's prisons today and as you know, there are art shows in many institutions, these people are musical, many of them are very good with their hands, they're craftsmen and so they have talents. And some of them will do good things. They say, "I'll give the shirt off my back to my best buddy. I'll help anyone who is down and out." Which could be giving money to an alcoholic or alcohol or whatever. But they will do things for other people. And they have talent and many of them are religious albeit they may pray at nine and rape at ten. But when they are in church, they are sincere. There is this reservoir of sentimentality and eyes of conscience. It's not true they lack a conscience. They do, but it is a tattered conscience, a threadbare conscience that they are able to shut off long enough to do that which they want to do.

Another paradox and this gets more into the psychological realm, those individuals who are the kind I am describing, the kind who get into private psychiatric hospitals, manage to have recourse to do that, the diagnosis for many of them, particularly the adolescent delinquents, is depression which has always interested me. And aside from the fact that it may be necessary to get a third party payment to come up with a diagnosis that will fill the bill, I think there is another reason. And that is if you take these kids and even the adults, looked at now not from their point of view but from that of the

responsible world, they are failures, aren't they? From the point of view of the responsible person. For the most part, they've not done very well in school, they've skipped around from job to job, they haven't fulfilled their potential, their human relationships have been broken and they've been short-lived and of course, at the time at which they are evaluated by a psychiatrist or psychologist, they are depressed. It's not the depression of the neurotic. It's the depression of a person who doesn't like the situation in which he's in and wants to get out. He's unhappy because he's been caught. He doesn't see himself as inadequate. It is because he's not been interested in those areas of endeavor by which the responsible world judged him. and so he is seen as depressed because he, at the time you see him, it is after he is being held accountable, the world is not going the way he wants, he may be in some kind of phase where his opinion of himself has collapsed and he doesn't see a way out. But depression hardly fills the bill of describing the kind of personality which is at work. And of course, they give them anti-depressants and the depression is better and they release them. So, great, you've got a criminal without depression rather than a criminal with depression.

Paradoxes are not paradoxes when you understand the mind and what I'm talking about here in response to Jim Reese's request to address the naivete of the psychological and psychiatric community is that what they do is they take interviewing techniques, concepts of psychology and programs for change that work. They're useful with basically responsible people with problems and they super-impose all of this on the common criminal who is a very different type of person. It is putting square pegs into round holes. Now of course, what I've done is to describe the person who really is the career criminal. This is the guy who creates a disproportionate amount of mayhem and it is a very small part of the population. But let me, and I know my time, watching the clock, respond to the other type of case which is more perplexing, because you and I see cases of a person who has committed a crime that seems out of character. And we say, well this isn't a career criminal. This isn't one of Yochelson and Samenow's criminal personalities. He doesn't seem like any kind of hard-core psychopath, how are we to understand the crime? Case in point. A man that I've been interviewing went to an Ivy League school, got his Bachelor's degree, was in a Master's program, full-time job, wife, child, upper-middle class in Washington, D.C., arrested for breaking into a company for which he had worked, taking computer equipment and breaking in again months later. How to explain it. No criminal record, an accomplished man, bright, well-educated, one marriage that had lasted, living what seemed to be a very settled life. But, you know, I'm always interested in whether there's an iceberg or not. Because I'll tell you something, I haven't found a person yet who has committed a crime that really is that much out of context. Who really knows us? Not very many people. The person who would

know me the best and she knows me very well is my wife. But if somebody were to interview me for a few times, if I committed a crime, they'd probably say, well, out of context. But if I committed a crime, it just doesn't spring de novo out of the air. And so as I have interviewed this man, and I've spent only now three or four hours with him and I have interviewed his wife, I'm looking for my iceberg. I don't know how extensive it is. It may not be extensive at all. Maybe it isn't even there. Or it may be very extensive. Well, what I found with him is very motivated to achieve, interesting that he dropped out of the Master's Program. Well, Ok, big deal. He dropped out of the Master's Program. He then came to work in Washington. His wife got a good job and so he married her and they came here. But what she said about him was interesting. She said, "I moved in with him and he was still in school and I tried to get him to go to school to finish his degree and he really wasn't that interested. He never worked all that hard. He would go out and play basketball and finally I just couldn't fight it any more." He dropped out and she, in the meantime, had finished her graduate degree and had gotten quite a job offer in Washington. So they came to Washington and I asked him about his marriage. And I said to him, If your wife were here, what would she say about you that would be critical. And I said, You know, in any marriage, no matter how good it is, there are problems. Things that come up recurrently. Well, then we start to get things. Turns out that he has been a big spender. In fact, so much so that he was almost in a position of having to declare bankruptcy but got some help from his family, consolidated the loan and in the meantime, a whole web of lies, to put off creditors and it seems to me, probably concealing some of the purchases from his wife. You know, any area can be fruitful area for inquiry. Sometimes, the number of cars a person owns and what he has done with his cars. Money often tells you a lot. And what we have is a period of years where this was a man who was earning a decent salary but it was never enough. Back to what I was saying earlier, the kind of person who seemed on the surface to have it all but wasn't satisfied. Then he said to me that his wife would consider him not a very good communicator. That he didn't express himself very well. Well, when I talked with the wife, it turns out that either things are going to be his way or not at all. There's nothing to discuss. Nothing to communicate. We've got the person who uses control in a marriage. The person who really is using the marriage as something as a chess board. Then I'm talking to the wife who by the way, he acknowledged some drug use, marijuana, cocaine, and a couple of arrests. One for urinating in an alley after he had been drinking and the cops saw him and caught him. And another situation in which he urinated in an alley and some people started to pursue him and he got in a car and tried to flee and then the police started after him and he continued to flee. So you see, more and more little things are coming up.

Well, I'm not going to go on and on but then as I was seeing his wife and then toward the very end of it she said, you know, he probably didn't tell you about this, he did the strangest thing. We bought a new car. And he used to go to all these lots where the cars were and he looked and looked and he saw that the car lots were unattended at night. And that the car that he bought, he didn't like the radio. She said he always used to go out at night, I never knew where he was, but he'd go on some little errand and he'd be gone two, three hours. By the way, she still doesn't know where he's going on these errands. But on one of them, he went to one of these automobile lots and stole a radio out of a new car, put his in and took the other out. Learned how to install radios so he could do it. Then she said, Another strange thing. We had a hub cap on a car and we were at a gas station and he saw a car with the same hub cap and he said, While the people were inside the station, he pried the hubcap off and put it on. And so you see, the iceberg was there and there was one other theft. And these are only the things that they have told me so far. And so the theft of the computer equipment had to do with some vengeance, revenge against the employer and so on. But it didn't happen in a vacuum. That's my point. And what people in my field often do is they see an act that on the surface it seems to be so discrepant from that individual's way of living that they think he must be mentally ill. I've had judges send me people because they seemed depressed and depression must be the problem because the judge doesn't see a criminal record. The judge has no indication there's an iceberg so I'm looking for my iceberg. And I usually find it.

You might say, though, yes, but that doesn't explain the violence, the homicide, the man who kills his wife and he has no record of violence or anything else. What about that? The crime of passion. Irresistible impulse or whatever else you want to call it. The crime of passion doesn't exist, as I have heard it defined. Oh, it exists in that a person does commit crimes without planning the date, time and place. He murders his wife, he doesn't necessarily scheme when he's going to do it. Some do, but many don't. It's in the heat of an argument. In that sense, it's passion, but the idea psychologically that a person kills somebody and again it's something alien in that you have this epitome of responsible conduct who suddenly went berserk and sliced his wife up with a meat cleaver. It's not true. It just isn't true.

This is a very quick capsule to give you a point. A man who had beaten his wife up. He had not killed her but she barely escaped death. Beat her bloody in an argument. He had been drinking. A man who had worked for the Pentagon for many years. Four kids, house in the suburbs, and so on. Well his wife survived and talked to me about him. Now, he has no criminal record. He had been at the Pentagon for 20 years. And

he had class, a responsible guy. But who knew him, his wife and a son to whom I spoke who told me what a tyrant he was in that household. How he intimidated them. They'd go out for a meal. If his wife said something that he didn't like, he would give her the most horrible looks. He'd order for her. He would not allow her to order for herself. There had been previous arguments. Shoving, threats, intimidation, and indeed, other assaults that had never come to the attention of the police. This was a guy who, of course, got much worse when he was drinking because all alcohol does, or drugs, is to bring out what's already there. But this person was a tyrant. And so he had had quite a bit to drink and he assaulted her. She had said something, you know how it always starts with something small. And it builds and it builds and then he beat her up. So here again, there was an iceberg. And nobody could have known this unless you could have a wife who was willing to talk which in many cases they're not willing to do because they're too frightened to talk. And a son who was willing to discuss what kind of father he had.

In talking, then, about the criminal mind, sure, we're talking about a spectrum of thinking patterns and I suppose you could say a spectrum of behaviors. But I suppose that my message here is to try to look for, well first of all to do what Roger Depue said, to know who the criminal is. Know what the thinking patterns are. The full-blown thinking patterns of the hardened criminal. And then when we are asked to interview, to evaluate people who may no means be hardened criminals, to at least understand the salient issues. What are the thinking patterns? We are looking for an iceberg and it's got to be there. If we are only able to tap it and ask the right questions. Now of course, all of what I've said has certain implications for other things which are outside the scope of this particular meeting. But I did want to at least say this, the book Inside The Criminal Mind is not just about who this person is, what he's like and what the myths are, but it does say this, that if we know who it is we're dealing with, if we know what this mind is like, then when it comes to the question of rehabilitation, or policy-making, programs, facilities, etc., then we're in a better position to deal with it. Rehabilitation is ridiculous. Look it up in the dictionary. It means to restore to an earlier constructive state or condition. You rehabilitate an old house in Georgetown, in Washington, D.C. You rehabilitate a stroke victim. You bring him back to what he once was. There is nothing to which to rehabilitate the people I'm talking about because they were never there to begin with. And yet, what Dr. Yochelson did contribute in addition to this detailed description of the criminal mind, the mosaic of a mind, was a format for helping a minority change, because if people choose to commit crimes, if they choose this way of life, then it stands to reason that choices can be made in the opposite direction under certain conditions. And so what he did was to work with some hard-core offenders who were at a point in their life when they were in the

gutter, so to speak. You know, none of us changes anything about ourselves unless we're fed up, whether it's cigarette-smoking, overeating, or anything else. You know how sound AA is. They say that unless a person is in the gutter, forget it. And even then, that's only a beginning. Then he may be willing to recognize what he is.

And so it was with Dr. Yochelson, that he was able to reach some of these people in a time in their lives when the world had closed in. Where they had lost everything including their freedom or they were about to lose it. And they had seen enough and in format designed to teach people about how they think and to change their thinking patterns, there was some success with a small number of them. You see, the fact of the matter is, every man, woman and child locked up today is going to be out unless he has life without parole or a death penalty sentence. That's very few. And so the other part of this work was to say alright, if that's the case and by the way, I think there are some people who should never be let out, but we've got mandatory sentences. And you know, if you serve one-sixth of the time and you're a good boy in the state of Virginia, you're eligible for first parole and so forth. Maybe it isn't a sixth but something like that, but there are people who we can reach at a certain point in time and if we know who they are, then we know what has to change, it's not job skills. Give a criminal without job skills job skills, fine. I agree with it. So you have a criminal with job skills rather than one without and he'll use the job skills to gain entree into newer arenas for criminal activity.

Most of our criminals have jobs. They stole from the very jobs they had, in many cases. But what is basic is thinking. Behavior is largely a product of thinking. And there are no short cuts to helping people change, particularly these people. Some of you may say it isn't worth doing at all and I'm saying that we have to try to do it with some. And there are some we can work with, I'm not talking about ax murderers and hard-core offenders, but there are programs, community programs in which we could do more than we're doing, if we stopped targeting things external to the offender and deal with his thinking. Proverbs 23 or 13, 23, I think, As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. Romans, Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind. And so what Dr. Yochelson worked out then was a format for habilitation and not rehabilitation of the criminal.

The reason that I echo so much Roger Depue's statement, to know who the criminal is, there was a supervisor of special schools in a Washington suburban county and you know the schools haven't a clue as to what to do with these kids. They've got to get them out of the regular class rooms, the ones who are chronically disruptive, and if they call them emotionally disturbed, then they'll prey on those who are genuinely

emotionally disturbed. And this educator said to me, You know, the community has got to be informed, they've got to get educated as to who these kids are and to face the facts. Finally, just a couple of weeks ago, in the county that I live in, Fairfax County, an idea has come up. It will be interesting to see if they do it. And that is to take these kids out of these classrooms and put them in special programs in schools. And I have often said that if you have to pay teachers hazardous duty, pay or get two of them. What ever it takes to recognize that these youngsters are different and to plan educational programs accordingly. So that the public schools are not left to those who are disruptive or who are too poor to get out of them.

So there are implications in every area and every field of what I've said and what we found over the course of this very, very long-term study. Actually, I'm running ahead of schedule and I think this is a good point at which to stop because there is going to be a panel and you can have at all of us. I want to thank you very much for listening to me.

TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS TRAINING FOR CONFLICT DIFFUSION

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ABSTRACT

Police officers are frequently called upon to de-escalate conflict situations such as domestic disturbances and barroom brawls. However, during "ordinary" tasks, such as motor vehicle stops and accidents, the officer's nonverbal and verbal responsiveness may unwittingly propel a routine situation into an escalating conflict. Adverse results of such escalations range from citizen complaints to assault of officers.

Limited training in the practical utility of what the authors call "tactical communications" presently exists. To bridge this gap, a three to five day class was developed. Follow up of the tactical communications training is underway - goals are to improve upon the training's practical value and to provide a dovetailing with officer survival programming.

Training and follow up are viewed as enhancing officer survival by increasing the accuracy of an officer's ability to size up conflict situations and by expanding the repertoire of intervention options and skills available to the officer. To accomplish this, officers are trained: to understand and strategically utilize a variety of verbal and nonverbal behaviors; to assess and control contexts, subject's attitudes and perceptions; and, to have respect for the force of their presence and verbal interventions. Communications tactics are explored from both offensive and defensive positions. The training uses a variety of audio-visual aids, as well as role playing. Follow up includes the evaluation of training and post-training utility with graduates, as well as the weaving of course material into other content areas, for example, a firearms instructor recertification course.

TEXT

A fast-changing world, by necessity, requires law enforcement officers to be more experienced and sophisticated in carrying out their responsibilities. The "tough" cop, today, is outdated and ineffective. The officers of the 80's need to be trained professionals.

With the increasing incidence of lawsuits, officers must be better trained in areas of law, technical aspects of security, patrol, investigations and yet, meet a demanding schedule due to budget cutbacks and an increasing crime rate.

Police officers of today are being plagued with assaults and must expect to be confronted at every turn of a corner each time they stop a vehicle for a moving violation or otherwise contact persons. Statistics indicate that officers are being assaulted at an alarming rate. The FBI statistics show that 60,153 officers were assaulted in 1984 alone, a large increase over the 9,621 reported assaults in 1960. We do teach and agree that officers should be taught how to survive confrontations at both the Police Academy and Advanced In-Service levels.

Most officer survival training is taught from the approach of reactions and conflict prevention, and this is understandable, since the average incident involving a firearm occurs in about 2.7 seconds.

Other areas which seem to be lacking sufficient attention are Community Relations, Crime Prevention, and Service Type Calls. We believe that with cutbacks in budgets, coupled with added calls for response, police have been forced to prioritize the responses they make. When these cuts in service occur, citizens are left with a negative feeling toward law enforcement.

Several factors combine to bring about these negative attitudes: less time for community relations; reactive training for officer survival; the fact that criminals are not being prosecuted or serving time as they did in the past; and poor publicity received by police because of law enforcement officers involved in theft, fraud, burglary, excessive force, etc. (even though only 1% of the police are involved). In general, the public seems to be losing respect for, or at least lowering their positive image of, police officers. These factors, combined with the low penalty rates for using force, have escalated assaults against police.

Again, bear in mind our observation of the trend in police training to approach the problem of assaults upon police officers from a reactive stance.

John Peters, in his book Realistic Defensive Tactics, has diagrammed a continuum of responses available to an officer. It goes as follows:

LEVEL ONE (1)	OFFICER PRESENCE
LEVEL TWO (2)	VERBAL COMMANDS
LEVEL THREE (3)	CONTROL AND RESTRAINT
LEVEL FOUR (4)	CHEMICAL AGENTS
LEVEL FIVE (5)	TEMPORARY INCAPACITATION
LEVEL SIX (6)	DEADLY FORCE

Peters explains that, from the legal standpoint, an officer should use only the level of force necessary to control the situation. He also explains that the officer may step into the situation and immediately escalate it from Level One to Level Six, or the reverse. In fact, Peters identifies some thirty combinations that can take place along the response continuum. We find that, in most police training, the emphasis is being placed between Level Three to Level Six, control-restraint to deadly force. There seems limited or no training being provided for Level One (pressure) and Level Two (verbal commands), where the preponderance of the communication takes place in most contact situations. Based upon an officer's verbal and nonverbal communication, the situation can escalate or de-escalate.

With a concern for enhancing all aspects of communications and providing the necessary training to police officers so they can de-escalate situations more efficiently, we have looked at several well-written communications courses which fail to adequately cover the aspects of communication necessary for policing. Therefore, we embarked upon the development of a course which we feel meets police officers' needs for effective communication tactics.

We went to Webster's Dictionary and found the definition of communication written the following way:

COMMUNICATION: To share, to convey knowledge or information about, to reveal by clear signs, to cause to pass from one to another. A process by which information is exchanged between individuals through a common system of symbols, signs, or information.

We broke the definition of communication down into separate aspects in order to prepare a curriculum for our communications tactics program.

The final curriculum includes the following topic areas:

VERBAL COMMUNICATION
NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION
LISTENING
PERCEPTION
PROXEMICS
SEXUAL DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATION
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATION
CALMING TECHNIQUES
ASSESSING ATTITUDES
SIZING SITUATIONS
HANDLING EMOTIONAL PERSONS

The course is forty hours in length and encompasses lecture, student participation, visual aids, and the use of role play scenarios.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT

During the class, officers are taught to perform conflict assessment. This assessment begins with the necessary evaluation of the context to assure officer safety and survival. Following the safety evaluation, officers are taught to focus upon interpersonal, locational and temporal aspects of the situation.

Recognizing that most homicides occur between "friends," and that responding to domestic disturbances are potentially dangerous scenarios for the officer, the officer begins to gauge the nature of the relationship between the parties involved, including him/herself. Emphasis is placed upon some of the nuances of the interpersonal issues involved, such as the symbolic role they may be playing (i.e., authority figure, "rival," rescuer, etc.) and that they may indeed have a concrete relationship with the individual(s), such as employer, neighbor, friend, or the like.

Oftentimes overlooked is the importance of the setting or location of the incident. Officers are taught to take the brief time required for a place assessment. Some of the questions that the officers review in this aspect of the assessment are: Is this the best place for this

conversation or intervention to occur? Would changing the "turf" involved allow for the alteration of control in the situation? Should doing so then permit an enhancement of control over the outcome?

Officers are taught to attend to the temporal aspects of the conflict situation. While it may not be possible to totally control this aspect of the context assessment, many officers seem to feel that they have no control over the time it may take to clear a conflict. Thus, they frequently seem to believe that they must rush in and resolve matters in milliseconds. Unfortunately, doing so usually leaves sour tastes in everyone's mouths. The officer ends up having to spend more time than anticipated due to having escalated the situation; the parties involved end up believing that they have no alternative but to complain, become belligerent, or otherwise act in a noncooperative manner. So officers practice combining their listening skills with their sense of timing, only to discover that clearing conflictual or potentially conflictual situations takes but a few minutes more and results in improved cooperation in the future, a favorable outcome which cannot be overemphasized.

PERCEPTION

A necessary portion of the class is that of introducing officers to the psychology of perception. The officers are first given an overview of sensation, along with how the senses may be useful in de-escalating conflict situations. For example, demonstrations are offered to reveal such sensory considerations as the effectiveness of the sound of one's own name in determining auditory attention, or, in the various interaction effects between different senses, such as how light may be useful in helping an accident victim with their sensation of pain.

After an introduction to sensation, the officer's attention is directed to perceptual dynamics. In this area, they learn about the role an individual's experiential and attitudinal background plays in determining what the person perceives. Towards this end, officers may role play situations in an effort to discover how their own belief system influences their personal perceptual process. The officers come to develop an awareness of how they can improve their perceptual acuity by, for instance, increasing the number of categories into which they classify information, or by attending to internal needs or other potentially distracting stimuli.

An important aspect of the perception training sequence focuses upon the effects of a crisis upon an individual's sensory and perceptual processes. People in crisis tend to experience "tunnel vision," startle easily, and oftentimes report disorientation or distortions in time and space. Officers need to learn how to "read" a crisis response in others, as well as how to read and control one in themselves. Officers learn that they may be able to utilize a crisis in others to de-escalate a range of situations, since a crisis response may present an opportunity for intervention given the individual's attitudinal, affective, or cognitive dissonance. In other words, the officers learn to listen for imbalances in attitudes and to tie these imbalances to the repertoire of possible interventions. A good example of this is the officer who allows an irate robbery victim to vent his feelings, then aligns him/herself with the victim against the problem, while using some of the victim's own words and gestures to help the victim regain emotional control without losing "face" or otherwise "painting himself into a corner." The officer may have accomplished this end through a variety of verbal techniques, such as clarifications focused upon perceptual "checking-in": e.g.,

"You've said that you've gotten over your boyfriend now, but I noticed your voice got lower. You clenched your fists. I wonder if it still hurts you?"

VERBAL COMMUNICATIONS

Officers are taught that verbal interactions with others require a balance, a working together, a sort of dance. Two (or more) people are involved and neither one can be successful without the cooperation of the other. There is a need for the officer to monitor progress and the degree of coordination, as well as to make adjustments accordingly. In other words, officers learn how to do process checking.

In order to verbally respond effectively to the wide range of circumstances they encounter, officers need to be as free as possible from attitudinal barriers. It is critical that they adopt an evaluative, not judgmental, approach. Officers learn how quickly negative attitudes and prejudices are conveyed to the people they stop for motor vehicle checks or other minor incidents. Furthermore, they learn how their attitudes form a foundation for the application of specific verbal interventions.

For the officer to convey an attitude of caring and acceptance with a victim, for instance, it is very important that they attend to the victim as a person. Doing so will require practice and skillful use of eye contact, posture, positioning and the use of verbal response relevant to what the victim is saying, feeling, or doing.

For the officer to determine particular concerns, the officer must have the skill to focus upon what is being communicated "behind" the content or surface of what the individual is saying. Towards this end, a variety of commonly used psycholinguistic counseling, crisis intervention, and verbal interventions are taught, such as:

-- attending skills

1. visual, eye contact
2. physical, distractions, location, body language
3. verbal, e.g., person's culture, sensory "hints"

-- expressive skills

1. deflective techniques, e.g., use of notebook
2. empathic responses
3. reflective techniques, such as paraphrasing and perception checks

-- inquiry, interview, questioning skills

1. open-ended questions for opening up and elaboration responses: "how" vs. "why" questions
2. closed questions -- when to hone in, narrow down

-- "here and now" skills to deal directly with issues and avoid value discussions or return to the specific

-- process skills

1. process guiding, e.g., appreciation of the power of ambivalence, appreciation of timing and pacing issues
2. process checking, e.g., the appropriate use of questioning to ensure that the officer and the other person are working together

-- summarizing

1. uses for indicating understanding, providing perspective and clarification of the situation, gives the officer an opportunity to feed back the overall content/message/plan that has been heard or formulated

Officers get to practice to appreciate the value of reflective verbal skills. When doing this, they have a chance to check in with other class attendees regarding the accuracy of the verbal (including time, pitch and inflection) and the nonverbal messages they are sending.

Questions often times help people focus their feelings and help them to elaborate upon their situations. Many times officers wish to rush in and give answers rather than raise questions, questions which just may assist the individuals in formulating their own resolutions or answers. When addressing the practical utility of questioning in the process of tactical communications, the authors have the officers focus upon the use of questions that cannot be answered with a monosyllabic response, better known to mental health professionals as "open-ended questions." The value, of course, to this sort of inquiry is that it permits the person being questioned to elaborate or expand upon their observations, issues, etc. The tactical point here is that open-ended questions are useful when engagement is the task. Closed questions, on the other hand, are useful when specifics are required (tactically speaking, when identification issues are required).

Officers are informed repeatedly that any of the verbal intervention skills cannot be applied in a "checklist" or technical manner. These techniques work best when used after practice and with genuineness. When used appropriately, the officers discover that the individual in crisis feels in greater control of his/her decision-making rights and abilities. Further, the person, having experienced the officer's responsiveness at the first two levels of force, leaves the situation a friend, rather than a sort of vanquished enemy who will seek retaliation. To assure that this occurs, the officers are taught how to summarize, which is analogous to the development of an action plan in crisis intervention techniques.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

During the class, officers are taught the importance of understanding how to read the non-verbal

communications given off or expressed by the person they are contacting and the importance of knowing some techniques of expressing or giving positive non-verbal communication of their own.

Officers learn that approximately 90% of the nonverbal communications an individual gives off is accurately reflecting the person's true belief or position, as compared to about 7-10% of the verbal communication given. Therefore, to be able to read the nonverbal would increase an officer's ability to receive a more accurate picture of what the person is saying and can improve indications as to what actions the person may take.

Mastering the art of accurately reading nonverbal communication does take practice and time. The students learn what portions of the body to analyze for responses, the meaning of those responses, and a number of responses that correspond, so they can determine with improved accuracy what the person is really saying. The students are taught that reading nonverbal communication is similar to reading fingerprints in the respect that to get a positive identification of a person by a fingerprint, you must have ten or more points on the prints that match. In nonverbal communication, you should have eight to ten points of parts of the body giving the same indication before you can be sure with some accuracy as to what the person is really saying.

In order to enhance reading nonverbal communication, the officers are also taught to recognize emotional styles of individuals (what causes mirroring, and when does it take place), key phrases that persons will use which conflict with nonverbal cues, how to sort out conflicting signals, rules for eye contact, proxemics, territorial rights, culture, sexual and environmental concerns.

