JOB STRESS AND THE POLICE OFFICER:
IDENTIFYING STRESS REDUCTION TECHNIQUES

PROCEEDINGS OF SYMPOSIUM
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WILLIAM H. KROES, PH.D.
JOSEPH J. HURRELL, JR., M.A.
EDITORS

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Preface

Research over the past several years has implicated psychological stress as an important causal factor in coronary heart disease, gastro-intestinal malfunction, dermatological problems, severe nervous conditions, neurosis and various other physical and mental disorders. In comparison to workers in other occupations, police officers seem to have unusually high rates of many apparently stress related illnesses. How to eliminate or reduce the stress in policing is therefore of vital concern not only to the approximately 500,000 individuals involved in policework but to each and every citizen who depend on their service.

The articles contained in this document were prepared for an interdisciplinary symposium sponsored by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. The symposium, entitled "Job Stress and the Police Officer: Identifying Stress Reduction Techniques", was held in Cincinnati, Ohio on May 8th and 9th, 1975 and chaired by Dr. William H. Kroes.

As there are few "experts" in the job stress field and even fewer in the area of stress in policing, many of the individuals invited to participate in the symposium were not stress specialist in a research or technical sense. But they were intimately involved in policing (as police department psychologists, consultants, criminal justice academicians, police chiefs and sworn officers), and did have a first hand knowledge of the problems of police stress. Thus, in the following pages one will find various conceptualization of stress and diverse viewpoints concerning its reduction and elimination. In light of this heterogeneity it is important to consider the document for its heuristic value.

This symposium was not intended to supply a simple solution to the problems of stress in police work, but rather to provide a forum whereby different perspectives and insights might be openly examined. Although the editors take strong exception to some of the ideas expressed in the articles, it is their hope that the documents as a whole will stimulate efforts in the area of stress reduction and at a minimum provide the reader with a more complete understanding of stress as it effects the policeman in his day to day activities.

As a final thought, this document contains in a few places, quotations and statments with expressions that may be considered as offensive or profane. It was believed that deleting such expressions would have significantly detracted from the meaning and effect that the authors sought to convey in describing actual policing situations. The editors apologize in advance for any embarrassment that such language may cause the readership.

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ABSTRACT

A NIOSH sponsored symposium was held May 8-9, 1975 in Cincinnati, Ohio
to assess psychological stress factors in policing and techniques for
its remediation. Psychologists, psychiatrists, criminologists, police
chiefs and patrol officers were among those presenting papers on key
issues. Health statistics were offered showing police officers to
have relatively high rates of stress-related digestive and circulatory
disorders. Excessive numbers of suicides among police officers were
also reported. A host of psychological stressors were identified of
which conflicting job demands, negative public image, lack of court
support and variable shift routines were among the more salient ones.
Discussion was given to programs for stress reduction and alleviation
in policing. These included participative management, individual and
group counseling, biofeedback, and others.

Opening Remarks

Carl Goodin, Chief
Cincinnati Police Department

Though policing offers many socially redeeming rewards, it is one of the most stress-filled jobs in the occupational picture today.

As recently as the 1950's - a tranquil time in retrospect, long before civil riots and student disorder -- police topped mortality statistics depicting deaths by heart disease, suicide and diabetes.

A quarter century has gone by since those statistics were published. There is a paucity of police morbidity figures since that time, but it appears to me that the last decade alone has been a most stressful one in the history of law enforcement. Logic and personal observation tell me that the police officer's health, as a result of these trying times, is in greater jeopardy than ever.

I have been a policeman for almost 20 years. During that time, I have seen many of my fellow police officers incapacitated by health problems: heart attacks, ulcers, chronic headaches, mental depression and even suicide. They have been stricken in numbers that seem unduly large when compared to friends in the business world, the trades and governmental service agencies other than police.

The situation is a paradoxical one because policemen begin their careers as healthy men. To qualify initially, they must pass rigid physical and mental examinations that sift out all but the strong. Consequently, they enter the profession as among the healthiest, most physically fit of any single occupation. Studies have shown that, as a general rule, they are among the more intelligent, as well.

They are healthy men. Strong men. Yet, year after year, we see them struck down at comparatively young ages when early health history would seemingly point to above-average longevity.

Figures show that career police officers -- both active and retired -- die younger than most other occupational groups and suffer particularly high incidences of health problems. Why? The work is relatively clean; there are no poisonous industrial fumes to breathe or noxious chemicals to handle; it is certainly not monotonous when compared to, say an assembly line functionary. Even though a police officer runs the risk of being killed in the line of duty, it is a relatively minimal risk. His job is actually safer than a goodly number of others such as iron workers or farmers.

Why does he suffer health problems?

Stress is the reason named time and again by researchers of occupational hazards as the major debilitating factor in the police officers's job.

Stress. What causes it? Why is it such a prevalent condition in the law enforcement officer's life?

We in police administration need to know these answers — and, more importantly, we need to know how to relieve those causes of stress that affect the lives of our men so negatively.

What can I, as a Police Chief, as an administrator responsible for policies and performance of a law enforcement agency, do to eliminate the stressors? We in policing desperately need those answers.

The entire law enforcement world needs the kinds of information the ideas and guidance that can emanate from a gathering of people such as you-- distinguished reseachers experienced in occupational stress and its causative factors. We hope that your important research and your exchange of findings at this symposium will point the way to substantial reduction in police job stress. We look for your guidance in improving our organizational practices and development of stress reduction techniques.

If ever there was a vital field for occupational research, it must be here, in the area of police stress. Your breakthroughs can save countless lives and improve the quality of living for every person who wears a police badge.

That is why I am so gratified to welcome all of you in this knowledgable, dedicated company here to Cincinnati today. I welcome you on the behalf of all police officers everywhere.

Self-Esteem and Stress in Police Work*

Ezra Stotland
Director, Society & Justice Program
University of Washington

Research has fairly well established that people with high self-esteem are relatively immune to some of the stresses which plague other people, or are better able to cope with the stress (Stotland and Canon, 1972). High self-esteem people are less bothered by any insults or derogations directed at them by others. They tend to like others more, but they are less likely to conform to others' opinions simply to gain acceptance. They are more likely to persist at a difficult task in the face of frustration. They are more likely to function in a coordinated fashion when in difficulties. They are less prone to anxiety. They are more likely to learn about their environment in ways which help them avoid stress. They are less likely to avoid thinking about problems. They are more likely to seek out novelty and to approach the strange and the unusual. When they are frustrated, they are more likely to direct their aggression at the source of their aggression, rather than at alternative targets.

One major implication of the data indicating the relationship of high self-esteem to all of the desirable attributes described above is that an individual's overall, general level of self-esteem has a strong influence on how well he copes with particular frustrations and threats. High overall self-esteem leads to better ability to cope constructively with frustrations and threats, while a lower level leads to less ability. The person with lower self-esteem not only has to attempt to solve the frustrating problem with which he is faced, but must also prevent any further loss of self-esteem. The latter task sometimes gets to be more important than the problem-oriented one, and the low self-esteem person defends himself by hostility, withdrawal, excessive assertiveness in the use of power, insults to others, etc. As the threat increases his anxiety, his thinking may become more rigidified and his solution of the problems at hand become less effective. On the other hand, the high self-esteem person is less diverted by a need to protect his self-esteem and can work more directly on the problem at hand. He approaches it with more confidence because his past experience has shown him that he can and does solve problems sufficiently effectively. He can act directly on the problems, and has little need to withdraw from them.

The list of desirable qualities in high self-esteem set forth above could no doubt be extended. But it is obvious that many of these qualities are those which are sought and admired in police officers: a stable, inwardly secure person who goes about his business in a calm way but coping properly and effectively with the incredibly difficult problems of police work. A police officer should be minimally disturbed by any hostility he encounters from the public, from people who require his services, or from arrestees. He should be able to persist in solving problems, even when the going is rough. He should not become nervous, anxious rather than realistically fearful. He should be able to direct his efforts toward his goals, rather than toward coping with his anxiety and avoiding difficulties. He should show good street sense by seeking out the novel and the strange, rather than avoiding them. He should use violence only when needed to help to solve problems, not to protect his self-esteem and status vis-a-vis the public or his arrestees.

*Editors note: Potentially offensive expressions have been retained in this article in the interest of presenting an accurate report of actual police situations.

One way to develop a department consisting of high self-esteem officers is to select officers on that basis. Fortunately, much of the data on the characteristics of police recruits implies that they are in fact at least average in their self-esteem. The low self-esteem people either don't apply - since they avoid threatening situations - or they are screened out. However, self-esteem is not a fixed quality in a person. No matter how secure a person is, there are going to be times when he feels blue, when he questions himself, when things happen that shake him up. A person's self-esteem may hover lower some days or higher on others. In fact, with extreme changes in life situations, a person's self-esteem can take remarkable nosedives or it may soar. Moving into new jobs, or new job situations, or changes in old job situations, a change in a marital situation, etc., can all have an influence in self-esteem.

The self-esteem of police officers may be more subject to special strains than that of other professionals. Police departments have had to back off from their commitment to such goals as the prevention of crime, since some believe that there is little they can do to prevent it. Since the prevention of crime is traditionally one of the ostensible goals of police departments, giving up this goal can do little to enhance self-esteem. The current rise in the apparent rate of crime and the current low clearance rate for some of the most common crimes also do not enhance the officer's picture of himself as a crime fighter. The officer believes that some of his work is fruitless because of the courts propensity to release arrestees and also because of the high rate of parole and probation. These do little for the self-esteem of the police officer. The hostility directed at police officers by parts of the public and the defensive stands taken by the police do not help self-esteem either. The fact that his work is so subject to judicial and quasi-judicial review is a constant threat to the officer. The publicity given to instances of corruption does not enhance an officer's pride in being a police officer. This list can obviously be expanded.

Our problem then becomes one of how to maintain or even increase the self-esteem of police officers so that they will be well able or better able to cope with the frustrations, insults, threats, inner and outer conflicts, ambiguities and uncertainties that are part of the work of a police officer. The central theme of this paper is that there are ways of organizing and running police departments so that the self-esteem of its members is maintained or increased. Some of the ways of possibly so doing will be described in the rest of this paper.

Before we state these descriptions, we should note that increased emphasis on the professionalism of the role of police officers can contribute greatly to the self-esteem of police officers. Despite the variety of definitions of the term and despite some of the contradictory interpretations of the meaning of the term, it remains not only durable but well-defended. Partly the use and defense of the term stems from a desire to enhance the images of police officers not only for the public, but also in their own eyes. It is indeed flattering, as well as highly appropriate, to compare the work of a police officer to that of a lawyer, doctor, engineer, dentist, etc. Thus, regardless of the definition of professionalism that is used, the movement towards establishing some of the earmarks of professionalism, such as higher educational standards, higher pay, more internally established standards of conduct, etc.

can have nothing but good effects on the self-esteem of police officers in the long run. In the short run, of course, the movement will no doubt threaten the self-esteem of some of the police officers who do not measure up to the new standards of professionalism, such as higher education. Nevertheless, the use of the term, in police circles and elsewhere, whatever it happens to be taken to mean, is in itself most salutory and valid.

Sense of Competence Regarding Anti-crime Efforts

What are the ways in which a department can be run to enhance the self-esteem of police officers and thereby increase their ability to function well under frustrating, difficult and threatening conditions? One of the most basic sources of an individual's high self-esteem is a history of success in a variety of endeavors, that is, a set of experiences which raises the person's sense of competence, his overall idea of how able he is to act to achieve his goals. In western society, and in American society particularly, an individual's self-esteem is dependent to a great degree upon his sense of competence. In some societies, self-esteem may be relatively more dependent on social status, on family background, etc. However, in America, we are a competence oriented society, even a "machismo"-oriented one. A competent person is generally happier with himself. Police officers not only share this overall American value, but probably do so to a greater degree than other people. They tend to have a high regard for a person's ability to take charge, to deal with problems actively and effectively; the contemplative way of life does not generally hold many attractions for them nor do routine, unchallenging ways of life. This relatively high regard for effective action probably results both from self-selection of people who go into police work and from the nature of the job itself.

What then can be done to support and enhance the perception that police officers have of their own effectiveness? The following are some possibilites.

1. <u>Increase the number and variety of criminals which the police can move against.</u> Police officers typically begin their careers by assuming and hoping that they will spend a good deal, if not most, of their time in the pursuit of felons and misdemeanants. He quickly encounters the demands on him to respond to service-oriented and order-keeping oriented complaints from citizens: to provide information for citizens, to take care of "social work" problems, to deal with minor disputes, with family beefs, with what some officers call "bullshit calls" (Rubinstein, 1973). There is no question that these service and order-keeping functions of police officers are not only very important and uniquely the responsibility of the police; we shall treat the relationship of these functions to the sense of competence of poli e officers below. Nevertheless, it could only increase the self-esteem of the patrolman if he would increase the 15% of his time he typically spends dealing with criminal activity, especially if he can increase this percentage by dealing with crimes which are clearly crimes with victims. An increase of the 15% by more efforts to control victimless crimes such as prostitution, gambling, public drunkenness, etc. would not enhance the self-esteem since the criminality of these activities is subject to so much public controversy. Furthermore, the laws relating to these activities are now undergoing change, so that yesterday's crimes may be today's "licensed" behavior, or today's medical problems.

The suggestion here is that police officers, especially patrolmen, be given a much greater role in dealing with what Herbert Edelhertz* calls sophisticated crime: fencing, organized crime, economic (white collar) crime, etc. Often, one thinks that fighting such crime is the responsibility exclusively of detectives, government regulatory agencies, prosecutors, or strike forces. Nevertheless there are many ways in which patrolmen can help to fight such types of crime. For example, in the economic crime area, patrolmen, especially those who know many people in their communities, often simply pick up information in the normal course of relating to citizens. People may gripe to police officers about an auto-repair fraud, or a bait-and-switch operation, or a maliciously destructive tenant, or a high handed landlord, or a short-weighing butcher shop, or a home repair fraud. Patrolmen may also observe some economic crimes directly: home repair trucks of questionable honesty parked in front of an elderly couple's home; a close-out sale that goes on forever; an advertised car that does not appear on a dealer's lot; a large volume of deliveries to a firm which has little obvious need for it; etc. In the organized crime area, the patrolman may notice the comings and goings of certain types of people in certain stores or neighborhoods in which they are out-of-place; he may pick up information about loansharks; etc. He may suspect a fencing operation or a bankruptcy fraud because of unusual movements of goods in and out of stores or warehouses, etc.

Historically, police officers have not been oriented toward catching sophisticated criminals, but toward street criminals. If they can be shown how they can work effectively in sophisticated crime, there is little doubt that they would prefer that activity to their service and peace keeping activities. Much of this would be done by the pooling of small bits of information, since patterns of information rather than bits are most relevant in the sophisticated crime area. The new trend toward team policing will facilitate the discovery of such patterns, since teams sometimes have an officer functioning as an information co-ordinator. Closer collaboration between detectives and patrolmen could also accomplish this purpose.

2. Patrolmen as generalists. Implied in the potential role of the patrolman in fighting sophisticated crime is the idea that patrolmen be given a greater variety of responsibilities in the criminal area. The greater the variety of such activities, the greater can be the patrol officer's sense of competence in fighting crime. Thus, more of the responsibilities for investigation of burglaries, robberies, etc. would be given to the patrolmen, after appropriate training. The 15% can be expanded in this way too. Obviously, such a shift of work might be perceived as encroaching on the perogatives of the detective bureaus, but the latter already frequently complain about being over-worked. The increased responsibilities of the patrolmen can only enhance his self-esteem directly, since they also imply the respect and confidence of his official superiors.

3. Follow-through on cases. Often a police officer's involvement in a case may end with his turning a case over to detectives or with a court appearance in the minority of cases that actually go to trial. It does little to enhance a person's sense of competence to lose tract of the outcome systematically be informed of the progress of the case. He might even be

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*Personal communication

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asked to prepare reports to the prosecutor's office which could influence the plea bargaining process. If we assume that plea bargining will be with us for the foreseeable future, then giving the patrolman some influence on the process might not only increase his sense of competence but also decrease his hostility to the rest of the criminal justice system. Similarly, officers might be involved with the sentencing process by submitting reports to the judge. Still another way of increasing an officer's sense of competence is to involve him in the use of the criminal information he acquires and processes, as suggested above. This involvement would in some cases consist simply of feedback in the use that was made of information, or the involvement could consist of requests for further information.

Obviously, involvement of the patrolmen in the follow through of his cases or his information may simply aggrevate the present problem of police bitterness toward the plea bargaining and sentencing practices of the criminal justice system. However, the seriousness of this problem might be mitigated in some jurisdictions if there is movement in the rest of the system closer to the position held by police in that jurisdiction.

4. Victimization Studies of "Front" Crimes. More than most other professions, the police do not have valid measures of their effectiveness. As in the case with other professions that lack a solid basis for judgement of effectiveness, less valid measures are used. Police officers often are singularly suspicious about the use of such measures to evaluate performance. They well know it is not too difficult to increase rates of issuing citations, or of making arrests, if the "heat is on." They know how much such criterion of effectiveness can be manipulated. They know that official crime rates do not reflect the actual rates.

It could potentially greatly enhance the sense of competence of a police officer if he could measure himself against a valid criterion in which he had some confidence. One such criterion could be based on the victimization studies centering on crimes which are front crimes, i.e. crimes which the police theoretically could have prevented or for which they have a fair chance of catching the culprit, i.e. robberies, front-entrance burglaries, etc., in contrast to assaults inside homes, back-entrance burglaries, etc. If such victimization studies were done routinely and that data broken down by patrol sector, or by team policing neighborhood, then the officers in that sector or in that team could gain some idea of how well they are doing. They would have some idea of the extent and nature of under-reporting of crime, and might be able to mount some highly specific programs to increase reporting and to reduce the incidence of crime. Again competence would be enhanced.

Sense of Competence Regarding Non-criminal Activities

Regardless of any increased efforts in the criminal area, as suggested above, the bulk of a patrolman's time would still be devoted to the citizens' calls for non-felony oriented types of service. The police are the public agency par excellence of responding to many of the emergencies of everyday life because of their availability at all times and because of their authority and increasingly, because of their unique competence. Thus, for the police

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to enhance their sense of competence and self-esteem, they need to perceive that they are competent to cope with these non-criminal calls as well as with the criminal ones. Even if the police do not now view these activities as central to their role, they may still gain in self-satisfaction if they see that they have done some good. It may be that part of the reason for the relative downgrading of these activities is the very knowledge that police are sometimes ill-trained or not trained for them.

1. Increased Pre- and In- Service Training in Non-Criminal Incidents. The training should be focused in those areas with which the police feel relatively ill equipped to cope. Family beefs have been one of the most difficult and dangerous calls for a police officer to respond to. Yet since Bard's pioneering work, many police officers have learned that it is possible for them to cope with family beefs with minimal danger to themselves and with maximal benefit to the family. There can be little doubt that their sense of competence has increased as a result. Toch, Grant and Galvin (1975), report the enthusiasm of the Oakland Police Department's specialists in family disputes.

The same type of training can no doubt be developed for other trouble-some areas such as landlord-tenant disputes, some tavern brawls, etc.

2. Feedback in the outcomes of non-criminal incidents. Just as in the case of criminal incidents, an officer's sense of competence and his self-esteem would both be enhanced if he knew what the outcome of his intervention was. He might find out that his intervention lead to a reduction of the amount of assault in a given family – thereby possibly preventing a murder – a crime that police generally believe they cannot prevent. He might find out that a fight between landlord and tenant was now reduced to a civil level, both legally and in manners. He might find that the old lady he took to the hospital recovered from her injury. He might find out that two neighbors are beginning to settle their differences through negotiations or through civil proceedings, rather than through assaults or worse. It is interesting to note that in Oakland, after hearing one presentation from the civilian experts, the police themselves organized the family dispute squad so that it functioned independently of the civilians. Furthermore, in so doing, they emphasized follow-through by the officers themselves much more than did the original program in New York or the Schwartz (Schwartz in Snibbe and Snibbe, 1973) model in California. The police in Oakland made the arrangements for social agency contacts themselves and re-visited some of the homes later to find out how things were doing. Marx (1973) has indicated a number of indices that might be developed for evaluating the effectiveness of a department, squad, team, etc. Use of these indices could lead to a rise in the self-esteem of the members of these groups, if the indices were positive. If they were not, the police unit could devise ways to increase its effectiveness, since it would then have a way of finding out how effective it was. Of course, there are areas of non-criminal service in which the police can have little direct influence on the long range outcome – a fatal accident, etc. etc. Feedback about these would have no direct benefit to the police.

Information as a Basis of Increasing the Sense of Competence

The lack of information, uncertainty, ambiguity about some aspect of

a situation with which a person is concerned decreases his sense that he can cope with it. This appears to be true even if the ambiguity concerns some part of the situation with which the person does not have to lead directly. A person may feel more confident of his ability to fix a flat in his own neighborhood rather than in a strange one. Of course, too much information can cause problems, too. (But too little may be the problem of the police officer more frequently.) In fact, information is often used as a source of power and influence in police work. There are a number of ways in which police officers can be provided with more information directly or indirectly relevant to the particular incidents with which they deal. The suggestions made above about the development of information by means of which police officers can evaluate their own success can also be understood as ways simply to provide the police officer with information, in addition to a (function)as a basis of evaluation. Knowing about the actual rates of certain types of crime, or the rates of assaults in families after police intervention not only helps the police evaluate their performance, but also to have information about their sector. There are however, additional ways in which information can be made available to the police officer.

1. <u>Replay of citizens telephone calls to officers assigned to respond.</u>
When an officer is given an assignment by his department, the information he receives is generally minimal - where to go, and what sort of call it is. The officer can guess about the details of what he may encounter; sometimes these guesses are educated by his general knowlegde of the area, but some-times they are not, especially if he takes a call out of his sector. Yet more information about what is going on is available in the recording of the citizen's telephone call summoning aid - information that is not typically put to any particular use.

It would be technically feasible to set up a system as follows: After an officer in a car is given directions by the dispatcher, and after the car is on the way, the officer could request to hear the telephone call from the citizen replayed to him as he is driving to the scene. In the few minutes it takes him to get to his goal, he could learn of the emotional state of the citizen, get some more precise idea of how "hot" the situation is, learn something of the number and type of people involved, even the physical setting of the scene. He might even recognize the people and place as one of those with which he has dealt before. The information he is re-ceiving as he heads toward the scene could somewhat reduce his anxiety simply because he has information, regardless of whether it is directly usable. In addition, the officer could be planning his action as he drives, so that he can move in on the situation faster when he arrives. Granted that some times an officer might get a false impression from the telephone call- but, with experience, an officer will learn to "see through" the calls, as any officer with good street sense does with any information he receives. In any case, his sense of competence about his ability to handle the call will be increased. It is important to note that the suggestion here is that the play-back be done only on request of the officer, i.e. if he feels that he needs to know more. Secondly, the dispatcher would not be tied up in the play-back, which could be sent over an auxiliary radio channel so that the main channel is not tied up. (One officer in discussing this idea suggested that he would like to be able to continue the telephone call with the citizen as he is driving to the scene. He would be coping with the

situation even before he got there, gaining information and perhaps giving the citizen some directives.)

This play back procedure would also have the tendency to draw the police and the community closer together, since the officer on approaching the complaining citizen would be able to establish communication more quickly with the citizen because of his knowledge of what went on before. His faster, more appropriate action would also lead to more requests on the part of the citizen. As we suggest below, closer, mutually respectful ties with the community can enhance a police officer's self-esteem and his sense of competence.

2. <u>Information service for police officers</u>. As a police officer works his sector, he gets to know it better and better if he is assigned to it for any length of time. Nevertheless, there may be types of information which he would like to have which are not available to him either through his direct knowledge of the area or through his requests for information on citizens he stops on the street. He might want to know who owns an abandoned service station; what sort of merchandise a given store is licensed to sell; when the tenants in a given house might be forced to vacate it; how the demographic composition of his area is changing, or is expected to change; what school dismissal times are, if they are on an irregular schedule; changes in mail delivery routes; changes in factory shift changes; the crime rates for crimes he cannot prevent; etc. Much of this information is available through other branches of government; housing agencies, school superintendents, city planning officers, etc. A bureau within the police department could provide such information on request. The Kansas City Police Department has established such an information bureau to respond to requests from whole units within the police department, such as divisions. However, the system could be extended to the patrolman. With increasing sophistication of information retrieval systems, the cost may be relatively small, and the gain in the sense of competence of the patrol officer would be great. In fact, if requests come in for the same types of information repeatedly, then the department might routinely supply it. Furthermore, the patrol officers self-esteem would be enhanced simply by the recognition he could receive from his department because it is making all this information available to him.

<u>Training for Competence in Stress Situations</u>

Probably the best way of reducing the amount of stress in problem situations is to practice coping with such situations in as realistic a setting as possible, but with the possibility of getting feedback on the effectiveness of the actions taken. All of the theoretical information about what to do can have little meaning unless an individual attempts to carry out the actions. Then unforeseen problems, issues, aspects of the situation, etc. can be confronted and recognized, and corrections, if needed, can be made at the next turn at practice. The individual can try out difficult possible courses of action in safe settings to see how they will work. He can learn the criteria for deciding which of several possible lines of action he could take. He can learn to make these judgements faster and make his actions more effective. Probably most important is the fact that if an individual learns that he can cope with such situations, he will be more confident when he actually approaches

such situations and thereby reduce his anxiety. He will then be less prone
to be rigid and narrow in his thinking and fixed in his actions. Practice
doesn't necessarily make perfect, but practice with appropriate feedback
might do so.

1. Simulation training in police academies. One of the problems with
police academies is that partly because the information presented to the
recruits is so theoretical or artificial, much of it is rejected in favor of
ideas and suggestions given by senior patrol officers on the street. This
problem can be solved in part by introducing as much realism into the academy
as possible, by having the recruits practice in situations of as much realism
as possible, with feedback and critiques from their instructors as well as
their peers. Recently there has been an increase in the use of such methods,
many of them depending on video tape presentations of the situations: Illinois
State Patrol and Traffic Stops; Los Angeles Police Department Shooting Simula-
tion; the use of the city of Independence, Missouri as a laboratory, etc. The
more difficult and stressful these situations can be made, the less difficult
and stressful the real ones will be later, provided that the recruits are
given a chance to cope with the situations by repetition after correction.

2. In-service peer feedback. Toch, et al (1975) have devised a system
by which panels of police officers have a chance to review the actions of some
of their peers who have a record of violence in their relationships with
citizens. The subject officers then meet with the committee which discusses
their behavior when dealing with citizens. The committee members point out
that there were perhaps other ways of dealing with citizens than the ways that
provoke the citizens to violence or provoke the officer to violence himself.
In these meetings, the discussion is kept as non-threatening as possible and
as non-evaluative as possible. The subject officer have full opportunity to
present their points of view, and in a number of cases, they did so very
articulately. The results of these meetings were an overall reduction of
the number of arrests for resisting arrest and the number of charges of
assaulting an officer.

The important point about Toch's work is that police officers were
monitoring their own actions, one patrolman discussing another's action.
The subject officers could get implied and direct evaluations of their own
actions without the threat which is both implicit and explicit when the
officer is evaluated by his supervisor. This threat could be further
reduced by having the subject officer determine which of his activities will
be known to the peer group and discussed by them. In fact, he might have the
peer group discuss some action of which he is proud.

In order to raise the sense of competence and actual competence of
officers, we suggest that each squad of officers meet regularly for one or
two hours of in-service self-training a month, possibly without the presence
of their sergeant.

Each meeting would be devoted to the police activities of one of the
members of the squad, i.e. the subject officer, all the members taking turns
at being the subject officer so that no one member will feel that a finger
is being pointed at him. The meetings would be held in some setting in
which being made by the subject officers. He would then go through a

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similation of the actual incident of his choice, so as to reduce threat to him. His brother officers would play the role of citizen, or back up officers, if any. (Partners in two man cars would do the simulation together.) After the enactment, the police actions will be critiqued first by the subject officer himself so as to minimize the threat to him. He can direct attention to either the positive or negative aspects of his actions as he choses. The other squad members can then chime in with their critiques, positive or negative.

It would be expected that, in the long run, such in-service peer self-training meetings would increase both the squad member's actual competence and their sense of competence and self-esteem for the following reasons. First, the subject officers could receive praise from their fellow officers if they did something well, and therefore experience a rise in self-esteem and continue to engage in praiseworthy activities. Secondly, the subject officers would receive criticism from his peers, under relatively non-threatening conditions, so that he might eliminate some of his less desirable actions. Thirdly, he would be receiving this praise or criticism from the most psychologically influencial group possible, his own peers. Fourthly, he could learn new alternative ways of handling situations, so that he might have greater resources available for coping with difficult situations. Fifthly, the observing members of the squad can learn vicariously and directly from one another. Sixthly, the officers can measure their progress by repeated presentations of their incidents to the group, perhaps scheduling more frequent meetings so as to get periodic feedback.

In the early parts of this paper, we suggested many ways in which police officers could set up new goals for themselves and measure their progress toward these goals. Obviously, in making these suggestions, we run the risk of failure. Thus, it is important that ways of increasing the actual competence and the sense of competence of officers be developed as the new goals are articulated and ways of measuring progress toward these goals are developed. The squad self-training meetings may then be an essential part of this overall process.

Enhancing the Status of the Patrolman in the Police Department

An individual's self-esteem is based not only on his sense of competence. It is also a function of his comparison of himself to other people, his view of how high he is in the relevant totem pole. The rank and file patrolman is obviously at the bottom of the ladder within his own department a position which is not likely to enhance self-esteem. It is ironic that the prime inter-face between the public and the police is with the police officer in the lowest position in an ostensibly quasi-military organization, hardly a structure which could lead inevitably to interactions satisfactory from either side's point of view. It is possible that it is the patrol officer's position in the hierarchy which leads him sometimes to try too hard to enhance his self-esteem by being a take-charge officer in street incidents. In any case, the lower status does not especially help the officer's self-esteem. Without unduly changing the structure of police departments, there are a number of ways in which the status of the patrol can be enhanced Many of the suggestions made above give greater responsibility to the patrol-man -- he can ask for information, judge other officers, fight sophisticated

crime, get feedback on the outcomes of his actions, have an influence on plea bargaining and recruiting. These greater responsibilities imply higher status, more professionalism, more recognition of him as an important person whose judgements and decisions are significant. Thus, all of the suggestions made above to increase responsibility would also tend to increase the self-esteem of the officers. There are, however, some additional ways in which his status can be enhanced.

1. <u>Minimization of the number of status differentiations in police departments</u>. The greater the number of different ranks in a hierarchy, the greater the social distance between the top and bottom. Thus, in a department with a chief, deputy chief, assistant chiefs, inspectors, majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants and patrolmen, it is a long way from bottom to top. On the other hand, a department consisting of a chief, captain, lieutenant and patrolmen, the status of the person at the bottom is probably perceived as greater than in the rank-happy departments. Thus, it would be well worth while to determine how many different ranks are minimally needed for the functioning of the department and move toward the number as quickly as possible. Such a compression of the rank structure would, of course, have to recognize the need for recognition of achievement or quality. This problem could be handled by having several different levels within a grade: patrolman I, II, III, etc. or having a grade of master-patrolman (or grand master patrolman). Although this does indirectly increase the number of status differences, the additional levels do not imply any functional or power differences in the department, nor would they imply as much distance as in the case in which the differences have different names.

2. <u>Non-military ranks</u>. The use of military terms for the ranks in police departments brings with it the aura of intrinsic status differences—differences in the very quality of the human beings involved—that have traditionally been part of the military organizations. There is no inherent reason for the use of these military terms, especially since strict military dicipline is not enforced in police departments. The same degree of authority as is presently the case could be maintained even if the designations of the police hierachy could be changed to director, assistant director, etc.; or superintendent; or some other variation of these terms. The use of these alternative terms would not only reduce the powerful implications of the military terms but would also focus more on the job done, i.e. directing or superintending, rather than on the person or persons chief or captain. After all, the patrolman does patrol. The use of the non-military terms would tend to focus more attention on their functions in the organization and less on their differences in status.

Developing Mutual Respect with the Community

One of the major problems for police officers, especially in the ghetto areas, is the hostility shown police by citizen onlookers, especially while an arrest is being made. The support given the arrestee, the verbal attacks on the police officer, etc. not only simply present a possible physical threat to the officer, but also present a threat to his self-esteem. None of us is completely indifferent to the slings and arrows of insults - even if we defend ourselves agains their onslaught. Thus, at best, the verbal attacks on police have little effect on their self-esteem; at worst, these attacks can upset the

police officer and make him feel inferior. The problem then is how to reduce this threat to self-esteem.

One way in which the effect of the verbal attack can be mitigated is allowing the officer to receive some positive communication from parts of the community in which he is functioning. The reservoir of positive feeling might be supported by some of the suggestions made above: the increased training and competence in non-crime oriented aspects of police work; the more co-ordinated effort to fight sophisticated crime, especially economic crime like consumer frauds; increased ability to cope with police preventable street crime; etc. Not only might these efforts generate more positive attitudes toward the police, but the higher level of self-esteem among police officers which these efforts would develop would tend to make the officers more relaxed and flexible in relating to the public. Nevertheless, there are some ways in which the police might increase their exposure to the elements of the community which do feel positively toward them. Any insults would be less influential on them.

1. Cooperative activities between the police and the community. There are many areas in which the members of a community and the police can engage in joint enterprises to fight crime. The recent increase in anti-burglary programs is an example. Instead of having civilian do the home inspections, the marking of possessions, the checking of locks, the police could do this, or work closely with homeowners in doing so. In some areas, police involvement would be a neces-sity since people do not trust their neighbors to help them in these efforts; one of the neighbors may be the neighborhood burglar. If the police become directly involved in these efforts they can both build positive attitudes toward them-selves and they are exposed to them.

There are other areas in which joint projects could be undertaken. Parents in a well trafficked area might want to have speed bumps put in; the police and the parents might go together to the city engineer to have them put in. Some abandoned buildings in an area might be an eyesore for the residents as well as a haven for addicts; the police and the local community might jointly approach the housing authorities to arrange for their demoli-tion. Parents of school children might be interested in a parents' patrol in and around a school; and might want to have easy access to the officer in that sector.

2. Surveys of community attitudes toward the police. It is very ironic that opinion surveys tend to show that the police are generally well regarded by the American populus, while police officers generally feel isolated from and rejected by the communities they serve. Obviously, the feeling of isolation is natural product of the necessarily adversarial relationships that the police have with parts of the public, and of the suspicious attitudes toward others that is one part of good police work. Nevertheless, it might have an ego-enhancing effect on police officers to become more cognizant of the of good will there is toward them in the parts of the community which they do not ordinarily contact in their day to day work, except, perhaps, as victims of crime or as requests for non-crime oriented services. Thus, if public opinion surveys are done on attitudes toward the police in a given jurisdic-tion, then it might be very salutory for the police to be fully informed of the results - and perhaps be reminded of them from time to time. A secondary benefit of such communications might be a more positive police attitude toward the community as a whole, if not toward their street adversaries.

3. <u>Elimination of the off-duty arrest powers of the police.</u> One of the main reasons for the social isolation of police and their wives is the social awkwardness engendered by the police being "on-duty" even when they are off duty. The fear of citizens relaxing at parties in the presence of police officers is the sense that the police are always "watching," and the sense that the police officers have that other are watching them as "cops," not as people. This barrier might be reduced to some extent by giving the off-duty police officer the same powers to arrest that any other citizens have. This reduction in power would not in itself necessarily reduce the social distance, but it might be a small step, especially as it becomes better known. Furthermore, it might make an officer off-duty have more of a rest and recreation experience than is presently the case. Obviously, such rest would tend to reduce the total amount of stress in a police officer's life.

Conclusion

There no doubt are many other ways in which the self-esteem of police officers can be enhanced or raised. The list above reflects some preliminary ideas. No doubt the reader will think of others, some of them better than our list. The important thing is the effect - any enhancement of an officer's self-esteem will make him both a better reactor to the stress of police work and a better officer.

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Stress, Distress and Adaptation in Police Work

Martin Reiser
Department Psychologist
Los Angeles Police Department

Prior to the 1930's, the field of stress research was virtually non-existent until Hans Selye began his life's work which stimulated him and others to examine and to elucidate human reactions to stress. Selye discovered that the non-specific effects of stressors are the same. The organism reacts to stress with what he call the General Adaptation Syndrome, which consists of three stages: The stage of alarm, the stage of resistance, and the stage of exhaustion. He pointed out that no living organism can exist in a continuous state of alarm and that the development of disease is actually a fight to maintain the body homeostasis.

Serious derangements in the secretion of adaptive hormones in the resistance stage lead to what he calls diseases of adaptation. The body's faulty adaptive reactions to stress appears to encourage various maladies, including emotional disturbances, headaches, insomnia, sinus attacks, high blood pressure, gastric and duodenal ulcers, rheumatic or allergic reactions. and cardio-vascular and kidney diseases (38).

Every stimulus produces non-specific stress in addition to the specific characteristics. The non-specific effects of stressors result in adrenal-cortex enlargement, shrinking of the thymus, and deep-bleeding ulcers. Selye advises that we choose carefully between what he calls syntaxic, or healthy, and catataxic or unhealthy behaviors since each of these affects particular hormone mechanisms (39).

George B. Whatmore outlines a physio-pathologic state that he calls "dysponesis" meaning "faulty effort" in which errors in distribution of energy in the nervous system occur. "By affecting nervous system function, it can alter the regulation of almost any bodily system. Among the numerous clinical manifestations are fatigue, insomnia, headache, backache, hypertension, anxiety, depression, indigestion, impotence, frigidity, and spastic colon". Like Cannon (6), he points out that covert arousal for fight or flight is often inappropriate and leads to increased heart rate, elevation of blood pressure, secretion of adrenalin and other hormones, mobilization of glucose and fatty acids and numerous other responses as to prepare the organism for violent muscular excitation. However, when no such activity is called for, both the arousal and the autonomic responses interfere with normal organ function. If frequent and prolonged, they may lead to tissue damage (3).

It is not the nature of the stress itself that is important but the person's preception of the event and his emotional responses to it. The body gives us clues to indicate when it is tense: gritted teeth, tense forehead and neck muscles, eye strain, fluttering eyelids, irregular shallow breathing, cold hands, curled toes or fingers, butterflies in the solar plexus (10).

Stressors may be pleasant or painful but the common denominator to most occupational stress is change. All change involves some kind of loss which affects dependency needs and induces anxiety in dealing with the unknown. A few

of the psychological stressors involve threats to the individual such as losing control of oneself, a threat to one's conscience or the threat of actual physical harm (27). The fear of loss of control is often a consequence of perceived stress. Personal internal control seems to reduce stress and lead to better decisions in taking a more active role in seeking out more information about the threatening situation. Although cognitive control may initially induce stress through a state of vigilance, the work of rehearsal and worry involved prepares for confronting a difficult or challenging situation and yields greater objective control for achieving goals (1).

It has been pointed out that police work is a high stress occupation, (17, 31) making officers a definite population risk for diseases of adaptation. Although police recruits are above average in intelligence, in emotional ability, and in their desire to serve the community (34), each individual in this group has his own stress tolerance level, which when unbalanced, either by a stress overload or underload, will lead to symptoms of distress. Optimal stress seems to be important rather than no stress since humans have a stimulus hunger and an innate need for sensory and environmental inputs. Experiments in sensory deprivation have shown that symptoms of distress will also develop rapidly in the complete absence of stress which then results in an underload.

Recently the Connecticut Supreme Court upheld a law allowing monetary rewards to the families of policemen who die from heart attacks whether at home or on the job. The court noted an unusually high rate of heart disease and hypertension and therefore felt that the officers deserved the benefits (8).

There are a variety of factors that influence physiological and psychological stress reactions in persons in the police profession. Man's functioning is affected by biological rhythms related to night and day, and his emotional responses may also fluctuate with his adrenal rhythm. This suggests the possibility that maximum vulnerability to fear may occur between the hours of 4 and 8 a.m. when the human adrenal hormones reach their peak. There is also evidence that the body is capable of remembering a time of fear and continuing to anticipate and react at that same biologic time in the future even though the provoking stressor has been removed (4).

Personality factors are also important in determining an individual's stress tolerance level. It appears that the anxiety-prone or conscientious and responsible individual is more susceptible to stress and that, paradoxically, anger reactions may help insulate against a stress overload (39). Heavy responsibility, fear of failure, and being responsible for other people's welfare seem to incur an excess risk which may be related to coronary disease. Diabetes, hypertension, myocardial infarction and ulcers are more common among people subjected to close personal responsibility for the lives of other people (7). This seems especially pertinent to police personnel. In one study, introverts reacted more negatively to severe conflict than extroverts, and interestingly enough, flexible people experienced more conflict than rigid ones. In this connection, positions involving creative problem-solving, in contrast to routine supervision and management positions, were also more conflict-ridden (14).

Many sources of stress in police work are role-related. The officer is an authority symbol in the community and therefore automatically the target of large amounts of anger and resentment. He often works in a dangerous and

threatening environment where injury or death are real possibilities. In addition, he is the omnipresent mental health agent who is called upon to handle traumatic emergencies and crises of all types (33). In the course of his adaptation to a very demanding and stressful role, the officer's perceptions and attitudes will be shaped in directions which help defend him against a stress overload. Kirkham (16) gives an excellent description of the attitudinal and value system changes that occurred in him when he switched from the role of mental health professional to police professional. It is a common reaction for persons riding in a police car for the first time to experience heightened awareness of the stresses focused on the police role (30).

Certain predictable events occur to many young officers as they attempt to adapt and to cope with the multitude of stressors impinging on them. The development of the "John Wayne" syndrome and its attendant conflicts has been delineated as the "middle age syndrome" with its concomitant problems (32). The increase in divorce hazard for young officers with one to three years on the job and for those with ten to fifteen years of experience are likely related to these developmental events (28).

Reiser (31) has previously outlined some of the organizational stresses on officers. One researcher feels that the greatest pressure on a worker comes from his superiors in his own department who are dependent on his performance. Though they care about the worker's adequacy, they are not so dependent on him that they inhibit their demands. The least pressure comes from the worker's peers and from role senders outside his department (15).

Considerable stress derives from the officer's peer group and the pressure to conform and adopt their attitudes and value systems, particularly early in his career. Supports given by the peer group help reduce outside stresses and provide reassurance and security (31).

West (41) points out several other important factors. Although often overlooked in predicting success, it is helpful to ask the individual what kind of work he likes and then help him to adapt successfully. Individuals have different maturation rates on the job which affect their stress tolerance levels. This suggests that initial selection cannot completely address itself to the issues of learning over time to adapt to the job adequately. Another way of coping with non-specific stress is to seek out danger and confront it directly in order to stay in control. This may be related to the leading cause of death in policemen which is auto accidents on and off duty.

Though stress exists at all levels in the organization, it tends to affect the middle management executive in a somewhat greater degree since the man-in-the-middle is on the receiving end of pressure from both above and below (18,22). Feelings of helplessness results from such factors as work ambiguity, work overload, and difficulty in dealing with community relations functions. Conflicts over the promotional system, lack of opportunity for direct participation and decision-making, and inter-personal conflicts experienced by minority group members are additional sources of stress in may police organizations.

A study on a sample of male officers in Cincinnati found that there were three major sources of stress which produced a threat to the individual's sense of professionalism. These were the courts, community relations, and equipment. It was also found that work tended to affect the officer's home life, particularly shift work, which had considerable bearing on the types and quality of

friendships developed (17). In this connection, relatively little administrative attention has been paid in police organizations to the effects of marital and family stress on the officer's functioning.

Miller suggests that it is possible for learning to influence the amount and duration of the fear elicited in a given danger situation. He says that observations of combat indicate that fear in situations of intermittent danger can be reduced by learning exactly what to expect and what to do (26).

The best response to uncertain threat is the contigency response which is possible when one has a knowledge of the danger agents and their effects so that proper steps can be taken when alerting occurs.(12) Bourne points out that when attention is paid to providing the support that enhances the adaptive capacity of the soldier, he is able to make a highly successful adaptation to combat at both a psychological and physiological level.(5)

A variety of traditional and innovative programs have been developed for use in police organizations to reduce stress using cognitive and behavioral approaches. Traditional training programs emphasize the development of technical skills which can support the individual and be a center of focus in critical incident situations. For this reason, tactical and how-to approaches have been most common in police training. More recently, the usual lecture approach has been supplemented by self-paced multi-media instructional programming techniques. However, adequate evaluative comparisons of the two approaches still remain to be done.

Human Relations Training programs and experiments with encounter and sensitivity training groups have gained some vogue in police circles in recent years. However, current research indicates that the typical human relations training program may result in more negative attitudes than before (33). For this and other reasons, variants of sensitivity training have been developed with the intent of having greater impact on and appeal to the officer.

Police identity workshops utilizing role-playing, cognitive inputs, simulation of critical incidents, personality measurement feedback, and social psychology including non-verbal behaviors were designed to impact the difficulty of officers in dealing with the psychological pressures arising from their authority role and to help them deal with the constant assault on their personal identities (19).

Another recent approach involves the team building format. In this paradigm a group of officers is trained as a unit to counter the tension and loneliness of facing hazardous situations and to provide group supports. Included are inputs on the effects of stress, and psychological tests are also used to enhance the individual's self-perception. Self-disclosure is emphasized as a tension reduction technique and simulated tactical utilized for desensitization purposes (7).

Crisis intervention training and inter-personal conflict management training (2,37) have gained considerable popularity in many police agencies. In addition to teaching officers to cope with crises in the field, the intervention training provides them with skills to reduce personal stress and to prevent

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injury in disturbance situations. Inter-personal conflict training also focuses on the ambivalence of the policeman's role in regard to making arrests as opposed to doing "social work". Additionally, the ambiguity of his role as generalist or as specialist is explored.

In addition to the approaches and programs discussed thus far, it would seem desirable that more attention be paid in police departments in an organized way to approaches and programs having preventive value in regard to stress problems. Although physical training, self-defense, and exercise are usually highly valued in most police departments, and physical recreation activities have always been popular on an off-duty basis, the benefits of these approaches for stress reduction have not been fully utilized as specific vehicles to enhance coping among police personnel. Ideally, programs should be designed which recognize the legitimacy of on-duty exercise and recreation as useful vehicles for stress reduction. In addition there should be planned rest and "recuperation" opportunities and facilities for officers serving in high-stress divisions and extra-hazardous assignments.

Proper nutritional balance and diet significantly affecting body chemistry and functioning have long been ignored by both health professionals and lay people alike. However, recent research studies increasingly point to the significance of the biochemistry of metabolism nutrients to physiological and psychological well-being (41). In addition to providing personnel with applied training in this area, Department cafeterias, dispensing machines, and other food sources would need to comply with up to date precepts of healthful nutrition in providing food. One related research study among many in this area found that nicotinic acid could block stress-induced mobilization of fatty acids and prevent an increase in plasma triglycerides (21).

A recent trend in organizational strategies has included a movement toward participative management and the team policing model. These concepts may provide for greater involvement and participation of employees at all levels in the organization. Personnel participating in problem identification, problem-solving performance evaluation, and decision-making, increases the likelihood of job satisfaction and reduction in some of the underlying organizational stresses otherwise active.

Administrators in the Los Angeles Police Department have long been aware of the stresses and strains inherent in police work and the need for specific programs to confront the myriad human problems which result. For the past six years, the Department has had a full-time psychologist and a counseling program available to its employees and families for personal, marital, and job-related problems (36). Individuals may come to the Department Psychologist's Office on a voluntary, self-referred basis knowing it is confidential and off-the record. However, officers may also be referred through channels by supervisors or managers on a non-confidential basis. This typically involves a complaint against an officer or some difficulty or inability to functioning on the job. Because of limited staff resources, the couseling provided tends to be short-term and crisis-oriented with provisions for referral out to other community resources if longer-term help is indicated. In most instances, it has been found that one to eight sessions seem adequate to deal with the presenting problem situations. In addition to individual and marital counseling, there are programs for drinking abuse problems, a discussion group for officers' wives, and a counseling group for officers identified as liability-prone.

Recently, considerable fascination and attention have been focused on physiological approaches affecting stress levels and relaxation. One such program involves neuromuscular relaxation as a form of stress conditioning (11). This technique attempts to train individuals to recognize and control muscular stress by progressive relaxation techniques which serve to reduce residual tension (13).

A related innovative approach is currently being designed for implementation in L.A.P.D. which will utilize biofeedback techniques for stress management. In collaboration with outside expert consultants the Department will participate in a three-year research project to demonstrate the feasibility of training officers to control their physical responses through conditioning of autonomic functions. Theoretically, this should raise the individual's stress tolerance level and lead to better decision-making in high stress situations, and in improved overall functioning. Feeding back signals of officers' muscle tension, skin conductivity, blood pressure, pulse rate, and body temperature will allow them to learn to better control these physiological functions on the job and in stress situations. Recruits as well as experienced field officers will be used in this experiment for comparison purposes and control groups will be utilized for inter-correlation of significant variables. Officers in the experimental groups will be trained on the biofeedback equipment for approximately 20 hours over a period of several months. At the end of this time, the machines should no longer be necessary for the learned responses to have become permanent.

If this program proves successful, it may well open the door to a whole host of additional possibilities which combine physiological training parameters with cognitive and behavioral modes which can result in more effective ways of helping officers cope with the many strains which exist in their unique high-stress occupation.

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Job Stress and the Police Officer:
Identifying Stress Reduction Techniques

Terry Eisenberg
Police Officer
San Jose Police Department

SUMMARY

Police work has been identified as one of a number of high stress occupations. Because of the importance of stressor identification and understanding, prior to the articulation and development of stress reduction techniques, this paper focuses upon the former. Based upon the author's experience as a police officer, over 30 alleged/implied sources of psychological stress are identified, discussed, and organized into the following six categories: Intra-organizational practices and characteristics, inter-organizational practices and characteristics, criminal justice system practices and characteristics, public practices and characteristics, police work itself, and police officer him/herself. Collectively, the stressors appear to support the conclusion that law enforcement is a high stress occupation.

BACKGROUND

Police work has been identified as one of a number of high stress occupations. Current research has implicated psychological stress as an important causal agent in such health problems as coronary heart disease, gastro-intestinal malfunction, dermatological problems, severe nervous conditions, neurosis, and a number of other physical and mental disorders. Additionally, it can be speculated that health problems are not the only consequences of psychological stress; the alleged high rates of divorce and marital discord among law enforcement personnel may be attributable, at least in part, to occupational stress. Furthermore, certain forms of police malpractice, under certain conditions, may also have their origins in psychological stress. These, and perhaps other yet to be identified consequences, suggest the need to identify stressors in police work, and once identified and understood, to develop stress reduction techniques.

Prior to the identification and development of stress reduction techniques, it is important to attempt to identify the stressors themselves. In a research effort conducted in the Cincinnati Police Department, this task was addressed and a number of stressors were identified.[1] However, it is believed that the identification and understanding of stressors in police work is of such importance that additional prespectives and observations seem fully warranted. This paper will focus upon the task of stressors identification rather than stress reduction techniques. It will be seen that although the material which follows

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was developed independently of the aforementioned research in Cincinnati, substantial overlap exists. However, important differences also evidence themselves.

It is anticipated that some alleged stressors can fundamentally be eliminated with appropriate techniques such as changes in organizational practices and employee counseling. However, it is also expected that many stressors cannot be eliminated and, at best, techniques developed can only serve to help the individual cope with the condition/stressor. Furthermore, there is possibly a class of stressors which can neither be eliminated nor coped with, but must be accepted as a natural condition of employment as a police officer. In these cases, the form of adjustment the individual takes is far more important than the technique itself. Finally, the articulation of stress reduction techniques should include not only post-employment methods (e.g., changes in organizational practices and counseling) but pre-employment techniques also (i.e., selection methods).

This paper, as previously indicated, will focus upon stressor identification. The author has attempted to provide symposium participants with a classification of various stressors. The limitations of this classification should be made perfectly clear. Stressors identified are not based upon data nor research, they are basically reflections of the author's personal observations and feelings while performing the functions of a patrol officer in a metropolitan law enforcement agency for approximately two years. These observations are distorted to some extent by virture of the author's unique association with the San Jose Police Department which is a temporary one. In this regard, the implications of a "20-year career" in law enforcement are absent. Furthermore, the author's age which is approximately 10 years in excess of the average age of police officers performing the patrol function may have some important implications.

FRAMEWORK

Over 30 alleged/implied sources of psychological stress are organized below into the following six categories:

     I.   Intra-Organizational Practices and Characteristics
     II. Inter-Organizational Practices and Characteristics
     III. Criminal Justice System Practices and Characteristics
     IV. Public Practices and Characteristics
     V.   Police Work Itself
     VI. Police Officer Himself/Herself

Neither the order of presentation of the six categories nor the stressors identified within each category imply any order of importance or veracity. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the stressors identified are largely speculative in nature, unsupported by data or research. Finally, the 30 sources of psychological stress are not intended to represent a comprehensive description of all stressors in police work.

SOURCES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS

I. Intra-Organizational Practices and Characteristics

Intra-organizational practices and characteristics refer to features within an organization which may provoke and encourage the development and

growth of psychological stress among police personnel, particularly patrol officers. In this category, particularly, it is important to distinguish bitching and griping which may be considered in some way healthy in a morale sense from serious sources of frustration, and in the larger context, stress. Further, it should be realized that police officers occasionally behave as children for they misunderstand as frequently as they are misunderstood. In spite of these reservations, the following conditions seem to represent legitimate sources of psychological stress:

1 - Poor Supervision - Supervision, particularly sergeants, play a key role in the world of work of a police officer. Styles of supervision vary tremendously, some providing a haven for the nurturence of psychological stress, while others tend to prohibit its manifestation or at least provide a vehicle available to the police officer for coping with stress. The supervisor who always "goes by the book," is never available on a complicated or delicate street situation, is overly demanding, tends not to back-up a subordinate when conditions justify such support, or who fails to attend to subordinate's personal needs represents a supervisor who can substantially contribute to the psychologicsl stress of his subordinates. The importance of the supervisor in the life of the patrol officer cannot be underestimated.