Officers are then taught how to read the nonverbal cues starting with the head and working downward to the feet, taking into account such things as sitting and standing positions, type of setting, and role of the person, such as suspect, victim, violator, witness, etc.

Lastly, the officers are instructed in how to mask, mirror, and give off nonverbal communication in order to control the situation and maintain safety. Some of the nonverbal clues taught to the officers are stance, control of body space, eye contact, hand and arm gestures, facial expressions and touch tactics. These learned skills will increase the officer's ability to effectively defuse crisis situations.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

A variety of discussions, audio-visual aids, and role plays are used to help the officers integrate the course material. The background from which this synthesis occurs is briefly sketched in the following page, "Tactical Communication Phases and Processes." Using this outline, the authors help the officers organize their learning in a variety of circumstances drawn from the class participant's professional experience.

TACTICAL COMMUNICATION PHASES & PROCESSES

	A. ASSESSMENT	B. UNDERSTANDING	C. ACTION
G O A L S	Assess context and explore person's cognitive, emotional and behavioral components.	Achieve accurate understanding of person's situation, nature of the crisis, resources and strengths.	Develop a plan of action which the person subscribes to.
O B J E C T I V E S	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Active listening. 2. Establish rapport. 3. Align self with person. 4. Relocate to appropriate place, person, timing. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand person's issues. 2. Evaluate potential lethality. 3. Determine person's resources, needs, style. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explore alternatives. 2. Choose appropriate alternatives. 3. Implement specifics. 4. Tap resources as needed.
S K I L S	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Calm, evaluative approach. 2. Attending skill development. 3. Expressive skills. 4. Reflective skills. 5. Questioning skills; open-ended. 6. Here and now orientation skills. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Questioning skills: closed. 8. Encouraging specificity. 9. Summarizing. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Adopt an appropriate action orientation: cooperative, directive, non-directive. 11. Give information. 12. Provide other plan necessities; leadership, presence, encouragement, etc.
I M P A C T	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Safety. 2. Acceptance. 3. Understanding. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Perspective. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Sense of direction. 6. Helpfulness, hopefulness. 7. Initiative of action. 8. Prevention of lethal or escalated behaviors.

Follow up with some of the class participants indicates that:

1. The officers prefer the five day workshop;
2. All officers have been able to integrate the material in a variety of activities, ranging from "routine" traffic stops to barricaded subject interventions;
3. There is a need for further course developments -- i.e., specialization areas -- tactical communications for patrol officers, for investigators, for community relations, and for managers; and,
4. That the course learning have fostered interest and growth in officers, such that further training in related areas is enhanced (e.g., investigation, stress awareness, communication relations, juvenile, hostage negotiations).

MENTAL CONDITIONING: THE UTILIZATION OF FEAR

Roger M. Solomon, Ph.D

ABSTRACT

Fear is the natural emotion that is evoked by the perception of danger. Too often officers have to learn to deal with fear and vulnerability alone because it is "taboo" to admit one experiences fear. Fear can be the downfall of an officer if it leads to an instinctual fight/flight response and stress overcomes one's ability to function. Fear can also be useful (eg. cue to be cautious). Further, fear can be utilized to obtain a frame of mind of controlled (even calm) strength and clarity of mind.

I have debriefed hundreds of officers after a critical incident, where an officer came face to face with his/her own vulnerability. Consistently, when the officer is asked to see the situation in a disassociated state (e.g. watch him/herself on a screen) and, at the moment of response or shortly after, associate (jump inside the picture) and feel the "part of you enabling you to respond," the officer describes a state of controlled, often calm, strength and clarity of mind. I call this controlled strength, clarity of mind the "Survival Resource." (This is nothing new, we have all heard of small women lifting up cars and pulling children from underneath.) Fear can access a powerful frame of mind that can be life saving to an officer.

This technique is a "reframe" of fear in that officers are accessing and attending to a particular aspect of their experience (e.g. ability to respond) as opposed to feelings of vulnerability and helplessness that often accompany fear. After officers who had experienced this technique described that they automatically went into this resource state during a subsequent critical incident, I started teaching officers about this frame of mind, how to access it consciously and utilize it in mental rehearsal.

My paper will present my theory on this frame of mind, how to access it, and present data on its effectiveness and usefulness to street officers. The data support the notion that the resource state is an optimal frame of mind to have during a critical incident.

TEXT

Every officer has to learn to deal with fear, the perception of danger, and feelings of vulnerability. Unfortunately, officers usually have to learn to deal with fear and vulnerability alone. It is often taboo for officers to admit and talk about fear with each other because doing so goes against the stereotyped superhuman or "macho" image of a police officer. As a consequence, feelings of vulnerability and fear are often denied. Such denial or suppression of fear can lead to over aggressiveness on the part of an officer and to more trauma after a critical incident (where one comes face to face with one's vulnerability and/or mortality). Other studies have also found that denial of vulnerability can lead to more distress after a critical incident (Janis, 1985; Goldstein, 1973). (However, it is important to note, as Lazarus and Goldman, 1984, point out, that in many contexts, denial of vulnerability and mortality can be very adaptive.) It is unfortunate that dealing with fear is seldom taught in police academy or in-service training.

My research and clinical experience with officers involved in critical incidents strongly indicate that police officers can be taught to deal with fear in a very constructive fashion and utilize fear to gain access to a frame of mind characterized by more than usual strength, feeling in control of oneself (controlled strength), increased awareness, confidence, and clarity of mind. Further, officers experiencing this frame of mind describe they feel like they will not overreact or underreact to the situation, just react as the situation unfolds. I call this frame of mind "The Survival Resource." (This frame of mind appears to be similar to the "K1" of martial arts and "Peak Performance" as described by Garfield, 1984). Such utilization involves reframing fear, having an officer focus away from vulnerability to his or her ability and capability of coping and responding successfully. I became aware of this possibility during a debriefing with a 5'11", 175 pound officer who had his gun taken away and was badly beaten by a suspect who was 6'8", 285 pounds, and a weight lifter. As the suspect was standing with the officer's gun aimed at the officer, the officer was on his knees pleading, "Please don't kill me." The officer saw the trigger going back in slow motion and in that instant had a myriad of thoughts that switched from a theme of helplessness ("Please don't kill me") to a theme of "I'm not going to let you kill me like this...I want to see my kids again." The officer leaped up, deflected the gun, and in the wrestling that followed, got his finger on the trigger and shot the suspect. When I asked the officer what he was feeling at the moment of response and during his response, he described the frame of mind I now call the Resource.

In subsequent critical incident debriefings, I started utilizing a technique where I had officers view the critical incident they were involved in from a disassociated point of view (e.g. watch themselves and the situations as if they were watching a movie). At the moment they see themselves fully into their response (be it shooting, talking, hitting, ducking, etc.) I instruct the officer to associate (e.g. jump inside and feel what is happening) and focus on the "part of you enabling you to respond." Consistently, this has led to the officer experiencing a frame of mind characterized by controlled strength, increase awareness, confidence, and clarity of mind. This is a reframing of fear in that the officer is focusing on his or her ability and capability of responding instead of focusing on immobilizing fear and associated phenomena (e.g. perceptions of weakness, loss of control, perceptual distortions).

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) offer a framework that further describes the relationship between coping and fear, and helps to clarify what the Resource state is. One must first understand their cognitive appraisal framework. Their definition of stress is:

Psychological stress is a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding this or her resources and endangering his or their well-being." p.19

Central to this definition are one's cognitive appraisals, the evaluative cognitive processes that intervene between the encounter and one's reaction. Through cognitive appraisals, one evaluates the significance of what is happening in relation to one's well-being. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identify three kinds of appraisal. Primary appraisal consists of the judgments that an encounter is irrelevant, benign-harmful, or stressful (harm-loss, threat, and challenge). Secondary appraisal is a judgment concerning what can be done to deal with the situation. This is an evaluation whether one has the ability and knowledge to cope successfully as well as an evaluation of consequences of using a particular coping strategy in the context of other internal or external constraints. Reappraisal, the third type of cognitive appraisal, refers to a changed appraisal based on new information.

Bandura (1977) defines an efficacy expectancy as the belief that one can successfully implement behavior necessary to produce an outcome. In Lazarus and Folkman's framework, efficacy expectancies are part of secondary

appraisal. Efficacy expectancies are given a central role by Bandura in determining a person's behavior. He states people fear and avoid threatening situations they believe exceed their coping skills, but get involved in activities and behave assuredly when they judge themselves capable of handling situations that would otherwise be intimidating. Bandura's research with phobics (Bandura and Adams, 1977; Bandura, Adams, and Byer, 1977) found that level of fear arousal varied with perceived coping efficacy. Perceived inefficacy was found to be accompanied by high anticipatory and performance fear arousal, but as strength of efficacy increased, fear arousal declined. Lazaus and Folkman (1984) also state that the higher the efficacy, the less threatening the fearful situation is perceived, and the more coping is enhanced:

"Fear is the manifestation of a specific stressful appraisal. Changes in fear level indicate that there are changes in the way the person is appraising his or her relationship with the environment. As efficacy expectancies increase and the person judges his or her resources more adequate for satisfying task demands, the relationship is appraised as holding the potential for more control and therefore as less threatening. As a consequence, fear level decreases and coping behaviors are instituted." p. 70

The implication is that the more one can focus on efficacy expectancies (increasing efficacy), the less threatening the situation is perceived. Focusing solely on a primary appraisal of threat can lead to secondary appraisals of weakness and lack of control. Focusing on efficacy expectancies enables a reappraisal of the threat, in turn enabling the perception of more control and enhanced coping ability. My clinical work has revealed that many officers, during a threatening situation, do not experience feelings of fear or vulnerability. They describe they are too busy concentrating on dealing with the situation. They experience fear and vulnerability after the incident is over. What may be happening is the officer is focusing on efficacy expectancies and coping, not the vulnerability. Threat level drops and fear is not experienced until after the situation is over, when the officer thinks about what could have happened (and thus focuses on the primary appraisal of danger). The exercise described above focuses a person on their efficacy expectations, his or her capability and ability to respond. The officer relives the experience of coping under conditions of fear and vulnerability, concentrating the focus on the frame of mind enabling response and coping. The mind frame of increased controlled strength, confidence, awareness, and clarity of

thought experienced is perhaps the effect of focusing on efficacy expectations. Hence, the reframe of the experience of fear as one focuses on efficacy instead of vulnerability. (It is obviously important that an officer have the tactical skills and knowledge needed to deal with a threatening situation. The nuts and bolts of efficacy boils down to behavioral skills and competence at using the skills.)

There is perhaps another component of a critical incident that stimulates increased efficacy. Bandura (1977) makes the important point that efficacy expectancies by themselves will not produce coping unless there are incentives. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) concur; efficacy expectancies and incentives (the stakes) enter into a person's total evaluation of a situation. Depending on the stakes, efficacy expectancies affect the person's willingness to persist in the face of obstacles and aversive experiences. In a critical incident, where one's life may be threatened, the stakes are very high and there is great incentive to cope. Hence, in a critical incident where level of threat is high, the stakes (getting hurt or killed) can perhaps increase one's focus on efficacy expectations. The increase in efficacy, according to Lazarus and Folkman, enables the reappraisal of the situation to stimulate coping and survival. An officer can go from a secondary appraisal of helplessness and lack of control (a state universally described by officers as "Oh Shit") to a secondary appraisal that something can be done. This is consistent with my clinical experience where officers in a life and death situation, initially feeling weak, vulnerable and "scared to death," realize "I have to do something" and will start responding. This "I have to do something" is perhaps the beginning of the change in efficacy expectations (secondary appraisal) that leads to reappraisal and decrease of fear, enabling response. In this context, what I have termed the Resource is perhaps the result of increased efficacy motivated by the powerful incentive to survive. Hence, the Resource is perhaps the mental state that enables the strength and power that comes with survival instinct and the will to live; a powerful state indeed.

Great strength can be summoned up during a life and death struggle. The physical stress response, specifically the "alarm" phase, indeed makes us physically stronger and more capable of physically responding (fighting or flighting). I have found in taking officers through the Resource procedure that within an individual officer's experience, the more perceived danger and fear (and the higher the stakes) the stronger the Resource state felt.

The Resource state of mind; that is, perceived efficacy, may be unconscious during a very intense, life and death, critical incident. I have found that many officers involved in such intense critical incidents recollect the fear and vulnerability when they remember the incident. It is not until the officer goes through the incident again during debriefing and focuses on the frame of mind enabling his or her response that the Resource state is experienced. (Hence, I use the Resource technique as an important part of treating critical incident trauma and utilize the technique as part of a post-shooting/critical incident debriefing.) In my experience, a minority of officers involved in intense critical incident situations consciously felt the Resource frame of mind. One officer, which was rolling backwards, verbalized his thoughts as everything went slow motion (which occurs about two-thirds of the time an officer is involved in a shooting) as "Wow, I have all the time in the world I need to steady myself, take aim, and take this guy out." The officer shot and killed the suspect. Another officer, who was a Navy Seal during the Viet Nam war and involved in two on-duty shootings, described, "Fear is strength." He was talking about the increase in strength, which he experiences as controlled, and clarity of mind that comes when he experiences fear. Hence, some people have learned to automatically reframe fear.