2 - Absence or Lack of Career Development Opportunities - The vast majority of police officers start and end their careers as patrolmen. Opportunities for promotion to higher rank are limited and the promotional process itself ordinarily lacks fairness and objectivity; this fact alone generates substantial frustration. Typically, specialized assignments within the patrolman rank are also limited and highly competitive. For these and other reasons, police officers frequently assume corollary careers in other professions.

3 - Inadequate Reward/Reinforcement System - Although this stressor relates in part to the condition described above, it stands largely by itself. Recognition and compensation for work well done is extremely limited in law enforcement. One can count on being "recognized" for poor performance but good performance somehow stands as the norm or expected behavior. Most of the behavioral monitoring systemare negative in nature and as such generates stress. The existence of "internal affairs" units without a positive organizational counterpart, for example, supports the allegation and condition.

4 - Offensive Policy - Police organizations abound with policies which their memberships find offensive, threatening, and unreasonable. Two particularly compelling and contemporary issues concern use of force and minority recruitment. Frequently these and other policies provoke much psychological stress. They can further initiate a "don't give a damn" attitude which eventually the individual himself finds conflict with. Although one can postulate divergent explanations which support conclusions that some policies are offensive, they nevertheless are perceived as offensive by police officers, and as such are stressful.

5 - Excessive Paper Work - At first glance, this intra-organizational characteristic may appear childish and absurd. Yet, the volume of paper which police officers push is incredible. Equally, if not more important, is the fact that all too often the need, purpose, and value of this paper work is called into serious question by the police officer himself. Personal experience strongly suggests the legitimacy of these questions. To the scientist, this situation is analogous to the numerous research reports gathering dust while sitting on their shelves.

6 - Poor Equipment - When the quality of one's work and one's physical well-being is part dependent upon one's equipment, the quality of that equipment and its maintenance takes on significance. Adequacy of physical facilities and the juxtaposition of related facilities also becomes important. In this regard the quality and maintenance of vehicles, hard communications equipment, and safety materials can become, at the very least, sources of frustration if inadequate.

II. Inter-Organizational Practices and Characteristics

Inter-organizational practices and characteristics refer to features between or among police agencies which may lead themselves, to some extent, to the manifestation of stress. Two of these sources are briefly described below:

7 - Absence or Lack of Career Development Opportunities - Unlike many other professions, law enforcement, in most cases, limits its growth of personnel to development within a particular organization or agency. The primary exception to this condition is at the very top of the organization; the police chief. Police chiefs and other high-ranking police officials have substantial opportunity for mobility within the profession and, in fact, evidence such mobility. However, for the vast majority of police personnel, career development and growth opportunity within the profession is extremely limited. When connected with the limited opportunities within the agency itself, as previously described in item 2 above, this source of stress comes to take on significant proportions. It is conceivable that the opportunity for growth and development evidences itself more frequently in changes in careers or insertions into other related professions (e.g., probation, fire service, law) than within the law enforcement profession itself. Attempts to open-up the degree of mobility have met with much resistance and little success (i.e., lateral entry).

8 - Jurisdictional Isolationism - Law enforcement agencies tend to operate in a vacuum and within a particular jurisdiction. Boundary lines are jealously guarded and therefore restrict the degree of cooperation among police agencies. Although mutual aid agreements exist with great frequency and occasionally are put into effect under emergency/crisis conditions, the experience frequently creates worsened relationships between or among the "participating" agencies. This stressor is perhaps more evident among ranking police personnel and investigative staff than among uniformed patrolmen in that the job responsibilities of the former personnel more frequently involve contacts and associations with staff from other police agencies than is the case with uniformed patrolmen.

III. Criminal Justice System Practices and Characteristics

Criminal justice system practices and characteristics refer to conditions which ordinarily exist among agencies within the criminal justice system itself (e.g., adult and juvenile probation, parole, sheriff and police agencies, corrections facilities, municipal and superior courts, and public defenders and prosecuting offices). In summary, the system is by no stretch of the imagination a system but a conglomerate of fragmented agencies which have a mission in common. Examples of more specific stressors include the following:

9 - Ineffectiveness of Corrections Sub-System - For whatever the reason may be, corrections facilities at whatever governmental level have failed to rehabilitate offenders and to a large extent no longer serve the warehousing role they

once did. As a consequence, police officers continually find themselves confronting the same individuals and frequently for the same or similar offenses. Accordingly, the activities of police officers, as seen by police officers, are frequently viewed as "paper exercises" which generate volume upon volume of reports which only infrequently anybody pays attention to. A sense of meaninglessness comparable to pounding away at a pile of rock therefore develops. Additionally, the feeling that "if they don't care, why the hell should I" also follows.

10 - Unfavorable Court Decisions - Whether justified or not, certain court decisions, particularly Supreme Court decisions, have been judged by police personnel to be antagnostic to part of the law enforcement mission; namely, the suppression of crime. Taken within the context of other circumstances, this stressor is perceived as one more condition which works against and prohibits the effective discharge of the police responsibility.

11 - Misunderstood Judicial Procedure - Because the adversary system of justice is misunderstood and/or unendorsed by a large percentage of police officers, much of judicial procedure is seen as inefficient at best and frequently downright belittling. The individual, for example, who has been the subject of cross-examination and the techniques employed by defense or prosecuting attorneys to discredit testimony, although procedurally and philosophically appropriate, cannot help but feel personally threatened and belittled by the entire process. Anxiety runs high prior to and during testimony. Furthermore, the role played by police officers in this context is frequent and continuing throughout their careers.

12 - Inefficient Courtroom Management - Delays and continuances in the judicial process are typical. Furthermore, scheduling with rare exception, excludes consideration of the police officer's on and off-duty time. Although allowances are made in terms of occasional re-scheduling and compensation for overtime, the scheduling of judicial proceedings usually interferes with the officer's personal life. This is particularly evident with work shifts other than days which can severely disrupt one's sleeping and other personal activities. To police officers, it seems that only they in the courtroom drama are exposed to this incovenience and disruption for all the others (e.g., judges, attorneys, defendants, witnesses, experts, clerks, recorders, bailiffs) ordinarily work days and are thus not exposed to such turbulent work/personal life conditions.

13 - Preoccupation with Street Crime - This stressor is perhaps one which evidences itself among a relatively small proportion of police officers but is nevertheless a compelling issue. Law enforcement basically deals with street crime, that is so-called violent crime which is codified in penal code and which is typically perpetrated by poor, ignorant, physically and mentally disabled people. Certainly one would agree that there are all kinds of "criminal" actions which are not within the province or emphasis of law enforcement. Typically included would be much of "white collar" crime and "wrongs" which are considered civil in nature. The simple action of one or more people "messing over" one or more other people ranges from such circumstances as the Watergate incident to the slum landlord. To some officers then, there is a constant hassling of and emphasis upon perpetrators of street crime. Perpetrators of other forms of disorder, if not defined as a crime, go largely if not entirely ignored by law enforcement agency personnel. Summarily, it can appear then that law enforcement takes one small bite out of the total disorder picture.

IV. Public Practices and Characteristics

Public practices and characteristics refer to sources of stress outside of law enforcement and the criminal justice system which impact police officers. Included are the following:

14 - <u>Distorted Press Accounts of Police Incidents</u> - The need for timeliness with regard to the reporting of news is of paramount importance to the newspaper industry. Accordingly, deadlines have to be met on a scheduled and continuing basis. Frequently then, the accounting of a police incident in the local newspaper is distorted by way of incompleteness and/or language intended to stimulate the reader. Distortions are often offensive in nature to the police profession itself and are therefore perceived by police officers as derogatory to their image in the community, something which is in fact valued by police officers.

15 - <u>Unfavorable Minority Attitudes</u> - Attitudes about the police expressed by various minority elements of a community are frequently unfavorable, at best. Typical, are allegations of brutality and racism. To most officers, such allegations are perceived as unfair at the very least. Frequently, these attitudes contradict officer's personal impressions of themselves which are based upon their own personal experiences on the street relating to minority members of the community. Once again, the image and reputation of the profession is threatened, as it so often is in other contexts; and, image/reputation is of considerable importance to most police officers.

16 - <u>Unfavorable Majority Attitudes</u> - Majority members of a community also frequently articulate attitudes which police officers find offensive. Slow response time to an assignment or call is but one example. Another example includes the traffic stop situation where citizens call into question the legitimacy of the citation and such police activity. A third example is the citizen who expounds upon the value and importance of law enforcement yet really fails to support important police related ballot propositions when put to the voters.

17 - <u>Derogatory Remarks By Neighbors and Others</u> - This stressor is similar to those already described in this category but evidence themselves in the police officer's own neighborhood and usually while off-duty. It is of significance in that it obviously infringes upon the officer's personal life while away from work and accounts, in part, for the tendency of police officers to isolate and insulate themselves from non-police people.

18 - <u>Adverse Local Government Decisions</u> - Frequently, local government decisions are made independently of law enforcement inputs yet impact law enforcement operations. At best, such decisions are misunderstood by law enforcement personnel, at worst they are taken as a slap in the face. On those occasions when input is allowed (e.g., budget), the decision reached is frequently perceived as unfavorable. Issues of contemporary importance include such areas as: minority recruitment and selection, use of force policy, disciplinary hearings and budget, particularly in regards to increased manpower and safety equipment.

19 - <u>Ineffectiveness of Referral Agencies</u> - Theoretically, the extent to which referral agencies can be put to use by police officers is tremendous. The volume of police work which is non-criminal or borderline criminal in nature is great and police-citizen contacts are such that assistance of some

sort beyond police intervention is frequently evident and compelling. Either there is a lack of referral agencies in a particular jurisdiction or those that do exist are perceived as ineffective. Certainly those who work for referral agencies feel the same frustrations. This stressor does however contribute to the police officer's overwhelming sense of uselessness and inability to contribute significantly to helping those who do in fact need help.

V.   Police Work Itself

Police work itself represents a category of stressors which are not tied to the police agency within which one works, nor the system of criminal justice, nor the public, but to basic aspects of the law enforcement job. Included are the following:

20 - Role Conflict - In a recently published book by Sterling,[2] the subject of role conflict in police work was researched. Five different intra-role conflict situations were studied. "Stopping the rise in crime" was perhaps the most significant conflict situation of those studied and therefore will be used to exemplify a class of stressors based upon role conflict in police work. "Stopping the rise in crime" basically involves the conflict between maximizing efficiency in enforcing the law on the one hand versus the guaranteeing of constitutional rights and civil liberties, on the other hand. This intra-role conflict situation is considered a potential if not really source of stress. Additionally, a great variety of inter-role conflicts in law enforcement (e.g., occupational vs. marital role) may have significant stressor consequences.

21 - Adverse Work Scheduling - Shift work characterizes law enforcement work scheduling. It is considered a significant stressor in that it has substantial adverse effects upon one's family life and possibly health. Changing shifts every month, three months, or whatever is disruptive to one's personal and occupational styles. Adjustments become a demanding way of life. For example, the change from day shift to swings or midnights requires numerous personal and occupational modifications. Additionally, related issues previously addressed such as hold-overs, court time, and late/untimely assignments create a working environment which disallows both short and long term planning regarding one's personal life.

22 - Fear and Danger - Whether policemen express it or not, law enforcement contains dangerous elememts which provoke fear; fear of serious injury, fear of disability, fear of death. Although the frequency with which such incidents is lower than in other dangerous professions, the unexpectedness of such incidents creates a hazardous environment within which to work. Additionally, the techniques employed to enhance officer safety are frequently such as to mitigate against if not outright antagonize the development of good public and community relations, the latter ordinarily encouraged by police and city administrative personnel.

23 - Sense of Uselessness - Occasionally alluded to briefly in previous issues, much of police work generates a sense of uselessness and meaningless-

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[2] Sterling, James W. Changes in role concepts of police officers. Gaithersburg: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1972

ness. Frustrations are profound for those police officers who seriously endorse the value of "helping people," a value which frequently is one of the first to go with exposure and experience. The inability to effectively function and successfully deal with people's problems confronts the police officer daily. The forms of adjustment are numerous ranging from learning to be satisfied with the few and rare successes to clear and apparent apathy; from conclusions of "that's the nature of the job" to rationalizations about why the job can't be performed more effectively; from continued, dedicated job involvement to the development of interests in other professions and/or activities.

24 - Absence of Closure - To a large extent, much of police work is fragmented in the sense that opportunities for follow-up on a case are limited and feedback from other police personnel (e.g., detectives) on cases police officers were originally involved in is minimal. In some sense then, it is almost like working on a production-line making but one contribution to the total product or service.

25 - People Pain - The street is full of people suffering and agonized, both physically and mentally. Brutality, pain and death is normal, usual and eventually almost routine. No matter how police officer may come to adjust to this condition and fact of life, it must take its toll. Once again, the form of adjustment varies but it is expected that some are more conducive to the manifestation and encouragement of stress than others.

26 - The Startle - Law enforcement has often been characterized as containing much boredom. Depending upon the type of city, shift, beat, time of year, and other conditions, periods of boredom do exist. Yet, at most any time a quick response to a particular condition is required and such a response is jolting to one's physical and mental state. Most anything can happen most anytime and the unexpectedness of events is very much part of the job. These "ups" and "downs" on a variable schedule would appear on their fare to be stressful.

27 - Consequences of Actions - Police work is serious business. It is demanding both physically and mentally. Things done well or by-the-book pose no problem for the officer evidencing that behavior. However, in many situations, and frequently in those appearing to be benign or routine, consequences can be severe for a mistake even if accidental and unintended. Citizen complaints, disciplinary actions, civil litigation occur with apparent frequency, sometimes to the point of creating timid behavior among police officers. Sometimes a fear almost always a concern, the police officer continually must be aware of his actions, their appropriateness, and possible adverse consequences.

28 - Twenty Plus Years - It is anticipated that the effects of many of the stressors described are cumulative in nature. Therefore, it is inappropriate to view any one of the stressors as a unique condition unconnected to other stressors and without long-term continuity. Certainly, it has been the author's personal experience that the ability to cope with stressors in a short-term context is both different and easier than would be expected in a long-term career sense. The consequences of this condition therefore appear to justify inclusion as a unique stressor.

IV. Police Officer Himself/Herself

Stressors evident among unique police officers constitute another category of stressor which adds to those already described in the proceeding five categories. Additionally, they are of significance in that they have implications for the selection of police personnel whereas stress reduction techniques appropriate to other categories are basically post-selection or non-selection methods (e.g., changes in police organizational practices and counseling/therapy services). The following five unique police officers are discussed:

29 - The Incompetent - The incompetent police officer who has been unable to benefit from training and/or early experience is one who is subjected to severe stress far beyond the stress already described. Although many leave the business and self-select themselves out, other stay in the profession and attempt in various ways to cope with their own incompetence.

30 - The Fear-Ridden - The police officer who is in the constant fear of his/her own physical well-being (i.e., the "wimp") is also subject to additional stress. Not always one and the same with the incompetent, the police officer who lacks courage becomes the object of great ridicule from his peers, which is ordinarily one of the very few sources of support and positive recognition for police officers and the work they perform. Once again, not always do they leave the business and enter new careers.

31 - The Non-Conformist - The law enforcement profession demands conformity from its members and allows little deviation from established norms. Pressures to conform are incredibly severe and few can tolerate such pressures once subjected to it. Law enforcement is more than a job, it is entry into a family and violation of family expectations will result in ridicule and exlusion, if not disowning of the off-spring (e.g., Serpico).

32 - The Ethnic Minority Officer - The minority police officer is a very special breed of police officer. Not only is he/she exposed to the stressors already described but the additional stresses of rejection and skepticism by members of his own ethnic background. Further, he or she is ordinarily not fully accepted into the police family, which is a great source of support, camaraderie and occupationally identity.

33 - The Female Officer - The female police officer is also subject to additional and unique stressors. These include: her own feelings of competence; how she is perceived; how her peers, particularly males, view her competence; and unfavorable reactions by some citizens. Of course, reluctant acceptance within the police culture constitutes another possible source of stress.

Summarily, 33 sources of psychological stress which manifests themselves within the context of law enforcement have been briefly described. Obviously, on their fair, they vary in importance and consequence. However, each plays its role, no matter how small, in the total law enforcement milieu. Whether each represents a true source of psychological stress or is merely an example of tolerable and necessary frustration no different than that found in other occupations is open to debate. Hopefully, this symposium will, among other things, address itself to this very issue.

Stress Reduction Techniques for the Female Officer

Brenda Washington
Detective
Washington, D.C. Police Department

Introduction

The nature of policework and its inherent responsibilities places a wide variety of physical and psychological demands on the police officer, who as such is expected to maintain calm in the face of danger, scorn or ridicule, and practice self restraint while being mindful of the welfare of others. While enforcing the law expediently, using the minimum amount of force necessary, sworn personnel are expected to perform their respective tasks, effectively, whether it be locating a lost child, alleviating tensions during a family altercation, investigating a brutal homicide or apprehending a fleeing felon. Officers are required to make extremely critical decisions, almost instantaneously, intervening and resolving a vast spectrum of human situations, which invariably have reach crisis proportions by the time law enforcement officers arrive at the scenes of such incidents. Like doctors, who operate to correct a malfunctioning organism, it is an officer's job to correct or remove the deviant behavior that threatens the community as a whole. Unfortunately the police officer's guidelines on procedure are not as clear cut as those of the medical practitioner who operates on one person at a time, with some prior historical background of their patient. Police officers must deal with any number of individuals (having problems) at one time usually with little background depicting the personality of the individual or individuals involved. To handle these situations effectively it is necessary to blend the appropriate amounts of wisdom, understanding, knowledge and discernment. Again like the doctor, because the decisions made, will alter the course of an individual's life to a greater or lesser extent, there is little room for error. In this respect, the police officer can perform his duties with considerable autonomy and authority. Ironically and as a consequence of the powers with which he/she is vested, the law enforcement, officer is held directly accountable to three major proponents of law enforcement namely, the Courts, the Police Department and last but certainly not least, the Community.

Unfortunately, of late, the views and policies of these three groups have conflicted. This lack of unity severely hampers the street police officer (uniform, plainclothes and supervisory) in the performance of his duties. It has created doubts and conflicts within the individual officers as to his professional and human worth especially during incidents where he is required to risk his life. Behavior associated with the police officer's symbolic significance is an often overlooked but an important factor that generates stress and operates at a subconscious level. As the symbol of authority he or she evokes the dormant or active ambivalence that many people feel toward authority figures perceived as potentially threatening or punitive. Individuals whose conflicts are significant and largely unresolved, typically react to authority symbols with resentment, hostility and aggression. Not only the individual police officer but the organization as well signifies and exerts symbolic influence over its own members and others in the community.

The State of the Art

Traditionally, the police organization has relentlessly pursued an authoritarian management approach toward the training and supervision of its sworn personnel, stating that such a semi-militaristic approach produces a better quality police officer. Interestingly, even the military has abandoned their strict adherence to regimentation. A number of enlightened police administrators have come to realize that pursuing this type of curriculum for their trainees in and of itself does not increase professionalism in the law enforcement community. Generally, the officer knows what is expected; specifically he does not. He also knows what to do in the majority of situations, but often he does not know how to get things done and is seldom aware of alternative procedures. In theory, the officer is the first line legal authority. However, because of the present ambiguity of his job, he is perceived and in many instances, subconsciously perceives himself as an authoritarian. Consequently, until recently many have viewed a career in law enforcement as a "blood and guts(?) profession(?)." Fortunately with the advent of a more enlightened society, law enforcement is now reassessing the nature of police work and in doing so, examining the attributes of an effective and competent police officer.

The law enforcement profession demands a great deal of sound reason and judgement and therefore, it cannot measure the true worth of its employees in pounds and inches. Existing statistics reveal that 80-85% of police calls are service oriented, while only a small percentage requires physical force (not strength) on the part of police officers who arrived at the scene of a violent or potentially violent situation. It has been my personal experience that during such violent incidents, applying psychosocial strategies of human interaction and intervention, frequently reduces the amount of physical force necessary. Further, proper psychological and physical training and conditioning in policework, will alleviate and/or totally eliminate the physical and psychological stresses inherent with the job of police officers.

"Current research has implicated psychological stress as an important causal agent of such health problems as coronary heart disease, gastrointestinal malfunctions, dermatological problems, severe nervous conditions, neurosis and a number of other physical and mental disorders. Workers in high stress occupations manifest high rates of some of the above mentioned problems".[2] Having spoken with other officers, male and female, and being a street police officer who has experienced some of the aforementioned physical ailments, since becoming a police officer, I well agree with the findings of current research. Psychosomatic illnesses stemming from high stress occupations are not an exaggeration and are not a rare phenomenon. Therefore serious consideration needs to be given to the development of specific, all encompassing programs that will help the officer to deal with the organizational (administrative) and environmental (community) demands made upon the law enforcement officer.

Such programs and policies, if they are to be effective, must address themselves not only to the "male street officer" but also the new element in many police departments namely the "female street officer." This is not to say that the stress factors relating to the job are totally different for men and women. As I mentioned earlier there are biological and psychological stresses stemming from the job, irrespective of sex. However, it is the degree of stressful situations that are different.

Compound this with the fact, that in many cases, the female police officer must perform her duties in an atmosphere of disbelief on the part of her supervisors and peers, in her ability to physically and emotionally deal with the rigors of street work particularly patrol functions. As is pointed out by Dr. Martin Reiser, Department Psychologist for the Los Angeles Police Department, one of the greatest pressures operating within the police organization is the peer group influence. The desire to be identified as a "good officer" is a strong motivating force and acts as a defense mechanism. "It bolsters and supports the individual officer's esteem and confidence which then allows the officer to tolerate higher levels of anger hostility and abuse from external sources."

For the rookie female officer attaining the approval of her peers, thus becomes a very frustrating task much more so than for her male counterpart. She must surmount the prejudices stemming from societal influences depicting the female as the "weaker sex" in every respect - like her male counterpart, she must overcome her doubts as to her ability to perform her duties effectively. Unlike her male counterpart, for the most part she receives little support from family, friends and least of all from men. She too must deal with the physical confrontations, the sometimes long working hours, changing shifts, disrupted family and social life, isolation and boredom. Then too, there are the job stressors, which are not detrimental to health but do affect disposition, in turn job satisfaction and finally job performance. An example of this is the police officer who must perform his duties, at times laying his life on the line for an apathetic community.

Physical Ability and Self Confidence

It takes an emotionally stable person to handle these problems and therefore it is necessary to know, generally speaking, the emotional and physical makeup of the human female. Pound for pound the woman is physically weaker than the man. "An average woman's muscles weigh fifteen (15) kilograms, less than one third of her total 55.3 kilograms; a man's muscles are 26.1 kilograms which is considerably more than one third of his 65.7 kilogram weight." Because of his automical build, man will always have a relatively stronger muscular build. A woman is particularly weaker than a man in her chest muscles. A woman can never compete with a man, no matter how much training she receives, when muscular strength has to be provided by the individual alone. However, during exercises involving muscular dexterity, women do equally as well or even better than men where the main force is provided by some other factor. Interestingly in the Federal District Court Case of Smith vs. East Cleveland, the court determined that much of modern police work involves leverage strength (where it is required) or the ability to use the body mass at a particular angle in order to lift or direct the body. There appeared to be no relationship between "brute force" or muscular strength and weight and as indicated earlier modern police work requires little need for such force.

Such factors should be taken into account as part of the hiring and training practices of police departments, especially those employing relatively large numbers of sworn female personnel. The Memphis Tennessee Police Department in consultation with a physical education professor designed a physical agility test for women and in doing so developed a table of relevant physical differences, between men and women.

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Table 1. Physical Differences Between Men and Women As Related to Physical Agility Tests

Differences	Implications	Test Changes
Women have a weaker pelvis structure (bones)	Greater likelihood for injuries in events where one lands heavily on the feet.	None. This is not a relevant factor since in broad-jump test, jumping is done on a thickly padded mat.
Women have 10% few muscles fibers (cells) per muscle.	A disadvantage in strength activities.	
A greater proportion of body weight in women is fatty tissue, especially in the hips, breasts, and subcutaneous area (due to female hormones).	A disadvantage for women in events where they are required to life their body weight.	The requirements in these events have been reduced for women.
Women have a lower center of gravity than men because of their weight is below the waist (compared to men).	An advantage for women in balance events.	In events where this is a factor, such as push-ups, and chin-ups, techniques have been modified.
Women are generally more flexible than men because their tendons and other connective tissue are thinner.	An advantage for women in events requiring a great range of movements in joints	An increase in requirements on the balance beam.
Women have:	In addition to inferior strength, these factors give women a disadvantage in endurance events.	An increased standard for the back stretch event.
a. fewer red blood cells per volume of blood.		Increase the time requirement to complete the half-mile run.
b. a smaller heart		
c. inferior capillary function.		
d. increased level of oxygen (O_2) consumption per unit of work.		
e. an increased pulse rate per O_2 consumption rate		
f. a decreased maximum O_2 cib		

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There may be any one of a number of methods of performing a certain physical task. Identifying the physical differences between women and men, with regard to physical agility and physical performance will greatly assist police training staff. They can then institute techniques that will develop the incumbent street police officer's physical attributes; thus helping the officer to maintain a more effective level of performance. Specifically as part of their training, female officers must be made aware of their physically weak and strong points. It is necessary that she abide by her stature of physical limitations (which is different for each woman) so that a sudden burst of mental valor does not get her into physical trouble. As part of their indoctrination and in most cases, reorientation, female officers should trained and become adept in the physical defense tactics and apprehension methods that will utilize the strongest and most agile parts of her body. Kicking is an example. Knowing and being able to execute the holds and moves that are best suited to her physcial stature, the female officer will be better equipped in handling a situation involving the application of physical force (not strength). Having the assurance and insurance of knowing what her body is capable and not capable of doing and the training of how to best use her body as a physcial defense and in some case offense mechanism, the female officer acquires self confidence in her ability to perform the job in every aspect. I and other female "street officers" concur that this training reduces anxiety with regard to physical abilities and functions as an exercise in physical and ultimately psychological stress, reduction. To my knowledge few police departments have developed physical training programs that include exercises relating to anatonomical sex differences.

Correspondingly there appear to be some routine exercises to develop physical endurance in which females do not perform well. I am not referring to excercises which are difficult for her to do because of body structure. I am speaking of such tasks as climbing a rope or scaling a wall. Many females perform poorly on these tasks but this is not due to inherent physical weakness. Through trial and error I have learned that irrespective of sex there is a technique to scaling a wall or climbing a rope. Societal norms permit most men to learn this technique at an early age but until recently, women were scolded for learning such skills. Subsequently police departments must be able to discriminate between skill and innate physical ability.

Emotional Stability

While it is essential that an officer be in good health and physically well trained it is far more important that he maintain almost an exceptional level of emotional stability and exercise control in dealing with the daily psychological stresses of the job. As is pointed out by Dr. W.H. Kroes, there are two major sources of psychological stress;first, there are the individual incidents that attack the officer's self image and professionalism; second, there are those factors which arise from the nature of police work. Generally speaking our actions bespeak our thoughts and if thoughts are neither initially and/or subsequently trained to handle the psychological stress of the profession, job performance will be adversely affected and eventually the physical and mental well being will be affected. The psychological stresses stemming from the nature of police work may never be totally eliminated but one can be taught how best to adapt to his or her circumstances. For example rotating shifts will always exist in most departments and to a certain extent, will at various times disrupt family life. Interestingly the officer is better able

to cope with these types of stressors if she is receiving support for the problems that arise in the first class of stressors.[7] To handle both kinds of stresses requires a particular kind of individual to be given adequate informal and formal stress training. For the female police officer this is a more difficult process as her formal and informal training must be preceded by a psychological reorientation. Once she has been reoriented, her new train of thought must be constantly reinforced by herself and other understanding police officers, but more importantly through organizational structures and policies.

The question now arises as to what are the characteristics of the emotionally stable police officer and does the emotional makeup of a female include and/or tolerate such characteristics. In defining the emotional stability in terms of the law enforcement profession, there aren't any clear cut rules of conduct. People have varying and often self contradictory expectations regarding the law officer's role. During their training both male and female officers should constantly be made aware of the inner conflicts these contradictions will cause. But this is no cause to be overly concerned. These differences in opinion will always exist and as one police officer I know there is little you can do to instantaneously change the attitudes of an individual or group. But the officer can set the example by administering the law equitable as much as possible. It is necessary to be mindful of the fact that police officers too are creatures of habit and will tend to identify with the expectations of the people he holds in esteem or the persons who hold the most power over him. The important factor is not to allow this part of our human behavior interfere with the enforcing of the law. To this extent the law enforcement requires an individual who displays, the qualities of intestinal fortitude and professional integrity. This means an individual who is willing to practice his beliefs despite most certain opposition from a wide spectrum of people, including family and friends. In an age when people are passing the buck and in spite of social protest still hanging with the crowd, the pressure becomes great on a person who is invested with authority and not an independent thinker committed to his beliefs and the rule of law. There is a little room for this type of individual in a profession that separates but does not isolate itself from the community in a unique way. The law enforcement officer is a different type of individual working for a different type of organization. People naturally focus their attentions on and criticize that which is different. This is an important matter that should be discussed seriously with male and female police applicants who for the most part and until recently has been reared in a society that frowns on the independent woman, not inclinded to totally depend upon "men" for her physical well being and self development.

The minority female officer has the extra burden of dealing with pressures in addition to those with which she is confronted because of her sex. Does she perceive herself as an individual who is genetically and psychologically linked to a race or nationality but not necessarily totally bound by its traditions and therefore able to deal with people on an individual basis? Or does she view herself as inseparable from the group? The degree of inseparability will definitely affect her performance and until such matters are more thoroughly and openly discussed, periodic racial incidents will continue to occur in police departments around the country, utilizing large numbers of minority officers.

It will also continue to be a stress factor particularly for the minority officer, male or female, who must bear the brunt of the persecution. Differences such as cultural background, personality, physical build, general health, social

class and basic temperment, results in a variety of ways of meeting the expectations of police work. It is those qualities that improve performance which should be encouraged.

The true test of a police officer's emotional stability especially during periods of stress is not what such a person feels, (even though this is important) but what one does especially in adapting to the physical and psychological stress situations. Consequently the emotional stable police officer is one who is generally calm and even tempered, neither unduly excitable or overly sensitive. Such a person is self confident and self controlled to point where his or her emotional reactions are appropriate but not excessive to the situation. A police officer's behavior is therefore professionally attuned to the problems on hand. Some police administrators contend that the above definition necessitates the elimination of women from the patrol function (vice, tatical squads and investigative units included). They maintain that coming in contact with the sordid sides of life on a regular basis is simply too much for females who as a group, are supposedly too emotional, at times irrational, persistently illogical and lacking in objectivity. This makes her inadept at handling the psychological stresses of a career in law enforcement. But is this in fact true? Leading psychologist indicate that this characterizaiton is hardly the case.

Emotional Make Up of "WOMAN"

Women have lived and worked in a masculine dominated society, the norms of which condition her to assume the attitude that she is not able to cope with the stress of life. Convention dictates that the woman must leave it to the man, who is usually her husband, to protect and sustain her or at least make a pretense of doing so. The facts indicate that this is a ruse conjured by a male dominated society appearing to suffer from varying degrees of deficiences in the development of ego. Unfortunately a number of women working in a male dominated occupation (and the police function fits in this category) feels that to function in a specific occupation they have to do a man's job. This is self defeating for the woman who by her very nature is different from a man and therefore handles a situation differently. When she tries to do the job "like a man" severe inner conflicts result. Most women pursue an occupation not to compete with the masculinity of a man but to perform a task that can be completed irrespective of sex. They are introducing a feminine aspect in the solving of a problem. Many women and men have underestimated themselves by allowing an occupation to wholelistically determine their respective feminity and masculinity.

The point to be made is that for years women have withstood the pressures of life. For a woman to withstand the psychological and physical stresses indicative of the police profession presents a challenge but one that can be met. "Doctor's and psychologists confirm that the average woman can endure more mental and emotional stress than a man can endure without mental or physical breakdown,"[9] In his book, "The Difference Between A Man and A Woman," Mr. Theo Lang gives example of two affections of present day society that are directly related to the stresses of modern life, namely alcohlism and drug addiction. These conditions arise out of the emotional and or mental weakness of the individuals involved, most of whom according to Mr. Lang are men (ratio of 7 to 1). The same can be said of disorder of a psychological origin. Con-

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sidering that much of a police officers difficulties are of a psychological origin, conditions appear to be favorable for the succes of the female officer's ability to cope with stresses of types. Still another example reported by Mr. Lang concerns the woman who during her year of marriage appears to need the protective guidance of her husband but then suddenly becomes a widow having to do for herself. If she does not remarry, she copes with the anxieties of life alone and does so magnificently. On the other hand in the case of a man who suddenly becomes a widower his life crumbles.

"While a woman is more sensitive to pain, meaning she can feel pain more actively than a man, she suffers it with greater fortitude than a man. Inevitably the explanation given for this feminine attibute is that due to her physical and psychological make up and her biological function in life, she is destined to suffer a degree of pain in her first sexual consummation and later she will suffer labor pains."[11] Mr. Lang further implies that women are more easily frightened or startled. Further, some women may exhibit more terror than men at the threat of pain or immediate danger but eventually they bear the actuality of the pain with greater fortitude. If and when the need arises a woman can withstand greater fatigue with more endurance than a man. Therefore the oft times long working hours, lack of sleep and disruption of family life would pose an inconvenience and in some cases a problem but this would not be something new for the female officer, but more of an adaption. Considering the test of your emotional stability is what you do and not what you feel, the aforementioned observation of psychologist per reported in Mr. Lang's Book "The Difference Between Man and Woman," indicates that contrary to general opinion, the woman would be quite able to handle the stresses of police work. This is particularly applicable to the psychological demands which are usually the most difficult to alleviate as they affect our emotional stability and physical health.

There are two other aspects of the female character which Police Department Training schools might do well to look at in terms of training their male officers and emphasizing the training of their female officers. It is generally held that all women become too emotionally involved especially in crisis situation, some even to the point of hysteria. It has been my experience that a number of women initially do react to a crisis situation in this way. However, as all men cannot assume the responsibilities of being a police officer, neither is this possible with all women. In any case as there are some men who can perform the job, the possibility exists for an equal number of women who are not necessarily physical superwomen, to perform the job. Men and women exhibit different ways of expressing their feelings. It seems that a woman's feelings are more overt or externalized while a man's feelings are more covert or internalized. There is no room in police work for extremes (other than the aforementioned behaviors) but there should be a balance of both. There has to be some kind of behavioral outlet for feelings that are initially internalized. Men (who are ridiculed for expressing their emotional feelings) will allow their emotional feelings and frustrations to build up to the point that when feelings are finally externalized they are uncontrollable. In contrast women accept their emotions or feelings and deal with them on a daily basis and looks for acceptable (not harmful) ways of ventilating her emotions. For example, in our society crying is an acceptable behavior for adult women but not adult men. However, it should be remembered that crying is an emotional outlet and therefore it acts as a stress reduction factor. This is not to say crying in public is to be encouraged....by no means. The nature of our society does not permit such especially for men. But in privacy crying can actually make the indivi-

dual feel better. I see nothing wrong or harmful in it. More men should consider this emotional release. Another stress reduction technique is participation in some physical (usually sports) activity. Such activity ventilates "pent up" emotions in an acceptable way. Many male officers utilize this technique. More female officers should seriously consider it. It is important to be mindful of the fact that, men and women are complimentary to each other physcially and mentally; any attempt to argue that either is superior or inferior to the other especially in terms of police work is as pointless as arguing whether the key or the lock is inferior or superior in the job of securing a door.

Secondly societal norms have restricted women from expressing frustrations by using physical force especially during altercations. This being the case most women exhaust every other means to dissolve a problem and utilize physical force as a last resort. In this way women become more adept in psychologically dealing with individuals, with the intent of alleviating the emotional pressures of a difficult situation. This is quality that should be systematically ingrained in every officer, especially men, who have a tendency to resort to force much more quickly. Unfortunately the past performance of police officers seems to indicate that this quality was not stressed during training or on the job.

To have feelings is a universal human characteristic, that can not be avoided even by police officers. Sworn personnel should be instructed that they are not expected to be totally unemotional but rather that they are expected to behave like a professional and in doing so keep their behavior under control. Personal feelings, likes, dislikes, beliefs, and values should not be of a caliber that hinders your administration of and conformity to public policy. When one becomes a police officer, one needs to be made aware of the fact that he or she is taking on a job that will have many difficult and emotion charged moments. In light of this female officers should keep the following in mind and be trained and counselled accordingly by <u>qualified</u> personnel:

<u>Specific Psychological Stress Reduction Techniques</u>

1. Very few people will understand what you're doing; therefore, it becomes an exercise in futility to judge yourself completely by others standards. This includes your friends, the public and in a limited sense, your peers.

2. Prior to entry, a female must decide what is morally right and wrong for herself and determine if her views "get with" departmental codes and policies.

3. Become familiar with what is lawfully right and wrong. If you can't accept initially, don't think a great change will come.

4. It is most important that any police officer, particularly females, be able to account for his or her actions and be able to accept and cope with the consequences, whether they are fair or unfair; whether you like them or not. This takes a particular type of individual from the outset. However officers, both male and female, can be trained along these lines.

5. For the most part, it will be necessary for the female to limit her associations but she should keep in mind the increased quality of her remaining friendships.

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6.   Above all it is necessary to be truthful with yourself. Assuming the job of a police officer will affect every aspect of your life particularly family and/or social life. Many times the effects will be adverse and the degree of aversity will depend upon your flexibility to unusual circumstances. Before any woman becomes a police officer, she should discuss this decision with her fiance or husband. This occupation has far reaching effects on the officer and anyone who is emotionally involved with her. Therefore for the purpose of avoiding future marital difficulties (as there are bound to be some anyway) the decision should be a joint one.

Female officers must not equate emotional stability with respect to police work with unresponsive coldness. This has been done in the past and has proved unsuccessful. With the exception of anger, normal human expressions of feelings within reason, are certainly desirable. This is especially true in incidents of a non volatile nature. Officers and particularly field supervisors who notice changes in an officers behavior, disposition or performance of duty should not wait for an emotional crisis to develop before counselling this individual. Such a person is dangerous to himself and others. A change in assignment or a few serious encouraging talks maybe all that is necessary in preventing the emotional stability of the male or female officer from tottering. If the problem persists, clinical help should be sought. Commander and supervisors must also be alert to the signs of battle fatigue, and emotional fatigue. This is a normal function in that such a condition acts as a safety value and signal to the officer that his mind and body needs rest. It is psychologically exhausting to carry a heavy emotional burden for prolonged periods. Physical exhaustion and emotional exhaustion go hand in hand. Subsequently as men and women require physical rest, male and female officers require emotional rest. To prevent suffering from the effects of acute and chronic battle fatigue. This would imply that in certain stressful areas of police work (i.e. patrol) police officers be required to periodically take a certain amount of time off and time away from the job.

During training female officers and their male counterparts should be constantly reminded that people react differently to symbols of authority. Some are cooperative, others are extremely defiant and express this through verbal abuses and/or violent physical attacks upon them. When you lose psychological control you've lost the battle already. To stress the importance of this, police officers hould be put into situations (while in training) where he can see this for himself. In actuality those persons are not attacking the police officer personally but the authority with which he is vested as a police officer.

To complete the process of adapting to stress, it is necessary for police officers to be properly trained in stress reduction techniques. To this end, role playing and inducing stress situations during the course of completion of routine tasks should be instituted as part of the regular curriculum some stress factors to be considered are:

1. Superior—inferior relationships between incumbent street officers and training officers. Such relationships should include maximum supportive interaction. This introduces the female officer to the procedures of usually a semi-militaristic police organization.

2. Loud harsh discipline experience. This helps the officer particularly the female, to become accustomed to the verbal abuse she will suffer working on the street.

3. Strenuous physical training for mistakes increases physical and emotional endurance.

4. At regular intervals, police officers, especially female officers, should be required to perform at a level approximating their capacity. Again this is an excercise in endurance.

5. Female officer should periodically be required to take command and control of a class. This aids her in being readily able to take control of a situation when working on the street.

6. In addition and of particular importance female and male officers should be placed in various situations (stress and non stress) where in order to accomplish a goal they must work together. In this respect sensitivity train-ing should also be a part of the regular curriculum. Such training will identify for both male and female officers the area of their behavior that needs to be reoriented, as respects to job performance. Special orientation classes should be conducted for male and female recruits. Women need to be made aware of the problems they will encounter upon entering a predominantly male occupation. As I mentioned earlier, peer group acceptance plays an important part in being able to cope with the external, psychological stresses. Female officers need not become overly concerned when their male counterparts attain acceptance more readily. Confidence in oneself plays an important part in this regard. Most important is that a female officer earn the respect of her co-workers. Approval will follow.

7. Specifically female officers should be placed in stressful situations where they have to think and act for themselves. This will condition her away from the idea that there will always be a man around.

8. Mock Courtroom Dramas (role playing) are also a necessary part of stress training. Many a police officer has a dreaded fear of testifying in a criminal proceeding court mainly because he or she does not know how to "state the facts" or what to expect from criminal defense attorneys many of whom have become quite adept at undermining the creditability of a female officer, based on the miscon-ception that she is again, the weaker sex in every respect. When properly trained in filling out arrest forms and preparing a statement of facts, women, who generally speaking, have good memories for details, can use their sex as a definite advantage. Knowing how to conduct oneself for courtroom testimony significantly reduces the anxiety of the male and female officer confronted with this task. Even if the defendant in a particular case obtains a verdict of not guilty the officer is disappointed at times frustrated but confident that he or she for his or her part, has done his or her job well.

Departmental physicians need to place more emphasis on maintaining the physical health of sworn personnel. They can discern when an individual is taking in the proper diet or getting sleep and/or rest. He should not wait for the physical symptoms of these deficiencies to appear before prescribing a treatment. Unfortunately the latter seems to be the rule rather than the exception. When officers are physically unhealthy their whole disposition and job performance are affected. Maintaining the proper diet and rest will minimize some of the effects of physical ailemnts stemming from the nature of the job. In addition and where requested, family counselling for the police officer, his wife (or her husband) and children would be made available. In particular wives of police officers should be given counselling where requested, concern-

ing their adjustment (if there is any) to the fact that their husbands may be working with a female. The same holds true for the husbands of female officers as there are already incidents of adjustmental difficulties for the husbands of female officers. For a number of wives this adjustment is difficult and often times she will express her discontent to her husband. This can create anxieties for married male officers and may affect his performance and attitude toward his female partner.

To insure that sworn female personnel are treated as police officers operational guidelines should be sent to all commanders in each police department. This will reduce the tendency of male officers to believe that female officers do not perform the same functions and will reduce resentment on the part of male officers. In turn this will facilitate the male officer's acceptance of the female officer as his professional equal, thus reducing tension between the two.

Summary

In minimizing the stresses(particularly psychological stesses) inherent and stemming from the nature of the occupation of a police officer, stress reduction techniques are essential in developing the required discipline, organization of time, increased physical and emotional endurance, developing the ability to take command and maintaining emotional and physical control under stressful situations. In addition, the officer, male or female, who survives the stresses from within himself, from the organization and from his working environment, he or she benefits from the experience. The resulting individual having coped with a variety of crisis situations achieves a level of maturity, poise, sound judgement and increased self confidence that is seldom equaled in any other profession. You have become an unusual individual, a female officer in an unique profession.

FOOTNOTES

1

Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 2 - Some Organizational Stresses on Policemen (p.156) by Martin Reiser

2

Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 2 - Job Stress in Policemen by William H. Kroes, B.L. Margolis, J.J. Hurrell, (p. 145)

3

Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 2 - Some Organizational Stresses on Policemen (p. 158)

4

Lang, Theo - The Differences Between a Man and a Woman, (p. 86)

5

Management Information Serice Report, Vol. 5, No. 9 - International City Management Association. Laura Crites, Women in Law Enforcement, (p. 8)

6

Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 2, Job Stress in Policemen, Kroes, Margolis, J.J. Hurrell, (p. 154)

7

Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol 2, No. 2, Job Stress in Policemen, Kroes, Margolis, and Hurrell, (p. 154)

8

Issues in Human Relations, Guides for Police Practice - Emotional Stability, Nelson A. Watson, (p. 30)

9

Lang, Theo - The Differences Between a Man and a Woman, (p. 90)

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Issues in Human Relations, Guides for Police Practice - Emotional Stability - Nelson A. Watson, (p. 32)

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Situation-Specific Stressors and Training for Police

Stanley L. Brodsky
Department of Psychology
University of Alabama

I. Situation Specific Training

In the mid-1960's Norman Kagan and his colleagues at Michigan State University developed a system called Interpersonal Process Recall (IPR) to train counselors in effective helping skills. This system included a series of filmed vignettes of basic emotions commonly encountered in counseling. Steve Danish had been a graduate student in this group; in 1968 at Southern Illinois University he and I presented IPR "hostility" film vignettes to a training class for basic police recruits (all of whom had prior police experience).

The filmed vignettes consisted of seven subjective camera scenes of graduated hostility in which the actor on the screen spoke directly to the viewer, as if the viewer were in the room with him. The mildest hostility level was excessive denial of anger and negative feelings. The intensity increased to the highest level, in which the actor yelled, swore, shook, and accused. The verbal content was non-specific, so that any viewer could interpret the statements as personally applicable.

Graduate students in counseling and other training groups reacted less strongly than did the police (Danish and Brodsky, 1970). The police trainees showed a special vulnerability to these standardized and provocative stressors. Some became infuriated. All were highly emotionally responsive. We saw a need to desensitize police to the effects of such situations.

The next step consisted of checking our observations with a large number of police and police training experts. There was a consensual validation that training should help police deal with specific interpersonal problems presented in law enforcement.

Armed with enthusiatic support from the film production studios at Southern Illinois University, the interest and collaboration of the Illinois State Police, and the generous funding from the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, we began the training project with a series of biweekly planning sessions attended by senior police officers and the project staff. Later we had advisory meetings with experienced police training. Our purposes were to consider difficult situations frequently faced by Illinois state troopers and to plan these situations in film vignettes and for training purposes. We asked, what were the difficult situations? What were the job-related stressors that trigger inappropriate reactions or difficult adaptations?

The project team found 58 situations prototypical in painfulness or awkwardness. A number were not feasible for filming and others sufficiently overlapped in content and we concluded with 30 planned vignettes.

Our interest was in psychologically related issues. We were not concerned about techniques, shift schedules or equipment failures, but we were concerned about the interpersonal stressors and pressures experienced by the state troopers.

If the series of films exclusively showed trying and difficult situations, it was felt that the trainees would be continually on guard, and the goals were to evoke typical responses in training. Thus situations were included which were innocuous, although potentially threatening. In one such scene an officer approaches a motorcycle gang which looks ominuous; the gang actually is casual, and jokes with the officer. In a college demonstration scene, the youths speaking to the officer are pleasant, and seek to converse rather than to challenge.

Subjective camera techniques were used throughout, in which the actors or actresses spoke directly to the camera. For the purposes of training each police officer was instructed to look directly at the screen and pretend that the person on the film was speaking to him, personally, alone, individually. This subjective camera technique was used to maximize the sense of involvement.

The film vignettes may be divided according to the stressors' content. Four situations dealt with supervisor-supervisee interactions. In three of them, the supervisor was wishy washy, inappropriately angry, and failed to listen to a suggestion. In the fourth supervision scene the actor was a trooper challenging the newly promoted supervisor's authority.

The next category of films consisted of non-enforcement, public interactions. In one scene a tavern drinking partner reacts with surprise to learn that the viewer is an officer and he speaks of his negative feelings about police. In a cafe scene the officer overhears three truck drivers discussing him and other police in pejorative ways.

The third set of scenes concerned officer discretion in traffic ticketing of different citizens. The specific scenes included: a) a friendly truck driver who explains that a ticket will cause him to lose his job; b) a bearded, t-shirted young man who is polite, apologetic and embarrassed; c) a former high school friend of the officer who reminds him of their prior reckless adventures together; d) an older woman who criticizes the officer for ticketing her instead of pursuing more serious enforcement functions; e) a woman with political influence.

The fourth set of scenes dealt with emotionally aroused or distraught women: a) a woman is hysterical and crying, following an auto accident injury to her child; b) a desperate and angry woman is taken into the police car, and she tears off her blouse to accuse the officer of rape; c) a seductive woman suggests that "...I'm not a criminal and we don't have to play cops and robbers. We can play something else."

Two scenes focused on racial incidents. One concerned a mixed racial couple in which the white woman accuses the officer of stopping the car because of racism. In another situation the police officer stops to investigate a disabled car that has three "jive talking" young black men responding with ridicule and exasperation.

There are a variety of other scenes, including a college student at a demonstration demeaning the masculinity of the officer and suggesting the officer's wife is promiscuous with his "pig buddies," a drunk, a man who refuses to open his car on the side of the road in a rain storm, an aggressive cross examination in a courtroom, a family quarrel, two homosexuals, an elderly couple with a loquacious wife, a disdainful VIP, a suicide attempt, and an interfering bystander.

These scenes give a sense of direct relevance to stressors in police experience. In training with both new and experienced officers the content validity of the scenes was strongly affirmed. Officers repeatedly said, "Yes, that's what happens," or "Let me tell you about the time I was on the road and......"

THE TRAINING

The film vignettes called for identification of specific stressors and production of scenes that would realistically depict the stressors. The utilization of the film vignettes took place initially at the Illinois State Police Training Academy. Several operating principles were followed.

The university project staff began with the major training roles. However, from the beginning the staffing of training sessions was arranged so that the academy staff could soon assume full training responsibility. In the first class to complete the training, the academy staff assisted the university trainers. In the next one, co-training was used. Then the university staff became assistants, and then they became observers and consultants. After that time, the academy staff directed the training independently.

It was assumed that the film vignettes themselves were only helpful in the context of active trainee participation and involvement. Trainees met in groups of eight to ten. The training following individual film scenes ranged from 20 minutes to an hour in length. Sometimes a filmed scene would be stopped in progress and discussion would precede the complete showing. Techniques used in training included role-playing, responding directly to the character on the screen as if he or she were in the room, writing responses one would make, group discussion of personal reactions and feelings, varied behavior rehearsals, and examining possible responses in similar, but somewhat different, police situations.

A satiation effect was observed, in which very high emotionality peaked and then diminished to weariness with prolonged use of the film training. Thus no more than two hours of continuous film-based training was employed each day, interspersed between regular academy classes.

All levels of trainees participated, from basic recruits undergoing initial police education to troopers, corporals and sergeants who has been police for up to twenty years. The particular order of the film segements as modified to fit the different groups.

An interesting reciprocal need-perception phenomenon appeared among the experienced troopers. The senior officers emphasized how relevant and meaningful this would have been for them when they entered the force, and how good it is for returning junior troopers. The troopers and lower ranking officers pointed out that the senior officers were lacking these situation-specific skills. And all of them indicated that the training should be brought to fellow troopers located on station around the state. Inexperienced troopers, troopers who repeatedly got into trouble, and those seen as lacking common sense were especially noted as in need of training. In the case of senior officers, they saw the film training as a way of opening up for discussion the interpersonal difficulties some problem troopers were having. In addition to the attribution of needs of others, there was an affirmation of clear personal benefit.

ASSESSMENT

The perceived validity of the situational training was investigated by daily administering a six item questionnaire to 32 Illinois State troopers and 15 Sergeants in in-service training. Table 1 shows this ten-point scale, with standard deviations hovering close to 1.00 of all groups and items. Items 2 and 5 were highly endorsed, indicating that these experienced officers saw the training as meaningful for police work, and that the films were important, accurate and worthwhile.

TABLE I

Mean Rating of Film Training

Item	Troopers (N = 32)	Sergeants (N = 16)
1. Meaningful to you personally	7.9	8.6
2. Meaningful for public work	8.0	9.8
3. Applicability of the training	8.2	9.2
4. General worth of the training today	8.2	8.6
5. Importance, accuracy and worth of the films themselves		
6. Training techniques used by instructors	8.6	9.0

The scene relevance was also studied by administering a fifteen item "Opinion Questionnaire" to the officers prior to the beginning of all of the academy training, immediately following the completion of the academy training, and some nine weeks later than they were on trooper duty. These fifteen items included items related to homosexuality, racial incidents, and content reflecting the training scenes. The items are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Stressor Opinion Items

		At-Ease Pretaining Scores	
		X	SD
1.	Very hostile reaction to you	4.6	1.3
2.	"Apple-polishing from a citizen as a result of your action.	4.8	1.3
3.	Sexual come-on from opposite sex citizen.	5.1	1.2
4.	Sexual come-on from same sex citizen.	4.2	1.9
5.	Citizen threatening you.	4.9	1.4
6.	Family crisis in which you have to intervene.	5.3	1.7
7.	Handling a group that is "disturbing the peace."	4.5	1.5
8.	Racial confrontation.	4.1	1.7
9.	Hippie confrontation.	4.7	1.7
10.	Citizens questioning your authority	*	*
11.	Unjust supervisory criticism.	5.3	1.3
12.	Drunk driver.	5.6	1.4
13.	Citizen crying uncontrollably.	5.8	1.5
14.	Citizen who "knows someone important."	5.8	1.5
15.	General problems, crises, or emergencies		

Two ratings on an eight scale of the Opinion Questionnaire were elicited. The questionnaire asked how well trained the officers felt to handle each situation, (Preparation score) and how much or how little at ease he was in each situation (At-Ease score). High scores indicated positive evaluations of training preparation and degree of ease.

Table 2 indicates that the greatest ease was felt in handling the drunk driver (X= 5.6) and the citizen who "knows somebody important" (5.8). The lease comfort and ease were reported in racial confrontations (4.1) and homosexual "come-ons" (4,2). All of these situations were rated as being of medium discomfort, in the sense that they fell in the middle score range of 4 - 5.

The Law Scale and Attitudes Toward Police Human-Relations Training Scale were brief before-after measures on the cadets. The Law Scale is a 22 - item, Likert type scale developed as part of the Minnesota Survey of Opinion (Rundquist and Sletto, 1936). There were no significant changes on this scale with the before scores mean of 80.7 (SD =7.7) and after scores mean of 79.7 (SD = 6.7). The Attitude Toward Police Human Relations Training Scale was especially constructed.[b] Very high scores were obtained before and after training, with the scores significantly dropping from 13.7 to 12.3, of the maximum 15 points possible on the scale.

An entering cadet class was evaluated prior to the beginning of training, after training, and after they had nine weeks experience as state troopers on duty. The Opinion Questionnaire was given all three times, with the full class of 42 taking the questionnaire while at the academy, and 32 troopers responding to the follow-up mail survey. Preparation and At-Ease scores were obtained.

The At-Ease mean scores were 72.0 before training (SD = 14.7) and 81.4 after training (SD = 12.8), and 72.8 in the follow-up (SD = 8.4). The same inverted $\underline{V}$ pattern occurred for the Preparation Scores. The cadets began prior to training with a mean of 72.6 (SD = 15.8), rose to 85.8 after training (SD = 13.4), and fell to 74.8 in the follow-up (SD = 10.1). Only the before-after differences in all comparisons were significant.

An effort was made to select a control group, consisting of the prior cadet class. However, the instruments were administered at somewhat different points in time, and the demographic composition of the class was different. In both the after-training scores and the follow-up, the control group had higher Preparation and At-Ease scores, and higher standard deviations, hovering close to 20 around all means.

The overall assessment information may be considered as preliminary. It did appear that the trainees generally felt good about the training experience as it related to situational stressors. At least for the time they were in the academy they developed increased feelings of mastery and ease in dealing with the kinds of situations in which they were trained, a finding which was anticipated.

CONCLUSIONS

The present project grew out of training experience with state troopers. The targets of the training were those classes of situations which presented some conflict or difficulty to the officers. It was believed that there are re-occuring types of persons, attitudes and interpersonal situations that

functionally place stress on the officers. First these persons, attitudes, and situations were identified through a series of meetings and discussions. Next some of these stressing situations were filmed using a subjective camera technique. Third, they were tried out in a training context, and fit readily into a state police training curriculum. Fourth, an assessment of training effectiveness yielded mixed results, including an affirmation by trainees of the general worth of the training procedures.

This project was developed for state police use, and thus many of the situations were vehicle-stop and highway-related in content. Furthermore, an operating assumption was that the preferred way to reduce effects of stress was through academy training. Other limitations existed as well, and there is no unequivocal evidence that troopers after training survived and coped any better than untrained troopers.

Nevertheless the project is meaningful to the examination of police stressors. The subjective camera approach and the apparent content validation both serve (modestly, we must note) to expand the alternative ways of potentially reducing police strain and providing surrogate experiences to on-line duty stressors.

II. DIFFERENTIAL VULNERABILITY OF POLICE TO STRESS:

LAW ENFORCEMENT STRENS AND TRAUMAS

Individual police officers often become aware that their own experience of policing is different than many other police officers. In spite of the strong mutuality and reciprocal support police officers give to each other, the range of reactions, personalities, and preceptions of difficulties among police officers probably is as great as any other occupational group and is as wide as among the citizenry as a whole. This heterogeneity among police officers needs to be considered in any discussion of the causes and nature of stressors and strains among police officers. Investigation into this question should include background characteristics and occupational socialization patterns of those police who respond with high strain and trauma to police work as opposed to those who thrive on the challenges and ongoing activities. Another aspect of such a full discussion should deal with the particular characteristics that police perceive of their work and experiences that differentially either sensi-'tize them to or successfully armor them against the slings and arrows of outrageous citizenry and enforcement fortunes.

Our preliminary investigation was into such successful and unsuccessful police experiences that lead to differential vulnerability to police related stressors. The study of strens and traumas has already been conducted among college volunteers (Finkel, 1974). A trauma is typically defined as a negative incident, significant in the experience of the life of the person, which has after effects in the person's life. Psychology itself is oriented toward such negative experiences. The development of this set of papers focusing on police stressors rather than police success, rewards, and positive feelings reflects the inclination of behavioral scientists to be sooth-sayers of psychopathological doom.

Out of the community mental health and community psychiatry movement has come the emphasis on the positive experience in individuals' lives. The notion of stren is seen as directly opposite to that of trauma, and it comes from the

word strength (Hollister, 1967; Finkel, 1974). We define stren as a positive experience in an individual's life which is major in impact and which has a continuing affirmative effect in the life of the individual. Our frame of reference is that traumas and strens are significantly related to the differential experiencing of police stressors situations. An individual who experiences severe or many traumas is highly sensitized and vulnerable to the impact of police stressors. A police officer who experiences a number of strens will have his or her personal functioning and ability to withstand stressors improved. What then is the nature of traumas and strens among police officers?

A Law Enforcement Stren and Trauma questionnaire was adapted from the stren and trauma booklet reported by Finkel (1974). After stren and trauma were defined in the instructions, the subjects were asked to describe "In detail the various strens and traumas you can recall that are related in any way to your career in law enforcement." It was emphasized that because the inquiry was highly personal, no names were requested on the questionnaire. And that they had the right to decline participation.

The subjects were 58 police officers in attendance at the University of Alabama Law Enforcement Academy in Tuscaloosa. The officers were enrolled in a required 240 hour basic police training class. All of the officers were from West Alabama, a region heavily represented with rural communitites. All subjects were currently employed in law enforcement. The range of law enforcement experience of the subjects was two months to nine years, with a model employment time of six months.

The law enforcement strens reported are shown in Table 3. Nine of the subjects accepted the option of not responding. It may be seen that 37% of the responding officers indicated a stren in entry or achievement into the police occupation. The largest proportion describing positive interpersonal experience wrote of helping citizens in need of assistance or having other rewarding interactions. A small number had intrapsychic experiences, including religious insights and awareness.

Table 3

Law Enforcement Strens

Achievements: (37%)

A. Occupational Entry or Acquisition (N = 14; 29%)

     Becoming a police officer (N = 4)
     Training or academy success (N = 7)
     Other (N = 3)

B. Occupational Action (N = 4; 8%)

     Successful encounters with violent mental patients (N = 2)
     Handling self well on first arrest
     Arresting without force a man with a reputation as a cop fighter

Interpersonal: (51%)

A.   Helping Others (N = 13; 27%)

        Strong feelings of really helping other (N = 5)
        Locating runaway girl
        Saving lives of two fellow officers
        Helping a citizen even after being told by supervisor it was not
            my job
        Helping injured in auto accident (N = 2)
        Experience with a cerebral palsy victim
        Helping those who are helpless or can't help themselves (N = 2)

B.   Interpersonal - other (N = 12; 25%)

        Family or marital experiences (N = 3)
        Influence of other officer (N = 3)
        Meeting the public
        Generosity of strangers
        Overhearing man using the word 'pig' and hating him for it...then
            learning that man raises and sells pigs and also cows
        Experiences in S.E. Asia
        Feeling superior to 'bad' policemen
        Becoming a better person and feeling more a part of the community

Intrapsychic: (N = 6; 12%)

        Religious experience (N = 2)
        Feeling of dedication to duty
        Beliefs strengthened (Because of being threatened for an action I
            knew was right)
        Handling self well in a medical emergency
        A dream

Reported no strens: (N = 9)

The law enforcement traumas are presented in Table 4. Some officers reported more than one trauma, and 19 officers reported no law enforcement traumas or declined participation, a proportion considerably higher than those reporting no strens. A total of 44 trauma responses were obtained. As in the strens analysis, percents were calculated only among those responding.

Table 4

Law Enforcement Traumas

Situational: (34%)

A. Deaths and Fear (N = 11; 25%)

        Seeing dead or mutilated bodies, especially children (N = 6)
        Feeling that a little girl burned to death due to my failure to
            respond quickly

Dealing with the family of victim of a drunken driver
Being assulted, with resultant fear (N = 2)
Dealing with mentally ill people

B.   Role entry and discomfort (N = 4; 9%)

Having to arrest the son of a close friend
Giving my first ticket
Difficulty with academy classes
Being rejected by police department(s)   (N = 2)

Citizen Incidents and Attitudes: (N = 9; 20%)

Public hate and persecution (N = 6)
Verbal abuse (N = 2) -- e.g., "Being called pig, son-of-a-bitch,
        etc. by a group of teenagers--sense of rejection and helplessness
        in the face of preconceived ideas
Mother's fear causing me to leave the police department for a year

Other police: (N = 9; 20%)

Seeing other officers being abusive, overbearing or callous (N = 6)
Poor management in the police department
Waiting two years for promotion, then being passed over

Interpersonal, Coincidental with Police Work: (N = 10; 23%)

Rejection by spouse or girl friend (N = 4)
Death of wife or friend (N = 2)
Personal alcoholism
Speech impediment
Being sent to 'Nam'

No Traumas reported: (N = 19)

Twenty five percent of the responses dealt with death or fear. A number
of officers described a deeply felt horror or shock at seeing dead persons and
mutilated bodies. Six other responses centered around the felt antagonism of
the public toward police, and the perceived public belief that most officers
were corrupt or evil. Six responses concerned the distress and difficulty felt
when other officers inappropriately harmed or harrassed defenseless citizens
or youths. Finally, a number of these police subjects wrote of difficulty
their marital problems or other personal traumas presented to their law enforce-
ment work.

CONCLUSIONS

These data represent a first investigation into strens and traumas in law
enforcement experiences. The emphasis on the strens of occupational achievement
and helping relationships may be important in understanding police vulnerability
to job stressors. Our predictions are that officers with such high positive
reactions will be less affected by ongoing police stressors. Some sort of balance
between stressors and strens may occur, with enough derived satisfaction to see

the officer through the troublesome situations and feelings. Indeed as investigators look at ulcers, divorces, and depression among police officers, there may be a necessary equal attending to radiant good health and quick healing, happy marriages and joyous elation.

The training experiences reported in the first half of this paper seemed to be associated with strengthening processes. These arose in part from the group support; however the informal comments pointed more to the sense of having coped in desirable ways and with competent mastery.

Some experiences are both traumas and strens, and some officers report no such depth of experiencing. It seems that these sources of information should be similarly explored further in the pursuit of police stress reduction knowledge.

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A Comparative Look at Stress and Strain in Policemen

John R. P. French, Jr.
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan

This paper reports on selected findings from a large study of job stress and strain in 23 occupations. We will summarize the major findings about stress and strain among policemen compared to the 22 other occupations. Then we will examine the evidence from a large number of studies concerning one of these job stresses--namely low participation. Finally we will discuss in general terms how the facts and general principles might be applied to reduce stress and strain in police work.

A Comparative Study of Stress and Strain in Work

This study examines a variety of psychological stresses in the job environment and their impact on affective and physiological strains in the worker and on reported illnesses. Twenty-three jobs were selected to represent a variety of job stresses and a wide range of stress on each dimension. Care was taken to include jobs known to have high rates of illness such as air traffic controller and train dispatchers. Table I lists the occupational groups and the size of the sample in each occupation. The total sample consisted of 2,010 employed men. The mean age of the sample is about 39 years. The respondents, on the average, have a high school education, and have been in the same occupational position between one and five years. On the average they work about 45 hours per week and earn $17,379 (in 1973 when the data were gathered). All the respondents are males and practically all are white.

The sample of 111 policemen was obtained from four different departments, so they do not represent the pecularities of a single organization. These men are a little younger than the rest of the sample (30 years of age), a little lower in social economic status and have a lower mean income ($12,530).

A lengthy questionnaire was administered to all 2,010 men. We are grateful to Joseph Hurrell for collecting all of the data about policemen. The questionnaire measured 20 job stresses, 17 strains, and a variety of demographic personality variables. Most of the 23 multiple item measures of stress and strain had reliabilities of .75 to .85.

Main findings on job stresses. Compared to the other 22 occupations the policemen in this study were not an extreme group, but they were higher than average on some stresses and lower than average on other stresses. They were high on responsibility for other people, on the complexity of the work they did and on the important stress of nonparticipation. Although it was true for the average worker in this study that he felt he was getting paid a little less than he deserved, this was more true for the policemen. On the average they reported that they received only 81 percent of the pay they deserved to get. On two important job stresses, the policemen were lower than the other occupations: (1) job insecurity and (2) an under utilization of their best abilities on the job.

TABLE I

Occupational Groups and Their Sample Sizes

Occupational Groups	N
Blue Collar[a]	
Forklift driver	46
Assembler, machine paced	79
Assembler, machine paced relief	27
Assembler, nonmachine paced	69
Machine tender	34
Continuous flow monitor	101
Delivery service courier	20
Tool and die maker	77
Blue/White Collar	
Electronic technician	93
Policeman	111
Train dispatcher	86
Blue collar supervisor	178
White collar supervisor	42
White Collar	
Air traffic controller, large airports	82
Air traffic controller, small airports	43
Programmer	90
Accountant	92
Engineer	110
Scientist	117
Professor	74
Administrative professor	25
Administrator	253
Family physician	104
Miscellaneous, gathered incidentally	57
Total	2010

[a]This ordering of occupational groups reflects--with some minor changes--
an arrangement from lowest to highest Duncan SES score and therefore from
lowest to highest socioeconomic status.

Table II-1

Occupational Groups and Their Sample Sizes

Occupational Groups	Abbreviations Used in Tables	N
Blue Collar[a]		
Forklift driver	Forklift drvr	46
Assembler, machine paced	Assemb mach	79
Assembler, machine paced relief	Assemb relief	27
Assembler, nonmachine paced	Assemb nomach	69
Machine tender	Mach tender	34
Continuous flow monitor	Contin flow	101
Delivery service courier	Courier	20
Tool and die maker	Tool and die	77
Blue/White Collar		
Electronic technician	Elec tech	93
Policeman	Policeman	111
Train dispatcher	Dispatcher	86
Blue collar supervisor	Sup blue coll	178
White collar supervisor	Sup whte coll	42
White Collar		
Air traffic controller, large airports	ATC, large	82
Air traffic controller, small airports	ATC, small	43
Programmer	Programmer	90
Accountant	Accountant	92
Engineer	Engineer	110
Scientist	Scientist	117
Professor	Professor	74
Administrative professor	Admin prof	25
Administrator	Administrator	253
Family physician	Physician	104
Miscellaneous, gathered incidentally	Miscellaneous	57
Total		2010

[a]This ordering of occupational groups reflects--with some minor changes--an arrangement from lowest to highest Duncan SES score and therefore from lowest to highest socioeconomic status.

<u>Affective strain in policemen</u>. The policemen in this study were low on job dissatisfaction or, to emphasize the positive, they were higher on job satisfaction than the average occupation in this study. They were also lower than average on boredom. On our measures of anxiety, depression, and irritation they were about average.

<u>Person-environment fit</u>. Policemen have a better than average fit between the complexity of their work and the complexity they would like to have. The same is true for their responsibility for other people. The fit between the quantitative work load and the work load they would like to have is close to the average for other occupations. Whereas the typical occupation reports too much work load, the policemen average out at a nearly perfect fit between what they have and what they would like to have.[2] However, this average is very deceptive for there are only 11 out of 123 who report perfect fit; 55 report more work load than they would like to have and the other 55 report less work load than they would like to have.

<u>Differences among police departments</u>. The sample of policemen in this study was drawn from four different towns in California and there were some significant differences among them. For example, they differed on the goodness of fit between the policeman and his job with respect to quantitative work load and also with respect to role ambiguity (not knowning what is expected of them on the job). These findings are important because they show that the problems of stress and strain on the job are not insoluble; one department can do better than another.

What Stresses Cause Strain?

So far we have seen that policemen are high on some stresses and low on others; and we have noted that they tend to be low on affective strains including job dissatisfaction and boredom. Now we must raise a more fundamental question: whether any of these stresses are causal factors producing strain. In this study we can examine the correlates of strain, which do not <u>prove</u> a causal relation, and in the case of nonparticipation we can summarize a much broader body of research, including experimental studies, which definitely prove that low participation is a cause of strain.

<u>Correlates of strain in policemen</u>. Although half a dozen measures of job stress are correlated with one or more strains among policemen, two of these stresses stand out as having particularly strong and wide spread effects; low participation and the goodness of fit with respect to job complexity.

Participation correlates - .25 with job dissatisfaction; that is, those who have lower levels of participation have a higher job dissatisfaction. Similarly, participation correlates - .30 with boredom and - .24 with depression. Thus, low participation in decision making about one's job correlates significantly with a number of important affective strains.

Poor fit between the complexity of a man's work and the complexity he would like to have correlates .53 with dissatisfaction among policemen.

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[2] These results include data on 12 sargeants and captains as well as the 211 patrolmen.

Similarly poor fit with respect to complexity correlates .41 with boredom and .33 with depression. Here again we find wide spread and even stronger correlations between stess and affective strains in policemen.

Our general theory about the goodness of fit between a man and his job suggests that good fit should be associated with low strain and poor fit should be associated with high strain. If a man's work is too complex, it will cause strain because it over-taxes his abilities; if a man's work is too simple and repetitive, it will cause boredom. Thus we expect to find a U-shaped curve between the goodness of fit and the amount of strain; and this indeed is what we find in several of our studies conducted in various organizations and in different occupations. In the current study of 23 occupations the relationship between P-E fit on job complexity and affective depression is illustrated in Figure 1. As predicted by the theory, depression is lowest where there is no discrepancy between the complexity a man has on his job and the complexity he would like to have; but as the complexity becomes excessive (+1 and +2 in the figure) or insufficient (-1 and -2 in the figure), the depression increases.

Other studies on the main effects of low participation. In this brief summary we have tried to bring together results of a great many studies, conducted mostly by the Institute for Social Research in the United States, but also in Sweden, in Norway, in England, In Italy, in Australia, in Yugoslavia and in the Kibbutz in Israel. Figure 2 summarizes the effects of participation, although not all these effects have high participation to a variety of effects indicates the direction of causation; and in this case we can be pretty sure about which is cause and which is effect, at least for many of the dependant variables, because several of the studies are actual experiments in which the level of participation is experimentally varied and its results observed. Furthermore in several of the field studies there have been sophisticated multivariate analyses and/or longitudinal studies showing that participation at one point in time produces consequences at a later point in time. Consistent with our current study of policeman we note in Figure 2 that high participation produces a variety of good affective states. At the bottom of the table we note that participation also reduces several other stresses in the work environment. Finally it should be noted that participation not only has favorable effects on strain and on health but it also produces good working relations with others, positive attitudes towards work and high productivity, facts which are also important to keep in mind when we try to assess the overall desirability of increased participation.

But participation is no panacea, no patent medicine which will cure all ills. Despite the generally favorable affects, all of the studies which I have seen show that some people are not favorably affected by participation and, in the case of the more sophisticated studies, show the conditions under which participation has favorably effects and the conditions under which it has either no effects or occasionally unfavorable effects. Therefore it is necessary to understand these conditioning variables which modify the effects of participation before we can employ participation to improve health and well-being.

Actual relationship:

2.0

1.9

1.8

1.7

1.6

1.5

1.4

D
e
p
r
e
s
s
i
o
n

-2   -1   0   +1   +2

Job Complexity P-E Fit
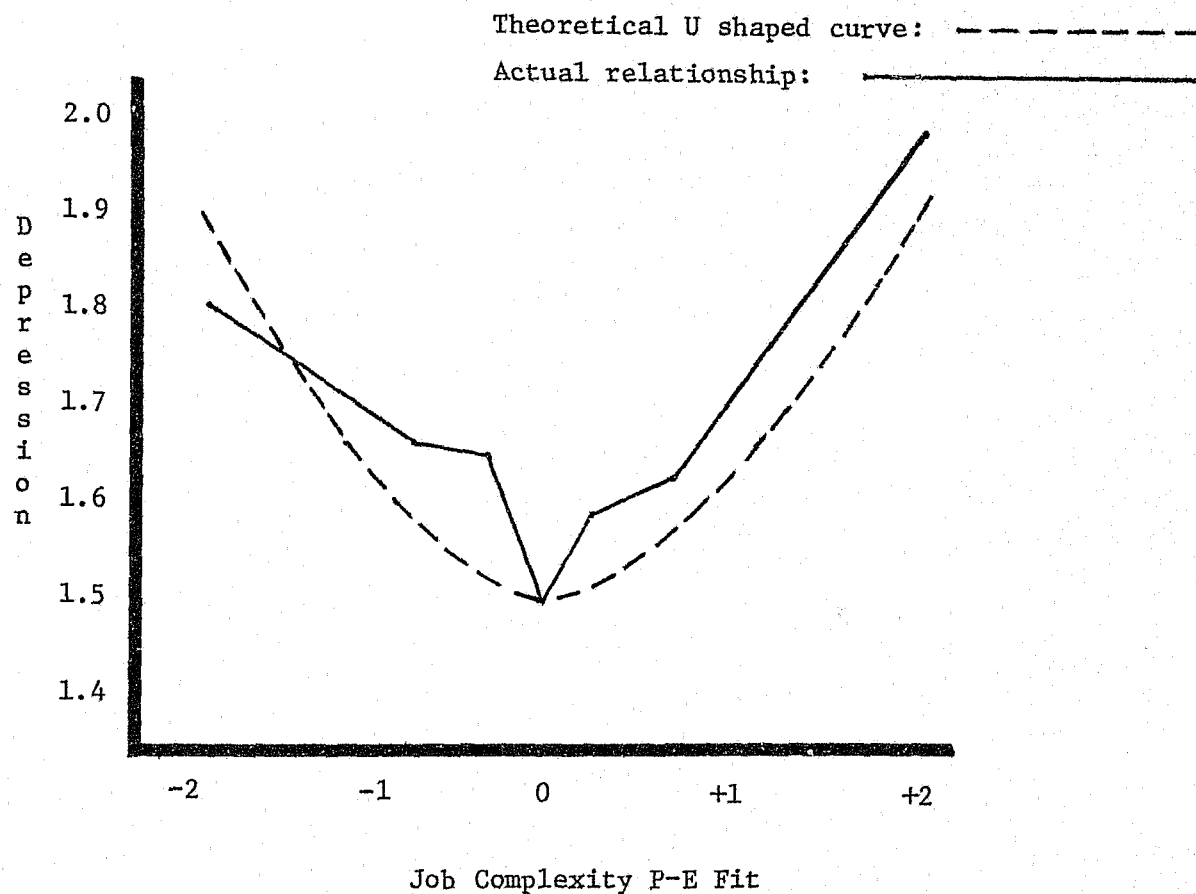
FIGURE 1.   Theoretical and actual relationships between
Job Complexity P-E Fit and Depression.   The actual relationship has
an eta value of .26 (p < .002) and is based on the random stratified
sample.

The person

who reports

high participation

in decisions

which affect his

work also shows: --

High Productivity

High production
Low absenteeism
Low turnover
High performance improvement
Does extra work
High evaluation by manager

Good Working Relations With

Immediate supervisor
Colleagues
Subordinates

Good Affective State

High job satisfaction
High self-esteem
Low job-related threat
Low anxiety
Low depression
Low alienation

Good Health

Few sickness absences
Few dispensary visits

High Self-utilization

High use of professional skills
  and abilities
High use of administrative skills

Positive Attitude toward Work

Prefers to take on more work
Commitment to work
Reads relevant books and magazines
Innovates

Favorable Work Environment

Low role ambiguity
High opportunity for advancement
Responsibility for people
Responsibility for things

Figure 2. A summary of research findings on the effects of participation.

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Figure 3 shows seven variables which have been found, in a variety of studies, to condition the effects of high participation on high productivity, high satisfaction, good relations, etc.

The horizontal arrow denotes the main effects of high participation which we have just examined in more detail in Figure 2; the seven vertical arrows show the conditioning effects which modify these main effects. A study in Norway showed that high participation had favorable effects but only when it was considered legitimate by the workers to participate in the decisions and only when they showed no resistance to the methods of making the decisions. Another study in America showed that wo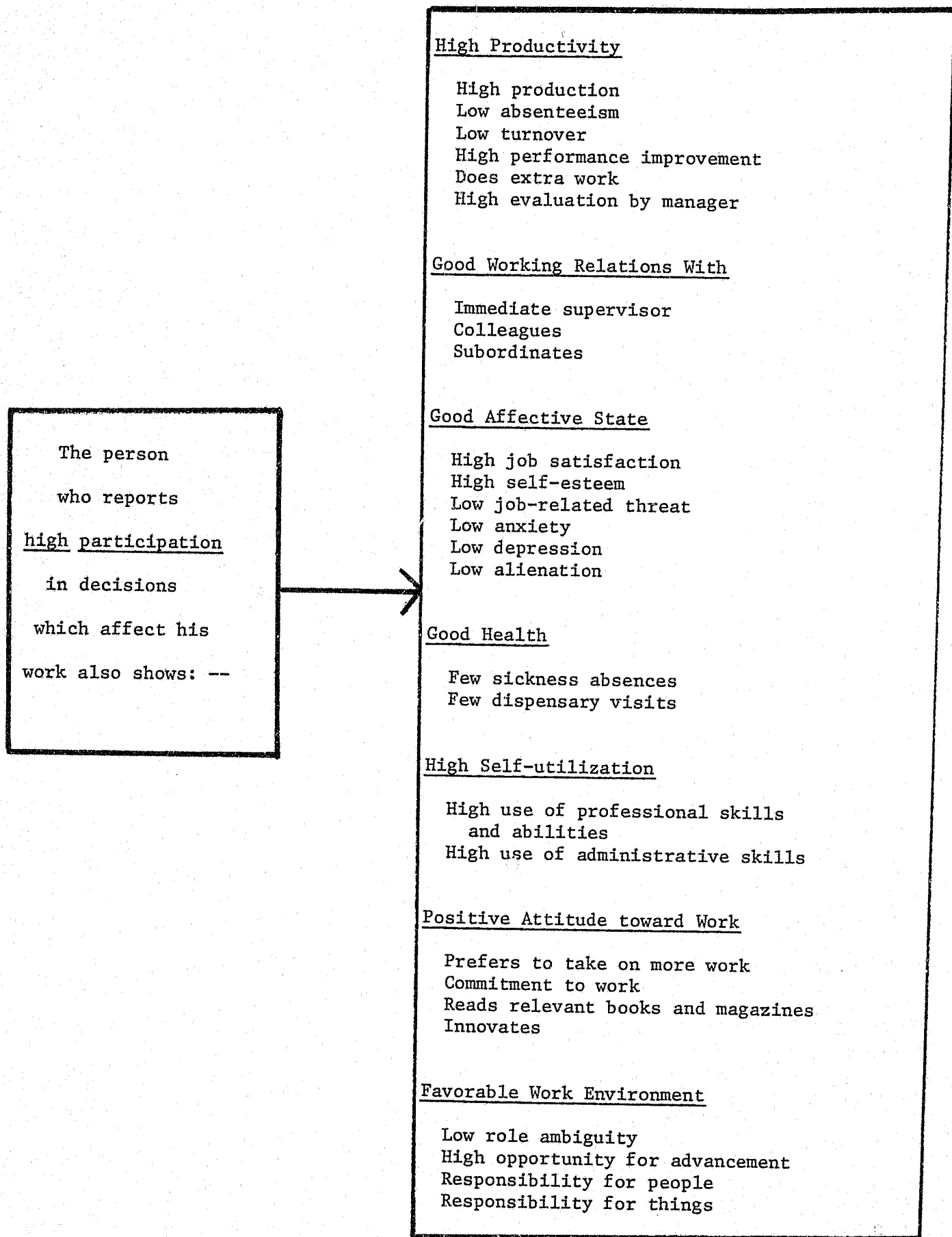rkers were favorably affected by high participation especially if they were high on the need for independence and low in the authoritarian personality (i.e. the democratic personalities reacted more favorably toward participation). Still another study showed that the reactions of managers to experimental variations in participation depended very much on the previous relations with their own boss; if he had previously made threatening criticisms during an appraisal interview and if he had previously accorded them a low usual level of participation, then an experimental increase in the level of participation did not have favorable effects. Finally, a recent study in NASA showed the effects of participation were conditioned by good person-environment fit with respect to participation; i.e. participation had the most favorable effects when the men had the amount of participation which they wanted to have and it had less favorable effects when they had either too little or too much participation. I hasten to add here that almost none of the men wanted less participation than they had. It seems likely that this last finding describes the fundamental factor underlying several of the previously reported conditioning variables. For example, illegitimate participation means that the workers do not consider it right and proper and they do not want it. Similarly the measures of need for independence and of the authoritarian personality are indirect ways of measuring how much participation a person would like to have. Thus adjusting the level of participation accorded to a man so that it fits the level of participation which he would like to have will probably take account of most of the complex conditioning variables illustrated in Figure 3.

The Prevention of Stress and Strain

In thinking about the application of these research findings for the prevention of stress and strain and for the promotion of well-being and health, it is well to keep in mind the following three points. (1) Our study attempted to measure only those job stresses which occur in many of the occupations in our sample, so it probably omitted one of the special stresses of police work such as physical danger or hostile reactions from some members of the public. Thus our findings are probably correct as far as they go, but they do not tell the whole story. (2) In this research we were trying to discover stresses and to determine their effects; we were not trying to invent ways of reducing these stresses. Therefore the speculations which follow necessarily go beyond the research findings. (3) General knowledge is essential but not sufficient for specific application. A doctor who knows all the general illnesses and their causes still must make a specific diagnosis before prescribing the cure. Similarly, we would have to examine
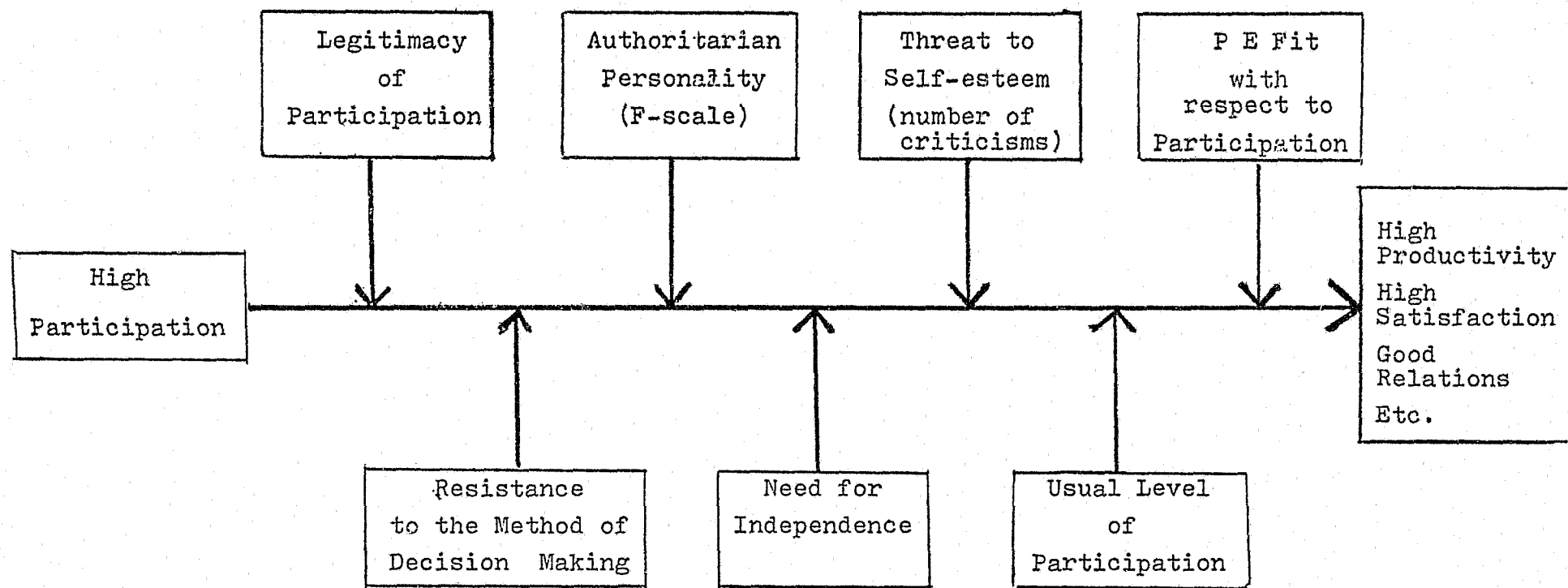
67

Figure 3. Conditioning variables which modify the effects of participation.

to prescribe a specific cure. Accordingly we will be concerned, in what follows, with three phases: (1) the early identification of strain and illness; (2) the diagnosis of the cause of strain; and (3) the planning of preventive action.

The use of participation. We have noted in our current study that policemen are somewhat lower than other occupations in participating in decisions which affect them. Our earlier research shows that several of these other occupations, even including those which are high on participation, still report that they do not have as much participation as they desire. We have also noted that in all 23 occupations low participations leads to affective strains such as job dissatisfaction and boredom. Other studies also show participation affects health, productivity, good relations with others, etc.; but these effects may be modified by conditioning variables in the person and in his job environment. So how can we use participation most effectively to increase health and well-being?

First, we need methods for the early indentification of states of health and well-being. It seems likely that the effects of stress and strain on illness represent a slow and cumulative process taking place over a period of years. Long before stress produces illness, however, its effects will show up in psychological strains. Monitoring these strains, perhaps by means of simple questionnaires such as we have used in our research, can provide an early warning of trouble to come and an opportunity to take remedial action. In some large departments with medical dispensaries it may also be possible to use medical records to monitor increases or decreases in illness rates or dispensary visits.

Given some evidence that there are high rates of strain and illness, it may also be necessary to obtain a good diagnosis. The role of job stress in producing strain and eventually illness may be diagnosed by the use of questionnaires such as we have employed in our research.

In planning for the prevention of strain and illness by utilizing participation, the main emphasis has to be on the appropriate use. This means that the plan for improving participation in any department must be adapted to the conditioning variables we have already examined in Figure 3. Participation will have desirable effects only to the extent that it meets the needs and conforms to the values of the men; if they don't want more participation or they consider it illegitimate, then it will not have favorable effects. We have also noted in Figure 3 that threats and criticisms from the boss will undermine the potential good effects of participation. To state the same thing positively, participation will have more favorable effect to the extent that the man receives social support from his immediate superior and feels that he can trust him. Any program from increasing participation has to be concerned with the problem of timing, for we have seen in Figure 3 that high participation has less favorable effects when the men are used to a low level of participation. If changes in participation are introduced too fast, therefore, they could be expected to have less positive effects, if not indeed negative effects. Although there has been no systematic research on it, I believe there is one more condition which is important for planning a program for participation: we must be concerned about the relevance and the importance of the decisions in which people participate. I believe that participation in

decision making and planning will have desirable effects only to the extent that these decisions are relevant to the man's job and that he considers them important. These conditions for the _appropriate_ use of participation are complex but most of them can be taken into account by the simple expedient of determining specifically the discrepancies between the areas of decision making and the amount of participation which a man actually has on his job and those which he would like to have. This can be accomplished successfully by rather simple questionnaires such as we have utilized in our previous research.

Given that we have determined what kind of participation and how much participation would be optimal for which individuals and groups, what are the means for providing this? Here we are dealing with the techniques for democratic management and the successful ways of introducing them. There is a large body of literature on this topic--much too large to summarize here. Instead we shall briefly indicate the main topics. First and foremost, one can introduce more democratic procedures into an organization by training the supervisors in more participative methods of managing. Both research and experience have indicated that supervisory training at the lowest level only is not likely to be successful; what is needed is the training of all management from top to bottom. A second procedure that may often be needed is a change in the formal structure of authority in the organization; that is, it may be necessary to delegate more authority down the line including all the way down to the non-supervisory level. In some cases there are too many levels in the hierarchy, and more participation could be obtained at all levels if one level were removed. Finally, it should be mentioned that a better fit between the man and his job with respect to participation can be improved by taking account of this variable in the usual processes of selection, placement, and promotion in the organization.

Improving fit with respect to job complexity. We have found in our study that poor fit with regard to the complexity of his work is perhaps the most important stress for the policemen in our example. A further examination of the data shows that a large minority of these men wanted more complex work but the majority of men wanted _less_ complex work. It is clear therefore than any _general_ change in the complexity of work will improve the fit for some men but will worsen it for others. What is needed accordingly is an _individualized_ program tailored to fit the needs of each individual.

Such a program must start with the identification of those men who are suffering from poor fit with respect to complexity and with determining whether their work is too simple or too complex. Here again the use of our research questionnaire provides a mode. It covers a variety of items about the complexity of the work including: whether there is a detailed job description or no set procedure; whether the man performs the same task using the same equipment and procedure every day or changes in the tasks and procedures occur almost daily; working with people versus working alone; having to interact with several different groups of people versus always in only one group (the former is known as "interfacing" in NASA); working on several tasks in different stages of completion versus finishing a single task before moving on to the next; etc. Similar items, chosen to be more appropriate for police work, could be added to a questionnaire. With such information in hand, I believe it would be possible to improve the fit for most of those men

men who were definitely misfitted.   No doubt there would be some constraints
to be overcome but I believe that substantial improvements in job adjustments
could be achieved.

In conclusion, let me say that the research on stress and strain and
health in working life is still in its beginning, but we have already ob-
tained enough important findings to justify feasibility studies in which
programs for reducing stress and strain and for improving health and well-
being are carried out with a careful research evaluation of the outcomes.

Health Factors in Police Job Stress

Wayne C. Richard and Ronald D. Fell
Dede Wallace Center
Nashville, Tennessee

During the past four decades, government, business and unions increasingly have recognized the importance of improving the health and safety standards of the work environment. The physical and emotional well-being of workers has become an issue of humanitarian concern, as well as having legal and profit ramifications for organizations. These concerns have provided impetus for improving the work environment. Health and safety programs and engineering modifications have made inroads in decreasing job hazards. Noise levels have been reduced, toxic substances controlled, and safety devices added to dangerous machinery. Much work remains to be done in reducing the incidence of work-related accidents and illnesses. But the evidence to date shows that considerable progress has been made in protecting the worker from the physical hazards of his or her job (Quint, 1969).

Of more recent concern is the issue of psychological job stress and individual well-being. People spend large portions of their daily lives in work environments, coping with the demands and needs of their supervisors, subordinates, and the overall requirements of their jobs. Organizations exert their unique forces on individuals. The forces of the work environment direct behavior toward certain activities and goals, and away from others. The rewards of working can help provide for personal growth and financial security. However, the work environment extracts its price too. An impressive body of research has been accumulating which indicates that there is a strong relationship between psychological job stress and ill health. Occupational stresses contribute to the deterioration of the physical and mental well-being of many employees, costing organizations and society immeasurable losses in human resources. For heart disease alone, the direct cost of medical care and loss of output amounted to $22.4 billion, or four percent of the GNP in 1963 (The President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke, 1964).

The pressures of the job environment may result in a number of psychologically or physiologically related pathologies. These may be expressed in absenteeism, apathy, turnover, or acts of violence directed against the organization. Other manifestations of stress may be ulcers, heart disease, emotional disturbance, or some other disabling disorder.

Researchers have found it difficult to define "stress" in any but the most general terms (House, 1974a). Most see stress as occurring when an individual confronts a situation where his or her usual modes of behaving are insufficient and the consequences of not adapting are serious. Situations are considered stressful where demands of the work environment exceed existing abilities or where clear obstacles exist to fulfilling strong needs or values.

French and Caplan (1972) have developed a theoretical model for stress research which includes several classes of variables. In their model, occupations or roles are the loci of stress in organizations. Role overload, role conflict, and responsibility for people are examples of job stressors. These stressors lead to psychological and physiological strains, such as job tension, low self-esteem, elevated blood pressure and high cholesterol. The amount of strain the individual experiences is mediated by personality variables, which include capabilities, flexibility, ambition, agressiveness, etc. Strains of sufficient intensity and duration may precipitate emotional and physical breakdowns, such as coronary heart disease.

Han Selye (1956) proposed the General Adaptation Syndrome to explain how stress may incapacitate an individual. A wide variety of environmental events or stressors, produces a pattern of bodily reactions which prepare the organism for defense. The autonomic nervous system is aroused, heart rate, blood pressure, and muscle tone are increased, and adrenalin is discharged. These defensive reactions serve the useful function of preparing the individual for "fight or flight." However, under conditions of prolonged exposure to stressors, bodily resources can be depleted. In some cases physical organs may break down, emotional instability may occur, or death may ensue. "Disease of adaptation" (e.g. cardiovasuclar disease, ulcers, arthritis, allergic reactions, etc.) may develop as a result of the body's own attempt to adapt to stress.

In recent years researchers have attempted to clarify the relationships between psychological job stress and ill health. House (1974b) reviewed the research which provides evidence for the relationship between occupational stress and coronary heart disease. He found that several indicators of job stress, such as low job satisfaction, work overload, status inconsistency, and job mobility, were consistently related to heart disease.

Several studies of specific occupations analyzed the relationship of stress to the physical and emotional well-being of its practitioners. A study by Cobb and Rose (1973) provided evidence that the psychological stress experienced by air traffic controllers resulted in elevated risks of hypertension, peptic ulcer, and diabetes. Researchers studying tax accountants found marked increase in cholesterol levels as the April 15 deadline for filing tax returns approached (Friedman, et al., 1957). Similarly, a number of studies have shown that the cholesterol level of medical students is elevated on days preceding examinations (Sales, 1969).

Police work, in particular, is an occupation which appears to involve high levels of stress. Rising crime rates, tension in the inner cities and on college campuses, and increasing levels of violence in our society during the past decade have put great demands on police. The media popularly portray police as risking life and limb to protect society, experiencing conflicting demands, and often having to face hostile feelings from the community. Initial efforts have been undertaken to study stresses of police work by examining the type of physical and emotional problems which may be occurring.

Kroes, et al. (1974) conducted interviews with 100 officers on a metropolitan police force. Their data indicated several areas of job stress for police. Officers were upset with the court system: the courts were seen as lenient on criminals and insensitive in scheduling police appearance. Police administration policy often was considered inappropriate, and means of co - munication were inadequate. Equipment was either lacking or in disrepair.

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Policemen felt community relations were negative, often hostile. Shift changes caused physical strain and had deleterious effects on family relationships. The police reported high levels of indigestion and headaches. They also had high rates of on-duty automobile accidents under non-hazardous conditions.

In addition, police experience stress from the physically dangerous and often violent nature of their employment. Lewis (1973) quoted statistics on the Charlottesville, Virginia Police Force. Their respondents report observing an injured adult three times a month, life-threatening bleeding once every three months, an injured child once every two months, the victim of a severe assult more than once every two months, and a dead person about once every three months. However, in ten years of employment the average officer was injured only twice, with only one of these injuries requiring time off work to recover. A small study by Ford et al. (1971) showed that the expressed fear of death was no greater among police officers than among the control group of mail carriers and male college students.

Other experts point to the lack of utilization of capabilities as a stressful factor in police work. The policeman often is relegated to investigating dog bites and weed complaints (Ahern, 1972). He usually arrives at scenes of crime after the perpetrators have fled and ends up writing reports and listening to victims. Seldom does the officer get a chance to participate in management-type decisions in his own police force (Reiser, 1974).

These initial efforts have provided evidence of some unique stresses associated with being a police officer. Researchers have studied problems which affect performance and morale. Difficulties with physical illness and family problems have been reported by police. But, to date no comprehensive studies have been completed which compare stress in police work with other occupations. The question still remains: is police work really more psychologically stressful than other occupations?

This study attempts to examine that question by looking at current health data by occupation. If being a police officer puts individuals under high levels of psychological stress, then high rates of physical and emotional diseases should occur for that occupation. Three major sources of health data are used to compare police with other occupational groups: death certificates, mental health centers and general hospitals.

Methods

The State of Tennessee was selected as an appropriate location for this study. With a tradition steeped in an agrarian economy, Tennessee has been rapidly establishing a diversified industrial base. Since World War II, new industries from aerospace and nuclear engineering to beer brewing have developed in the state. An analysis of occupational groups for the state shows a wide representation of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations (see Table I).

Table 1
Distribution of Occupation Groups for Major
Tennessee Occupations in 1970, Ages 18-64

	Number	Percent
Professional, Technical, Kindred	163,326	12.1%
Managers, Officials, Proprietors	102,611	7.6
Sales Workers	99,092	7.4
Clerical Workers	193,439	14.4
Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred	198,893	14.8
Operatives, Operators	308,193	22.9
*Service Workers	164,463	12.2
Laborers, except Farm	69,859	5.2
Farmers and Farm Workers	45,734	3.4
Total	1,345,610	100.0%

*A total of 5,563 police are included in this category.

A decision was made to include occupations in Tennessee in which over 1000 people were employed in 1970. Employment statistics and standard occupation codes were derived from 1970 census data (Census of Population: 1970 Detailed Characteristics, 1972). In some cases individual occupations were combined to provide for more accurate data gathering. For example, mail carriers, mail handlers, and postal clerks were combined into one occupational category. A total of 130 different occupational categories resulted.

The ICDA system of classifying diagnoses was used as the basis for collecting and coding diagnostic information (Eighth Revision International Classification of Diseases, Adopted for Use in the United States, 1968). This system, comprised of 1,040 three-digit categories of diagnoses, is used by a large number of hospital and public health agencies for indexing and storage of morbidity and mortality data. A group of experts rated each of these diagnoses according to the degree of psychological involvement. This procedure provided a reduced list of 174 diagnoses, all considered to be related to psychological stress. The study was limited to subjects who had at least one of those diagnoses.

In order to get several indices of physical and emotional illness by occupation, three different sources of data were used. Death certificates were sampled to collect information on premature death and to examine suicide rates. Data were gathered from mental health centers so that comparison of emotional health could be made across occupations. Samples of case files from general hospitals in Nashville, Knoxville, and Memphis provided data on medical illnesses incurred by different occupations. For each sample, data collectors manually extracted the information for computerization. Each case file selected was included in the sample if it met the following criteria:

occupation: the person was employed in one of the 130 occupational categories

age: the individual's death, admission to the hospital or admission to the mental health center occurred between the ages of 18-64

residence: Tennessee residents only

diagnosis: the person must have received one of the 174 diagnoses
   related to psychological stress

date of admission: must be between January 1, 1972, and December 31,
   1974

Information was also gathered on sex (male, female), race (white, black, other), marital status (single, married, separated, divorced, widowed), county of residence, and town size (small, medium, large). Any case file which did not provide sufficient information of which did not meet the above criteria was rejected. Each patient was counted only once in a given sample; re-admissions were rejected. Data on secondary and tertiary diagnoses were collected when available.

Death Certificates. Certified records for all deaths in Tennessee are filed with the Vital Statistic section of the Department of Public Health. A random sample of death certificates was taken for this study. This sample consisted of 50% of all persons who died from January, 1972 through June, 1974. Homicides were not included in the sample. A total of 6,720 cases were gathered.

Tennessee Department of Mental Health (TDMH). There are 27 community mental health centers in the State of Tennessee, exclusive of the state psychiatric hospitals. These centers provide a full range of mental health services, primarily on an out-patient basis. The centers are geographically accessible to most residents of the state, and charges are based on ability to pay. Written permission to sample their case files was received from twenty-two of these centers. This sample consisted of all cases from January, 1972 through June, 1974. A person was considered employed if he or she had a stated occupation within two years prior to admission. This sample generated a total of 8,528 cases.

General Hospitals. Three general hospitals located in different population centers of Tennessee were selected for gathering data on occupational incidence of medical diseases. The Nashville hospital is a medium-sized general hospital located in a suburb of the city. It draws patients primarily from the central part of the state. The sample from this hospital consisted of all available cases from 1972-1974 which met the criteria for residence, employment, age, and diagnosis. Data were manually collected from manila case folders for computerization. This procedure yielded a total of 1,867 cases.

A sample of cases was taken from a general hospital in Knoxville, which serves the eastern Tennessee area. This hospital is a large medical facility located in urban Knoxville. All cases were sampled for the 1972-1974 period, with the exception of the July-December 1973 records, which were not available for this study. This sample consisted of 5,142 cases.

A large general hospital located in urban Memphis was the source for the patient sample from western Tennessee. This hospital provided the project a computer tape of all patient records for the years 1972-1974. A sample of one-seventh of these cases was taken. Since this tape did not include

information on patient occupation, this information had to be collected manually from individual case files. After elimination of cases which did not meet the project's criteria, a total of 1,719 cases remained.

In order to obtain a comprehensive sample of medical cases representative of the state, the data from these three hospitals were combined. These data provide a reasonable cross section of occupations and medical diseases. The total sample size from the medical hospitals was 8,728 cases.

Results

The results of this study indicate that police have an incidence of health problems which is somewhat greater than other occupations. An analysis of death certificates data shows that police have significantly high rates of premature death and rank third among occupations in suicide rate. Police also are admitted to general hospitals at significantly high rates. However, police do not seek help at mental health centers at greater than average rates.

The statistical method used for data analysis involved comparing the relative frequency of police in the population. A z score was computed for each data source in order to determine if the relative frequency of police in that sample was significantly high. A summary of the results is shown in Table 2. These results are based on preliminary data analyses, therefore the reader is cautioned against making conclusive judgements for this information. A discussion of these results by data source follows.

Death Certificates. A sample of 6,720 cases was collected from this data source, of which 43 were individuals who had been employed as police officers. An analysis was made to determine if this was a significantly high number of police deaths. Using the relative frequencies of police in the sample and in the population, a z score was computed. The results show that police died prematurely at a significantly high rate ($z = 2.95$, $p < .01$).

Table 2
Summary of Preliminary Results

	Sample Size All Occupations	No. of Police in Sample	Preliminary Results
Death Certificates	6,720	43	Significantly high*
TDMH	8,528	55	Not significant
General Hospitals	8,728	70	Significantly high*

*p < .01

Suicide rates, another indicator of occupational stress, were examined across occupations. In the death certificate sample, a total of 363 deaths were by suicide. Five of those suicides were committed by police officers. For each occupation with four or more suicides in the sample data, an annual suicide rate per 100,000 was computed. The results in suicide rate, following laborers and pressmen.

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Tennessee Department of Mental Health. Of the 8,528 cases in the TDMH sample, 55 were police officers. Unfortunately, for this particular occupation a confounding factor was discovered. Some of Tennessee's mental health centers are used as resources for psychological screening of recruits and newly hired policemen. Consequently, it is not possible to ascertain exactly how many of the 55 cases were officers who were admitted for mental health problems, and how many were for routine psychological screening of police. After making a rough adjustment for this factor, it appears that police do not seek help at Tennessee mental health centers any more (or less) frequently than do members of other occupations.

General Hospitals. Of the 8,728 individuals in the sample who were admitted to one of the three general hospitals, 70 were policemen. The relative frequency of police hospital admissions was compared with the relative frequency of police population. The results show that police were admitted to the medical hospitals at a significantly high rate (z = 5.01, p < .01). Detailed data analyses of specific diagnostic categories reveal that problems of the circulatory system and digestive disorders accounted for a large proportion of police admissions. For the Nashville hospital, these two groups of diseases accounted for 73.6% of police admissions, versus 48.3% for all occupations combined. Figures for the Knoxville hospital were 63.6% for police, 48.4% for all occupations. (The detailed analysis of data from the Memphis hospital had not been completed by publication time).

Tables 4 and 5 show the frequency of cases by sex and race for each data source. It can be seen that the police in each of the samples are overwhelmingly male and white. These frequencies differ markedly from the overall figures for employed Tennesseans (61.0% male, 86.4% white).

Table 3
Annual Suicide Rates by Occupation

Occupation	Number of Suicides in Sample	Annual Suicide Rate/100,000 (occ.)
Laborers	36	81.7
Pressman	5	71.0
Police	5	69.1
Painters	8	68.2
Carpenters	17	66.2
Electricians	7	60.4
Farm Owners	23	47.8
Engineers	8	38.5
Machinist	4	36.9
Accountants	4	34.6
Salesman	15	31.3
Nurses Aides	5	30.6
Nurses	5	29.3
Managers/Administrators	25	28.3
Mechanics	10	27.6
Truck Drivers	16	25.7
Waiters	5	24.2
Secretaries	15	19.8
Operatives	27	15.4
Janitors	4	14.6
Foremen	6	13.9
Teachers	6	9.9
Clerical Workers	16	8.7
Sales Clerk	5	7.7
Other Occupations	363	20.6

Annual suicide rates per 100,000 occupation. Includes all occupations
with four or more suicides in the sample of January 1972- June 1974
Tennessee Death Certificates.

Table 4
Sex of Police by Data Source

	Male	Female	Total	Percent Male*
Death Certificates	42	1	43	98%
Tenn. Dept. Mental Health	52	3	55	95%
General Hospitals	62	8	70	89%

*61.0% of all employed persons in Tennessee, ages 18-64, are male.

Table 5
Race of Police by Data Source

	White	Black	Other	Total	Percent White*
Death Certificates	41	2	0	43	95%
Tenn. Dept. Mental Health	49	6	0	55	89%
General Hospitals	68	2	0	70	97%

*86.4% of all employed persons in Tennessee, ages 18-64, are white.

The average age of admission (average age of premature death for the death certificate data) is shown in Table 6. Comparisons between the police group and "all occupations" show only minor differences.

Table 6
Mean Age of Admission (or Age of Death) by Data Source

	Police	All Occupations
Death Certificates	54.1	54.5
Tenn. Dept. Mental Health	34.1	33.0
General Hospitals	42.5	42.7

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

To summarize the preliminary results to date:

. . . the premature death rate for police (exclusive of homicides) is significantly high

. . . the suicide rate for police rates third among occupations

. . . as a group, police seek help at mental health centers at about average rates (employment screening cases confounded the results)

. . . police are admitted to medical hospitals at a significantly high rate, often with problems of the circulatory and digestive systems.

Discussion

Research efforts are continuing on this study, and additonal information on the stresses and strain of police work will be available within a few months. Data from other sources such as Workmen's Compensation Insurance and the medical insurance records of county employees will provide additional health statistics. Effects of the variables sex, race, and age are being studied. If differences in the overall health statistics of males and females or of blacks and whites prove significant, then statistical controls for the occupational biases of these variables will be utilized. Specific analyses of disease such as duodenal ulcers, ischemic heart disease, and hypertension will show if police are especially susceptible to these stress-related diseases.

The preliminary results indicate some specific areas of health problems for police. Data from the general hospital show that police were admitted at significantly high rates. About two-thirds of police admissions were for disorders of the circulatory and/or digestive system, compared to approximately 48 percent for all occupations. Further investigation of the Memphis hospital data is needed in order to verify that these two hospitals have provided representative data, and that no biases of geography or diagnoses are affecting the results.