One can conceptualize the coping process of a critical incident, where one comes face to face with their own vulnerability, as follows:

I. Welcome to Hell - the situation becomes critical.

II. Oh Shit - These are two words verbalized or thought by many an officer as they perceive the danger (primary appraisal) and feel the clutch of fear. At this point there are often feelings of weakness, helplessness, and little control (secondary appraisal).

III. Survival - At this point either unconsciously by instinct or conscious decision, the officer realizes it is time to respond, if he or she is to survive. The will to survive can increase one's efficacy expectations.

IV. Response Phase (Survival Resource) - The officers start to respond. Efficacy expectations are increased and, consciously or unconsciously, the officer's relationship with the threatening situation is reappraised as holding the potential for more control. As a result,

fear level decreases, and coping/survival behaviors are instituted. As the response is initiated and the officer is focusing on coping, a mind frame of strength, control, and clarity of thought occurs, along with increased physical strength. The officer may be consciously aware of this mind frame, but usually is not.

To reiterate the implications of the dynamics of coping with fear; focusing solely on the danger and vulnerability leads to secondary appraisals of lack of control, feelings of weakness, and inability to cope. If one can focus on their ability and capability to respond (efficacy expectations), perceptions of vulnerability and weakness decrease, facilitating coping and responding to the situation. Further, the more fear, the higher the stakes, the greater the potential power of efficacy expectations. Thus coping with fear is, in part, a matter of focusing on efficacy expectations - which can be powerfully fueled by the survival instinct - enabling one to respond out of a Resource state.

Officers can be taught to gain access to, and respond out of, a powerful resource state that come with focusing on efficacy expectations (capability and ability to respond) fueled by survival stakes. I first became aware of this possibility during a follow up of officers I had debriefed after a shooting and taken through the "Resource" exercise. I asked for feedback on the experience. Several officers who had been involved in a subsequent critical incident (not necessarily a shooting but a situation that evoked feelings of extreme vulnerability) told me that they had experienced the Resource state during the incident. They had little critical incident trauma reactions after the incident that they attributed to their Resource frame of mind they experienced during the incident. For example, one officer whom I had taught the Resource exercise was shot with a shotgun during a barricaded suspect situation. He was shot with two pellets which superficially wounded him in the chest, but his perception of vulnerability was high. He at first thought, "I'm shot and I'm going to die." That is, his secondary appraisal was one of not being able to respond. He then remembered his Resource, accessed it, got up, and ran behind cover and continued to respond. His thoughts at the moment were "I can keep going, I don't have to die." Eventually the gunman gave up. This illustrates the switch in focus from vulnerability to ability and the capability to respond and consequent enhancement of coping behavior.

Hypnosis and Neurolinguistic Programming techniques (Bandler and Grinder, 1975) can enable one to gain access to previous experiences and states of mind. After an experience and the consequent frame of mind are accessed and being re-experienced, one can attach a cue that later can consciously be used to gain access to the experience or frame of mind. Hypnotic suggestions can also shape the mental states one is experiencing by having a person focus on certain aspects of their experience and not attend to other aspects. I employ such techniques in getting an officer to experience the Resource state. To experience the Survivor Resource state an officer can remember back to a situation where there was fear, the perception of danger. Having the officer relive the moments of response, focusing on frame of mind enabling response (e.g. "feel the part of you enabling you to respond"), evokes the mind frame of controlled strength, confidence, awareness and clarity of mind. Officers then can be taught how to "anchor" or cue this mental frame by having a cue (e.g. a word) associated with the Resource state. In other words, one can access the reappraisal point where survival stakes enable increased efficacy expectations, and consequently the mind frame of controlled strength and clarity of thought. Another way of stating the techniques is that it teaches officer to focus away from feelings of vulnerability and focus on response ability and capability. Instead of focusing on the primary appraisal, the danger, which leads to secondary appraisals of weakness and lack of control, one focuses on one's ability to respond to the danger, which leads to secondary appraisals of increased confidence, control, and strength. Hence, fear is reframed, and utilized to gain access to a secondary appraisal of increased efficacy. Thus, the effect of this technique is a reappraisal of fearful situations - perception of danger can stimulate a Resource frame of mind. Hence, this a mental conditioning technique that involves the utilization of fear.

I hypothesized that the resource exercise could be utilized for training officers to mentally prepare for critical incidents and help them cope during critical situations. I taught officers who I had not debriefed for a critical incident how to gain access to the Resource state during in-service training and evaluated its effectiveness at least four weeks later to allow sufficient time for the officers to utilize the Resource techniques on the street.

METHOD

Subjects - The subjects were 17 Colorado Springs Police Officers who were attending in-service training.

Colorado Springs is a city of about 275,000 people with a police force of 389 sworn officers and about 150 civilian employees.

Procedure - Two days before officers were going to go through a "shoot/don't shoot" role play scenario, they were shown a video tape of the author explaining the Resource state, the dynamics of fear and utilizing the Resource as a way to deal with fear. Two officers who had previously experienced a critical incident described their experience and how they experience a resource state during their actions to resolve their incidents. Right before officer went into the "shoot/don't shoot" role play the author took them through the Resource exercise. At least four weeks after officers were taught the exercise they were administered a brief questionnaire to assess the usefulness and effectiveness of the Resource exercise.

Resource exercise - Officers were asked to think of a situation in which they experienced fear, the perception of danger. Officers were then asked to close their eyes and visualize the situation from the beginning as if they were watching television or a movie. They were instructed to see themselves in the movie. Officers were instructed to "freeze the frame" at a moment they were thoroughly in their response to the situation, be it running, talking, shooting, hitting, etc. Officers were then instructed to "jump inside the movie and feel what is beneath the fear, enabling you to respond" and to focus on that part. They were asked if they felt strong or weak, controlled or out of control, clear thoughts or confused and jumbled thoughts, aware or diminished awareness, and if this was a desirable state to be in during a critical incident. The purpose of these questions was to make sure that officers were not experiencing the weakness, out of control or helpless feelings typical of the "Oh Shit" stage. Officers were asked if the mental state they were experiencing was a beneficial state to make sure they were comfortable with what they were experiencing and to further ensure there were no abreactions. Officers were also asked if they felt they might overreact or underreact when in this mental state as another caution to ensure they felt the mental state was beneficial and they felt in control. Officers were then told this is a part of them that was there in their situation automatically and will be there again automatically when needed. They were also instructed to "allow your unconscious mind to come up with a word or sound that symbolizes the mental state...when you say your word or hear your sound to yourself the Resource frame of mind will be there." They were then instructed to say

their word or hear their sound to test if it accessed the Resource state. They were then asked to open their eyes and again say their word or hear their sound to test if it accessed the Resource state. They were then told they could practice utilizing the Resource state while they role played in the "shoot/don't shoot" scenario. The author briefly questioned officers after their role play to make sure everything went alright and there were no abreactions.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Officers were asked to indicate if they utilized the Resource. They were then asked to rate its usefulness on a five point Likert Scale and next asked to describe how it has been useful. Respondents were next asked to describe the Resource state along a five point Likert Scale on dimensions of "very weak" to "very strong"; "mentally calm" to "mentally agitated" or "panicked"; "very much in control of self" to "wild, out of control"; "very confident" to "lack of confidence"; "thoughts clear and lucid" to "thoughts confused and jumbled"; "many distracting thoughts" to "no distracting thoughts"; "feel I might underreact to the situation" to "will react appropriately to the situation" to "feel I might overreact to the situation"; and "extraordinary awareness" to "lack of awareness." Respondents were asked to indicate along a five point Likert Scale whether the Resource state was an optimal frame of mind to be in during a critical incident ("very optimal" to "very little help") and whether knowing the Resource technique helps their performance ("very much" to "very little"). Lastly, respondents were asked to indicate the types of situations where they had utilized the Resource.

RESULTS

Table 1 gives the means and standard deviations of the descriptions of the Resource. The descriptions were measured on a one to five Likert Scale. The higher the mean, the more of the quality of the dimension. The exception is the dimension having to do with reacting appropriately. On this scale "1" was "feel I might underreact"; "3" was "will react appropriately"; and "5" was "feel I might overreact."

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of descriptions of the Resource state.

DIMENSION	MEAN	S.D.
USEFUL	4.41	.61
STRENGTH	4.12	.83
MENTALLY CALM, RELAXED	4.41	.61
IN CONTROL OF SELF	4.65	.45
CONFIDENCE	4.59	.49
THOUGHTS CLEAR AND LUCID	4.76	.45
NO DISTRACTING THOUGHTS	4.0	1.06
FEEL I MIGHT OVERREACT	3.0	.34
EXTRAORDINARY AWARENESS	4.12	.59
OPTIMAL FRAME OF MIND FOR A CRITICAL INCIDENT	4.65	.59
HELPS PERFORMANCE	4.65	.59

DISCUSSION

The first point to be made is seventeen subjects is not a sufficient sample to evaluate the Resource technique and its effectiveness. The low sample size is due to not having sufficient time to train officers and obtain questionnaire responses before this symposium. I will continue to teach the technique and gather data. Further, in this study there was no control for the types of experiences where officers utilized the Resource. It is obviously extremely difficult, if not impossible and impractical, to control the types of situations police officers will encounter. It is further difficult to be sure of what an officer is experiencing. The Resource state is a very subjective frame of mind. We can try to describe its characteristics but will perhaps never know objectively what it is. The fact that different types of experiences are utilized to access and learn the Resource ensures its subjectivity. Nevertheless, when one focuses on their ability and capability to respond to a situation under conditions of vulnerability and fear, there certainly appears to be a commonality of descriptions of the frame of mind.

The Resource was well received by officers. All the means, except for the dimension of reacting appropriately, were above 4.0. This illustrates that officers utilizing the Resource experience a sense of strength, mental calmness, control, confidence, awareness, and mental clarity that is higher than usual. Officers feel they will react appropriately when they access the Resource, not over or underreact. Further, officers feel the Resource is quite useful and will help their performance. The variation is small with the exception of distracting thoughts. That is, the most variety of response was with distracting thoughts. I estimate that about sixty per cent of officers involved in an intense critical incident experience racing thoughts, that is; they describe having many thoughts in a flash of a few seconds. For example, many officers think about department ramifications (e.g., "will the department back me, will I get sued, will I lose my job") or the consequences of getting hurt. Such thoughts are clearly associated with what is going on and indeed may be related to decision making. However, they may be distracting in that they can potentially take an officer's concentration away from the situation and what has to be done to respond to the situation. For example, one officer involved in a shooting saw newspaper headlines of "OFFICER SHOTS AND KILLS CITIZEN" which he later said detracted from his concentration and alertness. Many officers describe denial type thoughts such as "This can't be happening" or "I don't believe this is happening." Such shock and denial is normal during a critical incident (Solomon and Horn, 1984) but indeed can take away from one's concentration on the situation. Many officers describe thinking about two or three different themes at the same time, which can be very distracting. More research is needed as to the type and quality of thought that goes on during a critical incident, and its impact on behavior.

Officers in the study indicated they utilized the Resource in many different kinds of police situations: family disputes, fights, various kinds of disturbances, suspicious situations, man with gun calls, mental preparation while going to a call, and chases. A couple of officers commented they used the Resource at home to calm down during "discussions" with their spouse. A couple of officers indicated they used the Resource to prepare for giving court testimony. In other words, the Resource was utilized in a wide variety of situations, personal as well as professional.

Comments about the effectiveness of the Resource centered mostly on the confidence. For example, some comments as to the usefulness of the Resource were:

"Knowing that no matter what the situation, I'll be able to respond."

"Having experienced the Resource is a confidence builder."

Knowing you can handle the tough situation is reassuring when you don't have enough information to know for sure what obstacles you are going to face."

"Crystallizes my determination to handle a critical situation and not back down."

Officers also commented on the increased awareness that goes along with the confidence. For example:

"Helped me to become more aware of my surroundings during a critical incident and be more confident of my actions; not over confident, but confident enough to say, "yes, I will win" in this incident."

"Prior to arriving to serious calls, I remind myself of my capacity to handle my situation. I also utilize the technique to calm down. The process helps me become more aware of my surroundings, more conscious of officer safety, and more relaxed in communicating with suspects."

Other officers besides the one above commented about the calmness:

"Calms me down, less tense, easier to make decisions by remaining calm and confident."

"I am able to reduce fear of the unknown to a calmness I have not known for 1 1/2 years."

One officer commented on the control: "I feel more in control of myself when I receive a hot call." Another officer commented, "Ability to act in the best course when numerous courses are present but there is not time to evaluate each course individually."

All in all, the Resource appears to be very useful to officers in the performance of their job. Further research is needed to replicate these results and further define the Resource state.

It must be remembered that having the Resource available is no substitute for tactical skills and knowledge. It is perhaps training that gives one feelings of competence and raises efficacy expectations, and thus

give rise to the Resource state. The Resource can help an officer employ such skills, but can never take the place of tactical behavioral skills and tactical competence. It is important to emphasize in teaching the Resource that it is not a substitute for officer safety and common sense. There are indeed times to utilize the Resource to help one back out of a situation. If these points are not emphasized, there is the potential that some officers may develop a false sense of bravado.