The rates of premature death for police were at a statistically significant level. It would be valuable to study the degree to which these rates are affected by police who "retire" to less demanding jobs, like watchmen and guards.

The suicide rate for police was third highest among the different occupations. It is interesting that this ranking is quite consistent with that found by Kroes (1974), using 1950 census data. Perhaps the violent world in which many police perform their jobs predisposes them toward the violence of self-inflicted death as a solution to personal crises. The availability of guns, an irreversible method of suicide attempt, may also be a significant variable.

The mental health data have produced no clear results. First, the sample was confounded by the police screening cases. In addition, it is unclear to what degree a police officer might be inhibited from seeking psychological help at a public mental health center. Fears of job loss could result in an officer's seeking private help, or avoiding treatment altogether. Much more information is needed in order to understand how police officers handle (or fail to handle) personal problesm of emotional distress.

Too often police officers are expected by society and their fellow officers to behave in stereotyped roles. Stress and emotional upset are handled by being tough, not complaining, and not show feelings. Most off-duty police are still required to carry their guns, making it difficult for them to really let down and share their emotions. One result of this internalization of feelings may be high levels of somatic illnesses and diseases.

As some of the problems of psychological stress and individual strain in police work become more clearly identified, remedial programs can be developed. With regard to the high incidence of medical problems, several initial steps might be taken. Periodic physical examinations could be given each officer, with special emphasis placed on early detection of problems of the circulatory and digestive systems. Officers could be trained to recognize early symptoms of medical problems in their own bodies. Patrolmen could be encouraged to take sufficient time for meals while on duty, and eat at places where healthy, balanced meals are served.

Immediate steps could be taken to begin reducing the suicide rate. Crisis intervention resources and techniques are available and could be made more accessible to police. Officers could be encouraged to seek professional help for emotional problems when necessary, without feeling their jobs might be jeopardized. Periodic re-screening of police might serve as a way of detecting individuals who are having problems in handling stress.

Police need training programs which concentrate on the human side of policing. These programs can help each officer to become more sensitive to his own limits and to those of his fellow officers. It is becoming a more common practice to include human relations programs in recruit training. For example, the police recruits of Metropolitan Nashville and Davidson County receive about 70 hours of training in mental health, sociology and human relations during their 20 week session. The training includes lectures, discussions, role playing, and dramatic presentations by trained actors. Rookies get training in various aspects of human relations, including family disturbances and crisis intervention.

Additional training sessions could be developed to deal with marital stress. Programs for police rookies and their wives could prepare them for the types of family difficulties that typically result from police work and help them to find healthy solutions.

Police could be trained in specific techniques of stress-reduction. Zone car sargeants, in particular, could be instrumental in reducing stress by continually being available to listen to their patrolmen. "Time-out" periods for on-duty officers, during which they could rest and talk with effective listeners, would help reduce tensions.

Though many studies like this one are still in their conceptual and early stages, it is not necessary to wait for all the results before efforts are begun. The emotional and physical well-being of its workers certainly must be a prime concern for any modern organization. Programs can be developed now—programs that reduce job stress, that help protect the overall health of police men and women, and that help to humanize the job of being a police officer.

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Reducing Police Stress: A Psychiatrist's Point of View*

Jerome H. Jacobi
Los Angeles, California

SUMMARY

This paper results from my professional experience with approximately fifty disabled police officers of the Los Angeles Police Department through referrals from the City's Worker's Compensation Division and LAPD Medical Records. Strain disorders, police stress, the disability process as a cause of stress, reducing police job stress and strain consequences, ameliorating the stress of the disability process, and counseling practices are explored and practical approaches for reducing police stress entertained. Medical considerations and the importance of the reduction of organizational stresses are emphasized.

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The present focus of this paper has resulted from my professional experience with approximately fifty disabled police officers of the City of Los Angeles since June, 1971. Some of these contacts were for evaluating disability; many were for treatment of varying intensity and depth. Pertinent materials on occupational stress have come to my attention, either specifically related to police work [Kroes et al, 1974], or representing more general studies on occupational stress. [Kornhauser, 1965; McLean, 1974]. There have also been many discussions with personnel from the Medical Records Division of the Police Department, Worker's Compensation Division of the Personnel Department of the City of Los Angeles, and the Police and Fire Pension System.

The amount of stress-related disability (compensable and noncompensable) of employees of the LAPD is increasing. Police Department Medical Records personnel and Worker's Compensation personnel are of this opinion. William Kroes informed me recently that he has been receiving similar impressions from other departments throughout the country. Although police work stress-related disability is increasing dramatically the resultant effects, such as decrease in productivity of those still employed, the number of actual sick and injury (IOD) days lost, the suffering, anxieties, and depressions of the injured, sick and disabled leading to the costly loss of highly trained employees, has not yet been adequately quantified to my knowledge. The global impression, however, is one of drastically increasing Worker's Compensation budgets, IOD costs, disability pension costs, and perhaps earlier service pension retirements for those in such a position to find this way out.

[Under California's Worker's Compensation Law, work stress or trauma has to be only a substantial contributing factor to a disability, whether a new condition or an aggravation of a prior condition, for that resultant disability to be compensable. It is further my understanding that subsequent disability pension determinations because of recent California court decisions tend to rely more heavily on the Worker's Compensation determination.]

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* Editors note: Potentially offensive expressions have been retained in this article in the interest of presenting an accurate report of actual police situations.

Stress-Related Disorders (Strain Consequences)

Psychological stress produces not only what is commonly thought of as being frank mental and emotional disturbance, neurosis and psychosis, personality regressions, brain damage-related problems known as organic brain syndromes, and so-called traumatic neurosis also known as combat neurosis, gross stress reaction, or transient situational disturbances often resulting from life and limb threatening situations or other line-of-duty crisis, but also produces a whole gamut of psychophysiological disturbances that, if intense and chronic enough, can lead to demonstrable organic disease of varying severity. A list of such psychophysiological conditions that lead to medical and surgical conditions includes: Psychophysiological disorders of the skin such as neurodermatitis and atopic dermatitis; of the musculoskeletal system such as backache (the low back syndrome), muscle cramps, tension headaches, stiff neck; psychophysiological respiratory disorders such as bronchial asthma, hyperventilation syndrome; psychophysiological cardiovascular disorders such as high blood pressure, tachycardia, gastrointestinal disorders such as peptic ulcer, chronic gastritis,ulcerative and mucous colitis, constipation, hyperacidity, pyloric spasm, heart burn, irritable colon, gastroesophageal reflux; psychophysiological genitourinary disorders such as disturbances in urination, sexual functioning, impotency; and psychophysiological endocrine disorders such as diabetes mellitus, thyroid disorders, adrenal disorders, pituitary disorders, menstrual disorders, and other sexual hormone disorders. There is also increasing evidence that the occurrence of industrial accidents themselves are often stress-related; this has been called the "accident process"....[Selzer and Vinokur, 1974, Hirschfeld and Behan, 1963].

Increasing sick time, which may be related to conditions that may be claimed to be work-related or not, including colds and "flu" syndromes, gastrointestinal upsets, headaches, causing absence from work in reality may often be brief stress reactions, work-related or not.

Alcoholism, often resulting from stress, in the long run only adds to the impairment that has already been caused by the original or initial stress experiences. The injudicious use of medicines, whether prescribed, over the counter, or illegally obtained can also lead to further significant impairment with increasing disability and chronicity.

No matter to what extent divorce is still considered a social disorder or psychopathological, it is certainly often related to increasing stress and often in its turn, causes increasing stress. There appears to be a concensus that alcoholism, suicide and divorce are quite high among police officers when compared to the general population.

Psychophysiological disorders often develop into or contribute to significant frank organic pathology, the most common pathology being arteriosclerosis and cardiovascular disease, diabetes mellitus, peptic ulcer, high blood pressure, and low back syndrome, the latter being much too often considered to be surgical as a probable discogenic syndrome.

Further, "some researchers are now linking tension to everything from cancer-proneness to stiff necks... Diagnosis and etiology are not so simple as in the monofactorial era of the germ theory. Among the currently-recognized major factors that contribute to an individual's susceptibility to disease [are]:

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"Presence of a pathogenic agent;

Predisposition or vulnerability to a particular disease...that may be genetically determined;

Presence of 'stressful' environmental conditions;

Individuals' perception that psychosocial conditions that prevail are indeed 'stressful';

Capacity of the individual to cope with or adapt to the demands and events that occur within his environment."

[Adler, 1975]

A major presenting disability is the low back syndrome (and possible cervical syndromes should be included as well). LAPD Medical Records Division personnel recently furnished me with data that demonstrates that 33-45% of all off-work IOD disabilities would fall into the category of low back syndrome, and that this percentage has been constant over the past year.

Whatever the state of the intervertebral discs, and too often there are only marginal objective findings, the experience of low back pain is highly influenced by depression and tension, disguised or not by life events [Holmes, 1952] and may be the principal or only presenting complaint resulting from a depression. The back and its functioning is highly symbolic to the psyche, and paranoid and other psychiatric sequelae are not rare following surgery to the low back. It would be very prudent to insist on initial psychological evaluation in all these cases. The results of surgery to the low back for discogenic syndrome have not been generally good in any consistent manner, and proper patient selection is imperative from the the point of view of significant objective motor findings, psychological set, and satisfactory patient motivation to get well. There are other, more promising, approaches related to behavior modification, active physical conditioning, bio feedback, autogenic training and progressive relaxation.

One neurosurgeon [Shealy, 1973] relates:

"Review of original operative notes in the 250 patients previously operated elsewhere, however, reveals definitive reports of disc herniation in only six of these patients. In 20 others the information supplied is insufficient to make a diagnosis; and in 224 patients the operative note clearly indicates that the original pathology consisted of a bulging, degenerated disc. It is easy to understand, in this group, the failure of pain relief with disc removal. Pertinent to this fact is our finding of only one ruptured disc in 45 patients previously unoperated but otherwise complaining of back and sciatic pain similar in nature to that of the patients who had failed to benefit from earlier hemilaminectomy, disc removal and/or fusion."

Dr. Shealy is of a very firm opinion that the group of low back pain patients, who have true disc herniation or extrusion:

"represents only a small proportion of all patients complaining of chronic low back pain and sciatica."

He states that:

"Attempts to relieve chronic symptomatology by hemi-laminectomy and disc removal may result in worsening or failure of resolution of the patient's original symptoms..."

He found this to be the case in chronic low back pain without clear cut motor or neurological changes, a virtually normal myelogram or a minimal abnormality; in lumbar spondylosis with long standing degenerative disc disease; in pure 'discogenic' pain, as reported by Cloward; and in disc surgery failures.

There are also injuries which often lead to psychiatric complications, such as head injuries with physical trauma to the brain or injuries to other organs that are of important emotional significance to the injured.

The explanations for increasing stress-related disability are varied. It has become more socially acceptable to recognize and admit stress and strain reactions without necessarily being considered crazy, insane, or psycho, leading to emotional and mental disturbances and to the pathological physiological reactivity of the psychophysiological disorders more commonly known as psychosomatic disorders, affecting different organ systems and, if chronic, leading to blatant tissue pathology. In the past many of these conditions were often not recognized, or were diagnosed simply as medical conditions or the afflicted people were simply gotten rid of.

Lay people, attorneys, doctors and employees are much more aware of stress reactions leading to disease, as communicated by the various media. More pertinently, professional employee associations have published articles in their newspapers quite recently describing this phenomenon. There is also increasing recognition of the possibilities of treatment and compensation for such conditions, and more hopefully, recognition of the advisability of treating and preventing such conditions for both humane and economic considerations.

A second factor leading to increasing incidence is that there is, undoubtedly, increasing stress in our society. Living today, in general, has become more stressful and is increasingly so. General factors include increased choices, mobility, noise pollution, crowding, social anomie, uncertain economic conditions, accelerating social changes, dissipation of traditional values, beliefs and rituals, and what has recently been described as future shock. [Toffler, 1970, Rahe, 1969].

Police Stress

Work-related stress disorders, particularly in police officers, is increasingly being recognized. William H. Kroes, Chief, Stress Research, National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, pointed out in Psychological Stress and Police Work,

"...available morbidity and mortality data show the police have more health problems which appear to be stress related than those in other occupations."

Based-on 1950 census data Kroes' findings show that no occupation exceeds that of police officers in combined standard mortality ratios for coronary heart disease, diabetes mellitus, and suicide. In all probability, police work would prove to be even more stressful of late than it was in the 1950's given the events that have taken place in America in the past 15 years, leading to increasing social anomie, polarization, lack of civil support with unrest and resentment, resulting in increasing civil complaints and suits... As William Kroes believes,

> "Efforts of individuals such as author Joseph Wambaugh notwith-standing, police have come to represent for a large segment of the society a very negative image. Public antagonism over the years can only have added to the already overwhelming stress that the policeman must face in his job."

Because of such social influences, there has been counter-reaction within the police department leading to increased self-policing. Such increase self-policing, however laudable, increases stress among employees who wonder when they will be "second guessed," investigated, and/or brought before a Trial Board. There have also been concomitant accelerating administrative and organizational changes, due to necessity of increasing uncertainty, malaise, tension and insecurity, particularly among older employees, in the face of newer and unfamiliar job responsibilities. These recent organizational changes, including civilianization have limited lateral mobility within the department, thus eliminating some positions that heretofore have served as stress safety valves.

Kroes describes two categories of stresses: Those which police may share with other stress occupations, and those which are unique, police specific stresses. The first group includes problems associated with following official policies and procedures, rapport between workers and supervisors, the stress of a second job, shift work, boredom, and responsibility for people. Specific police stresses are courts, community relations, conflicting values between majority culture values and subcultural values, line of duty crisis situations, and difficulty unwinding after a tour of duty.

It is also my understanding that NIOSH is presently setting in motion a research project that will further delineate the relationships between stress factors, strain factors, and the mitigating factors lessening strain reactions among various occupational groups and, in particular, among police officers fashioned after preliminary studies by Margolis et al,[1974] and Kroes, et al, [1974].

The observations which I shall describe here stem not from quantified research studies of a representative sample of working police officers, but principally from clinical observations and impressions gathered from my evaluative and therapeutic sessions with disabled police officers, thus from a somewhat selected sample. Some of these police officers have since returned to work; many have not.

The most frequent common denominator of perceived stress is related to performance anxiety in one form or another. A second most common stress factor is related to the specific experiences and interpretive orientations that policemen are subjected to in their daily work.

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The most frequent common denominator of perceived stress is related to performance anxiety in one form or another. A second most common stress factor is related to the specific experiences and interpretive orientations that policemen are subjected to in their daily work.

The most frequent manifestation of performance anxiety is related to the fear of doing something wrong, of being criticized, second-guessed, investigated, of being tried, suspended or fired. A second source of performance anxiety is related to the inculcated need and pressure to prove manliness sometimes known as macho, machismo, and probably related to the "John Wayne Syndrome". [Reiser, 1973]. A third source of performance anxiety which is increasing, is related to civil suits against police officers who have otherwise properly performed duties according to acceptable police policies and procedures.

The anxiety and the fear of doing something wrong or of being involved in something wrong is an extremely pervasive one. This is experienced as a continuous pressure from the police department itself that:

"You've got to be a 'do-be' - a good guy - and you can't unwind like the other civilians."

"You can't live your own life. You're a policeman for 24 hours, rather than for eight hours, because of being a constant reflection on the department. People lose their identity."

"There are investigations of everyone when something goes wrong with one officer. Everyone is suspect."

"We've been told we've been selected for our maturity and then we're treated like kids. There is one sergeant for every three or four police officers."

"Officers are often afraid to get involved in certain situations because of possible investigations by Internal Affairs Division, or one simply lies and rearranges facts to cover one's ass."

"Superiors are always doubting a policeman's veracity. They very seldom take you at your word. Why tell the truth anymore."

"If there are complaints against us, we have to undergo polygraph examinations and investigations, but the one who brings the complaint doesn't."

" If a special problem arises, they watch the guy and keep a log in order to go after his head."

"To do a job well you sometimes have to go out on a limb and if you're wrong and make a mistake, you're nailed to the cross."

"Do the least little thing wrong and they'll be all over you."

The statements noted above and their various variations, whether well articulated or not, are highly representative of and commonly and frequently exclaimed by police officers that I see. This situation is represented in the extreme by investation and trial by a Board of Rights of a police officer who is manifesting unusual or bizarre behavior - more often than not such unusual or bizarre behavior being substantially contributed to by work-related stress.

The suspensions, investigations, and trial boards only increase the work-related stress, often increasing the unusual, bizarre, or unacceptable behavior.

Investigations and trials or trial-like situations in which one is a defendant are a quasi universal source of stress in Western culture and are the most frequent cause of referral to me, whether the ostensible cause is peptic ulcer, low back syndrome, bizarre behavior, alcoholism, high blood pressure, gunshot wounds, life-threatening events or emotional disorder. This is not to say that all these people are faced with real trials, but when the real trial is missing there is still an internal trial fantasized.

The cultural universality of this concern with trials is dramatically modelled in our theology from Original Sin to Final Judgment. The psychological process of the trial, imagined or real, and its consequences are graphically and ingeniously portrayed in Franz Kafka's, "The Trial."

More recently, we have been given an in depth study of the effects of guilt and various trials on the behavior, health demeanor, emotions, and thinking of Karl, the surviving police officer of, "The Onion Field" [Wambaugh, 1973] and, by reflection on his family concomitant with departmental reaction in terms of the "bad apple theory" and the defensive inability of the department "to identify with their victim."

The police officer is certainly more caught up in the trial than most, whether in his external relationships with society or in his internal relationships with his peers and employers. The police officer feels that not only is he subjected to the usual negative sanctions that he shares with the rest of society, but that he is also subjected to specific and unusual negative sanctions brought from within the department where the punishments or penalties exacted by the department are often more onerous than what he would receive in an ordinary court of law from the same infraction or for behavior that elsewhere would not be considered an infraction.

Vying in popularity with the trial of guilt is the trial of machismo. Whatever the sources are, whether it is part of the initial motivation to become a policeman, whether it is the result of subtle events or subtle pressures from peers and employers, whether it is a more intense reflection of the cultural ideal portrayed in traditional American Westerns, or whether this stems from the "John Wayne Syndrome" [Reiser, 1973] as a psychological defense fostered during the early experiences of police work, or a combination of all of these and more, the striving for machismo becomes a continual pressure and stress, particularly when it is in conflict with more private, personal views of the police officer, or with changing departmental policies designed to improve department-community relations by decreasing complaints made against officers, to reduce city losses due to law suits and, to present a more positive social image of the police officer and police department.

The continual striving for a proof of virility provides a need to demonstrate one's masculine superiority through physical altercations, capacity for drinking and sexual prowess, which in turn, can lead to considerable embarrassing acting out or be a source of behavior that leads to aggravation of family problems, citizen complaints, a greater readiness to shoot, generally a more aggressive, assertive, competetive approach leading to confrontations and to further physical and emotional injuries and destruction of equipment and uniforms.

Another source of potentially embarrassing acting out also related to machismo stems from the rigid hierarchy or pecking order. The cycle of frustration leading to anger and hostility [Dollard et al, 1939] can only be recycled in a downward direction, the flow eventually arriving at the field officer who, is receiving his comeuppance from his superior, only has the public on which to vent his resultant frustrations, anger and hostility. This has been referred to as displacement of anger.

Further, the trial of guilt and the trial of machismo are in conflict with each other and lead to a veritable double bind. As one very experienced and respected field officer related (somewhat paraphrased):

> "From a legal point of view, police work used to be simple. There was black, and there was white, and a narrow line of gray. In the ensuing years, this gray area has enlarged to such an extent that now there is very little white and very little black. And yet quick decisions have to be made in the field based on increasing ambiguities and obscurities as to what is correct or not correct. There have been changes in official police shooting policies and procedures, for example, that are widely at variance with the laws concerning felons, and this has done much to 'muddy the waters'. It used to be fairly easy to know when one could shoot and when one couldn't shoot, but nowadays one is not very sure at all and more police officers seemingly are getting shot with their own guns in chasing after a suspect and wrestling with him in order to avoid a substandard shooting or shootings against policy.

> "Another example is concerning accidents among police men who are given large, powerful cars with 300+ horsepower and yet get many days of suspension if a fender is dented. If one didn't want to have accidents, one could use other means of transportation that would avoid such accidents, from the point of view of frequency and intensity. We are told not to have any accidents and yet we're furnished the means of having good ones.

> "And there is no such thing as painless law enforcement. Somebody is going to get hurt and somebody is going to have their feelings bent out of shape, and yet we are trying, in this country, to have painless law enforcement. They go out of the way to hire aggressive policemen and obviously they are going to chase after people who are trying to escape. This is the price one pays for apprehending suspects - accidents and injuries.

> "Another source of stress is the presently-increasing discordance between abilities necessary for promotion, such as book learning, and competence and familiarity

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with problems in the field. This result... in considerable frustration in police officers between the stress of dealing with civilians and the stress of being directed by someone who may not have the necessary knowledge or talents to direct such field operations. Certainly, one possible solution would be to demand of all supervisors from the lowest rank up to have repeated and intensive field experience, or have other methods of promotion and advancement that take into account the real knowledge and talents needed for direction of field officers in all field situations and duties."

Another source of conflict and stress is provided by the police officer's orientation toward security - financial, moral, and physical - conflicting with needs for machismo and the work-goal orientation of the search or quest for evil through apprehending persons committing evil or illegal acts. The security of police work, the job security of the civil servant, the competetively favorable salaries, and the pension at the end of twenty years is well known. The moral security of being on the right side of the law, of being on the winning team, is another evident attraction. The need for safety, both physical and emotional, becomes an increasing need with the passage of time. This becomes expressed as a more intense desire for the best equipment available, the most effective and the most protective, to do the assigned duties or cope with various risky and dangerous situations as they occur. The field officer often feels cheated in this regard when he compares equipment given to management for better administration with what he sees as being authorized for life-and-limb-threatening situations in the field. This only leads to further stress, resentment, and frustration. The increasing need for emotional safety, although ever present, is covered over by machismo, but certainly becomes more obvious, particularly after a disability occurs as will be described later.

The continual (approaching continuous) chronic quest for evil, necessitated by the job, produces very important psychopathological consequences. With increasing time spent in police work, the initial moral idealism of the police cadet turns into a hardbitten, bitter, and cynical orientation toward the world where all one sees or expects to see is evil, filth, and depravity, particularly when this is coupled with the policeman's growing social isolation from civilian society. This leads him finally to feel that everyone outside is an "asshole," and often leads to similar distrusting relations with his fellow workers. He becomes increasingly suspicious, distrusting, isolated, and finally paranoid as life becomes a chronic cold war when it is not a hot one. He lives in fear not only of the public, but of his fellow employees and superiors. Fears of retaliation, both from without and from within, grow to monstrous proportions, and there is no one to talk to. A very significant effect of the police officers' quest for machismo, and perhaps engendered by training, work experiences, and generalized attitudes, is that certain expressions of emotionality and, above all, of emotional or mental disturbance, or the admission to concerns or needs resulting from such feelings, is strictly forbidden. The "psycho," whether without or within the department, is both highly feared and the butt of defensive ridicule. The psychiatrist is despised and feared, not only because of his oft-publicized mitigating role in the trial of a

defendent, but because emotionality and emotional disturbance is still high anathema in police culture. There is an intense chronic fear of talking about or communicating one's emotionality, stress and strain, and possible emotional disturbance, or of seeking help, as this would greatly interfere with promotional opportunities if known and lead to ridicule, possible harassment, ostracism, and potential dismissal by being found medically unfit.

All stresses given rise to stress-and-strain-related disorders can lead to marked disability, whether arising out of an injury, accident, illness or cumulative stress, culminating in the "disability process". The "disability" process" itself is fraught with many possible traumatizing events which can lead to florid psychiatric complications even if such did not exist initially, with increasing severity of disability.

The Disability Process as a Cause of Stress

When an injury or illness leads to a disability which causes removal from the work situation, the patient undergoes regressive trends, whether at home or in the hospital, manifesting increased dependency needs which reveal themselves by a strong need for a feeling of being taken care of, of being cared for, and of increased needs for "nurturant" support. In disabled police officers this increased regressive-dependency need is not sufficiently satisfied by highly competent medical and surgical care alone, or by sufficient family support. In a profession such as that of policing, where one is often risking life and limb, there is a great need for the police officer to feel that his department really cares. Among the many policemen, employees of the Los Angeles Police Department that I have either evaluated and/or treated, there has been a quasi-universal feeling of neglect, that no one in the Department really cares or "gives a damn" about their predicament of being injured or ill ("After you put your live on the line...."), leading to great frustration, disappointment and bitterness, with increasing internally-felt pressures, thereby, for retirement than for return to work. Further police officers seem to develop a serious suspicious orientation. If someone from the department does finally visit, such as a supervisor, this is often interpreted by the disabled police officer to really mean that he is being investigated and checked up on for malingering, faking, for some other concomitant investigation "against" him, or whether or not he is still following official rules and procedures. He seems to experience little warmth and understanding from his employers. This is not to say that this is the correct interpretation by the injured or ill police officer but it is often what is felt by him. He feels either neglected and unwanted or harassed, instead of feeling support, warm concern and facilitation.

If the disability is severe and of significant duration, over one-three months, there are increasing concomitant effects on the patient's home life, his wife and children. The family developes increasing uncertainties as to whether or not there is going to be physical and/or mental or emotional recuperation, whether there'll be a return to work or other possibilities of work or financial support. The usual equilibrium of the family is modified, sometimes severely so, by the resultant social changes entailed by the events of the disabled person's being home. This, in turn, can cause further stress in the disabled employee.

There may be the onset of financial stresses. Some employees might have had second jobs, and the injury or illness often incapacitates them for this

work as well. The income from such extra work is usually counted on to meet current expenses.

There are often initial uncertainties as to whether the injury or illness is considered work-caused. A person may be carried on sick leave for a very significant period of time. Sick leave time may run out and the officer still may be disabled.

Or when determination of work-caused status is made, sometimes only through Workers' Compensation Appeals Board process, there are often still further delays and uncertainties as to when monies will once again be coming in. There are often delays in having the new status reprocessed and retroactive modifications made regarding IOD pay, and ignorance regarding recuperation of payments into the pension system, payments to the credit union, medical insurance payments, etc., often times causing a great deal of further consternation in the injured or ill.

There are several routine restrictions while on IOD or sick status that often further complicate recuperation, particularly in those with significant emotional disturbance. Some of these routine restrictions are work restrictions, and a status of being on call, which is often interpreted as house confinement. Rest and recreation is essential for the emotional troubled and exhausted. Sports and physical activities, mobility, social interactions, and getting necessary interests accomplished outside the work situation are mostly beneficial. Often it is the case that in stress-related disability, although disability may exist for the work of a policeman because of phobic and anxiety factors in relation to the primary job situation, working at second jobs and taking care of other financial and vocational interests can be extremely beneficial and therapeutic. Further, in those instances where it is highly probable that the injured or ill employee will not be returning to police department employment, the finding of other satisfactory work as expeditiously as possible (particularly in the face of financial stresses), or at least taking the necessary steps toward retraining, job acquisition, and establishing a new vocational life for themselves, e.g., school, could also be extremely beneficial for their rehabilitation and recuperation of self-esteem.

There is often a relative lack of accessibility to information regarding options, insurance, disability waivers, job opportunities, job references, community resources, what letters have to be written, who has to be contacted, and who to notify. These may seem like minor details, but if properly handled, can be a source of great reassurance to the injured or ill.

Unfortunately, the disability process often is detrimentally influenced by an adversary procedure. IOD status claims are often contested, particularly in stress and psychiatric-related disabilities. This only heightens the employees sense of the employer not caring, of the employer tending to be an adversary rather than supportive and helpful, because of the litigation process necessitated by filing a claim for Workers' Compensation. Too often, the employer's doctors to whom the disabled officer is sent is also experienced as adversaries, rather than helpful and therapeutic agents. This only further heightens the adversary nature of the disability process.

At times the doctors to whom the claimant is sent by his attorney recommend seemingly questionable treatment and work restrictions (by erring in the direction of maximum compensability) and would be or are harmful to the physical, emotional

vocational and social well-being of the claimant who, unsophisticated, is caught in the middle. Restrictions given are often unnecessarily limited and sometimes by suggestion, make the claimant believe he is more severely or permanently impaired than is truly warranted. The effects of overprescription of medicines, of injudicious choices or combination of medicines would tend to subjectively (and physiologically) confirm to the claimant how badly off he must be.

Often the patient sees more time and energy expended in the evaluation and expression of adversary opinions than in helping him get well. It becomes difficult to know how to get well where conflicting and confusing opinions are expressed. This process often leads to further opposition, bitterness, resentment, a sense of resignation, and "throwing in the sponge," pushing the employee further toward alienation and disengagement from his employers with less likelihood of return to work.

In those Workers' Compensation cases which are finally resolved by hearing and the disabled policeman returns to work with work restrictions, there are often misunderstandings of such restrictions: The work restrictions may be poorly phrased by the doctors involved, or poorly understood by the employers. Work restrictions related to psychiatrically - and stress-related disabilities do not usually fit very well into the usual categories of physical restrictions that one might find in orthopedic or cardiovascular disability. For example, desk work can often be much more stressful for certain individuals than their usual field duties. On the other hand, there are those who would benefit more from such inside work. Work restrictions should be clearly spelled out in explicit detail and understood in this context. Sometimes a transfer to another division where similar duties are still being performed may be the only necessary restriction, the restriction not pertaining to the work activities per se, but rather to particular environments.

In part, perhaps because of these misunderstood work restrictions, and also because of the still-prevailing disdain and even fear of those who are labeled as having an emotional problem or disturbance, these returning individuals may be given work roles that have for them very little esteem. There are tendencies toward reduction in grade and placement in nonvalued positions, frequently with extra careful scrutiny of the returning formerly disabled person, often interpreted by the employee as harassment. There have been other instances in which it has not been possible to return the man to a work situation, even though the officer could conceivably perform some police duties, because of poorly understood work restrictions or concerns for liability.

Pension determinations are sometimes delayed past the year of IOD time off. This can cause enormous stress because of financial considerations and prolonged uncertainties as to the future, increasing stress-related disability and further alienation. Or, the pension process may be too inflexible to permit timely return to work for those disabled officers who desire and are ready for it.

Reflections on Reducing Police Job Stress and Strain Consequences

1. It is not clear to what extent there can be improvement in selection of employees, given that the candidates for police work are already highly selected, particularly in large cities. Blaming the selection process would avoid the problem of actual police work stress.

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"Glass [1958] has shown that epidemiological data
indicate that the incidence of "combat neurosis" is
related to the circumstances of the combat situa-
tion rather than to previously existing personality
factors in the individuals exposed to stress. These
situational circumstances relate to the intensity
and duration of the battle, but more significantly
to the degree of support given the individual by
buddies, group cohesiveness, and leaders. Moreover
he showed that the defensive patterns adopted by
individuals in the face of stress are molded by
the social pressures of the group [Caplan, 1964]."

Further, there is an evident effect on selection by the relationship be-
tween personnel needs and availability of applicants. The fewer applicants
available the less fine can be the screening. Such screening would not
necessarily relate only to personality propensities, inherent intelligence,
aptitudes, and adaptability, but such screening selection could also apply new
advances in medical knowledge that have some predictive value concerning pre-
disposition to various organic ailments, such as high blood pressure, cardio-
vasuclar disease, arterio-sclerosis, peptic ulcer, and general physiological
stress reactivity. On the other hand, this approach carried to the extreme
might leave few candidates who would be eligible or acceptable.

Obviously, the effects of work-related stress will vary depending on the
personality of the individual. Certain stresses within the police job context
might be readily reduced if, once employed, employees were adequately tested
for their personality characteristics, aptitudes, and personal desire, to be
better fitted with particular job requirements rather than being promoted on
book learning, often finally to a level of incompetency [Peter and Hull, 1969]
where stress increases greatly.

To what extent civil service procedures could be modified to permit the
actualization of these considerations is not within my present expertise. The
identification of certain predispositions achieved by such testing, if parti-
cularly in a maladaptive direction, might conceivably be improved through
special training while employed, in helping to fit people better into the job
they desire and will be working at. Certainly increasing, ongoing job satis-
faction would be an important variable in reducing work-related stress.

2. There should be increased practical training of police personnel on stress
and strain for better coping with situations in their work that lead to stress
and strain, police personnel should be made aware of the nature of their own
present or future job-related stress and how to better cope with it. There
should be an increasing awareness of acceptable expectation of stress and
strain experiences among rplice personnel. This could be accomplished with
audiovisual materials, simulated situations and, where possible, actual situa-
tions that usually lead to stress and are habitually encountered during the
course of police work, in order to acquire not just a propositional knowledge,
but a working knowledge of how to manage such situations.

For example, in order to help overcome the present attitudes toward
emotional disturbance, actual ongoing experience as part of police training
in inpatient wards of a psychiatric unit from three days to one week could be
highly beneficial. This would undoubtedly help police officers cope better

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with their encounters with so-called mentally disordered people whom they encounter in the field. and would also probably be highly instrumental in helping them overcome their own fears concerning potential emotional disorder within themselves. Such a pilot project has already been ongoing in the training of police cadets of the City of Calgary, Alberta, Canada - in liaison with the psychiatric inpatient and community services of the Foothills Hospital. It has been reported to me that the initial project included three days experience on the inpatient service as an observer, and to some extent if desired, as a participant in the management and therapy of the mentally or emotionally ill. There was much initial anxiety among the police cadets, but by the third day they were becoming eager and enthusiatic and requesting further experience. A magnitude of a week was often suggested by them.

There should be similar opportunities for learning for police officers already out of the academy, including middle and upper management.

Certain ideals of machismo would have to be modified, and would be modified thereby in the recognition of police work as highly stressful, and of emotionality and emotional disturbance as possible (among other types of stress related disabilities), and in some sense even acceptable. Communication would be facilitated and help made available for those in need. Peer intake approaches for the emotionally troubled could be highly effective.

Reducing Type A personality behavior and enhancing Type B personality behavior would certainly be a further help in reducing high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis, and cardio-vascular disease [Friedman and Rosenman, 1974], (and conceivably peptic ulcer and onset of diabetes mellitus as well). Instruction in diet and other life habits, as well as other physical conditioning activities on a daily basis directed toward preventing cardiovascular problems, high blood pressure, and musculoskeletal problems, such as a low back syndrome would obviously be beneficial.

That better handling or coping with stress situations found in daily police work, and that such techniques have been tried and exist, can be well demonstrated by an appended, edited interview I had recently with one of my patients, who was responsible for the writing of such a manual of police practice and procedures on walking a beat which apparently was subsequently suppressed, because arrest statistics fell, he related. The wisdom found and the information communicated to me in this interview has evidently been tried with success and similar methods, approaches, and techniques leading to increasing the nonviolence of these everyday situations would certainly diminish stress, physical trauma, and material damage, and certainly satisfy concerns for decreasing citizens' complaints, law suits, and disability in police officers.

(There is a new program being entertained by the Los Angeles Police Department known as the Early Prevention of Emotional Emergencies Project for police officers. This is more of an early warning type approach of secondary prevention with ensuing remedies, rather than a primary prevention program [Caplan, 1964] which would necessitate more profound organizational changes and modifications.)

3. Another possible measure would be supportive group discussions throughout the employee's career for ventilation of personal stress and strain within a peer group. To be really effective and helpful strict confidentiality would be a necessity. The participation of spouses of employees, as needed, could also

be beneficial as family support of the proper type, and would certainly be a mitigating factor between job stress and the strain potentials of such stress.

4. A generally more supportive approach of employers toward employees undergoing stress and strain reactions would be beneficial. A "hardnosed" approach would probably only tend to make matters worse, increasing stress and strain manifestations, and leading more certainly to disability filing and the loss of costly, highly trained personnel. Investigations and trials tend to increase disability; support, caring and the therapy of an acceptable lay or professional nature tend to enhance recuperation, retraining, and reintegration as a productive member of the department.

5. There should be a mandatory alcoholic rehabilitation program. The use of alcohol has been a tradition of machismo, a culturally quasi acceptable way of dealing with stress reactions, of recreation, and this certainly seems to be the case among policemen. Further, certain job assignments necessitate the consumption of alcohol – such as activities in vice. There are already several private corporations who have such programs available for their employees, such as Eastman Kodak, and I am sure that they have studied the cost-effectiveness of such programs.

6. The education of the public, through community relations, advertising, and other media for a more favorable police image should be purposefully undertaken. Further, in certain situations of police work the more frequent use of plain clothes would probably be an alleviating factor in dealing with such situations and lessen the highly loaded stimulus value of the uniform of other police symbols. Or, the uniform could be somewhat more civilianized, but still identifiable. Likewise with police vehicles and other equipment. Learning theory would certainly tend to support this approach [Hilgard, 1948, Dollar and Miller, 1950].

7. There should be very early consultation, whether lay or professional, for employees involved in life and limb threatening situations – this includes shootings, whether one is being shot at, shooting, or actually shot, burns, automobile accidents and crashes, etc. Early means immediate, perhaps the same day and should be ongoing if necessary. If there could be acceptable lay consultation and support brought about by a specially trained and qualified unit of the police department per se which could also coordinate the efforts of the various interested parties in the recuperation of such personnel, this would be highly advantageous. The employee needs to know that the department cares, whether it is in the form of increased attention from significant professional associates in that person's life, or other highly qualified lay or professional people. Perhaps recognition analagous to a Purple Heart should be considered when actual traumatic events are suffered.

8. There should be mandatory and adequate false arrest and professional liability insurance, whether furnished by the employer or the employee. Civil suits against police officers are an increasing phenomenon and there should be adequate protection for them. (The adoption of the previous reflections might help diminish the increasing phenomenon or civil suits.) However, such suits or the potential threat of such suits, the activity of internal investigation, and the increasing ambiguity of the enlarging gray areas of when and what to do or not to do is increasing police stress. Any amelioration of any of these aspects would be beneficial. The police officer needs to protect his rights as well. In order to do so he has to have rights and know what these are, and to have available proper procedures and counsel for his own protection,

whether in relationship to the public or in relationship to his employers. The police officer would appreciate experiencing fairness, not only vis a vis the public, but also in relationship to himself. Certainly, fairness is one of the attributes of justice with which the police officer in his daily work would be intimately concerned.

9. There is little doubt that effective physical exercise and recreational activities, particularly enjoyable physical activity (or "forced" if necessary) is highly effective in alleviating depression, chronic pain, and anxiety, and should be done on a regular, almost daily basis. Therefore, proper recreational facilities and activities should be available to all shifts, and encouraged. Some period of one-half to one hour's cardiovascular and musculoskeletal exercise should be part of the job routine.

Reflections on Ameliorating the Stress of the Disability Process

1. To overcome the feelings of neglect in the disabled officer it would be helpful to have a special rehabilitation unit within the department, manned by employees with proper personality qualifications and training, for routinely scheduled visits, support, information, and for facilitation of returning to work with recommendations for proper job placement.

2. In order to diminish the adversary procedure inherent in the present disability process there should be employer-furnished major medical insurance coverage that closely parallels Worker's Compensation coverage, particularly in relationship to mental health benefits. There should also be employer-furnished concomintant disability insurance that parallels IOD coverage with perhaps a rehabilitation clause for disabilities not work-related. These two insurance coverages would tend to foster adequate and appropriate diagnosis, treatment and disposition first. It would be hoped that the medicolegal issues of IOD versus NIOD causation would become more secondary as there would be less of a discrepancy in financial and medical support available, whether disability is of IOD causation of NIOD causation.

3. There should probably be a qualified medical review committee to assist in getting proper treatment for injuries or illnesses, to coordinate efforts in this direction, to professionally interpret work restrictions if any, and to have liaison with police personnel and the special police rehabilitation unit. Such a medical review committee can also have a function to ensure the most competent medical, surgical and psychiatric help for those disabled, as well as to increase the cost effectiveness through the coordination of such programs. Control of injudicious use of medications through coordination and review might also be effected at this level.

4. It is possible that group discussions for selected ambulatory, disabled employees might be highly beneficial for support in the direction of returning to work because peer group interactions often are a potent motivating force.

5. There should be facilitation of outside activities for disabled employees, whether consisting of rest and recreation, second job if indicated, or even schooling - if such activities would be considered beneficial for recuperation of esteem and self confidence.

6. According to recent changes and additions in California's Workers' Compensation Law, a rehabilitation plan is to be developed for every claimant whose injury may preclude engaging in the usual occupation that he had at the time of the injury. All cases of temporary total disability of 120 days must be reported to the Rehabilitation Bureau of the Division of Industrial Accidents. A rehabilitation plan must also be submitted to this bureau.

7. Group discussion for the wives of disabled employees could be highly beneficial for establishing concurrent familial support in helping maintain a healthy equilibrium within the family while the officer or employee is off disabled in preparation for his return to work with his employer. Perhaps a second type of group could be oriented toward the husbands or wives of the disabled if return to previous work is precluded.

8. Some financial counseling for the disabled employee may also be quite beneficial in helping him secure monies that would be available to him, encouraging proper budgeting, providing insurance advice, etc.

9. Pension processing that goes on beyond the year of IOD time can create marked financial stresses until pension determination is finally made, increasing alienation. Further, there remain prolonged uncertainties as to disposition and thereby preparation for the future, although the new rehabilitation requirement could conceivably preempt decision-making concerning return to original occupation or rehabilitation if such is precluded. Further study and clarification is needed about the new requirements and how they might affect the present system. Further study is also needed to clarify what would be optimally beneficial for the disabled concerning the timing and flexibility of disability pension determinations.

10. A special unit from the Retired Officers' Association could be of service in the transition of those disabled employees who will be precluded from returning to work, for their rehabilitation process, or for the transitional process if retired on a service pension. Service retirement itself can be highly stressful, and increased assistance could be quite helpful.

11. Lastly, and this concerns more purely medical considerations, the use of medication for various stress reactions and various pain syndromes has been often injudicious with the result, at best, of chronic maintenance of the symptomatology being complained of and, more often, a substantial aggravation of symptomatology, at least in the cases that have been brought to my attention and others [Rice, 1972]. This is not to say that proper medication does not have its place, particularly phenothiazines and their derivatives, and the tricyclic anti-depressants. When properly used with knowledge and understanding, medications can be beneficial. However, the chronic use of such medications as chlordiazepoxide HCl, diazepam, meprobamate, etc., and all the various and sundry sedative-hypnotics, whether barbiturates, ethchlorvynol, methaquolone, gluthethimide NF, methyprylon, etc., or for chronic pain the use of propoxyphene HCl, codeine, oxycodone HCl and stronger narcotics, too often only make matters worse with maintenance of disturbed sleep, maintenance of chronic pain, and maintenance of chronic anxiety due to increasing tolerance and withdrawal symptoms. Withdrawal of these medications, in my clinical experience, has brought about incredible improvement.

Dr. William C. Dement of the Stanford Sleep Laboratory reduces chronic, garden variety insomnia by withdrawing his patients from all sleeping medications [Dement, 1972].

A neurosurgeon recently wrote concerning chronic low back pain:

> "Drug detoxification is fundamental to success and once accomplished makes the patient much more responsive to other aspects of treatment. In addition, the patient will realize that his pain level has been reduced by withdrawal from narcotic analgesics. This response has been so uniform in our experience that we no longer question it and we firmly believe that narcotic analgesics have no place in treating the low-back loser and should be avoided [Erickson, 1974]."

Another recent news article notes:

> Behavior modification therapy gave effective relief to selected patients with chronic pain who failed to respond to traditional treatment, Dr. Sikhar N. Banerjee said at the annual scientific meeting of the Canadian Association of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation.
>
> "The patients who were selected demonstrated pain behavior, such as analgesic dependence, inactivity, verbal complaint of pain, and social isolation...The treatment team discouraged pain behavior by ignoring patient complaints of pain. Healthy behavior such as exercise and participation in recreational activities, was encouraged and strongly reinforced with verbal praise and the granting of special privileges...
>
> The immediate family of each patient was also instructed to discourage pain behavior and encourage healthy behavior [Clinical Psychiatry News, 1975]."

The 14 out of 16 patients who completed their behavior modification therapy treatment,

> "...significantly increased their activity level in exercise programs and vocational activities.
>
> Five patients were able to return to their previous jobs; three returned to modified, light work only. One patient began vocational training after discharge and two patients were working as housewives. Three patients were elderly and vocation was not an identified goal. However, increased levels of activity allowed them to participate in family and avocational activities.
>
> The patients significantly reduced or eliminated their analgesic intake... [Ibid]"

Obviously for those police officers off on IOD status, proper recreational activities and physical activities are a must, rather than the present rule of being on call, often interpreted as house confinement.

Behavioral modification, biofeedback and acupuncture holds much promise, as well as actual ongoing effectiveness in helping to modify in a healthy direction the psychophysiological or psychosomatic components of stress reactions or of chronic pain.

Reflection on Counseling Practices

Certain considerations concerning counseling practices have already been alluded to above.

The most simple and expedient way to conceive of reducing stress is to remove the police officer from the stressful situation or to remove, in a sense, the stressful situation from the police officer.

The first method is easier, but has some definite disadvantages concerning the facilitation of the return to work of the police officer. However, the removal of the police from the stressful situation is too often necessitated by the nature of the organizational circumstances. The return to work of the emotionally stressed police officer is also made more difficult by similar organizational circumstances represented by the overreaction toward and fears of the emotionally affected officer. In effect, the emotionally stressed police officer is often stereotyped quite inflexibly as an unpredictable, dangerous, potentially violent, embarrassing liability who, if he returns to work, should be hidden at some desk, and watched. In general, and at best, there is a very condescending approach in accepting back into the fold [by not really accepting back into the fold] a previously emotionally distressed officer, by hiding him away, by taking away any field responsibilities, and overall in communicating a pervasive distrust of him. This is often experienced by the returning police officer, or the police officer who might anticipate returning, as harassment, as semi-ostracism, and finally and too often, a belief that if he goes back to work he's going to be watched, harassed, "nailed," and gotten rid of. These expectations of some of the previously emotionally stressed police officers are not at all that incogruent with what sometimes actually does occur.

Other officers still friendly to him often tell him as much. In these circumstances, or where it is clear that there is a significantly high probability of undergoing further serious stress and strain consequences if there is a return to work, or high probability of detrimental acting-out in the work situation, counseling or therapy is directed toward helping the officer separate himself from the department, and to help him prepare for another occupation, another life, to help him go through the grief work of separation, to help reduce the stress of waiting for various hearings related to disability determinations, and sometimes to help reduce the stress of a pending Board of Rights when he is accused of being medically unfit. This approach is more tertiary preventive and late secondary preventive in view of the goals of reducing severity of impairment and duration of disorder in the Workers' Compensation context.

Early detection of healthy or unhealthy crisis, i.e. early mental disorder or psychophysiological stress disorders through astute observation peer

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intake, self-administered psychological, psychosocial and medical screening batteries, bio-chemical screening facilitating prompt brief counseling or appropriate referral while keeping the officer on the job or returning him as soon as possible to his usual life work situation would be much more ideal. [Caplan 1961, 1964; Morley, 1964]. However, present organizational attitudes do not seem to permit enough flexible leeway for this approach to be the rule rather than the exception. Perhaps the instituting of a program like EPEE (Early Prevention of Emotional Emergencies) will facilitate proper crisis counseling and mental health consultation for the care-giver, with appropriate liaison for possible work environmental modification, where feasible and indicated.

Gerald Caplan's reference test [1964], a source of much collected wisdom and workable conceptual models of preventive psychiatry, describes a very pertinent study: (There is much more to be gleaned from Caplan's work)

> "Glass and his collegues in the psychiatric services of the Army (1958) have also added to our understanding of this issue. They found that they obtained better therapeutic results if they treated soldiers with emotional and behavior disorders without removing them from their units to psychiatric hospitals, and they obtained the best results in certain types of case if the soldiers were not even labeled psychiatric patients at all, but were dealt with entirely by their own officers, who were in turn helped to understand the problems of their subordinates by mental health consultation.
>
> The findings of the Army psychiatrists have emphasized the supportive importance to a person in difficulty of the expectations of his peers and superiors regarding his behavior. Separating a person from the social network of controlling forces which stimulate and supplement his internal personality strength, either by removing him symbolically through changing him from healthy to sick status, has a potent weakening effect which adds to the difficulties that our psychiatric treatment must counteract. A program of secondary prevention must take these considerations into account and must avoid the pitfall of unduly weakening the usual social and cultural supports of persons in difficulty by too strenuous a case-finding campaign of early psychiatric referral and diagnosis."

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All right. You were going to tell me about family disputes and so-called mental cases.

Fine. What would you like to know?

All right. How do you handle family disputes?

Oh. Family disputes, nine out of ten times, are between husband or wife or common-law husband and wife. I know most policemen, when they get these, have pretty much of an anxiety or fear in the way of is somebody going to shoot them, somebody going to stab them, is somebody going to do something. You have to use a little caution going, but the main thing that I found was they were always mad at each other and they weren't mad at us, and if you just take your time they like to talk to you. You know, everybody wants to talk, and if you get them separated---take the man in one room and the woman in another, the two guys separate them---if you get a partner who likes to talk as much as you do, then you're home free.

So you have to spend the time?

It's all time. I've spent up to an hour, two hours on one of those calls.

And then what happens finally?

You usually get everybody smoothed down and they forgot what they were mad about while you were talking to them nine out of ten times. And if they don't, you can usually get it settled between them. They have some beef going. The wife's mad at the husband because he's been out drinking beer or whatever.

What's the usual approach that you've noticed since you've handled really hundreds of family disputes without really having to - did you have to haul anyone in?

I've never taken anybody in on them.

Did you get a call back later?

No. I never have, and I don't think that anybody else has, and I've had some pretty bad ones. I've had them where they come to the station later on and wanted to talk to me again. Especially up, when I worked up in the North End of Central Division there, in what they call "Dogpatch." It's one those big city housing projects. A lot of poor people live there. There was a gal there who was from Samoa and she spoke English, but not real well. But she always had these visions where this boyfriend-husband of hers was going to come home and kill her. And he was. I talked to him quite a few time up there, on the street, in the apartment and everything else. But she would call and think that he was really going to do her in, and the she'd start just raising hell. She'd pound on all the neighbors' doors and everything else. But I talked to her so many times she finally got to the point when things bothered her, she'd come down to the Central Division and they'd give me a call on the radio to go in to the Station and talk to her. Then the Lieutenant got upset because I spent so much time talking to the one gal. And she finally went back. She went

back to Samoa. And it was no problem. She just wanted to talk to somebody and had nobody to talk to, because everybody there treated her like she was really unusual, because she was a foreigner, didn't speak the language that good and everything else. They thought she was really crazy. I know, most policemen when they get a family complaint they go in, like I say, with all this fear that something is going to happen to them, and they kind of take it out on the people. Then you end up with the husband or wife or whichever's got the worst temper. They get mad and there's a big fight, and they've got to arrest somebody and take them to jail. And it's useless, because the other party's not going to sign a complaint to begin with. Comes time for court, well they dismiss it. It doesn't do any good at all.

Sometimes you have to give them one-two hours of just listening and talking.

That's all.

Sometimes together. How do you know when to separate them and when to stay together with them?

I've always separated them. I found out that worked the best, except until they both calmed down. Then get them back together and tell them you want to hear both their stories and what's bothering both of them. And then they're okay. After they calm down and start talking about their problems.

And sometime they forgot what they were angry about?

Nine out of ten times.

Um hum.

Some fight started and they don't know why it started. I don't remember, uh, not even one case where I had to arrest either one of them. But I've worked with guys and they had to end up arresting somebody because they got in a beef with them.

How?

They get them worked up. They get them so mad that the party would hit 'em or something. I'd be in another room talking and I had to come out and they've got the person handcuffed and ready to go out the door for, oh like battery of a police officer, or something like that. And if you talk to them long enough about what's going on, you find out the guy's bringing it on himself. You just can't, you can't get so worked up.

Um hum.
You know, the Police Department doesn't feel that way anymore. They want you to quit talking to people. They don't want you to spend too much time on those. It's like walking the beat. The guy's not allowed to go into the stores and talk to the owners anymore. They have to stay out. It's this, uh, there's no communication now. It's ridiculous, because all those family dispute things, that's all it is, just communication. And I think people - I never gave them an answer really. I never gave them a solution. I didn't tell them what their problem was or any of that stuff. I just sat and listened to them, talked to

them. Kind of a listening post, father confessor or something. Once in a while they'd ask for advice, and what I thought or something, and I'd tell them what my wife and I did or how we handled something but I never gave them any solution though. I really didn't know what to give them on that. I don't think you can. I don't think you can give a person solutions to their problems, because, uh, I was only there for an hour, maybe two hours at the most, and they'd been living together, God, I don't know how many years, and I don't know what their real problems are. But the thing is, they only give you so much time. Like now, you're only allowed 15-20 minutes for calls like that. If you don't have it handled by then, you've got to let somebody go or just walk out and let the people fight. You can't take the time. And then some other car's going to have to come back later. It's not going to be settled. They don't get to talk to anybody. And it takes a long time. I worked with one old guy in Newton Street years ago. He was really good, but he would divorce people...

And like you say, those mental case things. They're just the same way. They just require talking.

Yes, um hum.

They want to talk to somebody. You can't just run up and put force on 'em right away.

Yeah. I want you to tell me about those various episodes where you, sort of, were the first one there. Things were working out fine. I want you to tell me how the things worked out, and what happened when everybody else came.

Like I say, when I was working Hollywood Boulevard, I rode motorcycles for seven years and during that period of time I met quite a bit 'cause you're on your own. And you meet a lot of people. You're stopping people all day. You're sitting on a corner watching a signal. People talk to you and you just seem to kind of get involved. Between that and walking the beat, you meet the most of any. This one incident here on Hollywood Boulevard. For some reason or other I didn't hear a call. My mind was daydreaming or something, but a male mental case with a gun had come out.

A 45?

The 45 automatic, government job. As I rolled up the street I just happened to see the guy. He was on the corner and he was waving his gun all over, just threatening everybody and cussing them out. I said, "This is ridiculous." So I just walked up to him. He was waving the gun all over, and I told him he shouldn't be doing that. "That was really dumb, scaring everybody". I just took the gun away from him and talked to him and everything was fine. It was going real smooth. He was starting to tell me his problems, that he just had too much at home and he was out of a job. Everything was going wrong for the poor guy. He'd really had it. It seemed like everybody was picking on him. So I didn't know it, but they'd put out this call and while I'm standing there talking to him, he's okay. The gun's gone. It's in my saddlebag. And all these police cars show, policemen all jump out and are ready to do battle. They just jump all over the guy, trying to handcuff him and the big party's on. And it's uh. You don't win those. You get him arrested and put him in handcuffs, but you haven't won anything. He's torn everybody up.

And you would have. Everything was all right until then?

Everything was great.

You might have to still book him though, I guess.

I'd have to take him to the Station 'cause he was, you know, using a gun in a threatening manner.

But he would have come along with you?

He would have gone with me, I think, fine in the radio car, because I've had a lot of them go with me in a radio car. It was no problem at all. I've had different things, like Downtown when I walked a beat, I met quite a few there. Like I say, I met this one fellow. If he was walking up the street, I could see him coming. And people that bumped into him and got in his way, he would just hit 'em and knock 'em down. I can tell you, he was a lot bigger than me and a lot nastier, and it's uh. I just stood there on the corner waiting for him to get to me, rather than me to run to him. But meantime, as he's coming, another police officer came out of the Grand Central Market and walked right up in front of the guy and saw him hit someone, so he whipped out his stick and he was going to lay it to him, and the guy punched him one time and laid him completely out. So he walked on further, and when he gets to me I just pointed a finger at him and told him, "Now stop that. It's really dumb." And he just stopped. And he says, "Well," he says, "everybody's been gettin's away and pickin on me." There was no problem. We were doing fine, and I talked to him, I guess more than five or ten minutes. Somebody put in a call for an officer needs help with a policeman gettin's hurt, and all these radio cars show up and the first thing they want to do is jump over this guy. And the big fight's on. It takes five, six guys to get a guy like that put down. Meanwhile they cut his arms all up getting the handcuffs on. They got their own uniforms torn up. They had fighting all the way to the jail. He kicked his feet out of the police car and kicked out the window. You just can't get him the hell down.

Did you have an indication that he would come with you?

Well, we had already talked about it. I told him, I said, I'd call for a car and we'd both run down to the Station, you know, have a talk, see what the problem was, and see if we couldn't get this settled some other way, you know, besides having to fight about it. Which was fine. You see, he did apologize for hitting this policeman. He said he didn't realize that it was a police officer. Uh huh. You know, it's just one of those things. You could see the guy needed help. I've taken a lot of those people from the Station there at Central, and transport 'em all the way out to Norwalk to the medical center there. It's a mental health center. You have to transport them out there, where they're booked in and all this garbage and processed. I never had to fight anybody on the way out there. I've had a lot of them that really resented me when I put handcuffs on them, and they just become completely violent. I just tell them, "Well, we won't put them on, if you don't like it. Let's just leave 'em off." But I said, "you're just going to have to promise to be good and go with me." "yeah, I'll go with you." You know, you wind up talking.

There was that one big, black man you told me about.

Oh, he was an iron worker. That was down on Fifth Street. He'd been doing about the same thing. He cleared out a bar and some other buildings, and he was really beating people up. But I got there and I ran a warrant check on him and while I was waiting for it to come back, we talked quite a bit and he was doing pretty good. But when the warrant came back over the air and said he was wanted for a felony warrant.

You still had to bring him in anyway for the fighting, I guess?

Oh, I had to take him in for that anyhow. It was no big problem - Mostly for drunk or 'cause nobody want to sign any complaints and everybody that got beat up disappeared. But the felony warrant thing came back. With that, the Police Department orders that you have to put handcuffs on the guy and take him to the Station, and all this. Any felony you take in, you have to handcuff. They've got a rule on that. But I told him I was going to put the handcuffs on him and he didn't like the idea at all. I talked to him for a while and finally got 'em on.

And he was about 200 pounds more than you were?

Oh, he was a huge man. Oh, his weight was around 300 pounds.

How tall?

He was probably about 6'6", 6'8", monstrous. Well, his arms were so big and his wrists that when I put the handcuffs on I could only get 'em on the first notch clicked on the first notch.

In a sense, he sort of gave a token resistance, but not very much even on that.

No, not much.

He really didn't fight with you.

Not physically, no. We argued about it. A short argument period on it, but I finally had to convince him I had to do it or I would be in trouble for not doing it. But then after I had the handcuffs on him----hands were behind him---- and these were brand new handcuffs. Those are pretty well-made things. You know, it's out of stainless steel and all this, but we talked and the more we talked, I could see the more he seemed like he was straining inside and I turned around and looked to see if the radio car was coming yet to help me and when I looked back he had his arms in front of him and the chain on the handcuffs was broken. He just had both arms apart and was telling me, "I don't like these things." I just said, "Well, hell you don't have to wear them then. We'll take 'em off." And everything was fine.

Uh huh.

When we got there, the Sergeant rolled up first, and he come out and he really come unglued. He said, "Where the hell are the handcuffs for a felony?" So I showed him. I said, "Here's both pieces." He said, Oh, well fine. You know, if he doesn't want to wear 'em, he doesn't wear 'em." So I put him in the car and we drove to the Central Division and they wanted to handcuff him to a bench there. They have a long bench that's bolted to the floor with long chain handcuffs behind it and you're supposed to handcuff all these people there, so they

can't walk. I says, "No" and I put him in another room and talked to him there for quite a while. So I made out an arrest report and we find out that he's really more mentally unbalanced than anything else. He wasn't drunk. There was something wrong here. So then I had to transfer him all the way to Norwalk. Now, I guess I spent about two, three hours with that guy altogether. Never had to fight him.

Of course not.

When we got to Norwalk, he didn't want to go in there at all. Boy, that knocked everything. He was going to tear this radio car apart, but I talked to him for quite a while and he went in. And I was really happy there, because we happened to get a younger doctor, and they used to have an old guy there. I can't remember his name now. But he was real nasty to everybody that come in, and everybody had to be put right into a padded cells, put into strait jackets, whatever. But then he got this younger fellow and he used a lot better thinking on this. He would talk to people. So I was real happy we got this big guy in there and he started talking to him, and everything was fine. As a matter of fact when I was getting ready to leave, the guy was crying. He didn't want me to go. He wanted me to stay around and stay with him there, and I told him I couldn't. But, uh, I think it's just talking and listening. They got so many things they want to tell you.

Do you mind if I transcribe this, and use it for a report of mine?

Fine.

I don't have to identify you.

It doesn't matter at all.

Okay, because, uh.

I can think of lots more next time around if you want me to.

...because there have to be different techniques that they have and obviously you've been using a technique that is no longer, and it's much more efficient and effective than what's been going down.

Well, maybe. I don't want to blow my horn, but I know the guys at the jail used to like to seem me come in, because my drunks and all would come in laughing.

(Laughter)

That used to bother the Watch Commander there. They thought I was doing something wrong with these guys. I would just crack them up.

I had the same experience when I was a resident in psychiatry.

...Like I say, all these years in the Department, these guys have all been telling me I do everything wrong and that someday somebody's going to kill me or hurt me or something. It's uh. You can't be nice to people. That's supposedly the whole theory behind the Police Department. You can't be nice to anybody. If you are, they're either going to hurt you or they're going to be crooks and take advantage of you. And I know most policemen get awful cynical. Some guys,

its real bad. And I don't know. I don't feel that way. I know there's un-
doubtedly a lot more police that feel like I do. I just haven't either met
them or else they aren't showing it under something.

> As you said, if you taught this during training it would get back to
> the watch commander, because some of the people were saying, "Well, we
> didn't learn that in the Academy."

Oh, I lost two real good training jobs. Under this Jacobs thing now, you know,
they pay you more to be a training officer. Well, I lost two of those because
these guys would go back to the Station and say, "Well, he's too nice to every-
body and everybody on the street likes him. There's something wrong." And
then the watch commander and the sergeant would tell you the same thing. They'd
say, "What're you doing out there anyway? How come everybody likes you?" And
I'd say, "Well, I don't know?" How do you answer that?

> (Laughter)

(Unintelligible). They thought for a while that I must be taking bribes on the
street or something because everybody liked me. They said, "They don't, they
just don't like policemen." I said, I don't know. Maybe they don't think I'm
a policeman." You know, really the people on the street didn't consider me a
policeman. It was like, uh. I was more like their little town marshall.

> Yeah. This is really community relations.

Yeah.

> Because we talked about it more. You know, we had talked, I think, once
> before about that suspiciousness, that you're not supposed to become too
> friendly to people or they're afraid you'll be taking bribes or somehow
> getting gifts that you're not supposed to.

I know at one time there was a real good lieutenant there at Central. His name
was X and he liked community relations; he liked people. And he would go out
and walk a beat with me every once in a while and when he saw how many people
I had for friends and how easy it went for me. And he had me in for about three
months. One of my jobs for an hour daily was to work on a manual, and I wrote
a whole manual on walking a beat. Community relations, how to do it. I even
gave it a form number and all that.

> What happened to it?

They did away with it. They shipped him out of Central Division, told him
that it was all wrong and that it was different from what they teach the police
and.

> Do you have a copy of that manual?

No, they took it away from me....
But, uh, he was a real nice guy. But he had me spend a lot of time writing this
and training the other younger officer to do it like I did. And then all of a
sudden they shipped him out, because things weren't going well.

They weren't?

Well, that's what they said. Everything was going fine. All the beats in
the Central Division, they were all going by the same plan. Everything was
going great out there, but arrests were way down, because you didn't need it.
The crime was dropping. The people would come and tell you what was going on.
You'd book the guys that were there and knock the crime down. Everything was
going fine. It went that way for about a year. It's just, the image was gone.
They didn't have the nasty image there. So they shipped him off. He got
transferred out to another division, a different watch, and then they did away
with the manual. They took the manual away from Central Division. They
couldn't use it anymore. I'm trying to remember the form number. I can't re-
member. He gave me the number.....
Yeah. That'll be good. That was a nice thing. Uh, really I don't know, it
didn't look like the typical police manual. It didn't say, you know, "Thou
shalt," and all this. I just put down, you know, your store owners, and they're
the ones that's going to tell you where the crimes are. If they don't like
you, they aren't going to tell you because they don't want to get involved.
You got to get over that involvement thing, you know. The only way you can do
that is with friendship. Then you become one of them, like a member of the
family, like I had there. They take care of you and they want to let you know
where the bad things are, not necessarily to get rid of them as much as to help
you out and keep from being hurt. I've had those people. One time there on
Broadway I felt real bad. I didn't know it, but right around the corner in a
bar there, there was two guys having a knife fight, and they were cutting each
other real bad. I was getting ready to walk around the corner and an old gal
that owned the theatre there at Third and Broadway, an old Mexican lady, owned
that old montrous theatre. They come out and she knew about it. And she said,
"Oh, I got a problem there inside," she says. "Come in here." I said, "Okay."
(unintelligible) She kept me in there for about a half an hour, and she knew
about this thing around the corner but I didn't. She wanted to wait and make
sure it was over with before I went around. Finally a guy come in and told
me. He says, "It's okay now." I said, "What's okay?" And told this gal,
whose name was Julie something, he says, "Julie." He says, "it's all right now."
And she said, "Well I've got to go back to work." and she just walked off and
went out and when we were around the corner police cars, ambulances, guys lay-
ing all over, cut up, and I didn't know anything about it. They just wanted to
keep me out of it. They knew it at, someone at the bar, I guess, that somebody
might get hurt or I might get hurt or something.

But you have handled barroom disputes?

Oh, yeah.

Tell me how that turned out?

Most of them, you've got a drunk there, and that's bad news 'cause you can't
talk to 'em and you've got a real fight on your hands there. They all, for
some reason or other they get real antagonistic when they're drunk. I hate to
deal with drunks. It seems like they all want to fight you. All of a sudden
they get real big. They get high and they get real big, and they'll just beat
anybody into the ground.

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You can't tell them that's dumb and stupid?

No, you can't talk to them. I don't know what's the reason about it. But very few of those you can get. Now if you can get a guy before he gets in a fighting mood, you can talk to him and get him laughing, and he'll go to jail real easy. I've taken a lot of guys to jail laughing like that. And drunk drivers. I just tell them, "You know, you're going to get in trouble, I see you driving down the street. You're going to kill somebody, so I better take you to jail before you hurt someone," and just shoot the breeze with them a little bit and then fine and dandy. They'll go down and blow up a balloon for you and all that. No problem. But a barroom fighter, and you get those.

What if the fight's already on, and they're...?

Well, nine out of ten times if you get a call, the fight's already going there or else it's even over with by the time you get there. Then you've got to pick up the pieces and find out who did what. Usually you end up booking everybody who's drunk because you can't find out what's going on....They have no respect for you at all. You try and talk to them, and they don't care about your badge and uniform, and all that garbage, and they could care less. As a matter of fact, they really resent you. They have an awful resentment when that badge walks in.

Uh huh.

It's. I've had guys throw bottles at me as soon as I walk in the door. No reason or anything, just walk in and so they throw a bottle. It's, it's uh. I guess that image, you know.

It would almost be better to go in in plain clothes.

Oh, definitely. When I worked plain clothes, I worked there for a little over a year, well you walk in on the doggonedest things. Even if people knew you were a policeman, they didn't resent you as much. There's something about that uniform.

Um hum.

I don't know what it is. The big blue thing coming in just turns them off completely. But, I can't remember what the one guy, I remembered that for years, what he called me. It was, "long, skinny abortion in blue" or something like that. I thought it was so funny at the time. He was really worked up over it. I think it's uh. When something like that is already going on, when you've got a fight already going on, it's a mental case nine out of ten times. I can't remember ever having to hit any of those. I could talk to them and get them to quit fighting, but a drunk you don't. There's some difference there. There's uh. The mental aspect is different when you're drunk.

Did you ever handle a similar situation in plainclothes, like a barroom fight.

Oh yes.

What happened in that instance?

I didn't have as big a problem. I think they have some kind of a built-in "Dragnet" thing where detectives are some kind of big deal and you're a step above a policeman in uniform or something. They have kind of a scared respect for you, fearful respect. You show them the badge, you show them you're a policeman, and they look at the plain clothes and they say, "Well, you're a detective or whatever," and you say, "yeah". And it impresses the hell out of them. They sit down. I guess that's expected. You know, most detectives in the old days were pretty rough. They used to hit everybody. And I think they waited for you to hit 'em or something. It seems like they would be disappointed if you were nice to 'em.

You'd take them down to the Station?

Yeah. I'll tell you a funny one, really, in uniform that's always cracked me up. On Central Avenue, we've got a couple of colored guys and they robbed a liquor store. And they ran out the front. We just parked the car and we were right there. So we got out the shotguns and the whole bit, the uniforms, black-and-white car. We got both the guys lined up against the wall and the one guy turns over to the other one. He says, "Hey, man" he says, "If you can get away you run and tell the cops". You know, I was standing with all this suff on and all he's impressed is, "You run and call the cops." That is so funny. It's the uniform that gets the different reactions out of everybody. The majority of times when you go into a thing where there's trouble going on, it's resentment that you get. I've had them resent me when you try to help somebody, because you're a good five minutes getting there or something. It may not even be a fight. You might have an injured kid, or a drowning baby, or something, and, uh, the resentment's there because you were five minutes getting to the call.

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The Person-Role Fit in Policing:
The Current Knowledge and Future Research

George Kelling and Mary Ann Pate
Police Foundation

Work is one of the central activities of life, a source of self-esteem and satisfaction, and a main object of motivation. Consequently it exerts an influence upon the mental and/or physical condition of those engaged in its performance. While some research has been done on the impact of work on the individual, much remains unknown. In recent years, research has been directed toward social behavior at work. Most recently, such research has focused on problems of youth disenchantment with the work ethic, managerial discontent, and what was perceived as the "blue collar blues." Beyond this there has been little systematic research into job stress, satisfaction, characteristics of the worker, characteristics of the job, health of the worker and job performance. We know little about these individually and even less about the complex interactions among them.

As in most other career areas, there is as yet very little knowledge within the police profession about the impact of police work on the officer who performs it. Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell[1] have concluded two studies in this area, one of patrol officers and one of police administrators; the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan has included policing in its study of job demands and worker health. The Dallas evaluation office of the Police Foundation, with the Dallas Police Department, is producing preliminary data from a series of studies which investigated job satisfaction and its correlates among the department's officers. Others, including McNamara, Skolnick, Reiss and Sterling, have also done preliminary work in this area.

But it is fair to say that relatively few studies have been published which systematically deal with police officer evaluations of their work. And those that do tend to treat the topic briefly and descriptively. Few if any extend the concern for job satisfaction to the issues of mental and physical health.

STRESS AND POLICING

Given the high degree of public concern over policing and the ways in which police services should be delivered, the paucity of data on stress, behavior and satisfaction in policing is surprising. One must conclude that while the public is concerned over how the police behave, there is little concern as to how the police feel as a result of their assigned role, and as to how these feelings correlate with behavior and with emotional and physical well being.

Study of the existing literature tends to support the suspicion that policing, or at least certain segments of police work, is a stressful occupation. Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell cite the fact that the suicide rate for police officers was twice as high in 1950 as it was for lawyers and judges, the two other prominent components of the criminal justice system.[3] Finding few of what the

authors considered to be important _physical_ hazards in the police workplace — that would account for this, they speculated that the difference may be due to the level of _psychological_ stress inherent in police work.

While police officers confront stressors common to many work groups, they also face stressors not commonly experienced by others, including frequent and intense alienation from the client group they serve. Large numbers of people typically react to police officers not as individuals but stereotypically, and on the job and off, officers are expected to accept prejudice, fear, suspicion and open hostility from much of the community they serve. In addition, the role of the police in modern society has never been clearly defined, leading to mismatched expectations, ambiguity and conflict not only between the community and the police but also within policing itself.

Some maintain that the constant exposure to the threat of physical danger and/or death constitutes a major stress factor in policing. Zaleznik, Ondrack and Silver, in their 1970 study of social class, occupations and mental health, reported evidence of a causal link between physically hazardous conditions or work (their examples being soldiers and mine workers) and symptoms of mental illness.[4] Yet Kroes et al. found that the major source of stress listed by officers were those incidents which tended to affront the officers' professional self-image (e.g. poor equipment, poor relations with supervisors, lack of administrative support, poor community relations, etc.). The actual threat of physical danger rarely surfaced, and seemed not to constitute a major source of stress.

OCCUPATIONAL STRESSORS

In the _Work in America_ report, the authors noted that in the area of heart disease (which accounts for about one-half of all deaths in the U.S. annually), such factors as diet, exercise, medical care and genetic inheritance may account for as little as 25 percent of the risk factor. On the other hand, the work role, work conditions and other social factors were suspected of contributing heavily to the "unexplained" 75 percent.[5] Along this line, Kroes and Margolis, citing work undertaken by the Institute for Social Research, indicate that the following occupational stress conditions are generally correlated with coronary disease:

-"role ambiguity" - having unclearly defined objectives, being unable to predict what other expect one to do, only vaguely understand the scope of ones responsibility;

-"role conflict" - being torn by conflicting demands, feeling pressure to get along with people, having differences with one's supervisors;

-"role overload" - having too much or too little to do, or too difficult or too easy a level of work assignment;

-"responsibility for people" - feeling responsible for the health and well-being of others, for their work performance, career development, and job security;

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--"poor relations with others" - not getting along with supervisors, peers or subordinates; and

-"participation" - having influence on decision-making process in one's organizations.

Other significant occupational conditions identified as stressful included changing work shifts, unnatural work-rest regimens, frequent geographic moves, and inequities in pay and job status.

While such stressors are common to numerous occupations, they are even more readily identifiable in policing:

Role Ambiguity: consider the police officer called to intervene in and diffuse a domestic quarrel; what is his role? should he criminalize the event? does he have any legal basis for intervention? how will the parties react to his intervention?

Role Conflict: consider the officer assigned to protect children who are being bussed to school under court order; does this conflict with his own beliefs? how does he react to confrontation with neighbors with whom he agrees?

Role Overload: consider the uneven nature of police work, where up to 60 percent of an officer's time is typically free from discretionary use, and where there are periods of both intense activity and extreme boredom, especially for those on the "dog watch," or midnight to 8 a.m. shift;

Responsibility for People: consider the public's expectations concerning police services, crime protection, dispute intervention and the other life-preserving duties we expect the police to perform on a routine basis;

Poor Relations with Others: consider the white police officer assigned to patrol a black neighborhood openly hostile to him and to his organization;

Participation: consider that the patrol officer typically plays little if any role in the department's decision-making process, despite the fact that such decisions directly affect the officer's job and living routine; on the other hand, consider the decision-making the officer is called upon to engage in while on duty, typically without clear guidelines or adequate supervision, e.g. how and when should force be employed? will the decision be supported by the administration? by the courts?

Changing Work Shifts: consider that most departments constantly rotate their work shifts, which for some officers seriously disrupt both work and home regimens, and typically result in physiological and psychological stress;

Inequitities in Pay and Job Status: consider the generally low

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status and pay of police officers relative to the work they are asked to perform and relative to the other occupational groups within the criminal justice system.

Such stressors carry significance on their own. But in combination they can reduce the frustration tolerance necessary for handling other job stresses. The problem of role ambiguity and conflict, for example, permeates every facet of police work and stems from a deeper issue, notably the lack of a well-defined role for the police in a modern and urban democratic society. As Garmire notes, the results of the failure to develop reasonable expectations about what the police should and/or can do has prompted the police to attempt to perform conflicting roles that, the author maintains, cannot be effectively integrated into a single agency.[6]

Continuing on this subject, Rubin cites a study of stress among Miami police officers which found that the multiplicity of roles officers were expected to perform contributed significantly to stress and fatigue. The study concluded that given the ambiguities, inconsistencies and conflicts between the many socially and legally sanctioned police roles, and the differing role expectations as a result (e.g. peace keeping, community service, crime fighting, etc.), police departments should be divided among several sections, each of which would address a clearly defined primary role. Officers could then be recruited and trained to function in one or another of these well-defined and differentiated roles.[7]

THE PERSON ROLE-FIT

In so central an institution as work, the "person-environment fit," or the degree to which the skills, aspirations, motivations and other social and psychological characteristics of an individual converge with the characteristics of the role that individual performs is an area of great importance to researchers, particularly in determining the effects of a person-environment "misfit" upon not only the individual but also upon the individual's family, social interactions and upon the organization as well.

For the purposes of this paper, we will focus on the person-role fit, what Sarbin and Allen term the "self-role congruence," or the "degree of overlap or fittingness that exists between requirements of the role and qualities of the self."[8] The person-fit involves the fit of the specific role to be performed within the organization to both the skills and the personality of the role player. The greater the fit, the more satisfied and more productive the worker is assumed to be. The lack of fit on either dimension can result in stress, dissatisfaction, boredom, alienation, low productivity and ultimately adverse physical and mental health. (Again, however, findings in terms of job satisfaction and performance have been mixed. In some studies, notably those of Brayfield and Crockett, 1955, and Vroom, 1964, it was found that while scores on job satisfaction correlated positively with measures of productivity, the correlation was very small. And other studies have found a range of correlations, some positive and some negative.[9])

RESPONSES TO A PERSON-ROLE MISFIT

The possibility of a disadvantageous person-role fit may be sensed even before an individual joins an organization. If detected through any of the

organization's screening devices, the individual may be refused entrance to
to the position in question. If detected by the individual, he or she may
simply fail to apply for the job. This can happen even when the organization
views the potential applicant as a desirable employee. Police departments
often experience this situation in attempting to recruit minorities, women
or otherwise "new style" officers into what is still perceived to be an "old
style" department.

Once a part of the organization, role occupants may respond to a develop-
ing person-role misfit through any number of self-initiated activities,
including leaving the organization, becoming apathetic, creating unions, or
attempting upward mobility to avoid the problem area. Or the role occupant
may adjust to the role requirements through personality changes so that he
or she matches more closely the expected characteristics of the role. But
such solutions are often accompanied by undesirable byproducts, and can re-
sult in low productivity, poor work quality, high absenteeism and turnover,
and possible aggression against the organization.[10]

Police Departments have typically responded to the problem of a person-
role misfit by relocating the individual within the department. But an
increasing number of departments are now attempting other approaches to this
problem, and are undertaking impressive efforts to better match the skills of
the individual with those required by the tasks to be performed. Some depart-
ments are analyzing the tasks involved in their day to day operations to
determine which skills are actually necessary for successful performance of
those tasks. The results of the analyses are then used to restructure the
departments' entrance requirements and admission procedures. Others are
attempting to change the characteristics of the police role through experi-
mentation with team policing, decentralization, shared decision making and
other forms of job enrichment. When alternative roles are unavailable or
when organizational change cannot provide an immediate solution, some depart-
ments offer in-house psychological counseling services for their members.

At the point of entry, the Dallas Police Department has developed an
approach which identifies candidates best suited physically for those tasks
the department has identified as necessary for the successful performance
of the police function. Rather than imposing arbitrary height and weight
requirements, the department now uses task-specific requirements, i.e. those
based on the length of arms and legs required for driving a patrol vehicle,
for using a weapon properly, etc. Recruits are then selected on the basis
of their potential for being able to master and successfully perform those
tasks.

The Dallas department is also beginning to examine the fit between per-
sonality characteristics and the organization's environment. With assistance
from the Police Foundation, the department is attempting to identify, through
supervisors evaluation of several aspects of attitude and performance, the
personality characteristics of those officers who perform most successfully
within the organization. At the same time, the department is administering
personality batteries to recruits, and in the future will look for relation-
ships between the performance of these officers and the personality charac-
teristics they exhibited at their time of entry. Within the next five years,
the department should be ready to identify more successfully than in the past
the types of individuals most likely and least likely to perform satisfactorily
within the departmental environment.

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No matter how sophisticated the selection process, there will always be those who develop role adjustment problems after entering a department. While a typical reaction has been to transfer such individuals into other roles, some departments are now attempting to help those experiencing behavioral difficulties to perform more effectively in their current roles. The Kansas City Police Department, with assistance from the Police Foundation initiated a peer review process for officers identified by large numbers of citizen complaints, charges of brutality and other manifestations of adjustment difficulties. A non-punitive, confidential and voluntary review process modeled after a similar program in Oakland, California, peer review employs a balance of peer assistance and peer pressure to improve or otherwise change behavior. Panel members themselves are officers who have encountered difficulty in past stress situations, and are trained by a psychologist in techniques of interaction, problem identification and resolution.

In the case of recruits, the panel begins an immediate assessment of behavior rather than waiting until new officers are on the street. After the recruit has been assigned a field training officer (FTO), the objectives and goals of the review process are explained to the FTOs, who are then asked to systematically evaluate the performance of their recruits. The recruits' reactions to police work, their understanding of what fellow officers expect in the way of performance, and their knowledge of how different police situations should be approached.

The Dallas Police Department has initiated a Psychological Service Unit to achieve basically an identical objective -- improvement of officer behavior within a current role framework. Staffed by civilian psychologists and patrol officer with a masters degree in clinical psychology, the unit serves officers referred to the unit by either their supervisors or the Internal Affairs Division, as well as those who voluntarily request the service. In terms of problems stemming from person/role misfit, this approach is only a palliative. Yet it does possess obvious intrinsic benefits, and represents an import step in policing.

The lateral or vertical movement of workers within an organization provides a further opportunity for mismatches between people and jobs. In this respect, the Kansas City department has initiated an "assessment center" approach to the promotion of patrol officers to the rank of sergeant. Candidates for promotion are evaluated in terms of their capacity to perform tasks representative of the supervisory role. In effect, the "pencil and paper" examination is replaced by a method which more accurately measures an individual's ability to fill and perform within a specific role. The Dallas department is planning to adopt this system as part of its promotional process and to adapt it to the recruit selection procedure as well.

Obviously, none of these developments will eliminate all kinds of role-related stress in policing. For example, three other types of role conflict exist as important sources of stress:

- intrasender conflict: in which the individual who defines a role for the role occupant holds incompatible expectations about that role (e.g. a supervisor expecting an officer to enforce the law while simultaneously ignoring an infraction or accepting a bribe);

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- intersender conflict: in which the occupant's role is defined by multiple groups (e.g. an officer attempting to respond to differing expectations held by supervisors, fellow officers, community groups, etc.);

- inter-role conflict: in which multiple roles must be played within the same time period.

Such conflicts are compounded by the role ambiguity problem cited earlier, and often by the failure or inability of a role occupant to clearly perceive the expectations associated with the role. In policing, such confusion can result from numerous stimuli, including television's grossly inaccurate portrayal of the police, from an unrealistic portrayal of policing by recruiting campaigns, or from a lack of communications between an officer and supervisor. Much of this conflict will be resolved only when society and the police jointly develop a set of workable and realistic objectives for the delivery of police services, and develop roles compatable with those objectives. As Rubin notes, the first step is clarification of the roles to be performed. The second is then a closer matching of the individual's characteristics with the characteristics of the more simplified and specialized role, resulting ideally in a more satisfactory "person-role fit."
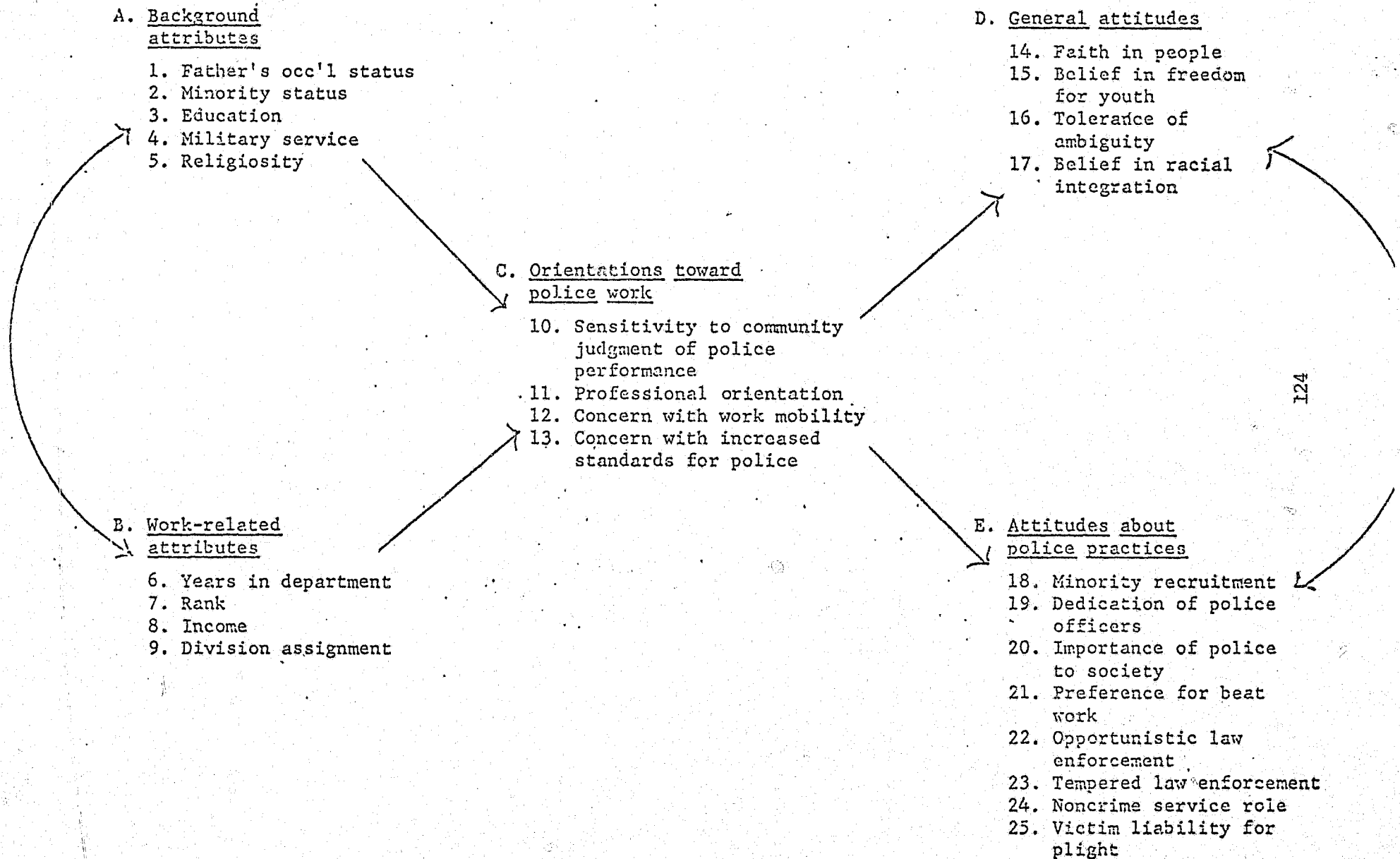
PERSONNEL CHARACTERISTICS, JOB SATISFACTION AND THE PERSON-ROLE FIT

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the Dallas Police Department and the Police Foundation are attempting to assess which personnel characteristics appear to fit best with various police roles. The first studies in a planned series of investigations into this question have recently been completed. Both were based on the results of a Human Resources Development (HRD) questionnaire administered in 1973 to 1339 officers in the Dallas department. And both were designed to probe various indicators of early socialization and early adult experience as well as occupational socialization and other work-related factors, including job satisfaction. The first study investigated the relationships between the attitudes of police officers and their orientations toward police work, their social backgrounds and work-related attributes. The second investigated the nature of and conditions influencing the level of job satisfaction expressed by the officer surveyed.

Findings from these studies are now in draft form, and must be considered as preliminary and viewed with appropriate caution. Yet both yield important observations in the area of officer attitudes and job satisfaction. The first study, of work orientations and attitudes, attempted to determine which attributes would predispose police officers toward a set of attitudes that has been advocated for the community-oriented officer (including faith in people, high degree of tolerance of ambiguity, endorsement of minority recruiting, belief in the justifiability of tempering law enforcement, etc.). The attributes (including father's occupational status, level of educational attainment, amount of experience on the force, level of income and orientations toward the police role) deemed capable of leading the officer toward endorsement of one or more of the desirable attitudes were chosen for examination because their potential importance is frequently noted with in the police community. (Figure 1).

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Figure 1

An Analytic Model for Studying Attitudes of Police Officers

A. <u>Background</u>
<u>attributes</u>

1. Father's occ'l status
2. Minority status
3. Education
4. Military service
5. Religiosity

C. <u>Orientations</u> <u>toward</u>
<u>police work</u>

10. Sensitivity to community
judgment of police
performance
11. Professional orientation
12. Concern with work mobility
13. Concern with increased
standards for police

B. <u>Work-related</u>
<u>attributes</u>

6. Years in department
7. Rank
8. Income
9. Division assignment

D. <u>General</u> <u>attitudes</u>

14. Faith in people
15. Belief in freedom
for youth
16. Tolerance of
ambiguity
17. Belief in racial
integration

E. <u>Attitudes</u> <u>about</u>
<u>police practices</u>

18. Minority recruitment
19. Dedication of police
officers
20. Importance of police
to society
21. Preference for beat
work
22. Opportunistic law
enforcement
23. Tempered law enforcement
24. Noncrime service role
25. Victim liability for
plight

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Briefly, a substantial spread of explanatory sources of causation emerged, and virtually ruled out any single-factor theories. For example, it was concluded that nonwork socialization (background attributes) are sometimes more important and sometimes less important than work socialization (work-related attributes) depending upon the attitude in question. In no instance was an attitude determined exclusively by either nonwork or work attributes. The study found that most attitudes seemed to be products of combinations of variables from the nonwork and work milieu, operating through the work orientations.

The second study, of officer satisfaction with the job, was an extension of the first, and while its findings are even more tentative, an interesting pattern was detected. In this analysis, nine factors pertaining to satisfaction with a specific facet of police work or conditions of work were identified:

- satisfaction with immediate supervisory;
- satisfaction with police task;
- satisfaction with promotional opportunities;
- satisfaction with top management;
- satisfaction with departmental recognition for accomplishments;
- satisfaction with job security;
- satisfaction with salary;
- satisfaction with job autonomy; and
- satisfaction with personal advancement.

As in the first study, early socialization and adult experience, as well as occupational socialization and work context factors, were presumed to affect one another and job satisfaction (in chronological sequence).

In summary, the second study found that background held little explanatory power in terms of work satisfaction, and that of the background factors: older workers expressed greater dissatisfaction with job tasks, personal advancement and job autonomy, while also indicating greater satisfaction with supervisors, top management, the recognition received for work, and salaries. Experience on the job seemed to be associated with dissatisfaction (as was age), while rank was slightly associated with job satisfaction (primarily in terms of self-advancement and perceptions of promotional opportunities). Levels of income was not found to be a predictor of satisfaction in any consistent dimension, nor did race seem to have any major effect.

The most influential of the orientation-attitudinal variables, however, was that termed "faith in people," or the degree to which the officer sees people as trustworthy, ethical and concerned for the welfare of other. Officers holding this view were found to be generally more satisfied with their work. In addition, those expressing a high degree of sensitivity to community judgement, a tolerance for ambiguity and a belief in racial integration also seemed to exhibit a greater degree of satisfaction with their work (Figure 2). In effect, those officers exhibiting what might be termed a "non-constraining" perspective were generally more satisfied.

The exception, however, involved officers indicating a belief in freedom for youth (the degree to which youth behavior should be controlled, etc.). Officers with higher degrees of belief in freedom for youth tended to exhibit less satisfaction with the various facets of police work, registering the highest negative indication in the "police task" category.

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FIGURE 2

Effects of Work-Related Attributes, Work
Orientations, and General Attitudes Upon
Job Facets*

	Job Facets								
	Supervisor	Police Tasks	Promotion Opportunities	Top Management	Recognition	Security	Salary	Autonomy	Personal Advancement
Work-Related Attributes									
Years in Department		—	—			—			—
Rank			+				+		+
Income	—								
Moonlights Job						—	—		
Works in Investigation							+		
Work Orientations									
Sensitivity to Community Judgement		+	+	+	+		+		+
Professional Orientation	+	+		—				+	
Concern for Work Mobility				+	+		+		
Concern for Increased Standards	—		+	+	—	+			
General Attitudes									
Faith in People	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Belief in Freedom for Youth	—	—			—			—	—
Tolerance for Ambiguity	+	+		—			+	+	
Belief in Racial Integration		+	+	+		+	+		+

*This table shows only if the orientations and attitudes had a statistically significant effect upon the job facets and the direction of that effect. It does not indicate the degree of significance nor if the effect was significant at the .05 or .01 level. A positive (+) indicator means that the presence of the factor positively affected the job facet (e.g. tolerance for ambiguity resulted in a positive view toward supervisors) while a negative (-) indicator means that the presence of the factor negatively affected the job facet (e.g. belief in freedom for youth had a negative effect upon the view toward supervisors).

Again, the findings are tenative, must be viewed with caution, and confirm the complexity of the topic under examination. Yet there are obvious linkages between attitudinal variables and job satisfaction and it may be the case that the matching of a person's characteristics to tasks will come to be viewed as an essential element of job placement procedures.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Additional research is currently underway in Dallas to link personality attributes of individual officers with job performance. Other studies are attempting to investigate the link between background and work-related attitudes (including job satisfaction) and job performance. The combination of the findings from such research will help determine whether predictable linkages do in fact exist between personality, background, work-related attitudes and job performance. If such linkages can be ascertained, then personality attributes and/or attitudes could be used to identify the potentially productive or unproductive performer.

If, for example, it is found that personality is related to job performance, then mechanisms could be developed to screen out those candidates indicating a high probability of poor performance in a specific role. If attitudes, which are admittedly more changeable than personality characteristics, are found to be related to performance, it would be possible to isolate potentially poor performers by periodically measuring employee attitudes. Simply being aware of the existence of such a linkage would help determine in what ways, if any, attitudes should be influenced during the process of early job socialization in order to optimize the person-role fit.

Such research presupposes accurate measures of police performance and adequate sources of data. For the most part, these simply do not exist within policing. Most departments have not yet developed methods to accurately gauge the performance of their officers. Most police administrators will admit that the traditional methods used to rate supervisory personnel are often cursory and arbitrary. The file records of an officer's commendations and complaints may measure more or less than the officer's actual performance. And such measures, usually the best available to researchers, are often inadequately recorded, incomplete or out-of-date. Considerable work is necessary if we are to establish valid performance criteria and, subsequently, ascertain the relationship between performance and personality characteristics and attitudes. Our ability to measure the latter two is currently far more advanced than is our ability to measure the former. Still also in embryonic form is the research needed to identify the numerous specific tasks performed by police officers and the research needed to identify organizational characteristics which may predict officer health, satisfaction and productivity.

However, little has been done in policing to determine whether one can identify and isolate a "healthy, satisfied and productive" worker. For example, is the satisfied patrol officer also the productive officer? Or is the productive officer also likely to be healthy? If the answers to these and other related questions are in the affirmative, then we must determine the personal and organizational predictors of this condition. If the answers are negative, then we must learn what it is about policing, about the organization or about the types of individuals recruited into policing which makes this desirable mixture unlikely.

Current exploratory research seems to indicate that policing, or at least certain aspects of police work, is stressful. Yet beyond this, little is really known about the causes or effects of this stress, or even about the outcomes of programs designed to isolate and deal with it. Research in this area is in exploratory stages and thus tentative. Many of our conclusions are therefore little more than speculation. Because of this, we must be careful to plan and initiate remediation efforts only after existing programs have been thoroughly evaluated. And we must be sure that careful and rigorous evaluation is built into every new program. The issues are anything but clear, and impulsive programmatic efforts based upon incomplete, misinterpreted or misunderstood data run the risk of compounding rather than clarifying the problem.

One conclusion is irrefutable, however. Far more research into every aspect of the question is necessary. The model required for this effort is disturbingly complex, requires an immense amount of both theoretical and empirical work and is in only its earliest stage of development. Yet the effort is crucial if the police are to provide healthy and effective services to the community, and if policing is to be a field within which individuals can work with health and satisfaction.

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The Personal Problems Of The Police Officer:
A Plea For Action

Jeffrey A. Schwartz and Cynthia B. Schwartz

Law Enforcement Training and Research Associates, Inc.

San Francisco, California

INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years the criminal justice system, and the police in particular, have received a tremendous amount of attention, research, and analysis. This attention has come from the general public, the media, federal agencies and commissions, the academic community, and police administrators themselves. The criminal justice system has been rather clearly labeled as a dysfunctional nonsystem. The role of the police in society has been debated endlessly, and community relations, crime prevention and diversion have become bywords without which grant funds may be lost. The past decade has also seen an unparalleled infusion of federal funds into police agencies. The result of these forces has been a period of remarkable innovation and change for law enforcement. Many police departments are experimenting with team policing, with major juvenile programs, with organizational development retreats for administrators, with crime prevention programs to combat burglary, and with far, far more.

It is ironic, although perhaps predictable, that most of these changes have little or no effect upon the field police officer. It is not uncommon to ask a patrolman from a large police department about the Chief's departmental reorganization (to flatten organizational structure and improve communication) only to have the patrolman respond, "What did you say the Chief's name was?" Much of the police innovation of the past several years appears to have occurred within a closed system; a system comprised of police administrators, consultants, funding agencies, academicians, and the media. Line police officers seem to receive few benefits from this system and to have little access to the decision makers and planners.

There is no question but that the conclusion drawn above is a generalization, and that there are notable exceptions to it. For example, police equipment has improved markedly of late and the move towards professionalization has definitely reached the rank and file officer in many departments. Yet, it is difficult to see much real change in the tasks and procedures of an uniformed officer. Most of the success stories in the police literature are illusion, while others present a veneer of change which does not penetrate below mid-management levels. Certainly the society has become far more violent and far more complex in recent years. Concurrently, the police job has become more complex, more violent, and more stressful. It is less clear that police agencies are providing line-level officers with the necessary tools to meet these more difficult job conditions.

Among the areas which might be expected to have maximum influence on the day-to-day performance of line officers would be patrol procedures, training and personnel practices. With the exception of technological improvements in equipment, patrol procedures for most officers in most departments in the United States are very much as they were in the 1950's. Police training has received extremely large amounts of money and attention, but little improvement. Most police training remains irrelevant for the job at hand and badly done to boot. Police personnel practices are not as good as police training.

This paper addresses a broad area of police personnel practices and non-practices related to the personal problems of the police officer. These problems include alcoholism, divorce and other family problems, suicide, adjustment to retirement, individual psychological problems, burnout and a number of others. The first section of this paper discusses priorities of these personnel problems and general strategies for effecting change. The second section of the paper presents a brief description of the most significant of the personal problems of the police officer. The third section of this paper discusses specific remedies for these problems.

PRIORITIES AND STRATEGIES

The personal problems of police officers should be attended to with high priority by police agencies. Generally, this is not the case. There are several reasons for this lack of attention. First, there is a broad class of personnel procedures which every agency must deal with. These include establishing selection standards, administering entry-level and promotional exams, tracking probationary periods, appeal procedures, etc. Thus, most of the time of a personnel bureau or division is occupied by day-to-day requirements. The second reason is that employee problems are a long-term issue. Usually, it is only problems which reach crisis proportions that intrude successfully upon day-to-day business. Third, there is a strange historical precedent that every police officer should be able to manage his personal life competently and without serious problems, and that if he cannot, he does not belong in police work. Although this attitude is less prevalent today than it was 15 years ago, it survives and remains a factor. Also, individual officers are well aware of this attitude and do not want to face peer pressure by acknowledging problems or seeking help. Thus, most police departments do not recognize the severity or frequency of personal problems of their own employees.

The personal problems of the police officer lead to a number of results, almost all of them negative. The officer who is drinking on duty is a danger to himself and to his fellow officers as well as to the community. If his problem becomes public knowledge he may lose his credibility in court and his effectiveness in the field. The officer who is having serious personal or family problems may be ineffectual in general, or may create serious difficulties during citizen contacts. The officer who develops physical problems such as back trouble or hypertension may be unreliable in attendance and may be rendered useless for any assignments except light duty. To the degree that individual officers are experiencing personal problems, overall departmental morale will be negatively affected. The organization may be compromised by

supervisors who are aware of personal problems of subordinates, but are at a loss about their own role. In the absence of direction, supervisors will often take no action and, in doing so, implicitly condone the impaired performance of the subordinate. This state of affairs leads to a number of negative consequences, not the least of which is considerable civil liability. Efficiency is also an important consideration. In light of today's municipal budgets, it is particularly important that police departments be able to use every officer as efficiently and productively as possible. Also, disability retirements increase the already severe fiscal problems that many municipalities already face. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the consequences of employee problems within police agencies, but it should be sufficient to demonstrate the importance of this topic to police administrators and communities alike.

Fifteen years ago the largest impediment to change in this area would have been the attitude within police ranks that every police officer should be able to manage his personal life competently and without serious problems, and that if he could not he did not belong in police work. This attitude survives, but is far less prevelant today. Also, police officers are much more likely now to see themselves as part of a labor force that demands programs and services from management. In considering the personal problems of the police officer it may be more important to specify what is not needed than what is needed. What is not needed is to turn this into an abstruse academic research area. It will not be surprising if in the next three years someone publishes a paper entitled, "An analogue study of the psycho-biological cellular concomitants of stress in a cohort of computer-simulated probationary sergeants." But at that point we have lost it, have we not? This is not a criticism of basic research, nor is it an attempt to put value judgements upon areas of basic research. It is a reminder that this is not a basic research area. That is, the personal problems of the police officer are important because of the social significance of the police and their role. If we are attending to this area because of its social significance, then we should attempt to achieve socially significant goals, rather than use this topic as a jumping off point for basic behavioral research. In short, there is a need to do something about these problems now rather than to relate them to a larger, pre-existing body of basic research which has not yet developed socially meaningful outcomes.

In this same regard it may be useful to differentiate between a police officer's personal problems and police stress. It is tempting to assume that, at least epidemiologically, personal problems are related to police stress; and that some of these personal problems, marital difficulty for example, may then also contribute to on-the-job stress. While this seems eminently reasonable, even probable, it must be remembered that this remains an assumption. The evidence relating on-the-job stress to personal police problems is far from definitive, and there is no body of evidence ruling out other possibilities. For example, it may be that many of the personal problems discussed in this paper are simply characteristic of the population that enters police work. It is also possible that many of these problems are related to nonstress aspects of the police officer's job. It is possible that one might alleviate many of the personal problems of police officers without in any way reducing

on-the-job police stress or even identifying stressors. Conversely, one might significantly reduce police stress (an important end in and of itself) only to find that the incidence of personal problems remained essentially unchanged.

The discussions above are simply a plea to deal with the social issues that have brought us to this topic. A concern with the identification of the various types of stress impinging on the police officer, with the personality characteristics of police populations which might predispose them to personal problems, or with the mechanisms through which these stressors operate, makes excellent sense if it appears that this strategy will lead to the quicket, the easiest or the most complete solution to these problems. However, in the face of glaring identified problems, the primary emphasis should be upon treatment rather than etiological explorations. If the majority of efforts in this new and important area are given to clearing swamps then perhaps some more philosophic researchers will later be able to specify the role of the mosquito.

Before considering individual problem areas, it is important to recognize that the nature and incidence of personal problems may be expected to vary with area of the country and, perhaps more importantly, size and type of police department. For example, alcoholism may be a far less serious issue in moderate-sized suburban departments than in large urban agencies. Divorce and family problems would be expected to be much more frequent in urban and suburban areas of California than in rural areas of the Midwest. The same qualifications may need to be applied to solutions, even for those problems that seem universal.

PERSONAL PROBLEM AREAS

1. THE WORKAHOLIC: This is probably the most common, and certainly the least understood, problem which disproportionately affects police officers. In any police agency of moderate size there are individual officers who consistently come in to work early, stay at work late to talk to officers on the next shift, socialize almost exclusively with other police officers, volunteer for extra assignments and spend inordinate amounts of time preparing for work. These officers are often encouraged by supervisors or administrators who convey the impression that total 24-hour-a-day commitment to and immersion in work is the only path to advancement within the police department. This problem usually becomes more severe when an officer becomes a supervisor or administrator himself. He may then spend 10 to 16 hours a day, six to seven days a week, regularly, on the job. The officer who spends his off-duty time with other officers and whose primary interests are police-related is not necessarily a workaholic; it is the almost total dedication of time and energy to the job that distinguishes this problem. Officers who have this problem are high risks to have multiple divorces and to become extremely bitter when their career advancement does not match their individual commitment and expectation.

2. BURNOUT: A police officer who has six or eight years of seniority and has not been promoted may develop into a serious problem. No matter how good an officer he has been until the point at which he realized that he would probably

never gain promotion, he may quickly turn into one of the most destructive forces in the agency. Alternately, he may simply choose to "retire in office", and draw his salary until he reaches twenty years of service even though he stopped working some twelve years previously. This is by no means a universal phenomenon and there are many agencies in which the older experienced patrolmen form the backbone of the department. Nevertheless, there is an incredible waste of talent, resources and energy among lower-ranking members of police agencies who burn out due to perceived inattention, perceived unfairness of promotional policies, a cumulative dissatisfaction with the job, the department and the city or for a number of other related reasons.

3. DIVORCE AND OTHER FAMILY PROBLEMS: Although there is some contradictory evidence on this point, divorce appears to be a very high-frequency occurrence for young police officers. In large departments it is easy to find numbers of patrol officers who are on third marriages before age thirty. There is no particular mystery with regard to the breakup of marriages exisiting prior to entry into police service. Many police officers are married within a few years after finishing high school, and typically neither spouse had any realistic notion of what police service would mean in terms of its effect on family life. Police agencies that provide any orientation or counselling for the spouses of recruits are still the exception rather than the rule, and until very recently there were no such programs. Older police officers frequently report that their children have received negative reactions either from peers or from school teachers because of the father's police job. When the children of police officers reach adolescence, juvenile problems seem also to be unusually frequent. While many of these problems are between parents and juveniles, serious delinquency is not uncommon. There has been a great deal of speculation about the cause of family problems among police officers. It has been suggested that the job breeds cynicism and callousness, and that too many officers take these parts of the job home with them. Another frequent explanation is that the police culture encourages philandering. Programs which have attempted to alleviate or remedy this situation have been much less frequent than speculation about the cause of the problem.

4. ALCOHOLISM: Drinking is a major problem in some police departments, particularly large departments, and almost non-existent in other departments, usually small suburban or rural agencies. Some police departments have such strict rules against the use of alcohol on duty or before duty and such clear traditions prohibiting such behavior, that officers may have significant drinking problems when off the job but not bring these problems to work with them in any direct form. An officer who is under the influence of alcohol while on duty is a menace to himself and to everyone around him, officer and civilian alike. His fellow officers may be concerned about his inability to effectively back them up, drive safely or handle firearms competently, but they are in a dilemma in many departments because of the tradition against reporting fellow officers for drinking or similar indiscretions. A police department that has significant alcohol problems within its ranks and does not acknowledge and cope with the problem will then face citizen complaints about drinking officers, incidents involving violence in which the officer's drinking habits may be more central to the incident than the actions of the citizens involved, preventable

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auto accidents, absenteeism and early retirements. Many large industries have found that they could not afford to ignore employee alcoholism for purely financial reasons. It is surprising that police agencies have given so little attention to this issue.

5. PHYSICAL PROBLEMS: Police officers exhibit an uncommonly high incidence of heart disease, back trouble and hypertension for a group that is initially selected on stringent physical fitness criteria. Back problems and heart disease account for high percentages of disability pensions in most police agencies, and relegate other men to special light duty assignments. They are also responsible for absenteeism, and increased turnover rates due to early retirements. While the personal costs of these problems to individual police officers must not be overlooked, the aggregate economic cost is overwhelming.

6. INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS: This category includes the officer who becomes psychotic (although this problem appears to be an extremely low-frequency event in police populations), the officer who is depressed because of job dissatisfaction or because of family problems, the officer who develops "the shakes" about the dangers of the job, and the officer who becomes agitated and erascible. Martin Reiser's description of the John Wayne syndrome is another excellent example of a serious and encompassing personal problem, although it is neither a typical psychiatric issue nor an emergency of any sort. There are a variety of other individual issues, many of them rather minor, which individual police officers define as significant problems for themselves. These initially minor personal problems tend to be exacerbated by the fact that police officers are unlikely (for personal and professional reasons) to utilize public mental health agencies. Many problems which are not unique to police officers, and are not generally considered serious, become very serious for a police officer because of the demands and responsibilities of his job.

7. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF FEMALE AND MINORITY OFFICERS: No matter how severe the pressures that one assumes befall the typical patrolman, they must be dwarfed by the pressures faced by minority and female officers. Minority and female officers are subject to all of the other personal problems that face the White male officer. The special and severe forces with which minorities and women additionally contend are rather obvious. In many police agencies a Black police officer is regarded suspiciously by fellow officers and does not have the kind of peer support that most patrolmen identify as critically important. Further, the Black officer may face occasional bigotry in the white community even when he is responding with emergency service. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that it is widely believed that Black officers receive more hostility from the Black community than do White officers. Black officers suggest that this is almost completely a myth and that they are, with occasional exceptions, received more positively than are White officers. However, the Black officer is much more likely to find that his job is a source of harassment and unpleasantness for his wife and children than is the White officer. Other minorities appear to fall in between the Black and White officers on these issues, although there are some areas in which Mexican-American communities are more negative about Mexican-Americans becoming police officers than

is true in the Black communities. Female officers are still regarded by most male police officers as freaks. They may expect little initial support and a great deal of testing by their male counterparts. Many of the police departments which have hired female patrol officers have done so because court orders or because the chief of police himself has decided that it would be done. Neither of these decision-making processes does anything to build mid-management or supervisory enthusiasm for the new female officers. It will probably be several years until there is a clear indication of the effect of police work upon the women who go into it, just as it will probably take several years before reliable general conclusions can be drawn about the performance of female patrol officers. (That is, women in police work are still so unusual in most jurisdictions that they may not be typical of the women who will enter the field when the situation has become more commonplace.) Police agencies that have hired women for patrol work under federal grants have seldom included as part of the program some method of attempting to provide personal assistance and support for the female rookies. Police programs to provide support and assistance for minority officers are very rare and have usually been organized and run by minority officer organizations.

8. RETIREMENT PROBLEMS: Police officers do not retire well. This fact is widely known within police departments, and it is not a surprise to see newly retired officers becoming depressed and losing physical condition. Like other occupations, police do not plan realistically for retirement. However, unlike other occupations, police officers are generally very deeply involved with their work until the actual moment of retirement. It is a real shock to suddenly be estranged from a job that has occupied a major portion of one's life, been active and involving, and was the source of many social activities as well. Here again, major industries have recently begun to come to grips with the retirement problem, but police departments have not.

9. SUICIDE: Suicide as a problem for police officers is a bifurcated issue. Suicide among young police officers is not particularly common and may often be related to divorce or other family problems. Among older police officers suicide is more common and may be related to alcoholism, physical illness or impending retirement. Many police officers believe that suicide rates among police immediately after retirement are extremely high (as portrayed graphically in The New Centurians), and definitive data on this point would be most useful.

10. CAREER UNCERTAINTY: There are very few occupations in which individual work histories are as varied as in police work. Although there is some recent reduction in the number of sources from which officers enter police service, because of both the lowering age of the average recruit and the increased emphasis upon college preparation in criminal justice programs, it is still common to find all varieties of blue-collar and lower-income white collar job histories co-mingled in a police force. A police department is usually an educational melting pot as well. Many officers have a combination of armed services college credits, trade school college credits, credits earned during police training and credits from several different educational institutions.

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All too often the officer will have many more credits than are required for graduation, but no major, no program and no degree. Similarly, officers within police work who are hoping to develop an alternative livelihood, either to retire into or because they know they do not want to continue in police work, often flounder with no realistic plans for acquiring credentials or skills or opportunities that would lead to their goals. Even those officers who wish to remain within police work and who are involved in career advancement, often feel uncertainty about the best methods for promoting their own career advancement. In many agencies there is a strong tradition of talking about leaving the department for state or federal enforcement agencies, private business, a firefighter's job or whatever. To the uninitiated it frequently sounds as though two-thirds of the officers in a given department were going to resign within the next three months. This kind of career uncertainty frequently leads to bitterness, a lack of clear direction or expectations, and an unwillingness to commit oneself to long-term career development opportunities, such as education, that are only sensible within the context of long-term career goals.

POTENTIAL REMEDIES

Before discussing specific methods that might ameliorate or solve the problems identified, a few general comments are in order. The preceding section has reviewed ten areas in which police officers experience serious, and in some cases critical, personal problems. Arrayed against this litany of employee dissatisfaction, illness and anguish is a barren landscape of services not proffered, alternatives not tried and ideas not tested. There is no indication that these problems will yield only to brilliant and innovative new concepts nor that only extraordinary individuals will be able to come to grips with these issues. The need is simply for sound, humane personnel policies. Most communities and most police administrators demand far more from police officers than from workers in other occupations. It is then no more than reasonable that police departments should establish personnel policies that are as progressive and supportive as those found in many other occupations.

If police departments or individuals chose to approach this area by attempting to reduce the stress upon police officers, it must be remembered that there are a number of potent competing determinants of police stress that will not be under programmatic control. For example, any important change in departmental procedure, organization, or policy may be expected to influence both the stress upon an individual officer and his perception of that stress. Similarly, a significant change in case or statutory law, a controversial incident between police officer and citizen in the community, or a municipal election may serve to alter the incipient stress upon police officers. Because of this lack of control over some of the central determinants of stress and because of the inferences involved in relating stress to the problems described above, it appears that initial efforts should be focused upon the problems themselves. It is tempting to view such efforts as stop-gap in nature and as dealing with symptoms rather than underlying causes. However, it has already been pointed out that many of these problems may produce stress as well as

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result from stress. Successful attempts to alleviate these problems may be expected to have a number of constructive by-products, and stress reduction would seem to be one logical example of these.

It is also tempting to regard these problems as an equation soluable by proper application of selection procedures; e.g., a belief that more sophisticated selection will result in choosing individuals whose attributes are better suited to the needs and demands of the job. That expectation is simply unrealistic given the state of the art of psychological selection and personality theory. The use of psychological instruments for occupational selection remains far more art and craft than science. Personality variables, trait measurements if you will, are only very weakly related to behavior under the best of laboratory conditions. Since industrial psychologists have been notoriously unsuccessful in producing precise, reliable and valid selection criteria for insurance salesmen, business executives and stewardesses, it seems rather unlikely that the miracle will occur in police selection. For some time now police selection has been viewed as the potential solution for far too many problems, and has in fact served as an excuse for not attending to the more mundane but necessary and realistic goals of properly training and managing those men who are selected.

Listed below are a number of potential methods for reducing and preventing personal problems of police officers. This list is obviously not all-inclusive, and it implies no evaluation of existing programs. It should be regarded as a possible starting point for planning in this area.

1. ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING: Major changes in personnel procedures will be impossible without broad support at the command level. Most police administrators are inexperienced in, and unfamiliar with, personnel management skills. For most police agencies it will be important to provide administrative training centered on the problems discussed in this paper to the command staff as a whole.

2. COMPREHENSIVE LONG-TERM PERSONNEL PLANS: The natural result of the administrative training described in (1) above should be the development of short-term and long-term strategies for dealing with the personal problems of the police officer. Methods for evaluating such efforts should be included in these plans.

3. MID-MANAGEMENT TRAINING: The next logical step in many police agencies would be the provision of training to mid-management personnel. This should not preceed the development of specific short-term and long-term personnel plans in strategies. (Although it would be extremely useful to secure information and opinions from mid-management level officers, as well as line-level officers, prior to the formulation of such plans.) Ideally, the mid-management training should provide these officers with the skills and information with which to support and help implement the overall plans. Further, it is the supervisors and mid-managers in most police organizations that really determine whether patrol officers are treated as individuals or are regarded impersonally and mechanically.

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4. INVOLVEMENT OF THE POLICE OFFICER ORGANIZATION: In many police departments the police officers' association rather than the administrators have forced attention to these issues. It is important to note that this is one of a considerable number of areas in which the police officer association and the police administration are natural allies and may be able to support each other's efforts in front of the city government or the community at large. If the police officer association in a given department is not already involved in programs and policies dealing with the problems of the individual officers, the administration should attempt to secure that involvement.

5. CAREER DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES: Non-promotional career development alternatives should be explored. The creation of positions involving increased status, responsibility and/or compensation may be feasible. A number of police departments have experimented with this concept, and their methods and results could be examined profitably.

6. PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES: A few police departments have convinced their city governments that individual psychological problems and family problems of the police officer are a job-related health need just as clearly as is a back injury sustained in a bar fight. These cities are providing confidential and free counselling and other psychological services, usually within the police agency. Such programs should begin with a mental health professional who is at least partially familiar with police work and police organizations and who can earn the confidence and trust of the rank and file members of the department. It is important that officers and/or their families may go for counselling without any feedback whatsoever to anyone within the police department. The importance to individual officers and to the organization of confidentiality and anonymity cannot be overemphasized. Supervisory or administrative access to such information will lead to underutilization of services, and is unethical as well. It may be useful for the department administration to know the total number of visits per week or per month that the mental health professional is providing and some sense of what kinds of problems are most frequent. Whether or not administrative referrals are permitted within such a program is a controversial issue and a clear decision should be reached and should be made known throughout the department. Similarly, there should be a clear understanding of the nature of the records kept by the mental health professional and the consequences of a subpoena to testify about an officer who has undergone counselling or treatment.

7. POLICE OFFICERS' SPOUSES: Many police academies are now experimenting with orientation programs for the wives of police recruits. (This group should shortly include husbands as well as wives.) These programs have been extremely well received in most places and are usually followed by requests for more efforts in the same direction. Police departments should consider longer-term programs to involve spouses and should attempt to develop useful activities, training or other programs for wives of experienced officers, and perhaps, teenage children. A word of caution is in order. These programs should, without exception, be voluntary. It is a thin line between providing services, opportunities or involvement for the families of police officers and interfering unnecessarily in officers' personal lives. This line must not be crossed.

8. CAREER COUNSELLING: Most moderate-sized and large police agencies could provide professional career counselling for their officers without cost, by simply coordinating counsellors from nearby educational institutions. Smaller agencies could band together regionally to organize such services, or could attempt them on an intermittant, as available, basis. It is also obvious that police departments have within their own sworn ranks a great deal of expertise about educational and career opportunities within and outside of police service. These resources could also be brought to bear without cost. For example, it is inexcusable that many police agencies continue to convey the message to young officers that an academic specialization in police science is in their own best interests when most departments prefer to provide their own training for their officers, and when the kick-out and drop-out rate from police service is very high. An ex-police officer with a four-year degree in Police Science is not the most saleable commodity on today's job market.

9. PHASED RETIREMENT PROGRAMS: Industrial experiements with this concept have been promising. Many police agencies have numbers of positions which are informally reserved for officers near retirement or for officers physically restricted to light duty. Some of these positions might be split so that an officer could work a 30-hour week for a year and then a 20-hour week for a year and then a 10-hour week for a year, preceding full retirement. The logistic problems would be considerable but not insurmountable, and the idea stated here is by no means the only manner in which such a program could be implemented.

10. OTHER PERSONNEL PRACTICES: This category includes several other possible personnel practices, most of which have been discussed at length in other forums. Police agencies might consider establishing sabbatical programs which would either voluntarily or mandatorily remove an officer from police work for some period of months every so many years. A similar and exciting notion is a wide-spread use of exchange programs between police departments. Lateral entry has been discussed a great deal but remains more a theoretical possibility than a reality. Departments might consider giving summer vacation priority to officers who have school-aged children rather than to older officers because of seniority. It would be easy and relatively inexpensive to establish retirement counselling programs. Short exchange programs with other elements of the criminal justice system would broaden perspectives as well as provide a break from the routine of patrol duty. The possibilites for programmatic attention to personal problem areas are limited only by an agency's commitment.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has reviewed some of the more common personal problems which beset police officers. It has suggested that some of these problems are of relatively high frequency in police populations and that most police agencies do little or nothing to combat these problems. The final section of this paper briefly discusses some possible remedies for various problems identified earlier.

There are three broad recommendations which are imperative.

I. Someone must do a comprehensive survey and analysis of existing programs in this area. A few departments have had good luck with alcoholism programs. Other departments have developed models for delivery of psychological services to officers. Still other agencies have experimented with programs for reducing over-aggressiveness in citizen contacts. Yet, for each of these known programs there are certainly a large number of other, unknown programs that have successful elements; and a still larger group of programs that at one time sounded reasonable to someone but have long since failed. It is essential that someone collect data which would identify the various models that have been tried in dealing with each individual problem, and the essential elements of each model. The study should include the availability and adequacy of evaluation results for every program that seems noteworthy. This kind of effort could be completed relatively quickly and would provide a blueprint for police agencies in some personnel areas, potentially promising ideas in other areas, and procedures to be avoided at all cost in still other areas. Lacking such data, most police departments will continue to plan personnel programs in a vacuum of information.

II. Police agencies should carefully assess which personal problems are frequent and serious for their own officers. This assessment should precede hard planning. Information for this kind of assessment must come from all levels and elements of the department.

III. In the light of the assessment described above police agencies should formulate short-term and long-term methods for alleviating the most serious and most frequent of their officers' personal problems.

A Note on
the Application of Stress Research Findings
to Problems of Police Job Stress

Harold L. Sheppard
American Institutes for Research
Washington, D.C.

The empirical work of Kroes and Hurrell on job stress among policemen is probably the only recent effort on this critical issue, and it naturally warrants an expansion with larger numbers, and in a variety of police systems. Furthermore, it is my hope that such survey findings can be properly analyzed, reported, and "fed back" into the system—to police employee organizations (unions and similar organizations) and to police managements—for the purpose of developing internal police and program changes designed to mitigate and reduce the source of stress identified through this progress. I don't believe that we should place all our priorities on "rehabilitative" efforts that are essentially programs designed to cure the patient after the onset of the illness. A more important priority, in my opinion, is a preventive approach which we all pay rhetorical homage to, and do very little to implement.

Increasingly, it appears that organizations are coming to recognize the potential value of using organizational survey data as a basis for identification and solution/prevention of problems areas that impede the effectiveness of the organization and the well-being of individual numbers of that organization. Job stress and its sources are worthy of attack for its own sake, i.e., the well-being of the individual employee (physical and psychological health). But there need be no mutual exclusiveness between this goal and the goals of the organization for which individuals work.

It is vital that we bring to the attention of police officers and police managers—as well as other key decision-makers and administrators, not to mention the general public—that many physiological disorders are traceable to psychosocial factors, and that working conditions, our worklives, are the source of many of those psychosocial factors. Furthermore, among the so-called specialists, it is time to rebel against the academic-discipline walls that prevent us from learning from each other in the quest to understand, control, and prevent the negative results of stress in our work lives. Occupational medicine, for example, must be combined with industrial engineering and industrial social psychology (including organizational anaylsis).

I'm emphasizing the physical health indices here partly because it is not widely enough recognized that working conditions over and above the obvious physical environmental ones can be a source of physiological disorders, but also because I believe that in the striving of many industrial/occupational social scientists to achieve organizational recognition of the importance of the stress-potential of such work elements as police-community relations, shift work, position in the organizational hierarchy, resource adequacy, and time in court, for example, that achievement of recognition of those work elements has a better chance of success if it can be demonstrated that such work attributes play a role in health status. I say this because in our type of society,

there is an uncontested consensus concerning the value of good health. Never mind the obvious cost-benefit dimensions of this issue.

Kroes and Hurrell have made some significant first steps "on the journey of a thousand miles," and have identified in their work some of the more frequently cited stressors derived from interviews with policemen and police administrators. I don't have to repeat their findings here for this meeting. Their next effort contemplates a large sample of approximately 15,000 interviews. The project obviously has the great advantage of allowing them to conduct virtually unlimited number of comparative analyses of the several sub-samples, for example by city, type of police system, and disaggregated demographic characteristics. And to repeat, it should potentially provide for an opportunity to feedback the analyses of stress sources as a basis for possible interventions within police organizations. While the project in its present form does not include the direce measurement of physiological and health status concomitants of reported stress attributes, I believe that sooner or later such projects must deal with this topic. Any large-scale attack on police job stress should naturally show how this phenomenon affects such organizational matters as turnover, absenteeism, alcoholism, and other job performance criteria. But, to continue one of the major themes in this paper, a more systematic contribution to the problem of stress must deal with the health aspects of this problem.

I would like now to turn to some more general considerations of stress as a basis for giving us further clues and conceptual insights as applied to the occupational world of policemen. My basic source in this connection is the valuable volume edited by Lennart Levi (of Stockholm's Karolinska Institute, Stress Research Laboratory), The Psychosocial Environment and Psychosomatic Diseases, Vol. I in a series of symposia publications on Society, Stress and Disease (Oxford University Press, 1971). The World Health Organization's Aubrey Kagan, for example, develops the thesis that social incongruity increases the risk of disease. It "arises with changes demand adaptation that is not made or is inadequate." This proposition and viewpoint are similar to the widely used theory of expectancies and the degree to which, in our special field of interest, the realities of the work situation are congruent with expectations and aspirations. In my own recent research with a wide variety of white male blue collar workers, a measure of "discontent" based on measures of discrepancy between expectation and reality concerning the job suggests that some of the salient features in the jobs of the "discontented" vs. the other workers have to do with degree of variety, autonomy, and initiative (and promotion opportunities) allowed or provided in the job.

I should hasten to add that this generalization especially applies to workers with relatively non-authoritarian personalities, and that these non-authoritarian workers were disproportionately young. This latter dual observation is pertinent to the issue of the age-education profile of the current sources for police recruitment.

But to return to the concept of incongruity, the obvious fact that incongruities and expectation-reality discrepancies occur in our work lives needs more than recognition. It demands policy and program attention. We should not ignore such findings as those by R. H. Rahe (cited by Kagan) who found that, out of a list of 42 life events ranked in decreasing order of their saliency in social readjustment, at least four of the top half of life

events are related to the job. Death of a spouse; divorce; marital separation; imprisonment; death of a close family member; a personal injury or illness; and marriage are the seven life events that have a greater priority over any work-related event. And actually, personal injury or illness can itself be work-connected.

Kagan also refers to research findings by a number of authorities that might be generalized to the field of police work. For example, American white males in industry whose fathers were not themselves industrial workers had a higher sickness absence rate that workers with fathers who were industrial workers. Workers with continuously changing workmates have higher serum cholesterol than workers in the same workplace but with unchanging work associates. London Transport workers employed in relatively sheltered conditions, in comparison to London Transport bus drivers and conductors exposed over the years to London's traffic, had fewer absences for functional nervous orders; indeed, fewer sicknesses absences for all causes. One of the critical features of such findings is that they are essentially a product of epidemiological analysis, not based on personal attitudinal surveys or on self-reported illnesses and identification of possible stressors.

Another significant contribution to the Levi volume is by Bertil Gardell of Stockholm University Psychological Laboratory, on "Alienation and Mental Health in the Modern Industrial Environment." One of Gardell's major findings is that the "instrumental" attitude toward work (viewing one's job as acceptable almost exclusively in terms of its financial rewards) can be a product of long exposure to negative features of the work environment. Remaining in the same job or occupation for a long time (in other words, low turnover) is therefore not necessarily a perfect index of "job satisfaction." Many persons become "trapped" in dissatisfying, stressful jobs because of the material benefits associated with tenure in those jobs -- benefits that cannot be transferred to another occupation or employer. The phenomenon of "burned-out" police officers may be one manifestation of such alienation from one's work. Instrumentalism may thus serve as a justifier-to-self mechanism, which allows for a certain level of psychological tolerance of one's job. But it does not prevent a lowering of self-esteem, nor sustain a useful contribution by the individual to his work organization's purpose and goals.

Another conclusion I derived from Gardell's work is that the personnel selection model ("finding the right person for the right job") is inadequate, especially if this approach blinds us to the impact, over time, of work experience upon the individual. The selection approach should not be used as an excuse to ignore necessary changes in job structures, job assignments, the nature of hierarchical command, and other dimensions of the work environment.

Ohio State University's Samuel Corson, a Professor in Pscyhiatry in the College of Medicine, discusses in the Levi volume "The Lack of Feedback in Today's Societies--A Psychosocial Stressor." I am sure that his generalized propositions have relevance to the problem in contemporary police organizations. Many an organizational analysis has discovered the disfunctional role played by the failure to provide reciprocal feedback among the hierarchical echelons, especially within the context of a broader society imbued with democratic values and strivings. The need to know what's happening in the organization, and to be told how well one is performing in his or her job task assignments,

can affect the nature and quality of job performance and commitment to the work role. Corson writes that "the lack of feedback and the realization that the central control mechanism...does not respond to afferent signals has contributed significantly to the development of alienation, particularly, among the younger generation." If we consider that self-image and self-esteem have social origins, that is, based on how "significant others" define and treat us, we can begin to see the positive function played by personnel policies in the police organization that include the active implementation of feedback. John French's findings regarding the relationship of participation to stress levels among police should be noted in this context.

The chapter by West German Hanover's Jan Brod on hypertension, first of all, refers to studies that indicate that essential hypertension is only 20 percent attributable to genetic inheritance, 80 percent to psychoemotional environmental stress. What might we infer from the finding that higher blood pressure levels are found among front-line soldiers than among soldiers stationed well behind the lines in barracks, or higher than the blood pressure levels of civilians? Long-term exposure to the "front line" in hazaradous occupations only serves to aggravate the illness, perhaps to the point where removal from the front line does not serve to reduce the hypertension; it seems to develop a "functional autonomy" of its own. Can we find an anology here to the occupational world of policemen?

If taxi drivers, as reported by Brod, have above-average rates of hypertension, what about police car patrolmen assigned such tasks on a regular, daily basis (and futhermore, subjected to other events and experiences in the course of their duties)?

Finally, I think it important that we not trap ourselves in the unproductive argument about whether or not policemen experience greater stress, on the average, than most other segments of our workforce. What is important is to recognize the phenomenon of heterogeneity within the task attributes of any occupation as far as stressors are concerned, and to identify those work dimensions in the police role that must be dealt with in order to reduce whatever proportion of stress is found to be interfering with the effective work and personal lives of our criminal justice system's employees.

Police Tasks and Related Stress Factors
From An
Organizational Perspective

Lourn Phelps[*]
Department of Criminal Justice
University of Nevada

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

It would seem that the world knows implicitly, if not explicitly, that the police of this country evidence many symptoms of stress. Students of police administration, especially practitioners, constantly grapple with questions that are the products of stress: How should we treat alcoholism in the police organization? What strategies are available to the police to minimize the incidence of heart attacks? What can be done to reduce the exhorbitant rate of divorce among the members of our police forces? These are only a few of the problems which may be related to anxiety and stress among policemen.

Assumptions

The approach in this paper recognizes that potential and actual stress, produced by a variety of factors and situations, and mainfested by a variety of behaviors, illnesses, and costs, is significant. The costs may result in a myriad of environmental, interpersonal and organizational expenditures both human and financial. Therefore, it would be a travesty not to deal with the issue in a manner reflecting its complexity.

There is a tendency among professionals, who are busily reacting to various problems—because their worlds allow little room for before-the-fact proactive strategies—to deal directly with the issue of alcoholism, for example, as the responsibility of the victim-alcoholic; therefore, to be eliminated by the appropriate disciplinary action. This kind of administrative behavior is most efficient. For the organization, the problem is gone. (Everyone knows you can't have brain-damaged alcoholics making decisions about citizens' liberties! So he is fired.) Whether or not this form of problem-solving is effective is up for grabs.

Another assumption is that police work is different from any other kind of enterprise. Of course, it would be presumptious and dishonest to indulge that notion. This is to say that many causes of anxiety are similar in any kind of human endeavor. For the purpose of this discussion, it is safe to say there are some "stressors" which tend to be unique to the profession. Some strategies may be appropriate for consideration by other organizations as well as public safety.

There are probably many ways in which we may approach this subject. One is the systematic exploration of alternatives from a theoretical perspective; developing our hypotheses and, tapping into our limited resources, testing our

[*]Formerly, Chief of Police, Richmond, California

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hypotheses. Another is to look around us for examples of trial and error of a large variety of promising strategies: some involved and complicated; others relatively simple.

Our discussion recognizes the overwhelming complexity of the subject, but assumes that administrative factors contribute heavily to the cause of stress among policemen. Further, experience finds many of the management and organizational issues in police administration discussed here are characteristic of most police organizations. Our "organizational" approach separates into four general areas: Environmental, Interpersonal, Administrative and Strategies for the Reduction of Stress. It seems useful to attempt to identify situations and issues contributing to anxiety in the categories of environment, interpersonal and administration and then generalize about strategies. The interrelationships among the four areas are beyond our immediate comprehension. There will be implicit assumptions about the interactions in order to enhance discussion and interdisciplinary exchange.

Environmental Factors

Conditions, circumstances, situations, and influences impacting upon the police personality and generating stress may be grouped as those arising directly from work and personal experiences prior and subsequent to becoming a police officer and pressures created by positive and negative experiences with personal, public and organizational expectations.

Work Related

There is likely to be an infinite list of work related issues which have a disturbing effect on members of the organization. Many of these issues were highlighted in a recent article by Wm. Kroes.[1]

Work related environmental costs result from what is frequently a constant immersion in an extremely demanding and degrading milieu, physically, emotionally, and psychologically, for much of the policeman's working life. Personal experience as a vice enforcement officer required daily contact with a clientele which generally reflected the dregs of society--such as prostitutes, drug abusers, sexual perverts--ad infinitum. The personality erosion, both personal and observed, generally reaches excessive limits in three to four years.

Administration policies and procedures about which the rank and file have no voice, or the opposite situation where command and supervisory officers subvert departmental policies and procedures, generate work related stresses upon the majority.

The scarcity and inadequacy of departmental resources is another source of consternation. It would seem that the level of stress should be related to the

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1. Wm. H. Kroes, et. al., "Job Stress in Police Administrators," Journal of Police Administration, Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1974, pp 381-387. (See Appendix A for a list of specific issues and situations which may contribute to police employee anxiety and tension.)

perceived personal threat or inconvenience to the officer. If the department-
mental budget could not accomodate the purchase of new patrol vehicles every
30-35 thousand miles, the situation may be less stress producing than the deci-
sion not to equip the vehicles with equipment likely to protect life such as
first-aid kits, armored vests or fire extinguishers. Budgetary considerations
traverse the entire gamut of work related situations, ranging from overwork as
result of inadequate manpower to improving the work environment of the station
house in the provision of adequate janitorial services and periodic painting.

Personal

As we all know, each policeman as a unique individual brings to the tasks of
policing a personality which is the product of his total life experience and a
constitutional inheritance from his ancestors. Given that we have selected only
those which are fit to serve, personal anxieties, both primary and secondary, are
presented by professional situations such as rotating shifts. The individual
may not be able to accomodate working a night shift. All bodily functions may be
disturbed as a direct result of the shift change. The officer is irritable. In
turn, a secondary causal connection may be overreaction by or in the arrest of a
recalcitrant drunk. His anxieties may then be reinforced by a whole host of
things like a civil law suit, a supervisor who begins to over-supervise and
perceptions about shrinking career opportunities and promotions.

Public

The expectations of the public which are promulgated or, perhaps, defined
by the mass media are often impossible or inappropriate. American society in
general has carefully avoided the role definition in any formal way. The ro-
manticism and fantasy which surrounds any number of popular television programs
significantly influences the public's view of police work as well as the percep-
tions of young men who desire to be policemen or are new to the force. The
reality for all these audiences is something less than depicted. An old sage
once observed that the public view of the police forces in the United States
tends to be that projected by the television media when the truth of the matter
is likely to be the other extreme. Our publics have a sense of security that
cannot be delivered. That stress is the product ought to be obvious.

Another facet of the environmental causes is related to the reality of
police tasks in terms of the unknown and unpreparedness. It is a popular
pastime to review police field reports and calls for service and make after-the-
fact judgements about the nature of the work. One observation is the conclusion:
"Eighty percent of police tasks are service calls." There are many calls, false
burglar alarms for example, which are responded to as though they were actual
burglaries. The stress on the officer is no different than if he had answered
a burglary call. Similarly, there is an element of the unknown about many "calls
for service" which are unlikely to give cues like a burglar case provides and
which are equally stressful. This is the nature of the work and few preventive
strategies are available.

It hasn't been until recently that we are finding a growing number of de-
partments attempting to identify tasks for which most policemen are unprepared.
As we identify them, training and educational strategies are concocted. An ex-
ample is the various crisis intervention techniques under development for a
number of police tasks.

Interpersonal Factors

Our interpersonal relationships may be the most important of our three generalized categories of stressors. At least it probably will be the most difficult to improve.

Personality Diversity

There is no place like a police department to observe the wide spectrum of personality types. The world generally views policemen as a specific type: "...usually authoritarian; inclined toward compulsiveness," etc. The astute observer, absent political and various other "axes to grind" finds the opposite. The remarkable thing is that every policeman, with few exceptions. is as different as the variations in the rest of the population!

Physical-Emotional

Interpersonal relationships among policemen are likely to parallel those found among similar groups with comparable selection standards, although I can't think of many. Few organizations subject their personnel to the colander of personnel standards of policemen. Physical and emotional "problems" are generally excluded by the completion of the probation period. Minor physical or emotional problems in another occupation are likely to be major in a police department. I have no doubt an admitted homosexual in a police role would succumb to peer pressure with a coronary or slash his wrists!

Friedman and Rosenman in their descriptions of Type A and Type B characteristics in relation to heart disease found the Type A (those most likely to suffer heart attacks) individuals in life situations with a sense of "deadlines and time urgency," "excessive competitive drive," and a "free-floating hostility."[2] At this time we may argue the "chicken or the egg" issue. The police personality may have brought his Type A personality to the enterprise. On the other hand, the levels of competition for success within the closed police organizations, the deadlines and time urgency, and well-rationalized and socially acceptable hostility are well-known by policemen. Given young, tractable police personalities, I am certain about the ability to create Type A's from Type B's. We might disagree with Friedman and Rosenman when they say,

> We have not found any clear correlation
> between occupational position held and
> the incident of Type A Behavior Pattern[3]

If the modern police organization should create the Type A Personality Behavior, we may wish to consider strategies which would minimize the issues of competition, deadlines and hostility.

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2. Meyer Friedman and Ray Rosenman, Type A Behavior and Your Heart (Greenwich, Connecticut,: Fawcett Publications, 1074), p. 79

3. ibid, p. 85

Personality Costs

In addition to the personality "erosion" resulting from the circumstances of our interaction with amoral characters of the vice and criminal underworld there are "costs" related to decision making in daily, albeit extraordinary, kinds of police action. Most policemen become quickly accustomed to arresting people and depriving them of their liberty, because clearing cases by arrest has been one of our traditional measures of efficiency. Initially it is distasteful and anxiety-producing. In short order most of the stress dissipates. However, the decision to use deadly force and, perhaps, take human life is traumatic. I have yet to meet a policeman, who having taken a human life in the line of duty, is not deeply troubled as a result. This is only one example; there must be many more.

Administrative Factors

Of our three "pigeon-holes," administrative factors are the easiest to change in the short-run. Factors related to environment and inter-personal relationships are more likely to be resistant to alteration and modification. Unfortunately, this category runs the gamut of what we think we know about administration and what is appropriate administrative behavior. There are many issues which are controversial and, indeed, alien to most police organizations. Obviously, space and time constraints preclude review of most.

Administration for our purposes may be defined simply as management and organization. Dwight Waldo suggests we may conceptualize organization as the anatomy and management as the physiology of administration, intertwined and mutually dependant.[4]

There is an inherent danger in failing to view a police enterprise as a interrelated and finely tuned system. Therefore, our isolation of any one or several administrative factors must assume a variety of preferred managerial and organizational factors are in place and functioning in a systematic and complimentry way.

Work Climate

That police organizations are managed in an authoritarian, as opposed to humanitarian way is most likely. We theorize that this kind of work climate is most desirable because of the danger of the job and the intense parallels which exist between police work and the work of the military forces. However, with the advent of higher personnel selection criteria and other personnel practices we are accomodating more college and univeristy professionals. A professional does not like to accept the status quo. In the absence of movement toward a work climate, which seeks employee participation in administrative decisions affecting their work, the costs in anxiety and hostility may be intense. The advent of police unions and employee activism is related, in part, to this issue.

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4. Dwight Waldo, The Study of Public Administration (New York: Random House, Inc. 1955), p. 6

Our authoritatian structure finds us seeking the "responsible" person and holding him "accountable" for the consequences of his wrong decisions, or other failures no matter what the circumstances or presures of expediency.

Communication

Almost all organizations suffer with communication problems which are caused by many things. None have perfect communications and there are very few which do not experience serious problems.[5] All are related generally to failures related to the administrative system, the attitudes of people and the inabilities of personnel.

As manager, too often we fail to design our organizational communication systems by careful study and attention to coordination with the rest of the enterprise, and in view of ongoing organization objectives. If communication is so insufficient as not to provide needed information, or not to provide it at an appropriate time, or provides more than is needed, decision-making suffers and anxiety mounts.

Where the attitudes of personnel are such that mutual respect is nil, the resulting negativism limits communication and contributes to stress.

The inabilities of people to communicate is directly related to the quality of personnel and their differing frames of reference. It is obvious that selection of the best people available and an orientation, training and education which strengthens the desire to understand should result in improved communications and more job statisfaction.

Organizational Design

Until recently, perhaps the last ten years, little attention has been paid to the anatomy of the police organization. The skeletal structure has found police organization designed much the same as military units where ascending hierarchical levels beginning with operational field personnel, escalate into infinity to the apex of the office of chief or commissioner. Without laboring this organizational phenomenon, our hypothesis is that the decisions for specialization and the division of work and resulting uncoordinated organization efforts are the sources of significant amounts of anxiety.

We shall limit our administrative factors to the three we have discussed in the interest of delineated various strategies which may be useful remedies.

Strategies for Reduction of Stress

The objectives of the various countermeasures available to us should be directed toward the improvement of efficiency and effectiveness and, simultaneously, toward the enhancement of employee job satisfaction. Some would suggest these are incompatible objectives. I think not. Effectiveness, defined as doing the right things, and efficiency, defined as doing the right

5. Aubrey C. Sanford, Human Relations Theory and Practice (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1973) p. 237

things right, should be balanced against the needs of the internal enterprise--that of providing a satisfying work experience for its members. It seems to me the essence of organization.

General and Specific Plans

In general our plan for change to minimize stress ought to embrace our best thinking to:

1. Provide the best appropriate training and education as well as incentives to learn on an ongoing basis;

2. Determine departmental objectives in human terms which will find support among administrators, supervisors, operational employees, and the people within the jurisdiction being served;

3. Recognize the need and work toward implementation of generalized crime and hazard prevention programs; and

4. Routinely refine and seek to improve the communication processes at every level of the organization.

The problem with generalized kinds of responses is they often serve to provide convenient rationalizations. How many times have we heard the excuse for failures: "What we need is more training." Without specificity we might well talk about the weather!

Specific shifts in emphasis which are appropriate for the reduction of stress in the areas of environmental, interpersonal and administrative factors are to:

5. Provide employee and family counseling regularly for personnel so each may deal more effectively with stresses;

6. Establish rotational personnel staffing policies which would minimize personality erosion and provide new and challenging experiences for all employees every three or four years;

7. Implement a philosophy of human relations in personnel management which would employ all that is known about motivation and persuasion; one which would exercise adequate control and seek work satisfaction for all employees;

8. Seek commitments from legislative authorities and citizens for adequate resources after demonstrating the need for increased funding levels;

9. Minimize insecurity and anxiety among all members by providing employees with an opportunity to be heard; communicate all information and reasons for changes affecting their jobs and major policies; provide prompt answers to questions and solicit help from all employees in the solution of problems;

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10. Adhere to employee recruitment and selection practices
    which satisfy legal requirements and implement the
    best thinking of personnel administration;

11. Communicate with the public on an ongoing basis
    to strengthen the notion that the police are the
    public and the public are the police. Direct communi-
    cation by operational people will provide both media
    and citizens with realistic expectations about police
    tasks; and

12. Implement the best of small group theory in order that
    anxieties may diminish by the presence of group
    responsibility rather than individual accountability
    for the accomplishment of organizational objectives.
    For every problem discussed in this paper, team
    policing is likely to improve upon standard practices.

Summary and Conclusions

Anxiety and stress represent a variety of significant costs which can
be improved by an interdisciplinary attack. There is not now, nor will
there be in the foreseeable future, a single panacea to eliminate police
employee stress. Neither are there multiple strategies which, ingested in
mass, will prevent all stress. It is clear that necessary improvements will
be realized only when the police and the public decide it is important!

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Appendix A

ISSUES AND FACTORS IN POLICE JOB STRESS

Personal:

    Background, personality and personal experience.
    Health status.
    Selection and recruitment.
    Family/separation/social events.
    Feeling of achievement.
    Employee/personal relationships.

Administration: Organization and Mangement:

    Administration policies and procedures.
    Higher echelon support of administrators.
    Rotating shift work schedule.
    Feelings of not accomplishing anything.
    More work than can be done in a given period of time.
    Excessive paperwork and red tape in personnel complaint procedures.
    Crosschecks within the police system and the "nit picking"
       bureaucracy one was required to endure to carry out the
       essentials of the job.
    Lack of voice in decisions that directly affect the job.
    Transfers from command without any prior consultation.
    Work overload.
    Work ambiguity.
    Excessive paperwork at any operational level.
    Making decisions without sufficient information.
    Work conflict.
    Relationships with superiors.
    Relationships with subordinates.
    Adverse effect on home/life.
    Not being able to spend enough time with children.
    Missing social events with family.
    Irregular work-hour routines.
    Detrimental effect on wives and children by poor public image
       of policemen.
    Pressures of taking the job home, causing to be overly harsh with
       children and hard to live with.
    Too much stress from being the man in the middle.
    Directly bearing the wrath of public and superiors when complaints
       are made.
    Held accountable for the consequences of his wrong decisions
       made under pressure of expediency.
    Little to say in the selection of subordinates.
    Incurring the wrath of subordinates for decisions made at higher
       level.
    Worries about support from superiors.
    Inconsistency in supervision.
    Overtime pay practices/or lack of.

Administration: Organization and Management: (continued)

Workload/manpower; divisions of work.
Staffing decisions.
Public opinion/apathy/politics/alienation.
Measures of efficiency and effectiveness; department objectives.
Lack of training.
Internal investigations.
Plant and working environment.
Media relationships.
Job security.
Participation in decision making.
Civil Services issues.
Misconceptions/ignorance as related to administration theory.
Organizational rumors/communication/coordination.
Employer-employee relations.
Dangerous job/level of perception.
Promotions/advancement.
Professional commitment of top executives.
Not knowing what job is/what is expected.
Incompetence of leadership.
Lack of coordination.
Responsibilities without commensurate authority - given tasks
   without clear authority to accomplish them.
Leadership flexibility vs. rigidity.
Self-centered, self serving leadership.
Decisions by default; passing the buck.
Financial well-being of personnel.
Presence of corruption.
Self-image vs. society's view.
Absence of physical fitness program.

Resources:

Adequacy of equipment.
Lack of equipment.
Poor condition of equipment.
Adequacy of manpower.

Community Relations:

Public Apathy.
Ignorance.
Citizen complaints and demands.
Citizen lack of awareness and concern for the total mission of the
   police force.
Public apathy to   )
Negative reaction to) - policemen
Lack of support of   )
Unwarranted investigations against patrolmen.
Assults on subordinate officers.
Taking disciplinary actions against their subordinates.
Making amends with the public for mistakes made by patrolmen.
New assignments.

Courts

Lack of consideration in scheduling court appearances;
  discontent of policemen and complaints.
Court leniency toward criminals.
Lack of knowledge about the law and all justice processes.

Questions to be asked of policemen:

What is bothersome about the job?
What bothers the other administrators?
What are administrative situations which cause anxiety?
When was the last time you were comfortable on the job?

Methods for Reducing Stress in a Small Police Department

Bruce B. Barker
Chief, Department of Police
Littleton and Boxborough, Massachusetts

Introduction

When the manifestations of stress expose themselves in a socially inappropriate way, or when the person or group recognize their stress as potentially hazardous, the psychologist, psychiatrist, and social worker may be requested to assist the individual in his efforts to reduce the level of stress. If the outward manifestations of stress are violent, either actual or potential, those most prepared to deal with the person under stress are usually not, because of large caseloads, classified as first responders to answer the call for help.

In most cases, it is the police officer who provides that "first strike" assistance. The officer may have been fortunate enough to have received some formal training which addressed the techniques for reducing stress which threatens the mental, as well as the overall physical health of the citizen. More often than not, the police officer will act on his best assessment of the situation in combination with good common sense. If the officer is to accomplish anything, he must attempt to fully understand the sometimes many facets of the immediate problem.

A competent, sincere, and dedicated police officer may very well leave his clients in peace, but not without having been contaminated by some of the stress "given off" by the clients. Add to these stressors, the myriad of crisis situations which the officer will face during the rest of his tour, and you will, in all likelihood, see an officer returning home fully endowed with many of the stressors he endeavored to bring out in the open, so that he may better serve the public.

If any credence can be lent to a theory contending that officers frequently absorb some of the stressors "given off" by their clients, then we might assume that stressors resulting from the officer's personal affairs are firmly entrenched in his mind.

I am pleased that those stressful aspects of police work are being identified by police administrators through the use of professional social researchers. Equally, if not more pleasing to me is the recognition of the existence of stress within the smaller staffed police departments of this nation.

What, then, constitutes a small police department? What are the attitudes that permeate a department of such size, and, if stressful for the officer, what is the technique either designed or inherent by which stress is reduced?

Small Community Police Departments

A small police department can deliver to its consumers of service, practically all of the services that the traditionally large department can, if efficiently managed. Ideally, the type of service that a community receives from its police has a relationship to the type of service that the community wants. Many communities are so small that the business of law enforcement is run by volunteers. When the crime rate increases, and the request for service increase, then the need arises for full-time people on a salaried basis. The small department may be staffed by one officer to twenty-five officers. This force is usually supplemented by part-time men and women who may or may not receive compensation for their work. Women, apart from recent changes in their role in police departments, usually assume the duties of a crossing guard, clerk, or dispatcher.

Most departments of such size find their office in the community's town hall. It is usually placed with the fire department so that police and firemen brush shoulders daily. Privacy in these combination police-fire stations is minimal, and extremely hard to secure.

Personnel Characteristics

The officer that comprises such a department could have been employed in several ways. He may have been a native son who carries the respect of the community. He may also be the man that, as a boy, may have caused more trouble to the community than he will solve in his police career. When, if ever, he is formally interviewed for the job, the chances are very good that he is already known by his interviewers. Some more forward thinking communities may advertise for the position and administer a small examination to the applicant before consideration is given to an interview. If the police department is just being formulated, the volunteers may be considered for the job over all other applicants. If the department is already established, then new officers may be drawn from the reserve or auxillary force.

The type of person that applies for such a position may do so for reasons many and varied. Some join because of a desire to help people in need. Others, needing to be invested with some authority, will seek the job. Some have seen what they believe to be an accurate description of the job on television; it stimulates them; they are fascinated with castastrophe and all of the alleged glamour that comes with being in a position to save a life or apprehend a dangerous felon.

Most applicants who have never been involved in law enforcement, believe that their proper function is to protect the community by either deterring or eventually apprehending the dangerous criminal. Few, if any, will understand that their role is to maintain order in the community by admonishing the juvenile, securing safe quarters for the inebriated, and making sure that the merchant locked the doors to his establishment. Rarely is the legal process invoked, and an officer can work his entire career without having fired a shot.

If the department is established with a squad of full-time officers, the chances are very good that the ranking officers are older, native sons who

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were hired under a less severe set of standards than the new officer now in
his charge. The senior officer became such for several reasons. He may have
been blessed with a personality that is appreciated by the citizens he serves,
and the men with whom he works. He may have, in one isolated incident, per-
formed his duty in a outstanding fashion. He may be the man with the longest
time on the force.

Organization

From an organizational standpoint, a chart may not be available. Everyone
in the community knows how and where each officer stands in the department, and
a chief's position could be damaged if he formally presented the lines of au-
thority. The patrol is, as in any department, the backbone of the force. The
patrol officer is the "first line" enforcer of the law, or maintenance man of
the status quo. The officer usually covers his tour alone in a patrol vehicle.
When on duty, he may be the only "man" in town to protect citizens and preserve
order. He seldom has a man on duty with him that could be called a supervisor
to oversee his activities and guide his actions. No vestige of specialization
such as detective, prosecutor, canine officer, or photographer exists. The
department must rely upon other departments, i.e. state police and more urban
departments for auxilary services such as laboratory work and latent finger-
print lifting. Specialization in a small department can only be developed at
the expense of the patrol force. If specialization is unjustified it can
severely damage the manpower available for patrol, and trained specialists who
have limited opportunity to apply their knowledge.

Community Attitudes

Small police departments, I would assume, serve a small, sometimes "tightly
knit" population that develops a feeling or attitude towards the men who staff
their department.   e citizens feel that the police are a necessary evil, and
that they could per   the officer's duties more efficiently than the person
currently in charge. Other citizens have confidence in their department, but
cannot easily articulate exactly why. The community which has a small popula-
tion will have a small police department because the requests for service are
infrequent. It could be conjectured that the smaller the community, the
greater the visibility and therefore, the greater the opportunity to criticize
the police action taken in a certain instance. A majority of the residents of,
the city of Chicago could hardly be less aware, or less concerned about the
mistakes made by an officer in attempting to separate the violent husband from
the hurt, but still loving wife. The same circumstances in a small community
would be vigorously discussed, and dangerously amplified by its residents.

Small police departments usually operate on budgets that fall short of
living up to their expected capabilities. A poor administrator can "float"
his department for many years without ever progressing to meet increasing
demands. Such a lack of concern for the men who work for him can eventually
lead to employee dissatisfactions which eventually lead to low quality service.
Only the entire elimination of certain power elites will bring the department
back to a courteous an dependable service.

The activities of a small department differ from those in a large de-
partment primarily in quantity of incidents. The quality of action taken

depends greatly upon the frequency of which a particular incident occur.
When a duty is routinized, it is far easier to efficiently accomplish the
task and to go one step further in satisfying the community. Compensating
for the lack of experience that an officer might have in a small department
when a major incident occurs, is the infrequency with which these major
events occur thus enabling the officer to devote more time to the case.
The time between events requiring police action may be long. Small police
departments will frequently have "time on their hands" which contribute greatly
to boredom. In a small department, boredom may cause officers to over-react
to minor situations. So many sensitive incidents requiring cautious and de-
liberate approaches may be completely mismanaged because an officer "jumped
the gun" and produce more of a problem than that originally posed.

Designed Stress Reduction

When, during the course of his work, an officer identifies stress in a
fellow officer as a problem, several things may occur. Assuming that most offi-
cers on the department are aware of the man's personality characteristics, he
may be informed that he ought to slow down his pace and not internalize the
problems placed before him by the citizenry he serves. This friendly piece of
advice may lead the officer to a point where he will design those elements
that help in the process of reducing stress. If his behavior is noted by his
supervisors, then some action from the supervisory level may be forthcoming
to help him reduce stress.

When this writer was appointed as Chief of Police in his twenty-third
year, he came to the job with few of the stresses that officers with fifteen
years' service already had. It therefore took, and will take, many months to
understand some of the stressors present in the two police departments.

Many daily attempts are made to reduce some of the stress experienced by
officers. These attempts are subconscious in nature, as opposed to being con-
trived. They are attempts to promote communications, purchase and maintain
certain required equipment as often requested by the officers. If the Chief of
Police indicates a willingness to detach himself from whatever he is doing
during the day to listen to an officer, communications laterally, and verti-
cally, will usually flourish. The Chief of Police, and in some cases
supevisory personnel in a small department are at an advantage in the category
of communications. They have the opportunity to know their man well. His
family, his business dealings, personality characteristics, and that which
particularly disturbs him, are facets of an officer's life that are well worth
knowing. Increased communications with supervisors while improving information
on police operations has provided valuable information concerning individual
officers. An officer may feel greater latitude in discussing personal crises
with his sergeant than with the Chief of Police.

Very early in my position, complaints of frustration were subtly presented
to me by the officers. They were fearful that I was there to provide the "new
broom", and it naturally followed that until officers received some ideas
concering my expectations of them, no one would enter into situations or take
certain actions that might severely jeopardize their job. Therefore, it was
necessary to explain, in written form, my objectives for the agency, as well
as rules and regulations by which the officers would operate. The failure to
adequately fulfill department objectives does not usually jeopardize an

officer's job. The failure to abide by reasonable rules and regulations could jeopardize an officer's position. So both objectives and rule and regulations were explained to the fullest extent possible, for if an officer is ambivalent about rules and regulations, stress will be his. He knows he must act in certain situations, but if he is not sure of what is expected of him, his approach will be with the discomforting fear that the chief may not approve. If policy is written, explained, and reasonable, then the officer has full knowledge that he will be supported by his chief, and he will be more comfortable in taking actions in the future.

When an order is given, a full explanation as to how it can best be carried out is a most important task. To be more current, "where you are coming from" is a matter of great concern to an officer whose work is carefully scrutinized in the small department.

Any athletic coach, through the use of visual aids, training procedures, and films of opposing teams, will do much for his players if he can reduce the element of the unknown prior to his team taking the field. Films of opposing teams and other visual aids prepare the athlete's faculties for understanding and becoming more confortable when coming into contact with that previously unknown adversary.

The fact that a police officer has no way of predicting the actions a client might take serves to enhance stress. The untrained officer responding to a medical emergency may be rendered useless because of his lack of expertise in the field of first aid. He may do much to harm the situation and cause unnecessary embarrassment to the department. Clear and concise statements of policy and procedure, together with training, will, and has done, much to reduce levels of anxiety. Stress, in these situations, may be felt not only when the request for service presents itself, but while waiting for it to occur.

Departments with small numbers of personnel often have trouble contacting another officer to back him up when he is dealing with either complicated cases or situations where there is a great danger of violence erupting. It is therefore important to see that patrol beats be arranged so as to provide coverage for each other. Knowing that no one is available to help, provides another stressor.

Where policy and procedure fail to cover the unusual situation, the officer may need to turn to someone who can provide some definitive help. Departments with small numbers of personnel cannot provide a desk sergeant to guide and advise. If this be the case, some provision must be made to have a ranking officer present to answer your questions. The use of a tone pager has kept me in touch constantly with any officer on the department, but above all, it produces a quieting effect -- you are available to him.

The promotion of an officer to the position of prosecutor can do much to reduce payments for court appearances by officers. Once properly trained and experienced, he can provide valuable legal guidance during courtroom proceedings. By law, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts allows police officers to prosecute certain cases in the district court. The fear of saying the wrong word at the wrong time, and the possibility of forgetting to testify to certain facts, presents a significant stressor. The prosecutor can guide the officer by requesting certain information, and calling some finer points to his attention.

A department administrator, armed with good channels of communication, can assist the officer who has been stressed by a problem child in his family, an unfaithful wife, and limited career potential. Counselling techniques should be utilized whenever possible. I have found that good listening is sometimes all that an officer under stresss needs or wants.

Upon my arrival at work, all officers performed the same function, that of patrol. Some specilization was necessary, so positions of prosecutor, inspector, photographer and identification man, canine officer, juvenile officer, and cruiser maintenance man were filled. Several job classifications brought with them additional stressors, but these stressors served to motivate the officer and after becoming settled in these positions, a majority of them disappeared.

A small police department possesses some inherent advantages when dealing with stress. Total identification and elimination of stressors a long distance away. Such a department, with a small caseload, enables the human element to be opened and explored amongst its personnel. Some prefer to deny that stressors exist, which could hardly be the case. In any event, communication and appropriate action applied in either an overt or covert manner is a technique aimed in the right direction. In the small police department, a Chief of Police can utilize the facilities of local mental health associations to help treat an officer's individual problem. Not only is he able to make the proper contacts, he is also able to maintain an ongoing progress check with his officer.

Small police departments do not usually have funds to support an "in-house" counsellor for officers overwhelmed by stress. They must use available facilities in the jurisdiction that they serve. It is my belief that departments possessing the funds to initiate anti-stress programs, should do so. From the standpoint of economy, the amount of money spent on programs of Workman's Compensation for illnesses directly related to stress might be significantly reduced if agencies begin identifying stressors and eliminate them. Of greatest importance is the elimination of stress in the individual officer, who might experience greater longevity and perform the task of serving the public more courteously and efficiently.

Toward an Understanding of Stress

Judith M. Grencik
Department of Criminal Justice
California State University at Long Beach, California

INTRODUCTION

While this paper is concerned with the stress experienced by those in policing, I view many elements of police stress as basically the same as stress of people in general. Everything said here about police stress (with the exception of certain specific job related statements) could as correctly be said about all people. In fact, to reduce the tendency to look at police as being different from others, it would be appropriate to translate "human being" for "policeman" whenever it occurs. It is hoped that this approach adds a dimension not covered by other papers.

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF STRESS

The most parsimonious thing that can be said about stress is that it is different things to different people. This is true both from theoretical points of view as well as from the personal experience of stress. Stress has been studied from many theoretical bases, all of which rest on the idiosyncracies of the researcher. From my point of view, based on my experiences, I am not prepared to reject any of the proposed notions. I believe that "all of the above are true." But I also believe that stress is more than these parts.

My Experience of Stress

As I have participated in some stress research, experienced some stress myself, been the stimulus for others to experience stress, and have helped others work on their stress in therapy. I have been increasingly aware that I was not "understanding" stress and what it means to the individual person. This became more apparent as I have been formulating this paper, and as I began to realize that the outcome was going to be far different than I originally had expected. Finally, I became aware of the source of my discomfort... my stress, if you will...in understanding stress. Suddenly I had the feeling that so much of what I was reading was dealing with symptoms, with outward expression of the internal experience of stress. An that somehow these dealing with the "symptom" left something out for me. I became more and more dissatisfied with my work. I thought and read some more. Sure enough, time after time, concern was expressed for the effect that the "personality" of the individual had in the experience of stress.