It is extremely important to remember that teaching the Resource exercise must lay in the hands of a well trained professional. It would be easy to get a person stuck in the "oh shit" stage of vulnerability, weakness, and lack of control. I have occasionally found during the Resource exercise (when an officer "associates" to feel the part enabling the response) an officer will experience a segment of his or her response where there were feelings of weakness, vulnerability, and being out of control. Having the officer go forward in time until he or she is fully into their response usually worked to get the person to a strong, controlled mental state. Occasionally I have needed to spend some time with a person to help them focus on their response and ability to respond and not stay "stuck" in feelings of vulnerability; or to deal with their feelings or vulnerability in more depth. One also has to be aware of the potential for precipitating unresolved feelings and conflicts pertaining to the critical incident. I believe a well developed sensitivity to body language and facial expressions is needed to sense how comfortable or uncomfortable a person is during the exercise where the Resource is accessed. In short, as with any powerful technique and technology, there is a great potential for abreaction, misuse, and harm. Professional expertise in dealing with trauma and traumatic reactions as well as hypnosis is essential before attempting to teach someone the Resource in the manner described in this paper.

It can further be difficult to find the Resource, that is; what an officer is doing to respond to the situation. Many situations afford little control and the officer subjectively does not feel there was a response to the situation. For example, one officer responding to a family fight found a knife pointed at his throat when a man opened the door. The officer talked his way out of the situation and got the suspect to put the knife down. This was a critical incident for the officer and he experienced a moderate degree of trauma afterwards. He felt he did nothing and could do nothing. However, his Resource was found in his response of talking. That is, he experienced

the controlled strength, clarity of mind Resource state when he focused on the "part of you enabling you to talk, think of what to say, and communicate effectively." The guideline to remember is that a person cannot always control a situation. The reality is a person can control their response to a situation and not necessarily control another person or a situation. Focusing on one's response to the situation, on what one can control, is usually where the Resource point (that is, the place to access awareness of one's capability and ability to respond) lies. Hence, in auto accident incidents, where there can be very little control, focusing on what one was doing to respond (e.g., swerving, breaking, ducking, bracing) and not on what was out of control, has worked to find the Resource. There are circumstances where doing nothing is the best response, as in a situation where a gunman gets the drop on an officer. In such situations, it is often realistic that an officer make no overt behavioral response. Nevertheless, "doing nothing" can indeed be "doing something," depending on the situation. I have found that for officers involved in such little or no control situations (e.g., hostage situations, gun taken away) that there is a Resource point in the readiness to respond, or increased awareness and alertness that such situations evoke. There is always some response that can be reframed to illustrate something was done. Indeed, the choice to do nothing (which is doing something), or even submitting, is still a response to a situation, a response to enable survival. (Albeit that the Resource evoked from such situations is not as strongly felt as in situations where there was more control.) In situations where there is apparently little control or opportunity to overtly respond, clinicians can help an officer understand what was and was not under his or her control, and become aware of his or her response in relation to the circumstances. Such discussion is also quite relevant for critical incident debriefings.

The Resource is a valuable technique for defusing critical incident trauma. However, it must be remembered that finding the the Resource does not end trauma. It can definitely reduce trauma by helping to restore a person's sense of control. But talking out the situation and one's feelings, understanding one's emotional reactions, and otherwise working through the reactions associated with confronting one's vulnerability and mortality is still necessary. The less control there was in a situation, or the more vulnerable one felt, the more important it is that such working through take place, and the less effective the Resource as a therapeutic technique becomes. It is important to remember the limitations of the Resource technique.

In sum, the Resource appears to be a very valuable mental conditioning technique that enhances one's strength, confidence, mental calmness, awareness, and feeling of control. The small sample size included in the present study necessitates further research and replication. However, this study shows mental conditioning can be successfully applied to enhance coping under fear (perception of danger) conditions. Officers are taught tactical skills and strategies, which are indeed important. In stressful situations, an officer will most likely behave in the manner he or she has been trained. However, "mental tactics" can enhance the performance of these skills. Applications of mental rehearsal, guided imagery, and behavioral technology are becoming more popular in other fields (e.g., athletics as described in Garfield, 1984). Psychologists should devote energy to the research and application of mental conditioning techniques to facilitate coping with the fear and vulnerability that takes place in critical incidents. Possible outcomes of such efforts; better performance by police officers, less inappropriate violence, less critical incident trauma, and better service to the public.

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RESEARCH FINDINGS RELEVANT TO THE EFFECTS OF
MARIHUANA ON SHOOTING JUDGMENT

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ABSTRACT

The relevant research literature disclosed several findings which suggest that shooting performance may be affected by the use of marihuana. Among the most relevant findings were:

- a) Hand steadiness and stability of stance are decreased to some extent.
- b) Memory is impaired.
- c) Risk taking activity does not appear to be increased.
- d) Focusing on one variable to the exclusion of others and having lapses of attention while engaging in daydreaming occur frequently. This type of inappropriate focusing may lead to disorientation as well as to inconsistent, sporadic, compensatory motor and cognitive performance.
- e) The ability to accurately perceive the feelings and emotions of others may be impaired.

These findings suggest that people who use marihuana before encountering shooting situations may tend to be somewhat more docile and have periods of inaction while they focus their attention on other matters. However, when their thoughts return to their present situation they may shoot inappropriately, or blindly follow the actions of others, due to both feeling the need to compensate immediately for their earlier lack of vigilance and having to rely solely on the cues which are present at that time. Their ability to react quickly may be also impaired, particularly, in situations where their decision to shoot

requires them to recall certain information about their potential adversaries. In addition, their ability to correctly perceive the intentions of others from subtle verbal and nonverbal cues may be reduced, which could be extremely hazardous in ambiguous situations involving possible confrontations.

It is hoped that this information might be of some use when: a) training officers how to confront armed situations involving people known to have been recently smoking marihuana (e.g., situations involving hostages, drug raids, trapped offenders); b) conducting departmental drug prevention programs which attempt to create both peer pressure and internalized values which promote abstention from using marihuana; and c) resolving legal disputes involving people accused of discharging firearms while under the influence of marihuana.

TEXT

Although the literature indicates that marihuana use does not typically increase violent behavior, it does appear that people who smoke marihuana regularly might have a higher than average probability of encountering potential shooting situations. This is due in large part to certain intervening variables associated with their general profile. For example, people in the 15 to 25 year age bracket have the highest incidence of smoking marihuana on a regular basis, as well as the highest incidence of being both victims and offenders in violent crimes.

In addition, while police officers may have a relatively low overall incidence of marihuana use, it is reasonable to assume that those officers who do smoke it tend to be young and assigned to areas and shifts which involve proportionally more shooting situations. It also seems reasonable to assume that the frequency of using marihuana on duty will be higher among certain types of nonprofessionally oriented security guards due to lower levels of pre-employment screening, supervision, training, and perceived job desirability, coupled with higher levels of boredom and isolation. Therefore, given the relatively high levels of marihuana use, the large number of people owning firearms, and the high crime rates, it is likely that numerous people (i.e., victims, offenders, police officers, and/or security guards) will encounter potential shooting situations while under the influence of marihuana.

Despite the plethora of information concerning the debilitating effects of marihuana on related motor skill and cognitive tasks, its effect on shooting judgment has never been tested. However, the findings of related studies are presented in this paper which pertain to the extent to which the personal use of marihuana by law enforcement and security personnel or its use by other officers with whom they are working, might jeopardize both their lives and the lives of other nonhostile parties. It is believed that this information might be helpful for use in training programs which attempt to create both peer pressure and internalized values which promote abstention from this form of misconduct.

The information also might be of some use in resolving civil and criminal legal disputes involving people who have been accused of discharging firearms while under the influence of marihuana. Those suspected of shooting while under its influence might include either law enforcement and security personnel or those who were being victimized at the time they shot; however, a vast majority of these cases probably will involve offenders who discharged their weapon while committing other crimes.

Finally, the paper should provide law enforcement officers with additional information concerning how marihuana affects the shooting judgment of offenders. This knowledge might be helpful in situations involving armed persons who the police know were recently smoking marihuana (e.g., in situations involving hostages, drug raids, trapped offender(s), etc.) Therefore, the information gathered could be useful when teaching police how to deal with those situations and might result in reducing risks to both the officers and the offenders.

SURVEY OF RELATED LITERATURE

Although numerous studies have been conducted which examine the effects of marihuana on human performance, none of them have directly explored its impact on shooting judgment. Consequently, it is necessary to draw inferences from studies which involve certain constructs related to this research question.

The review begins with a presentation of the literature addressing marihuana's acute physiological effects. Those studies bear on whether physiological indices could be useful in detecting marihuana intoxication and whether certain physiological effects result from it which are likely to adversely affect shooting performance. This is followed by a discussion of the literature associated with marihuana's effect on perception, memory, and problem-solving abilities. These fundamental cognitive processes are relied upon extensively by people who are attempting to decide when and at whom they should shoot. The next subsection addresses the literature on marihuana's effect on psychomotor tasks. This information is discussed because proper coordination and quick reaction time are also essential for shooting. The review concludes with a discussion of the perceptions held by marihuana users about the drug's impact on their performance. These misconceptions may explain why some armed personnel will smoke marihuana before they enter into potentially dangerous situations.

Acute physiological effects of marihuana:

The episodic use of marihuana appears to result in certain consistent acute physiological effects. The most frequently reported effect is an increase in heart rate (Beaconsfield, Ginsburg & Rainsbury, 1972; Braff, Silverton, Saccuzzo & Janowsky, 1981; Cappell & Pliner, 1973; Isbell, Gorodetzsky, Jasinski, Claussen, Spulak & Korte, 1967; Janowsky, Meacham, Blaine, Schoor & Bozzetti, 1976; Jones & Stone, 1970; Kiplinger, Manno, Rodda & Forney, 1971; Kochar & Hosko, 1973; Miller & Cornett, 1978; Miller, Cornett & McFarland, 1976; Miller, Cornett & Nallan, 1978; Pihl, Segal

& Shea, 1978; Pihl, Shea & Caron, 1978; Rafaelsen, Bech, Christiansen, Christrup, Nyboe & Rafaelsen, 1973; Renault, Schuster, Heinrich & Freeman, 1971; Roth, Tinklenberg, Kopell & Hollister, 1973; Weil, Zinberg & Nelsen, 1968; Weiss, Watanabe, Lemberger, Tamarkin & Cardon, 1972). Other effects which also have been documented are: A decrease in stability of stance, as measured by a wobble board (Evans, Martz, Brown, Rodda, Kiplinger, Lemberger & Forney, 1973; Kiplinger et al., 1971); dilation of the conjunctual blood vessels (blood-shot eyes) (Kiplinger et al., 1971; Weil et al., 1968); an increase in forearm blood flow (Beaconsfield et al., 1972; Weiss et al., 1972); and a decrease in hand steadiness (Clark, Hughes & Nakashima, 1970). However, if these physiological measures are to be used as indicators of marihuana intoxication, it is necessary to establish preintoxication baselines and to consider environmental factors (e.g., how threatening or novel the monitoring situation appears), which may also affect some of these indices.

Effects of marihuana on cognition and perception:

The most consistent findings reported on marihuana's effects within the cognitive and perceptual realm are that it results in time overestimation, memory impairment, and a decrease in one's ability to concentrate. It seems logical that these phenomena may be interrelated (e.g., the ability to concentrate may also affect the ability to perform on memory and time estimation tests). This premise is supported to some extent by the findings of Dittrich, Battig, and Zeppelin (1973) who noted a significant correlation between attention and memory impairment with subjects participating in their marihuana experiment.

As previously mentioned, several studies have noted that marihuana often results in intoxicated subjects overestimating how much time has passed (Bech, Rafaelsen & Rafaelsen, 1973; Cappell & Pliner, 1973; Clark, Hughes & Nakashima, 1970; Isbell, 1967; Jones & Stone, 1970; Weil et al., 1968). However, it should be noted that this difficulty appears to be more pronounced when subjects are asked how much time they "feel" has passed as opposed to how much time they "really think" has passed (Bech et al., 1973), and is reduced by other factors associated with the subjects' desire to make their responses congruent with the latter type of question format (Cappell and Pliner, 1973). Therefore, these studies suggest that time appears to subjectively pass slower for subjects intoxicated on marihuana, but that they can still utilize environmental cues to some extent to logically derive how much time has actually passed.