I asked, what in the personality determines, or affects, the experience of stress? Why do some experience stress and others not? Even more important, why do many of us who "know" about stress still experience stress? Why do those of us who are Type A and who know about Type A and stress and medical complications still insist in behaving in Type A ways? Why is it more

important to kill ourselves than to really "understand"? Why don't we, or can't we, change our behaviors? Why don't we eliminate stress for ourselves and for others? The answer seems to have something to do with one's personality.

What is there about the personality that causes (pre-determines, pre-disposes) some people to experience stress more than others? Experiences last year with some of my clients raised some issues related to these. Frequently, I use behavior modification procedures, such as Wolpe's progressive relaxation, with clients seeking help in anxiety reduction. However, several of my clients became more tense during the relaxation. Further talk with them revealed that there were some "personality" factors that were interfering with the relaxation procedure, some internal experiences that short-circuited the relaxation and increased the amount of stress felt.

In some cases we were able to identify these factors, which until that time had been largely unconscious to the individual, and then to proceed with the relaxation. This "uncovering and understanding" was typically a stressful experience in and of itself. One factor which repeatedly arose was the fact that the uncovering and experiencing of the dreaded thoughts and fearful feelings which the individual had tried to keep hidden was not nearly so painful (stressful) as had been anticipated, and that the "understanding" of these had reduced the original anxiety that they had experienced and for which they had sought help, or made it possible for them to then engage in relaxation training. Other clients were not able (did not want to, did not hurt enough, were too afraid of the buried material) to "understand" their block, and decided that they would rather leave therapy and just live with the discomfort.

My explanation for this second type of person is that they glimpsed the feared personal conflict and the imagined, anticipated consequences of un-covering it and felt that changing their behavior was far more anxiety producing than just living with "it", pretending "it" didn't exist, trying to ignore "it", working on the symptoms, or taking medication. So they "stiffened their upper lip", kept busy, worked harder, drank more, etc., etc. Or sometimes they continued in therapy working on other problems: career decisions, school achievement, work, insomnia, problems with the children...on and on. And they wondered why they didn't feel any better after therapy was over. It is like going to the doctor for treatment of a toothache when you really have a broken leg.

The stressful environments noted by many writers are typically those which might be experienced as stressful by almost everyone. What is the difference between a person who gets himself out of a stressful environment and one who does not? What is the difference between a person who continually seeks out stressful environments and one who does not? Do some people carry stress around with them, always looking for some hook to hang it on?

At what point does eustress (good stress according to Selye (26)) end and stress (distress) begin? If stress is an inescapable and necessary part of life, and if one must experience some stress if he is to push for and achieve certain goals, at what point does stress become debilitating and produce problems?

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If sources of stress are failures, losses, status comparisons, personal limitations, guilt, lack of meaning in life, avoidance of facing reality, pressures, competition, marriage, social change, lack of communication, lack of participation, decisions about one's life, irratic changes, bureaucratic structures, overload, ambiguity, lack of social support, lack of skill, why are we all not crushed with stress reactions (strain according to French & Caplan, 1972).

If the increase in stress related medical and psychological disorders is to be taken as evidence, then the majority of us are experiencing too much stress. And the effects may hit us all at some future point in our most vulnerable-psychic-system.

It occurs to me that stress might be of four types: intra-individual stress, that is experiences in the innerself, stemming from thoughts, feelings, fears of the individual; inter-individual stress, stress occurring when there is tension between individuals; stress between the organization and the individual; and, stress that is a relationship between the individual and the environment.

This paper is concerned with stress of the first type because it is this stress which, I believe, is frequently at the root of the other types. If an individual has not come to grips with his internal stresses then the stresses caused by these other sources tends to be compounded. The degree to which the individual handles these basic fears will affect the degree of stress he feels in other stress situations. The ways he has coped with these inner stresses will affect the ways he reacts to the other sources of stress and the degree of reaction he experiences.

Theoretical Background

Theories of stress have varied greatly in their basic approaches as well as in their definitions of stress. In general, stress is said to occur when a person perceives that he is unable to cope with the demands made upon him and when the consequences of this inability to cope are threatening. Persumably the individual can alter the state of stress by avoiding the consequences, fulfulling the demands, or altering the perception of demands, of his capabilities, and/or of the consequences.

Theoretical approaches to understanding stress include those primarily concerned with the antecedent conditions (stimuli) or environmental conditions; those concerned with the state of the organism produced by the stressing condition; those concerned with the mediating events between the stimulus and the condition; and those which propose more of a transactional concept referring to the stimulus as the stress and to the resultant condition as the strain. This definition also specifies that the stress may be continual and cumulative, and that strain may occur at some point when the build-up is too great and exceeds the organism's tolerance level, or that the strain may result from a more discrete event.

Some conceptualizations of stress have focused on the physiological reactions to stress: changes in the GSR, heart rate, respiration, blood pressure, muscle tension. Selye has proposed a biochemical model based on the definition of stress as a "state manifested by a specific syndrome which consists of all the nonspecifically induced changes within a biological

system." The syndrome is described as the General Adaptation Syndrome (GAS), a three state process: the alarm state during which a general mobilization occurs; the resistance stage which is characterized by a set of internal responses that stimulate tissue defense; and exhaustion, which occurs if the stress continues to bombard the organism despite these responses. The organism may collapse or die trying to defend itself. This general response occurs regardless of the stressor. Selye has identified organ changes resulting from prolonged stress (25).

Physiological changes thought to be the result of reactions to stress include cardiovascular disorders, ulcerative colitis, and dermatitis. This psychosomatic theory of stress is based on the premise that tensions and strains occurring in one system of the body (psychological) often have pathological consequences for other (physiological) bodily systems. These physiological consequences are thought to occur when responses to provoking circumstances are inappropriate or when the tensions or conflicts are handled in an indirect way without confronting the source.

Lazarus has noted that there are several concerns in the field of psychological stress needing resolution. They pertain to the identification of conditions producing stress and individual differences in the stress reaction and in coping behavior (14).

Problems with these definitions occur primarily because of the problems of measuring stress and of predicting what types of stress reactions will occur in what situations for which people.

In general, these theories of stress typically include some references to the personality characteristics or thought processes which influence the experience of stress, however these characteristics are not specified. Lazarus and others (14) have identified differences in cognitive styles between those who are copers and avoiders. Engle offers a definition of psychological stress which implies these processes or characteristics: "Psychological stress refers to all processes, whether orginating in the external environment or within the person, which impose a demand or requirement upon the organism the resolution or handling of which requires....activity of the mental apparatus before any other system is involved or activated." The result of these processes has been called tension...or anxiety (19).

This tension is brought about by conflicts and stimulates certain emergency rememdies on the part of the ego to relieve the tension. The ego may stimulate action to alter the situation, to remove the threat, to fill painful need, to arrange a compromise, or to otherwise deal with the situation in a way to reduce external and internal tension. These actions such as the mastering of problems, achieving a goal, or averting threats, all require energy. Always there is a price for reducing tension and maintaining the equilibirium, and it is expedient to pay the lowest price possible to keep the cost of living as low as possible. This price we call stress. The effect is a stress reaction or strain.

Menninger (19) discusses several normal regulatory devices for coping with the emergencies of everyday life: reassurances of touch, rhythm, sound, speech, food and food substitutes (smoking and chewing gum), alcoholic beverages and other self-medications, self-dicipline, laughing, crying, and cursing,

boasting, sleeping, talking out, thinking through, working off, acting to change, pointless overactivity, daydreaming, dreaming, minor accidents or mismanagements, reaction formation, counterphobic reactions, and physiological activities (yawning, frequent imitations, itching, etc.). He stresses that these <u>are normal and useful</u> and can reduce tension and enable the life style to continue virtually uninterrupted.

Tensions which are reduced by one of these regulatory devices result in a minimal degree of disorganization or disequilibrium. More severe or long-lasting tensions which are not reducible in these ways may result if the source of the tension is not eliminated/reduced. Menninger suggests that tension build up follows a 5-step process. In the first step the individual is diorganized; nervous; tensions have increased; and the ego recognized a greater than average upsurge of anger, fear, and other emotions betraying the arousal of aggressive impulses. This state may result in greater than average amounts of repression, suppression, emotionalism, overactivity, worrying (obsessive thinking), compensation, denial, and somatic discomforts and minor dysfuncitons, including sexual dysfunctions. These defensive reappraisals enable a person to psychologically redefine a threatening situation as nonthreatening and thus reduce or eleminate the stress.

These are symptoms indicating that problems exist and that help is needed. There are conflicts and problems buried deep within the individual which could be resolved if brought to the surface; but until this occurs they seek expression in some substitute way, either psychologically and/or physically. This state can be transitional and quickly reversible, if the original problem is solved. The state may worsen if ignored, or the physiological symptoms can further exhaust the individual.

At the second level there is a slight but definite detachment of the person from his environment and he looses some of his reality-testing ability. Work, play, productivity, and social intercourse are typically impaired to some extent, but this may be covered by a facade and no one knows the difference. A work level may be maintained which impresses the world as adequate or even superior, but this is achieved at great inner cost. As the person withdraws, his normal sources of energy, stimulation, nourishment, new information and correct bearing are diminished with resultant difficulties in coping with life. The real source of conflict, as well as the meaning of his coping devices, remains unconscious.

During this time, the individual experiences discomfort: anxiety, mild depression, a sense that things are not right, comfortable or pleasant. Often there is a gnawing sense of failure, or uselessness, of incompetence, of being a great disappointment to oneself and others. Joy in working diminishes. Guilt, fears, ridiculous notions increase. In general, the person become more neurotic. The individual may cope in a variety of ways. He may block the aggressive and other dangerous impulses of the unconscious by extreme repression and dissociation, which might be noted by fainting, phobias, counterphobias, and fantasies. Counterphobic reactions (against fear, failure, impotence) might be identifiable by fool-hardiness, bravado, recklessness, a pathological boldness. At this level, the individual is experiencing an increase in tension and aggressive impulses. An attack on the source of stress is too dangerous, or forbidden by the superego, and no substitute object is available for a simple

external displacement. The individual seems to have no alternative but to take out his aggression and guilt upon himself. This displacement to bodily processes seems to be the most "economical" because it sacrifices only a part of the body for the whole. These reactions are externally and internally directed aggressive acts and have connections with long forgotten experiences of childhood.

In addition, at this level, the conflicts are frequently transformed from aggressive ones to socially and personally acceptable ones. The aggression is disguised, but it is not dissipated. Rituals, compulsions, obessional thinking occur. Sexual impulses may appear in the form of fire-setting, kleptomania, addictive gambling, reckless car driving, and physical violence, as well as aggressive sexual acts which harm the partner. Socially accepted labels for these types of maladjustments are "sissy, miser, braggart, bully, worrier, fussbudget, liar." Other maladjusted persons may possess inadequate, infantile, negativistic, withdrawn, or narcissistic personalities, or are overly generous, friendly, enthusiastic persons whose moods shift easily.

At the third stage of dysfunction, the survival measures taken by the ego begin to fail and the aggression is no longer directed inward, but is directed toward the environment. Justifications for this violence come in the form of "destruction of evil," self-defense, "clean up the world." Aggression against animals, either by children or adults, may emerge. Projections and displacement, suspiciousness, hypersensitiveness and over-reaction to minor incidents are indications that such devices are being used. Such devices used minimally may offer temporary benefit, but by definition, they are a departure from reality and their overabuse may result in a more fixed, chronic paranoid life view in which one is sour, skeptical, suspicious, cnynical, bitter, grouchy or hostile with self justifying fantasies.

Other individuals may become overly active, over-alert. They talk too much, go too fast, sleep too little, and seem to overly react to everything to the point of being highly annoying or amusingly troublesome. Their impaired judgement is apparent to everyone, including themselves.

At the fourth level, the attempts to control the energy utilized at the other levels no longer works. There are more severe blow-ups, temper tantrums; life become more difficult. Menninger notes that people who develop these more severe symptoms of disintegration, have made other attempts, perhaps in childhood, to hold the line with the normal emergency devices. But at this time, these unresolved feelings appear to "suddenly" erupt; but in reality, the early life ego vulnerabilities are now no longer controllable and burst into full view.

At this level, the loss of control which is so feared by the ego becomes more apparent. The facade of trying to live up to everyone's expectations is no longer possible. This facade may conceal suffering, feelings of incompetence, aggression, shame, joy, hate. It is no longer possible to be all things to all people at the expense of being nothing to one's self. In spite of the fears of being made known to others and seen as unlovable and unacceptable one cannot continue not doing so. The facade is crumbling. The individual may become manic, depressed, schizophrenic, or paranoid. Attempts to maintain equilibrium and organization fail. At this level the unconscious determination to die may occur.

The Experience of Stress

How do we escape? Or escape with as low a cost as possible? It seems that we all are a potential stress reaction waiting to happen. We don't happen as long as life continues at a level that is copable and does not present too many demands too quickly for behavior that we feel we cannot provide. We are extremely resistant creatures and can suffer great damage before we reach exhaustion. In fact, many of our behaviors to stave off fear (stress) are the ones which society values in a productive, caring, working, contributing person. But these behaviors only mask the real panic we feel and may actually hasten the onset of exhaustion.

The trigger of a stress reaction (the straw that breaks the camel's back) may be the overload or underload condition, or perhaps it is the experience which is most representative (symbolic) of the unresolved, hidden, fearful situations of our past.

An intriguing hypothesis has to do with the notion that we may be able to cope with difficult situation after difficult situation with little apparent effect, but "break" at that one which appears to be of lesser magnitude, but which in reality represents to us the fears and inadequacies that we can least admit to ourselves. It is this symbolic representativeness which unconsciously motivates our behavior and results in stress reactions.

Otherwise, why is it that some people work well in a situation objectively identified as "role ambiguity" and others flounder helplessly? Why do some seek a "boss" to tell them what to do, while others rebel at the slightest hint of boss, and others have to be boss? Why do some insist on having open communication with superiors and others tremble at the mention that such face-to-face interaction may be required?

Indeed, why do some people always directly define and attack a stressor directly? Why are some unable to face it directly, but must instead defensively reappraise it and utilize a defense mechanism to cope with it. And why do some experience an emotional reaction and/or a physiological stress response?

Why indeed? It appears that such reactions are the result of past learning, past experiences, unresolved past conflicts, that continue to motivate our behavior unbeknowst to us. And we label it as "the way we are," that is my personality."

Those unresolved conflicts that keep us from knowing what motivates us and what controls our behavior, also may partially determine our stress points. Behavior learned in childhood to escape or avoid unpleasant situations may continue, producing more stress because of the internal discomfort resulting from anxiety created by the avoidance. For example, stomach disorders may have been an acceptable way of escaping the undesirable conflicts of taking responsibility, giving a speech at school, or going somewhere new, so we learn this behavior as a way to cope with the stress situations and continue to use it to avoid coming into contact and "understanding" what it really was that we were trying to escape in the first place. Or we work hard, we make all A's, advance rapidly in our job, keep a clean house, a clean desk, or beautiful yard as a way to prove something to ourselves, to escape from the fear that we really aren't very good, very acceptable, very desirable.

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So conflicts and fears and unknowns and symptoms and methods of coping and escape get wound up together, and we try to escape, but we can't. Because we are really afraid to escape.

The medicine seems worse than the illness. So flight and avoidance continue. But the inner pain grows. And somehow we suffer the consequences.

How to break this cycle?

Somehow it has to do with "meeting the enemy and knowing it is you", but meeting it anyway. And finding out that the meeting was not as bad as we thought.

It is experiencing the fear of knowing ourselves, of risking the feeling that we are different, that we are unacceptable. It is facing up to the fact that if we are dependent upon the approval from others in order to "feel good about ourselves" that we will always be seeking approval. When we finally understand that we must accept ourselves and give ourselves the approval we seek and require that we break the cycle.

In contrast to Selye's notion that we should "Earn our neighbor's love"(26), I suggest that we emphasize the "as thyself" part of "love thy neighbor as "thyself." Loving oneself requires that we accept our once forbidden impulses and thoughts, see them realistically, and not deny or run from them. It requires that we develop the inner feeling of being "okay," of being acceptable, or being a worthwhile human being.

This experience is expressed by the Yaqui Indian, Don Juan to Carlos Castenada in another way (4:79-83). He speaks of the process of "becoming a man of knowledge," of "seeing," and specified the enemies, or barriers, in this process. He notes that when a man begins to learn, he is never clear about his objectives, that as he learns, he finds out that understanding himself, and the world, and life is not what he had orginally thought. He becomes confused and afraid. Fear, then, is the first enemy. He says that a man must defy his fear; must be fully afraid, yet not stop his learning about himself. If he continues in spite of Fear, Fear retreats, and it is conquered. He feel more confident and able to understand himself. He has attained clarity of mind and "can anticipate the new steps of learning and a sharp clarity surrounds everything." However, because the person thinks he understands and can do everything, he may stumble because this is a make-believe power, and thus his second enemy, clarity of mind, He must learn how to use this understanding; he must learn how and when to be patient, or to rush, and how not to fumble. If he does not learn this lesson, he may become a brave warrior or a clown. He will have understanding, but he will no longer develop. He must learn how to use this clarity of mind, this understanding, and see that it is only a point before his eyes; this will be true power. He then is invincible; he can do whatever he pleases. But power is also the third enemy. If he has no command over himself, is blinded by power, or misuses it, he becomes a cruel capricious man. To overcome power, to use it wisely, "he must keep himself in line at all times, handling carefully and faithfully all that he has learned."

By this time man will be at the end of his journey of learning, says Don Juan, and suddenly come upon old age, his last enemy, whom he cannot defeat, but only fight away. He must slough off his tiredness and live his fate through, not let old age cut him down into a feeble old creature.

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This is the process of "loving oneself," of dealing with the inner tensions and fear which increase the stresses experienced from others, from organizations, and from the environment.

This requires overcoming the fear that Don Juan spoke about, a looking at oneself, at those "terrible" things hidden from view that cause anxiety when approached and which extract much energy in avoiding. If we were able as individuals and as organizations to "be up front with ourselves," we would not find it necessary to utilize defensive reappraisals or anxiety reactions, including physiological, and psychosomatic reactions to these unacknowledged and feared stressors.

This process requires that "to thine ownself be true and it follows as the night does the day, that thou shalt not be false to any man."

This calls for a complete restructuring of society. A freedom and openness, and acceptance of ourselves and of people as people. Not a fearful defensiveness against those parts of us which make us human, but an understanding of the thoughts, experiences, fears and conflicts, so that true self control can begin.

The Nature of Police Stress

In the recent past, the magnitude of stress problems has resulted in considerable more concern on the part of people in general for the effects of stress on people. Everyone is affected. So why, it is asked, be so concerned about police? Do they experience more stress than anyone else? At this point, there does not appear to be sufficient data to answer this question.

However, this does not seem to be the primary question. The more important question is what are the sources of stress which do exist for policemen and what are the effects of these stresses on police and citizens in general? And how can these be reduced/eliminated?

It appears that police are becoming more concerned about job stress, even though they may not have labeled it as such. The increase in police unions are, in part an attempt to improve working conditions which should help to alleviate some of their stress. Unless the police themselves become concerned about job stresses, I doubt that anything social scientists do will make much difference.

One reason that police may be slow to recognize the effects of stress on them is because it has been taken as "part of the job." The myth has been that "stress is a part of the job; if you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen." The assumption here is that the "real men" can take it; the "others" can't.

For some men this attitude was encouragement and enabled them to become habituated to normal fears of policing, and may have been a positive experience. It may have helped them to "stiffen" their upper lip and learn to live with somewhat stressing conditions. However, I feel, that this attitude encouraged society to continually add new responsibilities and potential stress situations without any attempt to alleviate those stressing conditions already existing. Always, there was the exception that "you will cope!"

A consequence of this "taking the heat" was the development of a cult of "supermen," who can do anything. Anytime there is a dangerous assignment a policeman is called, because he can handle it. It was not until just a few years ago, probably when I started working with police that it really occurred to me that policemen must experience fear just like anyone else. It is difficult to imagine my perceptions being that different from other people. If this is so, then society is helping perpetuate the superman myth and is, in part, responsible for the resulting stress.

How does a man who is repeatedly told that stress is a part of his job cope his anxiety when he is beginning to reach the point of too much stress? The fear of reaching that point exponentially increases the stress already being experienced. The fear of not being "superman" make it impossible to be fully "man."

Parallel to the recognition by police that stressors exist and that they can do things to reduce/eliminate them has been the increased feeling by the public that the damaging consequences of police stress may also affect them. The police may not experience a greater incidence of stress or more severe stress, but the potential negative consequences of it affect society in general more than stress from most other occupational groups. This has spurred many to call for better selection and training procedures, even more technology, to improve the quality of policing.

It occurs to me that the social change activities of the sixties which brought police into the spotlight so frequently are part of the reason that concern has been directed toward police. Many of the police reactions which were criticized were the result of police stress: the result of these unresolved fears and conflicts. Some over-reactions which appeared to be angry, hostile acts, were really defensive reappraisals to mask the internal conflict, generated by new, strange activities that appeared to be a threat to the American way of life. Also they desired to "do their best" to handle new, difficult, situations for which they had received little, if any, training. Indeed, this desire to be seen as competent by one's fellow man is natural; but, instead, they were called "pigs."

What are some of the external stressors (potential triggers) for police? Stressed may be triggered from social change, economic conditions, police organization, the total criminal justice system, the demands made on the policeman's time, their families who are also experiencing stress, the job of policemen in general, and from the cumulative and interactive effects of these stressors (9).

There are also some specific situations more directly related to the police work which are potential stress situations.

What does it do to a man to place him in a military uniform, equip him with military firepower, and send him out as a domestic military to "keep track of," "investigate," "arrest," "even wage battle on" other humans, his town's people, neighbors, perhaps even his family? And be called on to protect people, often from things they do not want protection from. The social nature of man impels him to seek acceptance from his fellow men. How does a person feel inside when he fears that he is not accepted by many; that most people don't want to live next door to him; attend parties with him or that he is just

wanted when there is a problem someone else can't handle. I suggest that it causes inner pain and conflict....stress.

A primary concern of police officers is that it is very difficult to maintain relations with non-police friends, or communicate with non-police in general. Once a man becomes an officer, he frequently looses his non-police friends and becomes more and more isolated, sees only other police and the citizens he comes into contact with on the job. We have developed an occupational group which is unacceptable to most people outside the job which they perform (which often is in response to the unresolved fears and conflicts of society).

The policeman is caught between the laws of the past and the social change of the future. He is a human being who may hold similar beliefs and notions to those he is arresting. He is a human being who has often felt the wrath of his department when he has transgressed the rules or moves of the department. He frequently feels that his department does not stand by him, does not view him as a responsible, intelligent person, and that he is alone out there fighting back the uncivilized hordes. The "we-they" feeling becomes stronger and stronger. The fears mount. And the stress comes.

Another fear, I think, is of not being a "real policeman." "Real policemen" do certain kinds of things and not others. Some positions they seek and others they do not because "real policework" involves fighting "crime" not coddling criminals, not doing psychotherapy, not preventing crime, but arresting the bad guys. There is a kind of mystique that if you are a real policeman you will be in certain assignments. And the legend continues. And if an officer prefers the police positions which are more in the helping and administrative area, he risks not being seen as a real policemen, not being "adequate", "or a real man."

The stress of not fitting the mythical he-man policemen is hard to cope with. I feel that part of the conflict between the "old guard" who has come up through the ranks and the young, perhaps better educated officer has to do with the feelings that there are new ways of viewing police work, and other ways of relating to people. The officer has a feeling that it isn't right to treat people "that way," and he doesn't like being treated "that way" by the department, but raise objections causes you to risk censure......and stress.

And what is the price policemen pay for admission to the fraternity of "supermen?" Ulcers, headaches, tension, alcoholism, heavy smoking, heart disease, and possibly early death. In addition there are the more subtle costs in the form of growing cynicism, broken communication with family, no time to call one's own, feelings of discontent, frustration, to hell with it, decreased feelings of concern about people and their needs. And where does it end (9)?

And what of the struggle to become middle class? How does this add stress? If it is true, and there seems to be support for the belief that police come largely from working class backgrounds, how does he cope with the feelings that police arrest far greater numbers of people from his own type of background (or lower), and carefully avoid the white collar crime, most heavily represented in that social class to which he aspires? And then the interaction of this sociological stress with the unresolved internal fears adds to the strain.

The Experience of Stress

In interpreting what I believe Don Juan to be saying or at least to identify what I feel, perhaps at the expense of an appropriate interpretation of Carlos Castenada, I feel that the emotional turmoil which we see evident in various symptoms of maladjustment in life is the result of the personality factors which determine how we react to stressors. Simply put, I believe that the stress comes because we have given into fear—fear that we would not live up to expectations, do as we should, not be loved, not be acceptable, that what we are thinking and feeling was so abnormal and unacceptable and that death, damanation to hell, or isolation from important others would inevitable result. Because we have been stopped in our growth at the level of fear, we have no choice but to build up the facade, to find psychological as well as physical mechanisms to inwardly cope with the fear—fear caused by our lack of understanding about ourselves. These feared, yet unverbalized and unexplored corners of our minds and experiences become the breeding ground for projections, displacements, suspicions, unacceptable impulses, worrying, and all the physical and psychological reactions to stress.

Don Juan says that if a man does not defeat fear, he becomes a bully or a harmless, scared man, but defeated. If the man does defeat fear and achieve clarity of mind, does not understand how things work, how things fit together, he becomes a brave warrier or a clown. And if he does not learn to command himself (rightly use power), he becomes a cruel, capricious man. Often, perhaps, these steps are not sequential or clearly defined, but may be symbolic of the processes of mental health. It is in that vein that I want to consider them, as symbolic of "being true to oneself" and developing an accurate appraisal of situations, and a direct coping with situations, as opposed to defensive reappraisal, over-utilization of defense mechanisms and anxiety reactions. My interpretation is that a man who gives into fear does not achieve clarity of mind and control of power is the man who has either defensively redefined fearful situations to cope with them or experiences physical and/or psychological anxiety reactions.

In addition, there is another problem which should be noted. Frequently it has been said that the police role changes a man and causes him to become more like the sterotype. That even though he may appear different from the norm when he enters police work, he adapts the police role. I suspect that this is true. But I also suspect that the way a man changes and the extent to which he changes are partly determined by the unresolved conflicts.

How do we recognize the presence of stress in a policeman? The following sketches indicate some general personality characteristics and behaviors which might be evidence of the experience of stress. It is never wise to diagnose on the basis of one situation, so these are presented as samples of clues that the individual may be experiencing stress.

—Officer A who has performed well for 8 years, but begins "smarting off" to his supervisor

—Officer B who has worked well for 10 years but who begins to come to work obviously smelling of alcohol, and may even drink on the job

—Officer C who is overly zealous in pursuing any one type of criminal behavior

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--Officer D who begins taking things from businesses when they have been robbed, or when he goes to check them out, or out of the evidence locker

--Officer E who is not only suspicious of people on the street, but is accusing his family and friends of being out to get him

--Officer F writes twice as many force memo as the average officer

--Officer G who becomes overly hostile to any drunk he sees

--Officer H who always works overtime, always has to be at the station to be in on what happens

--Officer I has the reputation of a "ladies man" who is always preening and loudly boasting about his accomplishments

--Officer J who is quiet, very hard working (sometimes almost obsessively), who must do a perfect job always and who becomes depressed at any negative criticism

--Officer K who is very defensive and denies any criticism made to him

--Officer L who avoids a dialogue of any kind with the boss

--Officer M who wants to put all "long hairs" in jail

--Officer N who spends excessive time finding women who are impressed by his uniform

--Officer O who is overly consciencious about "cleaning things up" and very aggressively sets out to forcible erradicate evil (evil as he defines it)

--Officer P who will work nowhere but in the detective division because that is where "real police" work is done

--Officer Q who goes through several packages of anti-acid per day

--Officer R who takes an excessive number of sick days

--Officer S who has, or almost has, a large number of accidents, including automobile accidents

--Officer T who takes unnecessary chances driving and drives excessively fast whenever possible

--Officer U who changes mood very rapidly

--Officer V who has frequent temper tantrums when he is displeased

--Officer W can never relax. He is either vigourously chewing gum, gnashing his jaws, tapping with his fingers, tapping his feet, and reminds you of a tiger ready to spring

--Officer X reminds you of a "banty rooster" and appears to be always trying to prove himself to everyone

--Officer Y who begins to be blue, depressed, sometimes talks of ending it all

--Officer Z who always blames someone else for his problems

--Officer AA who believes that anything he does to enforce the law is okay

--Officer BB who always responds the same to stress situations, regardless of the facts of the situation

--Officer CC who never volunteers a personal opinion or feeling

--Officer DD who appears okay but frequently does things that just don't seem to fit or make sense for the situation

--Officer EE who always has a smart, sarcastic remark

--Officer FF who handles situation with physical violence when he could handle them by talking

--Officer GG who abruptly changes his typical habit patterns

--Officer HH whose work performance, enthusiasm, interest, or confidence decrease

These are examples of the men Don Juan calls defeated: the bully, the fighter, the clown, the cruel, capricious man. The men who have been arrested in their development toward becoming a "man of knowledge." The men who succumb to the external stressors because the internal stresses are not resolved or even in the process of being resolved.

One stress which is not often mentioned is the stress experienced by a person who is in process of becoming a "man of knowledge" and who is working in an organization which is trapped in the fear state. Indeed, it becomes a problem of how to remain sane in an organization and work role which are insane, how to be "in process" and unable to assist the organization which is still reacting to unresolved fears, to open up communication, to find ways for human needs of the officers to be met without interfering with the needs of the organization. He struggles to keep from being labeled a trouble-maker because he sees and understands and tries to make changes, but is stymied at every turn. My hypothesis is that this type of stress is different from the other type because this individual may recognize the cause, and remove himself from the organization, leaving it to its fears and stresses. And we all are the worse for it

Coping with Stress

And the answer? What is the answer? Not only for policemen, but for us all.

How to overcome fear...how to achieve clarity of mind, how to wisely use power and overcome the fatigue of old age?

My dream is that we develop a society which promotes a preventative approach to mental health, not a remedial one. One which assists people in learning to cope with problems in appropriate ways.

My stress is the feeling of frustration knowing that this type of world may never exist. That we will always be faced with treatment and remedial procedures, which are always more difficult than prevention. One step, however, which would facilitate such a development is the recognition and acceptance by society that stress exists, that ignoring fears and conflicts will not help them go away, that they must be faced and coped with. This would mean that the stigma placed on psychological/psychiatric assistance must be removed. Caring for one's inner self must not be seen as "sick," as weak, but as a positive desired step. In fact, some type of personal growth experience might be required in the selection of standards for police work, or for retention or promotion.

In the meantime while we are still faced with the need to relearn our coping procedures, how does one uncover those inner conflicts and begin/resume the process of becoming a man of knowledge? It may be that here is where dealing with the problems of inadequate training, lacking of communication, inability to participate, lack of good relations with superiors, role ambiguity, is important. It may be that selection procedures are revised to seek policemen who are in the process of becoming 'men of knowledge.'

But the question also arises of how to help present officers who are experiencing stress and how to keep future officers from conforming to the written and/or unwritten role expectations and experiencing stress.

Perhaps simple awareness of the problems, removal of stigma, opportunities for understanding one's inner self, and improved role definitions will help greatly.

It is important to note that Don Juan makes it clear that becoming a man of knowledge, or "getting one's act together," is a life-time process, not a one-time event. One is always in process. After overcoming the basic fear, a person can handle any challeges, and he will be able to meet the requirements of achieving clarity of mind and control of his power. One is always in process. The process is never finished, unless he has given in to fear before he ever started, and then he must reconcile himself to a life time of defensive reactions and/or anxiety.

Stress is on a continuum. At certain points we all reach the point of "too much" and we have to expend additional energy to cope. The examples of possible types of stress reactions are given to show the wide varitey of ways people may react which indicate a person may be experiencing stress. The duration of the response, its severity, or its occurrence with other stress reactions, are indicators that the individual is trying to reduce the stress he is experiencing.

How can you identify a person who is coping satisfactorily? He will respond directly to the source of the stress. He does not overly utilize any of the defenses, or experience constant emotional responses. His behavior is appropriate for the particular situation and falls within some range of normal. The range of his behavior is also predictable. His reactions would not typically be classed as violent, aggressive, impulsive or weird. He is emotionally responsible and may experience the entire range of emotions, but they are appropriate to the stimuli he is responding to. He is flexible and handles the situation according to its characteristics.

The recognition that stress exists and that the bad effects can be reduced or eliminated with appropriate life style changes is a first step in

coping the stress. These changes may involve understanding what we are doing and why we presist in doing the things that cause stress and strain. Others have found that learning how to relax has reduced strain for them, Jacobson (10) provides easy-to-follow instruction for relaxation.

One new, revolutionary procedure which offers the potential of reducing the physical and psychological symptoms of stress, as well as possibly helping the individual to tap into his inner self and begin to understand it, is biofeedback. Biofeedback is a process by which one is able to learn of the existence of bodily signals (electrical energy) and how to regulate them. In biofeedback, the individual is given feedback from heart, muscles, brain, blood pressure, temperature, skin response, etc. When the individual receives a signal (auditory or visual) concerning the duration and intensity of signal, he can teach his body to control the function. Tension and migraine headaches can be eliminated/reduced, muscle tension reduced, blood pressure lowered, heart rhythm stablized, and temperature altered.

> "Biofeedback is a curious mixture of startling simiplicity and challenging complexity. It is deceptively straightforward: tap into the mysterious within directly from the surface of the body, use of a simple device to convert the activity of the body system into a form which can be sensed, and <u>voila</u>, the person can identify the feelings he has when the body is signaling the monitor device to say "blood pressure up," or "blood pressure down," or "heart rate up," or "temperature down" or "more alpha." It is very simple as a part-psychologic, part-medical compass on the road to satisfying better physical and mental health. Yet it is deceptively complex in the way it achieves its results.

> Biofeedback is simple in concept only. It is probably the most complex of all the discoveries about man's being, for it points straight to the greatest mystery of all: the ability of the mind to control its own and the body's sickness and health. Biofeedback involves endless interactions among arrays of deep and surface emotions, interactions among the higher mental activities of reasoning and judgment, as well as the convoluted dynamics of highly complex body circular processes (such as those carrying messages through the brain-spinalcord-motor nerve-muscle-muscle sense-spinal cord-brain circuit). The mechanism of biofeedback is deeply affected by the malleable, manipulable aspects of the psyche, those interacting emotion-through complexes that are so susceptible to influences such as rapport, warmth and understanding, indifference or insensitivity. .... Biofeedback helps the individual to become aware of his own internal world of psychologic functioning. The awareness need not be conscieous awareness; it may spread only through sub-consciousness, where it mobilizes the mind's intelligence to direct the body's responses according to the meaning of the fed-back information. ....Biofeedback acts primarily as a temporary intermediary to give you information not ordinarily available to you about the deep within. ....Biofeedback is a very private process. It unquestionably will lead to genuinely individual explorations of the subjective and physiological self. It

has the potential to offer one the security of one's own mind,
the capacities of one's own body (Brown pp. 9-10)."

This process which directly works on both the symptoms, as well as the
inner self, seems to me to offer great potential in coping with stress and re-
ducing the stress we feel because we can understand it.

Summary

Sources of stress, reactions to stress, as well as theories of stress are
legion. In general, it can be said that stress may be of four types: the
internal stresses of the individual; the stresses from interaction of two or
more individuals; stress from an organization; and stress coming from the en-
vironment or social system. This paper has proposed the notion that the
internal stresses of the individual resulting from unresolved fears and con-
cerns may accentuate the experience of stress from the other sources. Other
stresses appear to be more easily coped with if we have satisfactorily resolved
the basic question of our own worth and value, and can face our humanness with
out the necessity of jumping over humanness to "supermanness."

This process of "becoming a man of knowledge," according to Don Juan, or
"getting one's act together," in the street idiom of today, is a process that
involves overcoming these fears in order that we can "see" and understand and
come to appropriately use the power that we develop as a result of the process.
And it is a life-long process. The further one travels down this road, the
more impossible it is for him to be content perpetuating the myth and untruths
in society. A this point, the individual typically exercises one of two
choices: he valiantly struggles to change the systems he is immersed in or he
withdraws and leaves the system to continue it's never-ending spiral, because
he cannot remain a mute participant in a destructive system.

It is impossible for an individual to continue in the process of "becoming
a man of knowledge" and enter or remain in an organization which does not sup-
port the exploration and acceptance of the self and which does not operate in
such a way as to enable the self to fully develop, but instead operates in a
way to increase the type and intensity of emergency and long defenses necessary
to combat the stressors.

At this point, the criminal justice system will have no option then, but
to reconsider itself as a total system and become an organization which is in
process of achieving knowledge.

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Simulated Stress in Police Recruit Selection

Robert B. Mills
Department of Criminal Justice
University of Cincinnati

In the search for improved police performance, intitial recruit selection has played a strong role. Surveys have documented the rapid rise in use of psychological tests, agility tests, psychiatric interviews, background investigation, and use of polygraph since the 1960s (Eisenberg & Murray, 1974; Eisenberg et al., 1973; Narrol & Levitt, 1963; O'Connor, 1962). The royal road to police professionalization has seemed to depend upon recruitment of superior candidates at the entry level, with increasing numbers of mental health professionals drawn into the evaluation process, especially since the introduction of EEOC standards.

The detailed account of methods utilized by clinicians in personality appraisal is largely unreported in the literature, or scattered among journals of the various mental health disciplines. The predominant method, based upon extensive correspondence and consultation of the author with clinicians and police organizations since 1962, has been to proceed with the tools at hand; i.e., the tests and interview methods borrowed from hospital and clinic settings. For example, use of the MMPI in recruit screening has been extremely common.

The most obvious results of transferring clinical methods to recruit evaluation has been to place the main emphasis upon searching for disqualifying psychopathology, such as unstable emotionality, becomes grounds for exclusion.

The logic of such "medical model" procedures requires that if a candidate does not exhibit signs of pathology, then he may be assumed to be "well", and suitable as a candidate. Unfortunately, the search for positive strengths under such a scheme has received scant attention. In addition, mental health professionals, with some exceptions, may possess only a sketchy notion of the desirable qualities sought by police organizations, and may make selection decisions based upon stereotyped ideas of the police mission.

Finally, the one-to-one interviewing and counseling methods typically used by mental health professionals are probably ill-suited to obtaining relevant behavior samples from police candidates, whose main duties as officers lie in action-oriented encounter situations. It must be concluded, therefore, that much of the psychiatric-psychological evaluation performed on police recruits is off-target if the goal is to identify positive qualities of personality needed for effective performance of police patrol duties.

A more rational procedure would be to analyze the psychological requirements for various types of police functions, then design measures specifically to tap the desired qualities. One promising attempt to describe job requirements as a preliminary to "assessment center" evaluations has been reported in Minneapolis (Heckman et al., 1972). The dimension of patrolman effectiveness have been described in the Heckman study as follows:

a) Crime prevention
b) Using force appropriately

c) Maintaining public safety and giving first aid
d) Traffic maintenance and control
e) Investigating, detecting and following up on criminal activity
f) Report writing
g) Integrity and professional ethics
h) Dealing constructively with the public
i) Handling domestic disputes
j) Commitment, dedication and conscientiousness
k) Teamwork

The Minneapolis strategy involved collection of a pool of "critical incidents" reflecting the above dimensions, which would then be role-played by candidates in an assessment center setting. Thus, the stresses of normal patrol duties would be closely simulated in an attempt to evaluate stress handling at a pre-employment level.

The Cincinnati Simulated Stress Group Method

A somewhat similar technique has been used and refined since 1962 by a team of psychologists (and a psychiatrist) for the Cincinnati Police (Mills et al., 1964; Mills et al., 1966; Mills, 1972). In its present form, 10-12 recruit candidates are assembled as a group for a 4-5 hour psychological assessment session with the team of psychologist.[*] The first phase of evaluation is a warm-up and orientation period, during which time candidates are asked to describe their motivation and qualifications for a law enforcement career. Candidates are instructed that only by active participation can they establish the qualities of judgement and common sense needed for the police position, and that their reticence may cause them to be eliminated from consideration for lack of relevant information. They are also instructed to carefully note and critique the performance and viewpoints of their fellow-candidates, since at the end of the session they will be asked to rate the candidate they would "most want on patrol with them," "least want on patrol with them" and to justify their choices. Candidates are encouraged to participate in the evaluation process by "checking each other out." Thus, a group climate of peer rivalry and competion is encouraged, an important element of stress is assessing their performance. The first phase is concluded after all candidates have reviewed their career preparation before the group, and commented on various policing issues raised by the staff and by other candidates.

The second phase consists of pairing up candidates to role-play an "on-street" situation presented by the staff. Black-white or male-female pairs are selected where possible, since such pairing provides more information on possible sex or racial bias. An easel is provided to record the names of each pair, and the group votes at the conclusion of each role-play to determine "which candidate performed in ther role most effectively." The voting and summing of "scores" heightens the competitive stress.

Each candidate performs two role-plays, usually playing the role of officer, then reversing roles to become a citizen. Role-play situations

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*Psychologists currently employing this method include
A. Evangeline Norton, Ph.D., Bennett Cooper, M.A., and the author.

are presented by the staff, and may be chosen to test a suspected weakness in a candidate; for example, a withdrawn candidate may be asked to handle a confrontation with an angry juvenile. Candidates are instructed that a physical arrest may be necessary, but that no physical violence should be necessary in carrying out the role. They are instructed that their technical police training is not at issue, but their common-sense judgement in handling typical police encounters.

Example one: An example is our "loitering scene." The candidates assigned to role-play are informed that storeowners at 8th and State have been complaining to the District that a gang of juveniles are hanging around on the corner, obstructing store entrances, leaning on store windows, making remarks to passing women, and "making a general nuisance of themselves." Mr. Crabass, a pharmacy owner, believes these boys are stealing cigaretts and pop, but has not been able to identify the culprits. The District Sergeant has advised the patrolman to keep an eye on the corner to keep down the complaints. As the patrolman passes by, he sees the same gang in front of the pharmacy. He leaves the cruiser, walks up, and the gang leader walks forward to greet the officer. The rest of the gang wait to see what will happen."

As the two candidates become embroiled in their encounter, as gang leader and policeman, an unexpected interruption occurs. Mr. Crabass (played by a staff member) suddenly appears from his pharmacy and points his finger at the gang leader. "Officer, there's the punk that's been ruining my business. He's the worst one. Here I'm trying to put my son through college, and you let this trash stand around on the sidewalk and cause trouble. Officer, why don't you do your duty, and run this riffraff out of here!"

After the candidate, as officer, has resolved this encounter, hopefully by separating the disputants, votes are taken for "candidate most effective in the role." Then roles are reversed, and the scene is played again. After the second vote, a general critique of strategies used by the role-players ensues. The role-players critique their own performances first, since a candidate who can spontaneously spot his own errors of judgement can "save himself."

The spontaneous critique of role-playing strategies has proven to be an extremely valuable part of the evaluation process. Notes are taken by the staff of the number and quality of such spontaneous criticisms made by each candidate. Qualities of leadership, maturity of judgement, and self-assertiveness (or lack of same) are often best revealed by comments on the role-playing.

Example two: This is our Serpico scene. One candidate plays a rookie patrolman out to impress his Sergeant. The rookie is on night patrol downtown, and discovers an open window in a jewelry store on an alley. He radios in, and his Sergeant appears with an investigating team. A break-in has occurred, much jewelry has been taken. Several hours later, after the investigation has been completed, the Sergeant climbs into the rookie's cruiser for a quiet little talk. He congratulates the rookie for his diligence and tells him, "We like to reward our boys for such fine work." In fact, a little present for the rookie's wife is waiting in the rookie's glove compartment of his private car parked back at the District. The Sergeant

reassures the rookie, "There's no sweat, no labels or price tags on it, no sales tax, and the insurance company takes the rap." The Sergeant assures the rookie that his wife will really appreciate a diamond wrist watch, and that such gifts come along from time to time as a gesture of appreciate for "men who play on my team."

The staff assures the candidates that the Sergeant has made the rookie "an offer he can't afford to refuse," and the role-play commences from the point at which the Sergeant sits down with the rookie in the cruiser.

As these two examples illustrate, considerable stress can be induced from these role-playing situations. The group's critique of the Serpico role-play is usually rich in thoughtful contributions by candidates, who are asked to confront issues of police corruption in a concrete form.

Example three: Our "foul-up patrolman" scene can be role-played with either a black-white pair or a white-white pair. One candidate is a rookie patrolman still on probationary status who has been transferred abruptly to a new District after a Departmental hearing. He is about to meet his new Sergeant, and receive his duty instructions. In his previous District, four complaints of verbal abuse were received from black citizens in the course of routine on-street encounters in a six month period.

The main result of the Departmental hearing into the complaints by citizens was the transfer of the rookie to the new District. The new Sergeant has a reputation for running a tight ship, and is regarded as strict but fair. The Sergeant is often assigned to foul-ups as a last resort before more drastic action is taken. The rookie knocks on the Sergeant's door.

The foul-up patrolman situation is an example of an oblique approach to questions of racist attitudes. Direct questioning about racism usually elicits a knee-jerk denial from candidates, but presenting issues of racism embedded in a supervisory problem may result in a greater range of responses. Some candidates have "overlooked" the black-white aspects of the situation completly, others have dealt with it in the context of supervisory stategies, while some have hammered on racism to the exclusion of their legitimate issues of supervision. If bigoted attitudes are present, they seem more likely to surface in a prolonged session of stress-filled and heated group discussion than through any other method known to our team.

In order to stimulate candidates to a suitable range of responses in the role-playing situations, we have found that they should be as realistic as possible; they should be difficult to resolve, presenting several alternative solutions; they should be somewhat ambigious, so that candidates can "flesh in" details of their own choice; they should depend upon technical knowledge of police procedures and laws as little as possible, but require judgement; and finally, they should be one-on-one encounters, although some adjunct roles can be supplied to enrich the situation.

The third phase of the group stress method consists of peer choices by each candidate of the person he "would most like to be on patrol with" and whom he would "least like to be on patrol with," with a justification of their choices. Candidates are assured that their choices will neither

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help nor hurt another candidate, but are in fact a measure of accuracy of their own perceptions at sizing up their peers. Candidates who are highly motivated by a need for "popularity" among their peers sometimes have difficulty with this task; such candidates seek cues from the stronger members of the group, and fall into line with the popular choices, compromising the independence of their own judgement. The choices are made before the whole group rather than by secret ballot in order to provide immediate feedback by peers to candidates on their own performance; such feedback is often more readily accepted from peers than from staff members.

Staff Rating of Candidates

Following conclusion of the group session, staff members meet immediately to formulate ratings which will constitute recommendations to the Civil Service Commission on each candidate. The final product is a five-place overall rating:

Overall Performance Prediction Rating		Civil Service Recommendation
4 "Superior"	)	
3 "Above Average"	)	Acceptable as recruit
2 "Average"	)	
1 "Marginal"	)	
0 "High Risk"	)	Not acceptable; reject

The Overall Performance Prediction rating is based upon 8 major subdivisions which are also rated on the five-place scale just described. All ratings are established by consensus of participating staff members. Where ratings do not agree, staff members consult their notes on the group session to support their position in order to negotiate a consensus. In rare instances, a "minority" opinion is recorded in the descriptive summary included in the report to the Civil Service Commission. The 8 major sub-divisions comprising the Overall Perfromance Prediction rating are shown below. Factors to be considered in each sub-division are rated separatedly.

I. Intellectual Effectiveness

Considers relevant factors before taking action
Shows awareness of future implications of decisions
Decisive; able to make decisions after considering alternatives
Readiness and eagerness for new learning
Overall intellectual ability

II. Personality Characteristics

Composure under stress; under or over-reaction
Approp. use of authority in relation to peers
Approp. use of authority in relation to citizens
Approp. use of authority in relation to subordinates
Approp. use of authority in relation to superiors
Appropriateness of anxiety
Appropriateness of defensiveness

Adaptability; flexibility
Forcefulness; appropriate aggressiveness
Assertive without alienating others
Willing to take a stand; risk-taking
Able to persuade others with a variety of
     persuasive techniques; resourceful

III. Sensitivity to ethnic and social diversity

Awareness of ethnic and social diversity
Tolerance of ethnic and social diversity
Competence to deal with ethnic and social diversity
Sensitivity to needs of own ethnic group

IV. Interpersonal Relationships

Self-awareness of personal impact
Ability to accept feedback about own behavior
Ability to give feedback and accurately assess others
Acceptance by peers

V. Motivation for Police Career

VI. Contributory previous experience (if any)

VII. Community Service Orientation

VIII. Tests, Interview or other evidence

The tests mention are MMPIs which have a previously been administered and profiled in order to become part of the clinical material evaluated in the Overall ratings. Occasional interviews are also conducted by psychologists outside the group sessions to evaluate questionable information generated through background investigation and polygraph examination by the Police Division.

The final step in recruit selection is a Final Committee meeting chaired by personnel technicians of the Civil Service Commission with participation of Police Division specialists and the team of psychologists. Rating of psychologists are reviewed here, along with Police Division ratings derived from background investigation and polygraph examinations. Final decisions on acceptability of candidates for the elegibility list are made through discussion and voting by the Final Committee. Such a strategy enables candidates with a marginal performance or background to be evaluated in toto, so that compensating strengths, if present, can be balanced out in a final eligibility decision. We believe that such an overall appraisal process is superior to the typical process of selective elimination in sequential stages of the selection process.

Summary of the Cincinnati Simulated Stress
Group Method

The group stress method is a cross-sectional in-depth personality evaluation conducted by a team of psychologists experienced in the requirements of the police mission. Overall ratings of acceptability as a police recruit are established by sub-ratings on criteria believed to be associated with superior policing ability. Ratings are made by consensual agreement of the team of 3-4 observing psychologists, so that reasonable checks and balances are maintained in the rating process.

Qualifications of candidates are established through a series of verbal and behavioral tasks which tap dimensions identified with police performance. Chief method of evaluation is a role-playing experience carried out by pairs of candidates in which carefully-devised "on-street" encounters are presented. Ability to critique one's own performance and the performance of others is an important aspect of the assessment. The candidate's readiness to accept police responsibility can be graphically observed by the group stress method, and feedback by other candidates becomes a part of the evaluation.

The strongest feature of the group stress method is that it is directly job-related; no psychiatric probing into personality psychodynamics is needed. A reasonably low level of inferences on future police behavior can be maintained. Candidate acceptance of the method is almost uniformly high. To the extent that stress and its management is a central feature of effective police performance, the group stress method is believed to provide a more valid index of such future field performance than any paper-and-pencil or interview method in use.

In addition, the role-playing in groups is a natural precursor to police training, and feedback from the selection process can be utilized in Police Academy training where areas of marginal performance have been noted. The role-playing experience has proved to be a memorable event for recruits, a sort of behavior rehearsal for their impending police careers.

Validation of the Simulated Stress Group Method

A validation study of selection methods for Cincinnati Police was conducted on a random sample of 122 patrolmen who had served from 1-9 years in that position (Tagatz & Hess, 1972). Predictors included Army General Classification Test Scores, MMPI scores, oral interview ratings, and the Overall Performance Prediction ratings established by the psychological team. Police performance criteria were: 1) course grade in Police Academy, 2) ratio of commendations/years, 3) annual efficiency ratings by supervisors, 4) ratio of disciplinary actions/years, 5) ratings by peers. A matrix of intercorrelations was constructed. In reporting results, Tagatz & Hess noted (p. 77):

"It (Overall Performance Prediction ratings) was the only predictor that correlated significantly in a positive manner with both Police Academy score (r = .314) and a measure of job performance, the most recent efficiency rating (r = .183). Although these correlations are small, they give some evidence that the psychological team score based on the results of the situational tests has some usefulness in selecting police recruits."

Tagatz and Hess further concluded,

"The restricted range (of the ratings) and the truncated distribution reduces possible correlations. The rating continuum should be expanded and made more complete. When this is done, the psychological team scores should provide more information to the police department plus show more relationship to on-the-job performance. As such, the psychological team scores should meet both the statistical and practical validation requirements established by the EEOC."

The follow-up studies have been conducted by Mills and his associates (Mills et al., 1966; Clopton, 1971). Using two classes of police recruits in 1964 and 1965, Mills compared tests scores on two situational tests (Foot Patrol Observation Test and Clues Test) with performance in the Police Academy; similarly, the Overall Performance Prediction ratings (largely based upon a two-hour group session termed the Bull Session) were compared to Police Academy performance. All of these tests were precursors to the methods previously described in this paper.

The Foot Patrol Observation test required candidates to traverse a busy downtown section for six blocks with instructions to observe everything along the way. Candidates then completed a 25-item multiple-choice questionnaire about physical features along the route. The Clues Test consisted of the desk and work area of a hypothetical "missing" City employee. Candidates were given 10 minutes to examine personal effects and records, then completed a 60-point questionnaire reporting on their "investigation." The Clues Tests was adapted from a situational test used to select OSS candidates in WWII (Murray, 1948).

The Overall Performance Prediction rating was a consensual rating of the evaluation team (0-4) as previously described, except that it was based upon a group stress interview exploring various issues of policing. Performance on the Army General Classification Test was included as a background measure for comparison. Results are seen in Table 1.

Results indicate that the ratings established by the psychologist team were highly predictive of performance in the Police Academy. The AGCT, as a measure of general intelligence, was also highly predictive of success in the academically-oriented Police Academy courses, which is hardly surprising. The most promising results was that a simple situational task designed on an experimental basis, the Clues Test, proved to be so effective. The failure of the AGCT and the Clues Test to correlate with each other (.105 and .340 respectively) was interpreted to suggest that the situational task might be tapping behavioral dimensions not represented in the paper-pencil-intelligence test (AGCT).