Although there has been some disagreement voiced in the literature regarding why and at which stages memory is affected by marihuana use, there is no disagreement that memory is often affected by the drug (Braff et al., 1981; Cappell and Pliner, 1973; Clark et al., 1970; Darley, Tinklenberg, Hollister, & Atkinson, 1972; Dittrich et al., 1973; Kiplinger et al., 1971; Miller & Cornett, 1978; Miller, Cornett & McFarland, 1978; Miller, Cornett, & Nallan, 1978; Manno, Kiplinger, Scholz & Forney, 1971; Weckowicz, Fedora, Mason, Radstaak, Bay & Yonge, 1975; Weil et al., 1968). THC appears to result in an early information processing and/or retrieval dysfunction which impairs the recall of both verbal and nonverbal material (Braff et al., 1981; Miller, Cornett & McFarland, 1978; Miller, Cornett & Nallan, 1978). The extent of that impairment depends on both the amount of THC consumed (Evans et al., 1973; Kiplinger et al., 1971; Miller and Cornett, 1978) and on the type of test used to measure memory performance (Manno et al., 1971; Weckowicz et al., 1975). The results of several studies also indicate that free recall is far more impaired by the drug than recognition; however, false alarm rates (incorrectly stating that items were previously presented when they were not) on recognition tests may also be increased to some extent (Miller, Cornett, Brightwell, McFarland, Drew, & Wikler, 1977; Miller, McFarland, Cornett & Brightwell, 1977; Miller & Cornett, 1978).

Another consistent finding noted in the literature is marihuana's detrimental effect on one's ability to concentrate (e.g., Dittrich et al., 1973; Miller, Cornett & McFarland, 1978; Miller, Cornett & Nallan, 1978). Intoxicated subjects tend to focus on one variable to the exclusion of others and have lapses of attention while they engage in daydreaming. This type of inappropriate focusing leads to disorientation as well as to inconsistent, sporadic, compensatory motor and cognitive performance (Janowsky et al., 1976). It also has been suggested that marihuana use interferes with attention to the point where the ability to process information may be impaired (DeLong and Levy, 1974; Dittrich et al., 1973; Miller, Cornett & Nallan, 1978).

Effects of marihuana on psychomotor performance:

Studies examining the effect of marihuana on psychomotor performance have typically assessed variables related to driving performance. Although perceptible impairment from THC has not always been reported in those experiments (e.g., LeDain Commission, 1972) and risk taking behavior while driving does not appear to increase after its use (Dott, 1972; Ellingstad, McFarling & Struckman, 1973), substantial evidence from laboratory assessments of driving

related skills, driving simulator studies, test course performance, actual street driver performance, and examinations of fatal accidents indicates that marihuana use substantially impairs driving ability (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1979).

Several studies have reported that marihuana use increases tracking errors in pursuit meter exercises (Beautrais & Marks, 1976; Dalton, Martz, Lemberger, Rodda & Forney, 1975; Evans et al., 1973; Kiplinger et al., 1971; Manno, Kiplinger, Scholz, & Forney, 1971; Weil et al., 1973). Those exercises measure driving related performance by requiring subjects to steer one beam of a dual beam oscilloscope in pursuit of the other trace pattern which can be set at different levels of complexity and speed. Weil (1972) initially speculated that marihuana users who are given the opportunity to practice pursuit meter activities while intoxicated would perform as well in that state as nonintoxicated subjects who practiced that task sober. However, Beautrais and Marks (1976) found no evidence of those state-dependent effects when they tested that hypothesis.

Driving simulator studies have also noted that cannabis use increases reaction time in braking situations (Rafaelsen, Bech, Christianson, Christrup, Nyboe & Rafaelsen, 1973) and results in a significant impairment of peripheral light signal detection (Moskowitz, McGlothlin & Hulbert, 1973). In addition, flying simulation experiments indicate that marihuana use increases the number of both minor and major errors committed by pilots (Janowsky et al., 1976 a, b). As previously noted much of the psychomotor impairment resulting from marihuana use appears to be attributable to its impairment of one's vigilance and concentration to certain details which are necessary to properly perform those tasks (Clark et al., 1970; Janowsky, 1976 a,b; Klonoff, 1974; Knepper, 1980).

Marihuana user's perceptions of the effects of the drug:

Frequently the results of empirical examinations on the effects of marihuana with respect to perceptual, cognitive, and psychomotor tasks contradict anecdotal and retrospective reports from marihuana users. For example, many marihuana users believe that the drug facilitates interpersonal relationships; however, research findings indicate that it results in users becoming temporarily detached and less empathetic (Galanter, Stillman, Wyatt, Vaughan, Weingartner & Nurnberg, 1974; Tart, 1971). Similarly marihuana smokers commonly believe they are more perceptive of the feelings and emotions of others; however, Clopton, Janowsky, Clopton, Judd & Huey (1979) found that subjects who had smoked marihuana immediately prior to

taking the Affective Sensitivity Scale scored significantly lower on that test. The Affective Sensitivity Scale is designed to measure how well individuals perceive the feelings and emotions of others (Kagan, Krathwohl, Goldberg, Campbell, Scheuble, Greenberg, Resnikoff, Bowes & Bondy, 1967). Since emotional displays serve to alert people that others may attempt acts of violence, the use of marihuana might substantially interfere with that interpersonal warning mechanism. This could result in either unjustified shootings or in a lack of action being taken when it is necessary.

Perhaps equally dangerous is the belief held by many people who are armed that their performance in shooting situations would not be adversely affected by smoking marihuana. In what may prove to be an analogous situation, Evans et al. (1973) found that none of the THC intoxicated subjects in their study felt that their driving performance would be impaired. However, their tracking performance with a pursuit meter was actually significantly poorer than that attained by subjects in the control group who were given placebo marihuana.

SUMMARY

The survey of related literature disclosed several findings which suggest that shooting performance may be affected by the use of marihuana. Among the most relevant findings were:

- a) Hand steadiness and stability of stance are decreased to some extent.
- b) Memory is impaired.
- c) Risk taking activity does not appear to be increased.
- d) Focusing on one variable to the exclusion of others and having lapses of attention while engaging in daydreaming occur frequently. This type of inappropriate focusing may lead to disorientation as well as to inconsistent, sporadic, compensatory motor and cognitive performance.
- e) The ability to accurately perceive the feelings and emotions of others may be impaired.

These findings suggest that people who use marihuana in shooting situations may tend to be somewhat more docile and have periods of inaction while they focus their attention on other matters. However, when their

thoughts return to their present situation they may shoot inappropriately, or blindly follow the actions of others, due to both feeling the need to compensate immediately for their earlier lack of vigilance and having to rely solely on cues which are present at that time. Their ability to react quickly may be also impaired, particularly in situations where their decision to shoot requires them to recall certain information about others,. In addition, their ability to correctly perceive the intentions of others from subtle verbal and nonverbal cues may be reduced, which could be extremely hazardous in a wide variety of situations.

It is hoped that the information presented in this paper might be of some use when: a) training officers how to confront armed situations involving people known to have been recently smoking marihuana (e.g., situations involving hostages, drug raids, trapped offenders); b) conducting departmental drug prevention programs which attempt to create both peer pressure and internalized values which promote abstention from using marihuana; and c) resolving legal disputes involving people accused of discharging firearms while under the influence of marihuana. However, it is important to note that the conclusions presented in this paper were drawn from studies which appear to bear on the question of how marihuana affects shooting judgment , as opposed to those which have actually measured that relationship. In addition, it is expected that considerable variation exists across people, and that the setting, tolerance, strength of the marihuana, and ther factors affect the degree to which judgment is impaired.

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OPERATIONALIZING POLICE STRESS MANAGEMENT: A MODEL

John M. Violanti, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

In recent years, police stress research has increased. This proliferation has made it difficult for many police psychologists to select and, more importantly, to operationalize a "real life" stress program. This paper outlines a flexible model for implementing such a program.

To Assist the police psychologist with conceptualization, four distinct areas of police work stressors are presented first. These categories include intragroup, organizational, interpersonal, and individual stress factors. Next is presented a four-phase basic stress management model, readily adaptable to most police organizations. The phases are: (1) EDUCATION, including stress awareness courses for street-level officers, supervisory personnel and police families; (2) PREVENTION, including the development and maintenance of physical fitness standards, evaluation, and medical intervention; (3) SUPPORT, including crisis intervention (particularly post-traumatic incidents), peer group support systems, and professional psychological liaison networks; and (4) RESEARCH, including ongoing investigations into police stress-related problems.

Presented last is a detailed explanation of each phase of the stress model, including various sub-categories. The conclusion cautions police psychologists to monitor the primary function of a stress program, assisting the individual officer. This is necessary because such programs, once implemented, tend to become entangled in organizational "red tape" and lose sight of their goals.

TEXT

This paper is based on academic research and "on the street" police work experience. The author has been involved in both for twenty years. Discussions concerning stress and its effect on police officers are a result of this intermixed life experience.

First is presented a summary of stress-producing factors in police work. Second is outlined a stress management model which may be practically applied in most police organizational contexts. Third is given a detailed explanation of the elements of this stress model and suggestions on how it may be implemented.

POLICE WORK STRESS FACTORS

Below are listed potential police "stressors" (factors which produce or are related to experienced stress). There are four categories:

<u>INTRAGROUP STRESSORS</u>	<u>ORGANIZATIONAL STRESSORS</u>	<u>INTERPERSONAL STRESSORS</u>	<u>INDIVIDUAL STRESSORS</u>
Courts	Administrative Conflict	Relations w/ supervisors	Shift work
Community relations	No Feedback	Relations w/ peers	Boredom
Family	Lack of support		Self-Esteem
	"Dead-end" jobs		Burnout
	Mistrust		
	Communications		
	Punishment-based philosophy		

Some of these stressors are inherent in police work and are difficult to change. Others, however, can be effectively minimized through organizational policy.

INTRAGROUP STRESSORS

The court system. - Police officers frequently complain about the court system (Kroes, 1977). A discrepancy appears to exist between police conception of "just" punishment and the criminal justice systems' ideology

of civil protection. There exists a sense of noncompletion among police officers; of not being able to attain a satisfactory result in the courts even when they work hard to develop cases.

Community relations. - The police are a symbol of control in a democratic society. Often, relations with citizens in the community are on an antagonistic basis (e.g., tickets, arrests) (Black, 1980). Police personnel experience stress they perceive the police role as "helping" and the community rejects them as symbols of restriction. Increasing relations with the community on a complementary basis (e.g., Public Information Offices) is an excellent method to reduce this stressor.

Family. - The police family must face obstacles not experienced by other families. Shift work, worries of danger, absence of the police spouse during holidays or at night, and effects on children, all combine to place a strain on family relations. Police officers tend to "depersonalize" interaction with their families and shut them off from police work. In doing so, they lose the ability to effectively communicate. This is an important problem in police marriages and can be resolved by teaching officers and their families how to communicate (Stratton, 1975).

ORGANIZATIONAL STRESSORS

Administrative practices. - "Red tape" and paperwork are the two most frequently mentioned problems with police administration (Kroes, 1977). Overemphasis placed on paper and forms creates problems for officers, who must often fulfill the role of clerks instead of professionals. Paperwork is perceived as more of an obstacle than a necessity. Reduction in the number and content of forms and the utilization of clerk personnel may be good solutions to this problem.

Conflict. - Conflict occurs in police organizations when officers are faced with conflicting demands (Kahn, 1974). For example, a sergeant and a lieutenant may, in a certain situation, demand different, opposing tasks of the officer. Most often, this is a problem in communication between supervisors.

Lack of feedback. - The best type of feedback in an organization is immediate, appropriate, and provided by someone who is in a position to understand the full scale of an officers' performance. Nothing seems to stress police

officers more than simply being ignored; they are not only distressed, but lose initiative in the future. Research has shown that the more feedback received from organizational supervisors, the less stress experienced by the individual (Whisenand, 1976).

Lack of support. - An important function an organization can provide to its members is support (House, 1981). Support is a basic human need, and everyone requires it. This is especially true for emotionally demanding and critical occupations like police work. Support is possible in a military-structured organization; discipline without negative reinforcement, for example, is in itself a viable source of support.

"Dead-end" positions - Some positions (usually lower echelon) in police work are "dead-ends". Members may desire promotion, but are blocked" by personal considerations, family problems, or financial considerations. There is evidence that dead-end jobs lead to dissatisfaction, burnout, and stress (Preiss and Erlich, 1966). The availability of appointed positions which do not involve geographic relocation is one solution. Also, promotions which require passing an exam should be more appealing. Elimination of extended promotion waiting periods would also be helpful.

Punishment-centered philosophy. - Police and other military-style organizations tend to the "punishment-centered" in their approach towards member control (Gouldner, 1954). Punishment centering refers to a philosophy which first assumes that rules are willfully violated; this assumption is then used to justify punishment. Such an approach is very similar to presuming guilt and proving innocence. The result of such a philosophy is to leave the police officer in a continual state of feeling "wrong" in whatever he/she might do. A suggestion is to approach discipline from a positive point of view; assume innocence and, if necessary, prove guilt.

Mistrust. - Many police officers perceive that supervisors do not trust them to do their job properly (Violanti, 1985). The phrase "they treat me like a child" is common. This is not only stressful but leads to lowered self-esteem and a stance of uninvolved among officers.

Communications. - Police organizations are built on rigid, centralized structures. There are generally many levels of administrators and line workers in the organization. Often, persons at the top of the structure

lose sight or are not informed of what is happening on the bottom. Different ranks along the hierarchy tend to establish their own "culture" and sometimes isolate themselves from others in the organization (Likert, 1967). This leads to a distortion and misapplication of communications. One solution is to have frequent meetings between commissioned, non-commissioned and line personnel in order to "line" them all into a clearer communication network. This may prevent isolation of the worker and him/her feel more a part of the organization.

INTERPERSONAL STRESSORS

Relations with supervisors. - First-line police supervisors are important as far as job satisfaction and stress among workers (Trojanowicz, 1980). This is true because the first-line supervisor is most closely associated with the road officer and often must play the "middle" between officer and administration. The first-line supervisor can be a strong source of or reduce stress among workers. Supervisors in these positions should be trained in communicative skills (supportiveness, listening, counseling, etc.).

Relations with peers. - Stress in police work has been seen by some researchers as a breakdown in interpersonal relationships among officers. Previous ideas about the "brotherhood" have diminished in modern police work. Idealistically, officers should all work together to achieve service to the public. Realistically, everyone is an individual with unique personality and differs in likes, dislikes, and means to achieve ends. It would be helpful to further instill, especially in recruits, the idea of cohesiveness. This may be accomplished by emphasizing pride and tradition.

INDIVIDUAL STRESSORS

Shift work. - Rapid rotation of shifts is both physiologically and psychologically stressful. The human body cannot regulate its functions when work time is continually changed (Ehret, 1983). Psychologically, individuals become out of "synchronization" with the rest of society. Either slow rotation (2-3 months) or permanent shifts are helpful in this regard. Perhaps a system where the majority of members work permanent shifts and others "float" (those who desire to do so) and fill in on shifts where coverage is required can be implemented. An additional suggestion is to post shift schedules far in advance (e.g., 6 months) to allow members to better plan their lives. This would be helpful in reducing anxiety.

Boredom. - Police work can be boring and routine at times. This creates a stressful "underload" condition where officers may perceive that their abilities are not being used well (McGrath, 1967). Providing variety in the workplace reduces boredom and enhances interest and challenge. Variety has been identified as a key factor in job satisfaction, performance, and attendance (Paine, 1982). One suggestion is to enrich (not enlarge) jobs by providing opportunity for varied assignments (e.g., work with detectives, warrants, etc.).

Self-esteem. - Self-esteem is important because it gives the individual a positive image of his/her ability to handle stress (Stotland, 1975). Often, in a military-style structure, self-esteem is lowered by continual negative perceptions of organizational actions. It is important for the organization to portray a positive image to its members; to give them a sense of high self-esteem and pride of belonging. For example, when a policy change for the good of members is made by the organization, they should be told why the change was made. Otherwise, the change may be interpreted as another way to "get" the line person for some violation of a rule.

Burnout. - "Burnout" is an all-encompassing term dealing with job stress (Paine, 1982). In many respects, burnout is indicative of frustration with the work role and eventual states of exhaustion. It progresses through various stages during the career of a police officer. The only real "cure" for burnout is to minimize stress in the work environment and to teach individuals how to deal with it. Many of the stress factors mentioned previously in this report are related to burnout and can be minimized.

A PROPOSED STRESS MANAGEMENT MODEL

EDUCATION	Stress Awareness	Recruit level
		In-Service
		Police Family
	Supervisory	Personal awareness
		Stress and Alcohol Abuse Detection
		Responsibility for Subordinates
PREVENTION	Physical Fitness	Training
		Diet
		Lifestyle
	Evaluation	Physical Standards
	Medical	Improved Physicals
		Stress Testing
		Psychological
SUPPORT	Crisis Intervention	24-Hour Availability Phone Stress "Hotline"
	Peer Support	Trained Counselors
		Screened Referrals
		Traumatic Incident Support
	Professional Services	Psychologists, Medical Personnel Network
RESEARCH	Ongoing Investigation Into Stress-Related Problems	
	Organizational and Personal Factors Associated with Stress	

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MODEL

EDUCATION

Stress Awareness. - "Stress awareness" is a psychologically sound method to help individuals cope with stress. A well rounded stress education program should include identification of stress, the value and techniques of physical exercise, benefits of proper nutrition, and interpersonal communication methods. Stress awareness is important at the recruit level to make new members aware of potential problems they may face in the future. On the in-service level, instruction in coping strategies should take priority since ;these members have most likely been exposed to the effects of job stress. Stress education on the family level should include identification of the police function, problems commonly encountered in police marriages, methods for effective communication, and the family as a source of support (Stratton, 1976).

Supervisor. - Supervisors are equally susceptible to job stress in police work. Middle-line supervisors should be made aware of the effects of stress, not only upon themselves, but also upon those under their command. Stress sensitivity training is one method to help the supervisor detect workers who are adversely affected by stress and/or alcohol abuse. Responsibility for such detection should be incorporated into the supervisor role.

Executive. - Executive level training for stress management is also important. Many large companies in the U.S. presently provide such training for their top echelon personnel. Executives are not immune to the effects of job stress and "burnout".

PREVENTION

Physical Fitness - Physical fitness is important for job performance as well as good health. Being fit helps to protect the body from "wear and tear" associated with stress (Seyle, 1987). Aerobic fitness which strengthens the heart, lungs, and cardiovascular system is best. In addition, proper diet and lifestyle are important to maintain balance in bodily functions. A suggestion is to provide on-duty time for physical activity (e.g., 3 hours per week).

Evaluation. - Once fitness is achieved, it must be maintained. Long-range fitness benefits the member, the police organization, and the public. There are several

excellent fitness standard programs currently employed by police agencies in the United States. A widely acclaimed program is Kenneth Cooper's (Dallas, Texas) Institute for Aerobic Research plan. The program has been validated both practically and legally. As a catalyst for any fitness program, a rigorous enforcement of weight standards as determined by body fat percentage (not height-weight charts) should be initiated. Fat percentage measurements are a more accurate measurement of obesity.

There are several motivation techniques which can be used to improve the success of a fitness program:

1. A category added to performance ratings for physical fitness which counts toward rating and promotions.
2. On-duty workout time - One hour a week to start. This time would be provided as long as the member shows some improvement and maintains a satisfactory level of fitness.
3. Standard award - Affords the opportunity to win a uniform pin similar to firearms if a high level of fitness is achieved.
4. Recognition - Publish the names of members who received high level awards for physical fitness.
5. Monetary awards - Similar to a "bonus"; grant money at the end of fiscal year to those who meet set standards.
6. Organizational sanction - For those who are unable or unwilling to meet standards because of non-health reasons. Disciplinary measures could range on a continuum from verbal reprimand to dismissal. Ample remedial time should be allowed before disciplinary measures are taken.

Medical. - Improving and maintaining good health is an integral part of stress reduction. First priority should be given to physical examinations. Such exams should include a full medical evaluation, including physiological stress testing and psychological workups. This is especially important for recruits, who may not receive a thorough physical. Included in testing should be psychological assessments which measure the individual's ability to deal with stress.

SUPPORT

Crisis Intervention. - Prior experience has demonstrated that accessibility is an important factor in the troubled officer's decision to seek help. A 24-hour private phone service would provide such accessibility. This stress "hotline" could be made available to any member in the department by means of an advertised phone exchange. To preserve confidentiality, an answering service would accept calls anonymously and notify members of the stress management program via a beeper system. The call would then be returned and the problem initially discussed over the phone. If further intervention is needed, an in-person contact can be made.

Such a phone system is not only helpful but efficient. This system can reach the greatest number of people with the least amount of cost while still maintaining confidentiality.

Peer Support - It is easier for troubled officers to talk to other police officers initially. Providing trained "peer" support persons for members would be important. These counselors would not be expected to be psychologists but support persons primarily as someone to "talk to". Additionally, these support persons could assist members involved in traumatic incidents such as shootings. PTSD (Post traumatic Stress Disorder) may occur among police in such incidents.

Professional intervention. - It is necessary to establish a professional network of psychologists and/or psychiatrists who are familiar with police problems. When troubled members are in need of such services, they can easily be referred.

RESEARCH

Ongoing Stress Research. - Each police department is, in a sense, unique, and has its own set of stress-related problems. It is necessary to conduct ongoing research into the causes and minimization of stress. Perhaps an initial step would be to conduct, on an anonymous basis, a stress survey which seeks the causes and intensity of stress in your department.

Organizational and Personal Stress Factors. - Job stress generally involves an interaction between organization and individual. How the person perceives actions of the organization is crucial to his/her stress

level. One goal of a stress program should be to research those factors which lead to perceptions of stress. Examples are problems of self-esteem, organizational support, communications, job enrichment, and job burnout.

The stress model presented in this paper is a summary; it was not intended to cover all stressors and management strategies for police work. It is hoped that this model may serve as a guideline for those interested in reducing police occupational stress. I would caution anyone in pursuit of this goal, however, to keep in mind the primary intention of such programs - to help the individual police officer. All too often such programs get hopelessly entangled in organizational red tape and lose their effectiveness. The police officer should remain the primary beneficiary of stress reduction. When that is accomplished, organizational gain will be certain to follow.

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ANALYSIS OF POSTMORTEM MANIPULATION
OF HOMICIDE VICTIMS TO ENHANCE
PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILES

Mark Zelig, Ph.D.

TEXT

Psychological profiling is the process of developing hypotheses regarding the characteristics and motives of a perpetrator based on psychological theory of knowledge. Serious cases (e.g., homicide, sexual assault, arson), which have not been solved using conventional investigative techniques appear appropriate for psychological profiling if they contain evidence or information that is psychologically meaningful. One category of cases which commonly meets these criteria is the homicide in which the victim appears to have suffered postmortem injury, insult, or manipulation. Psychologists or criminal personality profilers are sometimes consulted in such cases in the hope that their background in behavioral science can provide hypotheses about the perpetrator extending beyond those derived from conventional investigative methodologies. The purpose of this chapter is to review the present state of knowledge regarding postmortem manipulation and the implications such information has for the construction of psychological profiles.

DID POSTMORTEM MANIPULATION OCCUR?

Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) propose that there tend to be lifestyle differences between the perpetrators who abuse their victim after death and with those who focus abuse during the antemortem period. The psychological profile may be enhanced if the discrimination between postmortem and antemortem injuries can be made. Making this discrimination is not always possible, because some types of postmortem manipulation can occur without apparent evidence. Generally, evidence of postmortem manipulation is obtained

if the body is located in a position which would not be expected at the time of death or has an injury which lacks the vital reaction which a live body will produce. Cases in which the body is found at a location other than the crime scene, or those situations in which postmortem lividity (hypostasis) is inconsistent with the position in which the body was discovered, are obvious. Hypostasis can take up to two hours to manifest (Polson, 1985), however. Before this time, substantial postmortem manipulation could occur without evidence of such activity.

A second type of evidence of postmortem manipulation is the lack of a vital reaction to the injury. These vital reactions generally include bleeding, bruising, and inflammatory responses. For example, tearing or cutting of tissue without bleeding strongly suggests the insult occurred after death. The presence of an inflammatory reaction indicates that the injury occurred before death. Similarly, in cases involving suspected sexual assault, the condition of sperm and acid phosphatase may help discriminate antemortem from postmortem intercourse. Sperm will naturally dilute and drain from the vagina within hours. If the sperm were deposited after death, however, deterioration will be retarded because of decreased drainage and the absence of vaginal secretions. In such cases, Rupp (1980), claims that sperm and acid phosphatase may exist for protracted periods. Polson and Gee (1985) point out, however, that it is difficult to distinguish postmortem from antemortem injuries when they are inflicted close to the time of death since inflammation may take several hours to manifest and bleeding can still occur shortly after death. Also, sperm may not deteriorate if they are deposited shortly before death. The implication of this state of affairs is that while postmortem manipulation can sometimes be demonstrated, it is difficult to rule out. In some cases, only the perpetrator may know if postmortem manipulation occurred.

DETERMINING THE MOTIVATION OF PERPETRATORS WHO ENGAGE IN POSTMORTEM MANIPULATION

Recognition of the motivation of the perpetrator establishes the foundation of a psychological profile. Once this foundation is established, the consultant may indicate demographic, lifestyle, and psychological characteristics that tend to be observed in similarly motivated perpetrators. If these hypotheses are investigatively meaningful, the profile may give a positive direction to a so-called "motiveless crime" or to an investigation in which all leads have been exhausted.

The author uses two complimentary models of criminal behavior to organize data in a given case so that the profile can be constructed. In considering the

motivational aspects of a crime, the conceptualization of behavior as the product of either instrument or expressive motivation may be helpful. Instrumental motivation refers to situations in which behaviors facilitate the commission of a crime scene. Since present-day investigative techniques rely heavily on evidence present at the initial crime scene, the perpetrator who conceals this location usually provides him- or herself with a tremendous advantage.

Expressive motivation is indicated by behaviors which are not necessary, or instrumental, for the commission of the crime. Such behaviors may be an expression of severe psychopathology or the manifestation or defiant fantasy. When portmortem manipulation occurs as a result of an expressive motive, the case may be particularly appropriate for criminal personality profiling because seemingly bizarre or inconsistent insults to the victim may be interpretable through psychological knowledge or theory.

The degree of instrumental-expressive motivation in a crime is not always clear. A particular behavior may occur because of completely different reasons. For example, (instrumental motive) or may be expressive of delusional states which may accompany serious psychopathology (e.g., Harris & Pontius, 1975). Similarly, instrumental and expressive motivations may occur in the same killer. Edmund Kemper, a serial murderer who stalked college women in Northern California, dismembered some of his victims to dispose of the body, but he also practiced cannibalism (Smith & Dimock, 1983). Although difficult at times, conceptualizing a given act as instrumental or expressive may be useful because there appears to be investigatively relevant differences between expressively and instrumentally motivated perpetrators. These differences will be addressed in the sections which discuss specific types of postmortem manipulation.

Another useful model of conceptualizing criminal behavior was offered by Hazelwood and Douglas (1980). They suggested that perpetrators can be placed on an organized-disorganized continuum. The organized killer tends to plan the offense, selects a stranger as a victim, is aggressive before death, leaves little evidence, and removes the body from the primary crime scene. The disorganized killer tends to attack an acquaintance impulsively. Sexual acts are committed after death and the body, along with other evidence, is typically left at the crime scene (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 1985). The characteristics of Hazelwood and Douglas's organized type appears similar to the description of the Antisocial Personality Disorder described in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, Third Edition ([DSM III] American Psychiatric Association, 1980). The disorganized killer appears more likely to be psychotic,

or to be classified as having Schizoid or Schizotypal Personality Disorder. Hazelwood and Douglas believe organized offenders differ from disorganized killers in lifestyle, demographic characteristics, and their degree of involvement with people. For example, the disorganized killer is hypothesized to live or work close to the crime scene, live alone, work at an unskilled job, have below average intelligence, and be sexually incompetent. The organized killer, on the other hand, the socially and sexually competent, lives with a partner, and is more likely to live or work a distance from the crime scene (FBI, 1985; Hazelwood and Douglas, 1980). These sources offer other information which may be helpful in profile construction. Similarly, if the theory is developed that the perpetrator's behavior fits to a diagnostic category in DSM III, that source can also be consulted for information on the modal demographic and personality characteristics of individuals with that particular disorder.

The instrumental-expressive model appears helpful in identifying some of the seemingly obscure motivations of perpetrators. Hazelwood and Douglas's (1980) organized-disorganized continuum is a useful model for correlating crime scene behavior with lifestyle characteristics of the offender. There is a lack of empirical data, however, indicating how well these models "fit" murderers and how accurate the resulting profile statements are. Until such murder involves an array of different, and sometimes conflicting, sets of motivations, which may limit the usefulness of these models.

TYPES OF POSTMORTEM MANIPULATION

Necrophilia, vampirism, dismemberment, and cannibalism will be discussed. In evaluating this literature, there are three limitations that should be noted. First, there is inherent sampling bias of an undetermined degree because of all of the subjects have been detected or apprehended. The degree to which data based on detected offenders can be generalized to non-apprehended offenders remains an important, unanswered question in criminal personality profiling. Unfortunately, resolving this issue is problematic, if not impossible. Second, the samples in various studies may not be representative of even the detected cases. For example, an FBI study of differences between the crime scenes of disorganized murderers, 25 of whom were serial offenders (FBI, murderers. Similarly, Prins (1985), who studied vampirism, obtained his data from a survey completed largely by psychiatrists. Psychiatric samples are also likely to be different from modal offenders. While such research efforts should be applauded, they illustrate sample biases which are frequently seen in this type of literature. Third, definitions of postmortem manipulations vary. For example,

definitions of postmortem manipulations vary. For example, Hemphill and Zabow (1983) describe vampirism as a disorder which is not sexually motivated and involves "periodic compulsive blood drinking, affinity with the dead and uncertain identity" (p. 278). However, Bourguignon (1983, p. 283), wrote, "In vampirism sexuality is always present, death is almost always present, and sucking and ingesting of blood and necrophagia are exceptional." Since the various descriptions of these disorders, especially vampirism and necrophilia are not consensually defined, terminology will be defined in the following discussion.

POSTMORTEM SEXUAL ASSAULT (NECROPHILIA)

Necrophilia is "sexual contact with the dead" (Rebal, Faguet, & Woods, 1982, p. 121). Necrophilia is believed to be a rare occurrence (Smith & Braun, 1978) and ranges in expression from deriving sexual pleasure by merely looking at a dead body to fondling and sexual penetration (Bourguignon, 1983). If this act takes place close to the time of death or if it involves minimal manipulation of the deceased, it may be difficult to demonstrate, as previously noted. Thus, it is likely its actual prevalence is greater than the rate at which it is observed.

What does the presence or suspicion of necrophilia suggest about the perpetrator? The answer to this question is not straightforward because consistent characteristics of these individuals have not been identified. In regard to the degree of psychopathology associated with this perversion, Smith and Braun (1978) found it was variable and ranged from a "pattern of extreme conversion hysteria and fetishistic obsessive-compulsive neuroses to psychopathy and, less frequently, schizophrenia or severe intellectual deficiency" (p. 260). Desrosieres (cited in Bourguignon, 1983) found similar characteristics in a review of 53 published case studies. In these cases, only 4% were classified as psychotic. The occupation of 30% of these subjects involved contact with dead bodies, including grave diggers, funeral home employment, and some were medical students. Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) also recognized that necrophilia is associated with varying degrees of psychopathology and indicated that necrophiliacs could be placed at either end of their organized-disorganized continuum depending on the type of sexual insult inflicted on the victim. The insertion of foreign objects into bodily orifices was believed to be suggestive of the disorganized perpetrator whereas penile penetration was more commonly associated with the organized type.

Smith and Dimock (1983) concluded that necrophiliacs come from homes that were emotionally deprived. Smith and Braun (1978) summarized other demographic and personality characteristics which may be

demographic and personality characteristics which may be relevant to construction of psychological profiles. Impotency and hyposexuality with live women were associated with the practice of necrophilia, however, necrophiliacs were not found to be social isolates. Necrophilia appeared to be a single component of an appetite of multiple perverse sexual practices. This finding implies that the necrophiliac may have a criminal record which reflects a wide range of sexually-motivated offenses.

VAMPIRISM

In this discussion, Hemphill and Zabow's (1983) definition, in which vampirism is described as blood ingestion, will be adopted. Vampirism appears to be a relatively rare phenomenon. Bourguignon (1983) reviewed 50-60 cases involving the spectrum of necrophiliac activities. He determined that only two of these cases involved blood ingestion from a dead body and three cases from a live victim. The remaining cases involved neurophiliac activities without blood ingestion.

The literature suggests that this apparently tstr aberration is generally reflective of serious psychopathology. Benezek, Bourgeois, Boukhabaza, and Yesavage (1981) report the case of a paranoid schizophrenic who committed multiple murders under the delusion that, "I ate his flesh and drank his blood to obey the sentence: Who will eat my body and drink my blood will live" (p. 290).² Similarly, Prins's (1984) survey psychiatrists found that Schizophreniform disorders were the most common clinical condition associated with vampirism. Some patients drank the blood of their victims because of the delusion of exsanguination--the fear that they needed to replenish the blood that was being drained from them by forces or influences elaborated in the delusion. Hysteria, psychopathy, and mental retardation were observed in lesser frequency. Depression and anxiety disorders³ were rarely seen. Unfortunately, Prins (1984) did not offer a breakdown of how his respondent's answers corresponded with the various definitions vampirism, which limits the usefulness of his data in terms of the context of this discussion.

Hemphill and Zabow (1983) presented four case studies in which delusional systems were not as prominent as in the cases reviewed by Bourgeois et al. (1981) and Prins (1984). Three of these cases involved persons who had criminal histories and who appeared to be markedly antisocial rather than overtly psychotic. All of the subjects, from early ages, engaged in autovampirism--the sucking of their own blood. One subject in this article described his fascination with blood and his cruelty to animals, a propensity found in two of the four subjects:

I have liked the appearance and taste of blood all my life. I would lick scratches and cut myself for it. I used to pull off birds' heads and drink their blood. I bit the head off a guinea pig when I was a child and sucked the blood, and pulled off the head of a chicken, collected the blood in my hands and drank it. I cut myself in order to get blood. Blood relaxes me. I think if got it every few days I would be settled..... It is the feeling of blood in me not the taste that I need, I would like to get it from another person, but so far have not worked out how (p.280).

Hemphill and Zabow suggested that vampirists may have visible puncture wounds on portions of their body--an observation which may be valuable in profile construction. These subjects were also fascinated with death. They were not interested in sex, and the appearance of blood did not lead to sexual arousal. Their craving for blood was prompted by tension which was alleviated only when the blood was consumed. This led the authors to conclude that vampirism was a compulsion, and not a sadomasochistic disorder.

CANNIBALISM AND DISMEMBERMENT

Cannibalism, the consumption of human flesh, is also referred to as necrophagia or anthropophage. It appears to be the least common of the previously discussed postmortem behaviors.

Benezech et al. (1981) presented a case study of a 49-year-old-male vampirist who went on a murder spree and consumed a portion of the high of a 60-year-old man and ingested blood from the victim's femoral artery. The patient was operating under a paranoid delusional system. He had his first psychotic episode nine years earlier. Burton-Bradley (1976) presented a case study of a 30-year-old male in New Guinea, who decided to kill his infant son, fasted for five days, and then struck him in the head with an ax. The father consumed portions of his son's heart. Burton-Bradley stated that although the father's country had practiced cannibalism in the past, this act was considered deviant in present-day culture and the man was tried for murder. As in other case studies reviewed, this man was operating under a delusional system in which he interpreted some religious teachings literally rather than spiritually. The man reported that he boiled the remaining portions of his son's heart because "I had hoped that the steam and the rest of the mixture would go up to God and he would then send me the power in my dreams to do the right things for my people." (p.430). There was early paternal deprivation and a family history of mental disorders.

While the practice of vampirism and cannibalism appear to express needs created by delusional systems, the motivation for dismemberment appears more variable. Harris and Pontius (1975) report the cases of two schizophrenics, one of whom may have been spurred by an amphetamine psychosis, who dismembered their victims. In both these cases the male perpetrators attacked prostitutes. Both victims were seriously mutilated in a frenzied attack. The frenzied appearance of such a crime scene, according to Hazelwood and Douglas (1980), is suggestive of the disorganized offender.

As noted earlier, dismemberment may also be the product of a cunning organized killer, who performs this action to dispose of the victim or to conceal their identity. Rupp (1980) believes that mutilation of the breasts and genitals may reflect sadistic gratification, but when dismemberment is the only type of mutilation, it is usually done to facilitate disposal of the body. Thus, dismemberment without mastectomy, vulvectomy, cannibalism, or mutilation of the sex organs, appears to be reflect instrumental motivation in an offender who is not psychotic or severely disorganized. This seems similar to the motivation of those who subject the body to fire, or to other destructive elements to disguise the actual cause of death.

CHOICE OF WEAPON

In reviewing the individual case histories of those who practice necrophilia, vampirism, cannibalism and dismemberment (Benezech et al., 1981; Burton-Bradley, 1976; Harris & Pontius, 1975; Smith & Dimock, 1983), 15 case studies were found in which the cause of death was specified. In only one of these cases was a firearm used. The other cases involved strangulations and stabbings. Although some of these cases occurred in countries where firearms are not as accessible as in the United States, this observation may indicate that many of these offenders were impulsive and did not use a firearm because they did not plan the attack. It is also possible that some of these subjects derived more gratification through these more intimate forms of killing than to the more "distant" mode of firearms.

CONCLUSION

The previous discussion associated various postmortem behaviors with the motivations and characteristics of modal offender who performed the given act. In extrapolating these data for profile construction, a word of caution is warranted. Most of the reviewed studies based their findings on small sample sizes, which of course, compromises the generalizability of the data. Also, while a particular postmortem act may be highly suggestive of the type of person who performed it, psychological profiles of offenders involve a synthesis of all available case data. Single data points do not possess the reliability that multiple data points have. Thus, those who observe a unitary behavior in a crime should be cautioned against over interpretation. Most clinicians are reluctant to offer a personality description based on a single subtest scale; the same principle applies to psychological profiling.

With these reservations in mind, dismemberment of nonsexual body parts appears to be a manifestation of instrumental motivation. Such motivation is associated with individuals who appear similar to Hazelwood and Douglas's (1980) organized offender or DSM III's Antisocial Personality Disorder. Conversely, dismemberment of sex organs, cannibalism, or vampirism appears to express severe psychological disturbances. In many of the reviewed case studies, such offenders were operating under delusions of exsanguination or delusions based on literal religious interpretations. Such presentations are associated with Hazelwood and Douglas's (1980) disorganized offender.

The position of necrophilia on the continuum may depend on whether the postmortem manipulation involved vampirism or the insertion of foreign objects into body orifices (disorganized offender), as compared with penile penetration (organized offender). It thus appears that the consideration of postmortem behavior, when analyzed with other evidence, may enhance the quality of the psychological profile.

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FOOTNOTES

1
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2
Benezech et al. (1981) propose that this delusion is probably derived from a literal, rather than a spiritual interpretation of John 6:53" Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink this blood, ye hath no life in you."

3
In DSM III there is a single diagnostic entity called, Schizophreniform Disorder. Since Prins (1984) used the plural form, "schizophreniform disorders" it is likely that he was referring to several disorders which share schizophrenic-like features. Later in the article, Prins states that vampirism is frequently "associated with schizoid, schizophrenic, or borderline disorders" (p.291).