TABLE 1

Rank-Order Correlations of Selections Measures with Police Academy
Performance by 2 Recruit Groups

	1964 Group (n = 42)	1965 (partial sample) Group (n = 15)
Foot Patrol Observation	.137	.159
Clues Test	.375*	.425#
Overall Performance Prediction	.359**	.473**
AGCT	.595**	.708**

#signif. at .10
*signif. at .05
**signif. at .01

(Kendall rank-order <u>Tau</u> performed on OPP because of restricted ranks on ratings)

Clopton attempted a five-year follow-up of field performance by patrol-men on the same two recruit groups just described. The number of police still on patrol duty had attenuated from 42 to 27 in the 1964 group, and the 1965 group had shrunk from 44 to 28 through resignations, discharges, promo-tions, and reassignments. Clopton utilized three performance criteria. First, final score in the Police Academy. The second criterion was the 5th year annual efficiency rating by each patrolman's supervisor. The final criterion was a composite field performance score summarized from daily work sheets of patrolmen's activities in 13 duty categories. This actual field performance score was adjusted for a ration of hours on duty/number of arrests, and "nor-malized" for the typical activity load for the District and shift patrolled by each officer.

Clopton found a high correlation between the level of activity reported by the patrolmen and the efficiency ratings awarded by their supervisiors(.776 for the 1964 gruup, 376 for the 1965 group, significant at the .01 and .05 level respectively). The matrix of intercorrelations between prediction measures and performance measures obtained by Clopton is shown in Table 2.

The sparse results obtained by Clopton emphasize the difficulties of predictive validation over a five-year period, especially when dealing with homogeneous and truncated samples. Noting sharp discrepancies between 1964 and 1965 groups, Clopton suggested that 1964 might be a "normative" year while 1965 was an "exceptional" year in the Cincinnati Police Organization.

It seems reasonably to suppose that larger and more representative samples, better-elaborated rating techniques, together with multiple measures of police performance, might ultimately yield validation of situational stress methods of police recruit selection. The unique advantages of situational-type testing were summarized by Cronbach (1949):

"The greatest advantage of the test observation is that it makes possible the observation of characteristics which appear only infrequently in normal activities...characteristics such as bravery, reaction to frustration, and dishonesty. A single situational test may reveal more about such a trait than weeks of field observation. Second, the subject's desire to make a good impression, he reveals more about his personality than would normally appear.. the third advantage of the situational test is that it comes closer than other techniques to a standardized measure of typical behavior...situational and projective tests may be the only true valid testing approach to personality."

TABLE 2

Matrix of Intercorrelations Between Predictor
and Performance Variables in 2 Recruit Groups

Selection Test Scores & Rating	Police Academy Score		Supervisor Ratings (5th yr.)		Field Performance Scores (5th yr.)	
	1964	1965	1964	1965	1964	1965
Overall Perf. Prediction	.436*	.221	.180	-.019	.061	.332
Clues Test	.510**	.245	.258	-.140	.182	-.042
Foot Patrol Observation	.280	.216	.071	-.252	-.047	

*Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .01 level

Role of the Simulated Stress Selection Method in a Stress Management System

In the development of a stress management model for police systems, the simulated stress recruit selection method can make three vital contributions.

1) Preventive. As with other human attributes, individual differences in tolerance for stress exist. As knowledge of policing as a stressful occupation expands, it has become more essential than ever to identify at the entry level those persons who are psychologically equipped to handle the police mission. The exposure of candidates to the stresses of policing through simulation is unique among police selection methods, and directly applicable to concerns about stress reduction on the job. It is a good investment for police to seek those candidates who are psychologically robust, and to screen candidates whose vulnerability to stress can be established prior to employment.

2) _Training_. The initial selection phase can be envisioned as a compre-
hensive pre-service assessment of a candidates strengths and weakness, to be
followed in the Police Academy by training targeted at the candidates weak-
nesses. Individual attention through role-playing and criticism to areas of
weakness during the training and probationary period would immunize the officer
to unnecessary stress when he actually confronts similar situations in the
field. Cohen and Chaiken (1973) in their study of New York City Police recom-
mend particular attention to the training and probationary periods to separate
officers whose performance remains marginal.

In addition to the diagnostic and remedial functions carried over from
initial evaluation of candidates into the training and probationary phase, a
general case can be made for role-playing and simulation as training devices
in police academies; an example is the simulated film vignettes created by
Danish and Brodsky (1974).

3) _Diagnostic_. Sound personnel practices require early identification
of symptoms of maladaptive reaction to stresses on the job, and prompt inter-
vention. The pre-service assessment, with appropriate safeguards against
misuse, could become a valuable aid to counseling and re-training efforts.

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The Metamorphosis*

George L. Kirkham
School of Criminology
Florida State University

This paper sets forth a theoretical explanation of patterns of police aggression and hostility in minority areas. Such conduct is interpreted as the end result of a process of reaction formation, which afflicts police officers who find themselves functioning in high-stress environments for prolonged periods of time. The dynamics and consequences of this attitudinal/behavioral pattern are discussed on the basis of the author's experience as a ghetto patrolman during a five-month period of participant observation research in Jacksonville, Florida.

. . . .

It was a hot, sticky Saturday night in late August as the two officers riding Beat 305 made the familiar turn off Jefferson onto West Ashley. The cruiser began easing slowly down the long neon ribbon of bars, pool halls, and small shops that lined the ghetto's major arterial. "The Block," as Ashley Street is known to the policemen who work it, was predictably teeming with activity. Everywhere, black men and women either stood in small clusters on the sidewalks or drifted in and out of the bars--laughing, talking, arguing animatedly--their voices co-mingled with the distictive click of pool balls and the throb of soul music emanating from open doors and windows. "Christ, there must be a million of them down here tonight, Doc," the younger policeman remarked as his partner slowed the car to let a toothless old woman pushing a fruit cart pass in front of them.

"Welfare checks must be out," the older patrolman responded with a sarcastic grin. He slowed the cruiser again and suspiciously eyed two black teenagers who were leaning against the side of a cream-colored Cadillac with out of state plates. He continued driving as he quickly checked the plate number against their "hot sheet" of stolen vehicles.

Nights like tonight made the older officer especially apprehensive. There were so many of them. The high pitched emergency tone from the cruiser's radio suddenly interrupted his thoughts. "Unit 305...we have a man with a gun at Ashley and Lee," a female dispatcher's voice said.

The older policeman felt his insides tighten. He punched the accelerator to the floor as his partner turned on the emergency lights and siren. The service revolver at his side was already unsnapped when the call went out--it was a habit he had acquired during his first weeks in 305. Whenever they turned onto Ashley at night he now automatically and unthinkingly unsnapped the gun. Even though he had been riding the ghetto beat for barely four months, the older policeman had already followed the lead of many of the other men by buying and religiously wearing a light-weight bullet-proof vest beneath the dark blue uniform shirt.

After fighting its way through ten blocks of heavy traffic, Unit 305 braked to a stop at Ashley and Lee and both officers jumped out.

*Editors note: Potentially offensive expressions have been retained in this article in the interest of presenting an accurate report of actual police situations.

Nothing! Just a fake call. Somebody's idea of a joke. The older patrol-
man felt the tension beginning to drain from his body as they got back inside the
car.

"Goddamn ......!" he muttered to himself through clenched teeth. His
partner nodded assent and lit a cigarette.

It was just a minute or so later when the pair cruised past the Ebony Bar
and Grill at Ashley and Washington.

"Pigs" someone suddenly shouted from a crowd of eight or ten young blacks
gathered in front of the bar.

The older officer reflexively stopped the car and got out with his night-
stick in one hand. His partner did likewise.

"Somebody got something to say to us?" the older officer demanded of the
group. He could already feel the moisture in his palms and the droplets of
perspiration beginning to roll down his armpits.

A tall black man in his mid-twenties stepped forward and smiled derisively.
"Yeah, I said somethun, man...I said 'pig!' That's P-I-G! Can you dig it, huh?"

The black man stood facing the white policeman with a beer can in one hand
and a cigarette dangling loosely from his lips as the crowd, which was now grow-
ing rapidly, laughed its approbation.

Without saying anything further, the older policeman stepped forward and
knocked the beer can from the man's hand, grabbed him by a shirt sleeve and
slammed him against the patrol car.

"Hey--"
"O.K., you're under arrest! Now get your ass in the car!" he snapped as he
frisked the black man for weapons.

A murmur of protest immediately rose from the crowd, which was still grow-
ing in size. The younger patrolman slipped quickly back to the cruiser and
emerged from it with a shotgun.

"Arrest? For what? I ain't done nothing!" the black man exclaimed as the
older policeman snapped the patrol car's back door open.

"For drunk in public."

"Drunk? Hell, I ain't had but one drink all night--you can see that."

"Of course you're drunk. You'd have to be drunk to talk that kind of trash
to the po-lice, man!" the policeman replied as he roughly pushed the man into
the back seat.

"O.K., just everybody move on...C'mon, I said let's go! Now! goddamnit!"
the younger officer commanded as he stepped forward with the shotgun cradled

in the crook of one arm. There were muffled curses from the crowd as the two policemen drove off with their prisoner.

Deplorable? The kind of police behavior that spawned riots in major American cities during the sixties, that is so closely linked to traditional patterns of enmity between minorities and the police? Indeed. The incident I have just described could be any one of many that occur across the United States each day. Yet this particular occurrence was unique, in a sense, for I was the older patrolman involved in it. This encounter and many others like it took place during a five month period of participant-observation research on police attitudes and behavior. During this time, I embarked upon an unusual research project for a social scientist: in order to develop greater insight into the police role in modern society, I decided to become a policeman myself. I accordingly left my university post, as an assistant professor of criminology, went through the same police academy training required of any other recruit, and began working as a regular, uniformed patrolman in a city of about one-half million people. Because I was interested in observing and personally experiencing the various social and psychological pressures to which policeman might be routinely subjected in a high-crime, inner city area, I requested and secured an assignment in Beat #305. The latter, I had discovered from an advance analysis of crime rates in the city, was consistently characterized by the highest incidence of violent crime and the predictable concomitants of poverty and deteriorated housing. Before going any further, I should perhaps emphasize that I undertook this project with precious few (if any) positive sentiments toward the police; to the contrary, I even harbored a conscious measure of resentment toward them—some of it a result of having personally witnessed violent police-student clashes as a graduate student at Berkeley, and doubtless some of it due to my educational and social class background (I believe that, if they are honest with themselves, most well educated, middle class individuals will own up to feeling a measure of antipathy for the authority policemen symbolize). Like so many others of my background, at the time I became a policeman I was shocked and appalled by what I viewed as a glaring nationwide failure to select and recruit the proper kind of individuals to be policemen—individuals who are, by virtue of personality and education, equipped to resolve even the most pressing and serious of human problems without resort to violence and hostility. Looking back, I suppose that I thought of myself as just that kind of person when I first put on the badge and uniform of a patrolman in 305.

Just what happened to me during those five months? To be sure, that is a question I have struggled with many times since my return to academia this year.

How did a politically liberal, Berkeley educated, upper-middleclass university professor, move in such a short space of time from dispassionate interest in the dynamics of police-citizen interaction to a point where he became personally caught up in a tragic cycle of aggression and counter-aggression that he had longed condemned and recognized as irrational. Even now, as I recall incidents such as the one I described at the outset of this article, I am incredulous. I marvel that I could have been a part of them, that I could have so routinely come to feel such intense frustration, anger, and aggression toward other human beings.

The scientist within me still insists that my personal educational level and socialization should have adequately insulated me from whatever pressures life as a patrolman in 305 had to offer. But they did not.

As the weeks and months of my new career as a slum patrolman went by, I slowly but inexorably began to become indistiguishable in attitudes and behavior from the policemen with whom I worked 305. According to the accounts of my family, colleagues, and friends, I began to increasingly display attitudinal and behavioral elements which were entirely foreign to my previous personality—punitiveness, pervasive cynicism and mistrust of others, chronic irritability and free-floating hostility, racism, a diffuse personal anxiety over the menace of crime and criminals that seemed at times to border on the obsessive. A former opponent of capital punishment, I became its vociferous advocate in cases involving felony murder, kidnapping, and the homicide of police officers—even though as a criminologist I continued to recognize its ineffectiveness as a deterrent to crime.

For the first time in my life, a part of me began to demand retribution and vengeance in lieu of rehabilitation as just desserts for the perpetrators of crime. As the time in my new role as a policeman increased, I began to chafe and rail at what I now viewed as the soft, "coddling" orientation of the courts toward offenders, despite my personal knowledge that punishment has been throughout history a demonstrable failure in controlling criminal behavior. In a short while, the lens of objective scientific inquiry which I had at first carried so confidently onto the streets of 305 was utterly shattered by the stream of actors and events that began to impinge on me day after day. By the end of the experience, I found myself left with a conflicting duality of perspective that could scarcely avoid impressing those around me as hypocrisy: at times, I sounded once again like my former scientific self when discussing the subject of crime in society; at other times, however, vestiges of the police self that had emerged during those months in 305 would creep into my lectures and statements, with the result that I came off saying and feeling quite different things on the same issue.

Just what events accounted for the metamorphosis I have described? I suppose that the process of change began on my first night as a patrolman in 305. It was then that I lost for the first time in my life the precious luxury of prophylaxis, i.e., the insulation that most educated, middle-class people enjoy from the ugly realities of crime and poverty in the Great Society. As a former correctional counselor and mental health worker, I suppose that I had always thought of myself as quite capable of handling the full range of social and psychological problems that afflict human beings. But I quickly discovered that people in trouble pose very different—and infinitely more complex and anxiety provoking—problems for policemen that they do for such practitioners as social workers, psychiatrists, and correctional workers.

For someone in one of the latter occupations, a human problem—whether it be mental illness, child abuse, or marital discord—is almost invariably removed in time and space from the context in which the client or patient is encountered: Harry, a paranoid schizophrenic, was hallucinating last night; the child was beaten a few hours ago; the latest round in an ongoing marital dispute was fought the preceding weekend. The police officer, on the other hand, is constantly summoned to deal with these and other extremely delicate and complex problems as they are actually unfolding. How quickly I came to

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to miss as a police officer being able to examine people and their problems in a calm, contemplative setting of an office or field interview, to approach them as components of a caseload--units of analysis to be carefully considered in light of previous knowledge and experience.

As a policeman, I found myself forced to deal with other people at their worst, day in and day out. To mediate interpersonal conflict in situations where the disputants were crying, kicking, screaming, threatening, bleeding, drunk, or enraged. Let me assure you that it is quite a different thing to discuss Jones' chronic temper outburst in a counseling setting, and to face the same man after he has just smashed his wife's face with a fist and is angrily proclaiming his readiness to do the same thing to you!

Such events, which I soon found become routine in the life of an urban policeman, introduce a new variable which makes difficult a successful therapeutic relationship with anyone: adrenaline. Few psychiatrists and counselors have to fear for their physical safety in the handling of interpersonal problems, but policemen must. Indeed, an astonishing number are killed or injured in just such situations each year. I assure to you on the basis of now limited personal experience that it is extremely difficult to function calmly and rationally in a climate of fear and tension. Time after time, as a policeman myself, I inadvertently precipitated an escalation in a problem as a result of having misread the characteristics of a particular individual or situation. I found that it was astonishingly easy to make such mistakes in the atmosphere of anxiety, confusion, and time pressure in which I found myself forced to operate as a policeman.

But to say that patrolmen make understandable mistakes in stressful situations still does not account for my own steadily increasing display of the same blantantly hostile, aggressive behavior as my peers in 305. How can my personal actions in incidents such as the street arrest I described earlier be accounted for?

Certainly, it might be argued by those with a psychological or psychoanalytic bent that the experience of working as an urban patrolman merely provide a catalyst which released long dormant and carefully repressed elements of hostility and authoritarianism in my personality. It might be thought by some that I merely simulated such traits in a Machiavellian attempt to win rapport with my new peer group for research or personal reasons, or that I naively slipped into identifying with police aggression and overreaction as a result of my prolonged and intimate exposure to it.

I am going to suggest another explanation of the personal metamorphosis which I experienced during those months in 305, one which I believes also sheds light on the behavior of other policemen who find themselves working under similar circumstances. It is not intended to condone overreaction of the sort that was apparent in the street incident, but merely to provide some insight into its psychological dynamics.

Like the policemen with whom I worked, I found myself both unprepared for and incapable of adaptively handling the enormous and almost continuous psychological pressures posed by a beat like 305. I realize in retrospect that the requirement to repeatedly confront situations which were both unpleasant and stressful in nature eventually began to produce in me an insidiously subtle, but very real and cumulative, emotional fatigue. As we rushed from one anxiety-

laden call to another, night after night, such things as my frustration tolerance and ability to manage stress steadily diminished.

When the mind's repertoire of normal defense mechanisms begins to collapse under the impact of prolonged stress or the introduction of events which it finds intolerable, it naturally casts about in search of new adaptations--things to restore its shattered state of equilibrium. During those first days and weeks as a patrolman, I found myself in something approaching cultural shock as I began to confront such trauma as violence, suffering, and death on a personal level for the first time in my life.

The desire to survive and remain uninjured is a remarkably basic and power-ful motivation in all of us. Very soon after I began work in 305, I started to identify its inhabitants as a serious threat to my personal safety (three other policemen had been shot to death during the preceding three year period and our own patrol car received sniper fire on one occasion). My definition of 305 as a dangerous place quickly generated in me strong elements of fear and anxiety, something which I believe was also the case with other officers. I began to experience an omnipresent sense of personal physical insecurity as we moved about the Ashley Street Ghetto handling calls. This perception was of course greatly heightened by the fact that my new world did indeed contain so much violence, I believe now that it was also intensified to some extent by the mass media definition of a policeman's role as one filled with danger (television and motion picture definitions of the role as a basically dangerous one, I am convinced, account for at least some of the intense preoccupation with violence that characterizes police culture itself). The psychological impact of the physical symbols of the job--the revolver, nightstick, chemical mace and hand-cuffs--also had a profound impact on my mental set: they mutely proclaimed to me that the person carrying them was doing so because he might be called upon at any moment to either attack or restrain someone else, perhaps in order to save himself from death or injury.

It is immediately obvious that a strong sense of physical insecurity-- and the emotions of fear and anxiety which accompany it--is untenable in the occupational world of a slum patrolman. Unless it is defensively neutralized in some way, it cripples and paralyzes the individual's ability to carry out the everyday tasks of his job. One cannot summon the courage to walk into a bar where several men are fighting with pool cues, order an unruly crowd to disperse, or walk into a darkened warehouse where a silent alarm has been activated, if he is chronically and severely frightened.

Policemen who regularly work under stressful circumstances therefore typi-cally develop a defense mechanism which corresponds closely to what psychologists call reaction formation: i.e., the repression or driving into one's unconscious, thoughts which are unacceptable and the conscious assertion of their very opposite. Like the proverbial old maid who compensates for her unacceptable sexual impulses by expressing intense prudery, the slum patrolman comes to express a defensive facade of confidence and aggression as a means of coping with underlying sentiments of fear and anxiety--elements which would incapaci-tate and immobilize him were they to become conscious. He must convince himself as well as those with whom he deals that he is really not afraid, even in situa-tions where everyone would reasonably be frightened. He must become absolutely certain that he is more than up to whatever interpersonal challenges the beat may provide.

Reaction formation usually involves just the kind of overcompensation and overreaction that was so evident in my own behavior in the street incident. In order to bolster my sense of personal security and adequacy in the role, I began to become hyper-aggressive, even to the point of recklessness in my daily handling of calls on the beat. Danger was nothing to me, a thing to be scorned. The inhabitants of 305 became "just ...." or "jitterbugs"--interactional ciphers, non-persons who really didn't warrant things like fear, concern, or feeling. It is interesting to observe that like the policeman, other practitioners who must regularly confront such trauma as death and suffering often likewise adopt the defense mechanism of reaction formation, consciously asserting the very opposite of their true feelings. The callousness of doctors and nurses who work in emergency rooms forms a good case in point. The horror that wells in a person as he watches the life ebb from another human being--and the inevitable reminder of his own mortality which it generates--must be somehow kept from suffering. Like emergency medical personnel, policemen therefore come to treat even death lightly, to deny its significance just as they deny so many of the other harsh realities of their job. How many times during those months as a policeman, I wonder, did I joke about a particular shooting, stabbing, or killing, casually discuss over a cigarette or coffee a horrible automobile wreck I had just worked?

So, you see, things like fear and anxiety--and sadly, even compassion and feeling for the suffering of others--must be denied by a policeman on a beat like 305 if he is to psychologically survive and function as he must. That is why, I now realize, I couldn't ignore the shouted epithet 'pig' in the street incident, even though I'm certain that I wanted to. I had to save face, to prove to myself even more than to my partner or the street people, that I was every bit as strong as people who wear police uniform are expected by society to be. I dared not allow even a single crack to appear in the dike of reaction formation that I had erected. Nor could the men with whom I worked. Indeed, I realize now how carefully we policed one another in order to preserve this collective defense mechanism. Any show of fear or weakness on the part of another partrolman threatened all of us, and therefore was severely sanctioned. The following example drawn from my personal experience illustrates well the way in which the subculture of inner-city patrolmen effectively utilized ostracism as a means of limiting the display of attitudes and behavior which might undermine our sense of security and adequacy in a threatening environment.

We were just finishing dinner one night when my partner, Al, remarked, "Ya know, Doc. I don't like to ride with that goddamn Hensley. I was out working 305 with him last night while you were off. Well, anyway, I park down on Ashley near the end of the watch to catch up the log... you know, like we always do. Well, the moment I turn on the dome light, Hensley starts shouting, 'For Chrissakes, Al! Cut out that light before somebody takes a shot at us!" "Well," said Al, "I told him that if any .... out there pops a cap at my car, I'll just blow his fucking head off...I also told him that if it's too rough out here for him, maybe he should stay home with the wife and kiddies!" Like Al, I suddenly found myself filling with a feeling of revulsion for Hensley and his ostensible cowardice.

I believe that what often appears to society as gratuitous cruelty by policemen and the intentional escalation of encounters with citizen to the

point of violence actually is to be accounted for in terms of an understandable psychological adaptation to the occupational pressures I have described. While it is true that as policemen we often brutalized people physcially and psychologically in the course of our work, I could never escape the feeling that most of us never really wanted to do or say many of the things we did.

Whatever stereotypes educated, liberal Americans may hold of the typical urban cop as a club-wielding sadist, someone who delights in abusing other people and trampling their rights, I personally encountered few such policemen in 305. Rather, I saw and worked during those months with what I believe was a fairly ordinary group of human beings who were set apart from the rest of society by virture of the fact that they were repeatedly called upon to deal with extraordinarily difficult situations. That they--and I--failed so often and so miserably in these encounters is perhaps more a commentary on human frailty in the face of modern environmental pressures than it is an index of individual pathology. Indeed, the experience of working as a slum patrolman myself has left me with the very strong conviction that the countless "Beat 305's" which exist in modern urban society--the blighted lanscapes of poverty and suffering that stretches from coast to coast in the world's most affluent country--represents structures which brutalize and gradually dehumanise all who enter them, citizens and policeman alike.

A Process for Reducing Occupational Stress

Neal Q. Herrick
The Academy for Contemporary Problems
Columbus, Ohio

Introduction. The process for reducing occupational stress outlined in this paper was developed by Ohio business and labor leaders. It is currently being used in one municipality (Springfield, Ohio) and in a Cleveland factory. The Springfield/AFSCME effort does not, at this point, include the uniformed city employees. It is not unlikely, however, that an interest may develop on the part of the police and fire groups as the effort among the non-uniformed employees progresses. If so, these Springfield organizations would become pioneers in the "quality of work life" field. Theirs would be the first formal employee/management efforts among uniformed municipal employees to improve the quality of work life and of the services provided to the public. It would seem to this writer that the principles of security, equity, individuation and participation are as applicable to uniformed as to non-uniformed employees. Further, the process outlined in this paper is participative and therefore self-adjusting. That is, changes in work methods are developed participatively by the institutions and employees involved and so are directed to the particular problems and circumstances of each situation. Both the principles and the process guard against Procrustean solutions. The process seeks to give people a greater influence over both the quality of their work life and the quality of the work they do. This should be as desirable for police officers as for factory workers.

Summary. Occupational stress exists to the extent that the quality of an organization's work life (i.e., the degree to which workers experience security, equity, individuation and participation) is low. Improvements in the quality of work life are hypothesized to reduce occupational strain (i.e., improve satisfaction, health and behavior) and to have positive economic outcomes. Preliminary findings of the Ohio Quality of Work Project are consistent with this hypothesis. Improvements in the quality of work life should be attempted by participative processes in order to achieve optimum and lasting results. The institutions which must participate are labor and management. In addition, all groups of rank-and-file employees must not only be represented on decision-making bodies but also be personally involved in decisions regarding their immediate jobs and working environment. This paper will comment on these points in the context of describing the background, process, status, research design and preliminary findings of the Quality of Work Project.

1. Background. Particularly since the 1971 balance of trade deficit, there has been an increased interest on the part of the government, employers and organized labor in improving the non-economic aspects of work. This increased interest has been based in large part on the hypothesis that improvements in these aspects of the work situation can result in increased productivity. To date longitudinal studies of the effects of most work change efforts have been sketchy. This is understandable since research goals are not usually a major part of individual company efforts to improve the quality of work. Companies are interested in collecting information to facilitate transferability within the organization, but not in helping their competitors. There is also a reluctance to publish information on programs that fail. The 1973 report of a

special task force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Work in America, was able to gather only thirty-four published accounts of action research on work restructuring—all of which described successful efforts.

Recently, however, foundations and government have begun to sponsor action research efforts with the stipulation that the results be made available to others. Some examples are:

. The National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality joined with Harvard University and others to fund a milestone quality of work demonstration project in a west Tennessee auto parts factory in the summer of 1973. This project involved extensive baseline measurements of the quality of work and its probable outcomes. In addition to the completion of questionnaires, these measurements included medical exams and, for a subsample of employees, lengthy interviews. They also included an application of the writer's system for estimating potential increases in labor productivity.[1] The research was done during the summer of 1973 and remeasurements will be instituted at some time in the future. This project is being administered by the Harvard Project on Technology, Work and Character under the direction of Michael Maccoby. It is of particular significance in this country to be initiated jointly by organized labor and management.

. The National Quality of Work Center, directed by Ted Mills and an affiliate of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, is contributing to the funding of the west Tennessee plant experiment and has arranged for and funded a joint project between a western Pennsylvania coal mine and the United Mine Workers. The latter project is under the guidance of Eric Trist now at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce and formerly Chairman of the Tavistock Institute, London, and Grant Brown of the Pennsylvania State University School of Mines. The National Quality of Work Center is also sponsoring a project involving professional engineers in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

. The Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan, in addition to its affiliation with the National Quality of Work Center, is conducting a number of other action projects. The exact nature of the questionnaires and measurement methodologies involved varies from site to site, but -- in general -- follows the principle that there should be some tracking of the work environment as the cause and of human and economic outcomes as the results. The principle architects of the Institute for Social Research programs are Ed Lawler and Stan Seashore.

. The UCLA Quality of Work Center, under the guidance of Lou Davis, is also involved in a number of action research projects. As with the Institute for Social Research the measurement instruments are usually tailored to the particular situation.

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[1] Herrick, Neal Q., The Quality of Work and Its Outcomes: Estimating Potential Increases in Labor Productivity, Columbus, Ohio: Academy for Contemporary Problems, 1975.

. The Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce is sponsoring an innovative project in Jamestown, New York which started with a city-wide labor/management committee and is now initiating plant-level quality of work life efforts.

. In 1973 the Ohio Governor's Business and Employment Council, chaired by George S. Dively of the Harris Corporation, formed the Ohio Quality of Work (Ohio QWP) under the guidance of the Ohio Quality of Work Committee. This Committee was chaired by Joseph Tomasi, Director, Region 2B, UAW and made up of O. Pendleton Thomas, Chairman and Chief Executive of the B.F. Goodrich Company; Everett Ware Smith, Chairman, Cleveland Trust Company; and Frank King, then President of the Ohio AFL-CIO. The Project is now sponsored by the Ohio Development Center and The Academy of Contemporary Problems. Mr. Tomasi is still Chairman of the Ohio Quality of Work Committee which is now being reconstructed under the new sponsors. The Ohio QWP differs from other current efforts in that it attempts to create enough demonstrations in one limited geographic area (i.e., the State of Ohio) to make an economic and social impact on that area. Also, the project is based on the concerned institutions within the State. Ownership by these institutions (i.e., unions, management, and government) should both give the Project continuity and assure the dissemination of knowledge and techniques beyond the individual demonstration companies. The Ohio QWP is already being considered as a model by several other states, including Massachusetts and North Carolina.

It is indication of the state-of-the-art with regard to the quality of work action research that, to the writer's knowledge, none of the above projects have been underway long enough that followup measurements are available. The closest project may be the west Tennessee auto parts plant. About 18 months have now elapsed since baseline measurements were taken in this effort.

2. Process. [2] The process followed in an Ohio QWP demonstration site is designed to facilitate the involvement of all parties in an effort to increase the extent to which security, equity, individuation and participation are present in people's jobs and in the work environment. The critical first step is the formation of an establishment Quality of Work Life (QWL) Committee. In an organized situation this Committee consists of the chief executive officer of the facility, the union president and other management and union officials selected by them along with representatives from supervision and from the principal groups of non-supervisory employees. these QWL Committees usually evolve while the establishment is considering the possibility of a quality of work life effort. This involves the various groups not only in conduction the effort but in deciding whether or not to

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[2] This process is detailed as part of a written agreement prior to the initiation of the quality of work life effort. In an organized plant, the agreement is signed by labor, management and the Ohio QWP and is ratified by the membership. In a non-union situation, it is signed by management and the Ohio QWP. This description assumes an organized situation, but the basic steps are applicable to a non-union facility.

to undertake one. The process agreed to for implementation by the Committee has three identifiable phases.

a. Phase I – Six Months. The following steps are taken under the guidance of the QWL Committee.

    (1) Questionnaire. Employees, on a voluntary basis, fill out questionnaires approved by the QWL Committee. The questionnaires are provided by and administered by the Ohio QWP. They are completed during working hours in groups of approximately 20-25 employees. Individual responses are held strictly confidential.

    (2) Feedback. Summaries of questionnarie results are presented to employees in groups of 20-25 during working hours. Approximately one and one-half hours is required to fully discuss results. Each discussion is led by a first echelon supervisor and a shop steward with the assistance of a Ohio QWP staff member.

    (3) Report to Quality of Work Committee. The Ohio QWP furnishes a report to the QWL Committee summarizing and commenting on questionnaire results and feedback sessions.

    (4) Productivity Data. Working with personnel from the company and union, Ohio QWP staff make an estimate of potential productivity increases in labor productivity.

    (5) Technical Assistance.
        (a) An Ohio QWP staff member sits with the QWL Committee at its meetings.

        (b) Educational and informational services are available at the request of the QWL Committee.

        Such services include:

        . in-house seminars led by nationally recognized experts in the field of work restructuring.

        . multi-plant seminars where labor/management groups from all Ohio QWP demonstration projects meet to discuss their efforts with work restructuring specialists and to exchange ideas and experiences with each other.

        . visits by Committee members and other employees to organizations where successful experiments have taken place.

        . provision to the Committee of reading material and research servcies by the Ohio QWP information clearinghouse.

      (c)   Either the Ohio QWP staff member who sits with
the QWL Committee or a plant employee serving as
Administrative Assistant to the Committee normally
acts as recording secretary. He writes an account
of the events which take place during the demonstra-
tion period for the use of the QWL Committee and the
Ohio QWP.

b.   Phase II - Two Months.

    (1)   Quality of Work Plan. Upon receiving the questionnarie/
feedback report, the next steps are in the hands of the
QWL Committee. Based on the information provided and on
the educational activities of the first phase, the Committee
develops a quality of work plan authorizing any policy or
structional changes, techniques, delegations, process steps,
etc., it considers appropriate. This plan is ratified by
the membership.

    (2)   Technical Assistance. Educational activities, informa-
tion services and technical assistance continue as
desired by the QWL Committee.

c.   Phase III - Implementation and Remeasurement.

    While, in fact, a number of work restructuring activities
normally begin during Phases I and II, Phase III is the
formal "implementation" period. Educational activities
and assistance continue as requested by the QWL Committee.
Remeasurements occur 18 and 36 months from the date the
questionnaires are initially administered. This begins
a regular program of employee assessment of working condi-
tions. The remeasurements also include some form of feed-
back mechanism.

For the time a quality of work demonstration effort is agreed to, the timetable
is approximately as follows:

PHASE I   PHASE II   PHASE III

Research Feedback Report	QOW Plan	Implementation and Remeasurement	Final Report

0   6   8   21   39   42
Month   Month

First Measurement   Second Measurement   Third Measurement

3. <u>Status of Ohio QWP Activities</u> There are now two demonstration efforts underway, both based on cooperative agreements negotiated between labor and management and ratified by the membership. We plan to initiate eleven additional efforts during the next two and one-half years. The status of the two existing efforts can best be described by the following quarterly reports recently prepared by the respective QWL Committees[3].

    DEMONSTRATION EFFORTS. . .

    Site #1-Northeastern Ohio Manufacturing Establishment. The Committee agreed to change its name to the "Quality of Work Life Committee" (QWLC). It felt that this more accurately reflected the purpose of the program. The QWLC met with departmental groups of all factory and office people to present the results of the attitude survey administered at the opening of the project and to ask the people what they felt the QWLC should be doing to improve the work life of the facility. These meetings were important in that they represented the first step toward meeting one of the prime concerns of the people: their inability to participate in the grass root decision making process. Primarily as a result of these meetings, the QWLC has originated the following:

    General Changes. . .

- Each factory and office department was asked to elect a QWLC coordinator who, together with the supervisor of that department, would review the "qwl" suggestions that might arise within the department.

- The QWLC devised a form by which an individual employee is informed of the discussion and action taken either in the department or by the QWLC in response to individual suggestions. This form is intended merely as a written confirmation of dialogue that should take place by a member of the QWLC or the departmental coordinator with the individual suggestor.

- The QWLC agreed to employ a half-time staff assistant to perform a number of coordinating and recording functions. The staff assistant works for the QWLC and is paid in equal parts by the company, the union, and the Ohio Quality of Work Project.

    Specific Projects. . .

- A subcommittee has worked out a new employee orientation process under which the personnel department, supervision and the union play a meaningful and cooperative role in more completely and cooperatively introducing new people to the workplace.

3/ Taken from Ohio Quality of Work Project Newsletter #5, Winter 1974-75.

Members of the Quality of Work Committee have initiated a program to deal with high absenteeism among loaders in the refuse collection division. Under provisions of the Collective Bargaining Agreement, the City provides any interested loaders with training on the operation and driving of packer truckers. After training, each three-man crew (one drive and two loaders) is allowed to operate as an autonomous group in deciding when each member drives the truck. This allows all members of the crew a chance for periodic relief from inclement weather. It also gives them a voice in a basic decision affecting their work environment. The results are not yet available, but there are indications of improved attitudes and reduced absenteeism.

4. <u>Research Design</u>. Our immediate objective is to experiment with and disseminate processes and techniques for improving the quality of work life to Ohio businesses and other work organizations. Our long range (i.e., 3-7 years) aim is to answer more definitively than has been done in the past questions regarding the relationship of the quality of work life to human and economic outcomes. The nature of the Ohio QWP (i.e., it involves action rather than survey research and contemplates a finite number of experiments to be evaluated by uniform methodologies) lends itself to attaining this long-range aim.

   a. <u>Concept</u>. The concept behind the use of the dimensions and subdimensions described below is that the extent to which an individual sees his job and work environment as possessing them impacts on his satisfaction, health and behavior.[4]

   b. <u>Quality of Work Dimensions</u>. The dimensions and subdimensions measured are briefly described below.

      (1) <u>Security</u>

          <u>Security from Loss of Employment</u> - feeling free from fear and anxiety about losing one's job.

          <u>Security from Physical Harm</u> - perceiving one's work environment as safe and healthy.

          <u>Security from Want</u> - feeling that one has enough income, insurance and other fringe benefits to be able to live adequately.

      (2) <u>Equity</u>

          <u>Equity in Compensation</u> - believing that one is paid fairly for one's contribution to the product and in relation to what other people in the company and in other companies are paid.

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[4] This concept is detailed in "Humanizing Work: A Priority Goal of the 1970's", Neal Herrick and Michael Maccoby, <u>Worker Alienation, 1972</u>, Hearings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate.

> Equity in Promotions - Feeling that promotions are
> given fairly based on a person's qualifications for
> the job.
>
> Equity in Work Standards - feeling that the things
> one is asked to do on the job are fair compared to
> what other people are expected to do.
>
> Lack of Categorical Discrimination - believing that
> people in the organization are treated fairly and
> have the same opportunities regardless of their
> race, sex, or age.

(3) Individuation

> Variety - perceiving one's job as providing a chance
> to do different things and work with different people.
>
> Growth and Learning - one's feeling that doing one's
> job provides a chance to use one's capabilities,
> learn new things and develop one's skills.
>
> Autonomy - believing that one has personal independence
> and control over the performance of one's job.
>
> Feedback - the opportunity to self-assess how well
> one performs on the job.

(4) Participation - feeling that the work group to which
one belongs has decision-making control over things
that affect it.

c. Specifiers. The research considers two character dimensions
which might affect the outcomes of the quality of work for
the individual: authoritarianism and life attraction.
Authoritarianism is measured by standard F-scale questions.
The life attraction (i.e., biophillia/necrophilia) concept
was developed by Eric Fromm and is described in the Heart
of Man, Harper & Rowe, 1964. The questions for this scale
were contributed by Fromm's colleague, Michael Maccoby.
The importance of measuring attitudes does not lie solely
in identifying the attitudes which are most receptive to
and most benefited by different work structures. The
longitudinal nature of the Ohio demonstration efforts
should also allow them to shed light on the question of what,
if any, changes in these attitudes might occur over the
long term in response to changes in work structures.

d. Outcome Measures.[5/]   In order to meet our long-range research
aim, we need to speculate on possible human outcomes of quality

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[5/] In addition to the human outcomes discussed here, economic outcomes
are measured through the use of personnel and accounting records.

of work improvements. Having done this, we then devised a set
of questions to measure each possible outcome. In defining the
gamut of these possible outcomes, we need to be inclusive rather
than exclusive. We did not want to decide beforehand that there
is no relationship between the quality of work and any conceivable
outcome. This would preclude our ever settling the question of
whether such a relationship exists. The dimensions and sub-
dimensions of the outcomes measured by the questionnaire are
described below.

(1) Satisfaction

    With the job - feeling that one's satisfied with the
    job and the kind of work one does.

    With the company - feeling that the company is fair
    and credible and is a good place to work.

    With the union - feeling that the union is fair, helpful
    and effective and being active in union affairs.

(2) Health

    Physical - reporting few instances of symptoms which
    might be psychosomatic.

    Mental - reporting high life satisfaction and self-
    esteem and little anger.

(3) Behavior

    Off-the-Job Activeness - reporting high levels of
    family, community and political activity.

5. Preliminary Results. Since the two demonstration efforts have been underway
for only 9 and 14 months respectively, it is unlikely that any substantial
changes in the quality of work life have been accomplished. In addition,
our remeasurements are not scheduled until 18 months after the baseline
data collection. However, it might be appropriate to conclude this paper
with a commentary on the baseline data and the change process.

    a. Baseline Data. One-time survey data is, of course, very limited in
    its application. It cannot prove causal relationships. However, it
    can suggest avenues of inquiry to be explored when longitudinal data
    becomes available. Table I shows the associations between each of
    the quality of work life dimensions and each of the possible outcomes
    using aggregated data from the two Ohio demonstration organizations.
    For a number of reasons, we should be extremely careful about drawing
    conclusions from this table.

    . This is survey data. One-time survey can only suggest lines of
    inquiry. It cannot demonstrate causal relationships.

TABLE I. PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN QUALITY OF WORK LIFE DIMENSIONS AND
SUBDIMENSIONS (INDICATORS OF STRESS) AND THEIR HYPOTHESIZED OUTCOMES (INDICATORS OF STRAIN)

Quality of Work Life Dimensions

	Job Satisfaction	Company Satisfaction	Union Satisfaction	Physical Health	Life Satisfaction	Self Esteem	Absence of Anger	Off-the-job Activeness	Opinion of Group's Productivity
Security	.43	.54	.22	.22	.32	.21	.21		11*
From loss of employment	.41	.37	.28	.10*	.22	.17	.17		
From physical harm	.25	.41		.23	.12		.17		.13*
From want	.26	.39	.17	.12	.37	.19*	.13*		.14*
Equity	.54	.65	.26	.19	.29				.24
In compensation	.34	.42	.14	.12	.28				
In promotions	.37	.54	.27	.12*	.23		.13*		.21
In work standards	.53	.48	.15	.13	.17				
Lack of discrimination	.28	.50	.14*	.17	.15*				.24
Individuation	.41	.34	.17	.12*	.21	.20	.22	.11	.27
Variety	.21	.16	.15	.10*		.15*	.23	.11*	.20
Growth and learning	.38	.31	.24	.10*	.18	.19	.12*	.13	.22
Autonomy	.26	.25			.20		.15*		-.12
Participation	.14	.28						.17	.16

*Asterisked correlations are significant at the .05 but not at the .01 level of probability. All others are significant at or beyond the .01 level. The life satisfaction, self-esteem and anger scales were added after the first demonstration effort began and so have an N of only about 314. The highest dimension correlations for each outcome are underlined.

• <u>It is aggregated data.</u> Results have not yet been tested using the specifying or demographic variables. Relationships which are now distorted or masked should be clearer once this has been accomplished.

• <u>Perhaps most important, this table reflects associations but not inter-associations.</u> The essence of the Ohio QWP's hypothesis regarding the impact of the work environment is that the dimensions of the quality of work life act in concert, that different combinations of the dimensions may have radically different outcomes. For example, high security and equity combination with low individuation and participation may have human and economic results which are quite different from those produced by low security and equity combined with high individuation and participation. In order to test this hypothesis, a much larger number of respondents is required than the 551 who completed questionnaires in the first two demonstration efforts.

Despite these serious qualifications, it is at least suggestive that Table I does reflect generally positive associations:

• Security is the dimension most associated with physical health, life satisfaction and self-esteem. It has significant associations with all outcomes except off-the-job activeness.

• Equity has the highest associations of any dimension with job, company and union satisfaction and is outdone only by security in its correlations with physical health. It is interesting that workers' perceptions of "fairness" have almost as great an association with pains, cramps, stiffness, aching, swelling, fatigue, colds, etc., as do their opinions of the work environment in terms of hazards, temperature, noise, fumes, chemicals, etc.

• Individuation leads the four dimensions in its association with union satisfaction. In addition, it has significant associations with all outcomes. The negative association of autonomy with the worker's opinion of his group's productivity is worthy of note.

• Participation associates significantly with job satisfaction, company satisfaction, off-the-job activeness and the worker's opinion of his groups productivity. This last association may underline the need for dove-tailing autonomy with participation in the workplace. Under traditional structures, it may be extremely difficult for them to co-exist in the same work situation.

• Job satisfaction, company satisfaction, physical health, life satisfaction and self-esteem all correlate most highly with security. Union satisfaction is most closely associated with equity. Absence of anger and the worker's opinion of his

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group's productivity are most highly correlated with individuation. As might be expected, off-the-job activeness is most closely associated with participation.

. Job and company satisfaction associate significantly with all dimensions and subdimensions. This emphasizes the direct advantage to the company of improving all aspects of the quality of work. Union satisfaction seems to follow company satisfaction, but the correlations are less marked and, for autonomy and participation, disappear.[6] Physical health, aside from its obvious relationship to a safe and healthful workplace, has significant associations with variety, growth and learning and with all the subdimension's of security and equity. Life satisfaction is significantly and positively associated with all the subdimensions of work quality except participation.

. Self-esteem has its highest associations with security from want and security from loss of employment. It also correlates significantly with variety and with the opportunity for growth and learning. Absence of anger is significantly associated with all aspects of security and individuation. While off-the-job activeness has its great association with participation, it also correlates significantly with variety and with the opportunity for growth and learning. Workers' opinions of their groups' productivity correlates significantly and positively with all subdimensions except security from loss of employment, equity in compensation and autonomy.

. The opportunity for growth and learning is the only subdimension which is significantly associated with all nine outcomes.

b. Structure. Experience suggests that certain points are of crucial importance in any labor/management quality of work life effort. At present, we are not sponsoring any efforts in unorganized facilities and so can only speak to situations where the employees are represented. These subjective impressions are not intended to be comprehensive and it is recognized that, in different facilities with different social and technological characteristics, our impressions might have been quite different. Assume a facility, however, where persons of good will representing labor and management have recognized their mutual self-interest in improving the quality of work life in the organization and have joined together to strive toward the twin goals of increased worker well-being and productivity. The parties understand the need for maintaining the adversary relationship, realize the inherent difficulties in a schizoid (now adversary/now cooperative)

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[6] It should be noted that the union satisfaction scale used in this analysis includes questions regarding the extent to which the worker is involved in union activities. Subsequent analyses will explore the possibility that this "union activeness" may bear an inverse relationship to the worker's perception of the quality of work life and thus mask the full effect of the quality of work on the present union satisfaction scale.

arrangement, are excited by the quality of work effort in both self interest and visionary terms and have committed themselves to it. Now what are some of the basic difficulties which lie ahead - flowing out of our particular culture and out of human nature in general? Here are only two of these difficulties: (1) willingness to open Pandora's box and (2) finding the means of moving to "shop-floor" style participation utilizing the existing system of representative participation.

(1) Pandora's Box. Pandora's Box, in this case, is filled with captive employee expectations. When these expectations are released, the institutions involved must either make genuine efforts to meet them or deal with active employee resentment and frustration. When labor and management enter into a cooperative agreement aimed at improving the quality of work life and when this agreement is submitted to the membership for ratification, they are glancing in the direction of Pandora's box. When they meet as a Quality of Work Life Committee, invite rank-and-file employees to attend and take rank-and-filers with them to conferences and on visits to other plants, they are moving hesitantly toward it. When they administer an employee questionnaire, they have their hands on the lid. But the box is not open until first-line supervisors and shop stewards have fed back the results of the questionnaire and discussed them at length with each work group in the facility. At this point, the institutions must either meet the newly-freed expectations or deal with them in other ways. The feedback discussions are the sticking-point and many reasons (e.g., loss of production time, delicate economic or internal situations, etc.) can be mustered not to hold them. Unless they proceed with full discussions of the questionnaire results, however, the institutions involved have voluntarily taken a two strike count before going to bat.

(2) Shop Floor Participation. This point is closely related to the first. It is the problem of dealing with cause instead of symptom, of failing to push the participation process to the shop floor—in sum—of failing to provide the employees with the tool they need to improve their work life. This tool is participation.

Shop floor participation is different in nature from the other dimensions of the quality of work life. It is both an end and a means to an end. It is an end because participative structures are intertwined with the basic values of cooperation and activeness. It is a means because it can create conditions of security, equity and individuation which rest solidly on the will and ownership of the employees.

But shop floor participation is not increased one iota by the substitution of decisions made by a Quality of Work

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Life Committee for decisions previously made unilaterally by management. It should not be the business of the QWL Committee to resolve problems and complaints. The business of the Committee should be to deal with the causes of these problems and complaints. This can be done by (1) decentralizing the authority to make substantial decisions to the lowest work unit head and (2) experimenting with structures which allow the unit head to share the knowledge and understanding which make it feasible for him to exercise this authority and then—to share the actual authority itself. This prospect is frightening to the institutions involved. But, if we are to substantially improve security, equity and individuation, we must take that admittedly difficult leap from the deliberations of a Quality of Work Life Committee to group involvement in arranging work methods, setting production quotas, and otherwise affecting the decisions which are most effectively made on the "shop floor."

6. Conclusion. The Ohio Quality of Work Project is an attempt to develop and institutionalize processes for reducing occupational stress. Its effectiveness depends on its joint ownership by industry and organized labor. Processes for reducing occupational stress can have continuity and impact only if they are developed by and become an integral part of these institutions. The Ohio Quality of Work Project, within this context, also seeks to respond to the need for "Future research"..(to).."evaluate attempts to reduce job stress in terms of actual levels of stress reduction achieved and impact on physical and mental health over an extended period of time."[7] These are our objectives: to facilitate the development and dissemination of processes for change and to evaluate the impact of this change on human and economic outcomes.

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[7] Margolis, B.L., Kroes, W.H. and Quinn, R.P., "Job Stress: An Unlisted Occupational Hazard", Journal of Occupational Medicine, XVI, No. 10 Oct., 1974).

Dealing with Police Stress*

Mark H. Furstenberg
Director of Personnel
Boston Police Department

In March, 1973, Patrolman Joseph Ravino, 45 years old with 18 years of service, went on his day off to Police Headquarters to speak to the new Director of Planning and Research. For ten years earlier in his career, Ravino had been an active alcoholic. After five of them, he lost his family and home, and drifted for five more as a fully matured alcoholic, assigned to a police district then reserved for alcoholics, permitted by the Department to use sick leave at will, to drink while working, rarely challenged by his supervisors.

In 1969, Ravino came under the influence of another patrolman who had himself been an alcoholic for 12 years, but had stopped drinking. Ravino converted to Alcoholics Anonymous, and, after defeating the habit, became, like many AA's, a crusader.

First, he began to take a special interest in drunk citizens who, as a police officer, he encountered in the Jamaica Plain area of Boston where he worked. Then people who had heard about him began to call for help, and he was invited to join the Jamaica Plain Advisory Council on Alcoholism. But, Ravino wanted to do something about the problems of alcoholism inside the Boston Police Department. It seemed to him that organizations in Boston -- Corporations, Hospitals, State Agencies -- had alcohol treatment programs for the employees. Why not the Boston Police Department?

So he began to write a program.

Ravino had heard that the new Planning and Research Division might be receptive to his idea. It was then compiling recommendations for improvement in the Department; and was studing problems, raising issues, and discussing them with officers at many levels. Ravino went to Headquarters to present his idea. It was not well developed and lacked details, but its appeal was knowledgeable and powerful. Even if there weren't 700 alcoholics in the Department as Ravino said, there were many. Anyway, he was presenting the dimensions of only one behavioral problem, and it was obvious that others existed in the Department. There were reports about habitual excessive use of force and stories of suicides; and besides those which one hears in every police department, there seem to be a magnitude of problems which did not exist in other, younger departments. So, because of Ravino's initiative, development of a

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*Note: This paper deals not with the substantive issues of job stress, but with the process. It is the story of an effort to develop a stress treatment program in a police department. It cannot be called a model since the program was developed under highly adversarial conditions which do not exist in most police departments; but even though some of the difficulties encountered in Boston may not be faced elsewhere, our story does nonetheless offer some guidance to others.

counselling program became one of the Police Commissioner's eighteen priorities for the first two years of his administration.

The Boston Police Department was not one accustomed to change. The average age of its sworn personnel was 45, the average age of its command staff 56. There was an old-fashioned quality about the Department which reminded visitors of policing in the 1930's, district personnel deeply immersed in their neighborhoods, an open quality uncompromised by the fear of attack which seized other departments during the Sixties, a firm belief that the purpose of the police department was service. Indeed, the Boston Police Department, like most other Eastern departments, had been relatively untouched by the era of "professionalization" which had dominated the field since the Thirties; and there was little to suggest that during the previous four decades many major departments of the country had concentrated on developing an efficiently managed organization, and had made great progress.

In Boston, the vehicle fleet had broken down, and there were not enough cars to go around. Radio communications could not be heard in "dead spots" around the city. There was no property control system, no preventive vehicle maintenance, and no manpower allocation system. The criminal records system of the Department had collapsed; people were buried in paperwork that was out of control; and the Department had a brand new IBM computer, but no use for it.

None of this distinguished the Boston Police Department from departments in some of the other older cities of the country. Some of Boston's problems were perhaps more aggravated; but the Department had managed to retain a degree of responsiveness to the public through the strongly identified neighborhood bases of the city and its firm political direction. But although the Department was responsive to the citizenry, it had become an organization utterly unresponsive to its own personnel.

There really were two Boston Police Departments. One was composed of police districts, presided over by captains more or less autonomously, and populated by patrolmen, the Hyde Park Police Department, Roxbury Police Department, South Boston Police Department, Dorchester Police Department, and so on. These little "departments" did police work, exercising police powers, delivering services to people who called for assistance whether they call the central emergency number or directly to their neighborhood station. Police officers thought of their district as the Boston Police Department; only very rarely were they reminded that there was another department downtown.

That other Boston Police Department. It was composed of managers who worked at Headquarters and who made decisions about budgets, contracts, purchases, and transfers. This was the bureaucracy, the corporate management, exercising significant organizational power, composed of people who had once been police officers, but all of whom had graduated from police work. Many of the most significant of those people were never seen and could not be recognized by the police officers serving in the "other department".

Over the years, these two departments had grown apart. Police who worked at the districts feared Headquarters, and tried to avoid going there. It was another world. The command staff at Headquarters, on the other hand, were contempuous of patrol officers; and, perhaps remembering the way in which they were treated, mistreated patrolmen, transferring them without warning or justification, discipling without due process, requiring overtime work without

compensation, and giving no status, little equipment, no support, and no organizational power.

For that reason and others, the Boston Police Patrolman's Association, founded in 1966 and given recognition in 1967, rose quickly to a position of great power. By 1972 it had become a virtual partner in organizational management; and in that year, the year Robert di Grazia became Police Commissioner, it elected its third leadership and its most radical. The BPPA began attacking di Grazia even before he arrived in the City; and by March 1973, the Commissioner and the union were adversaries on most organizational matters.

In November, Ravino was detailed to the Planning and Research Division to devote full time to the project's development. He began to learn as much as possible about treatment efforts in other police departments, to interview people involved in similar projects in other organizations, and to speak with many people in the Department, particularly patrolmen, to collect ideas and build support. But, inexperienced in research and frustrated by his wish to begin helping other police officers, Ravino made little progress.

In January, 1974, the Department assigned to work with him two other patrolmen, one of whom brought to the development effort research capacities badly needed. Whereas Ravino was action-oriented, the new patrolman was reflective; whereas he was interested solely in alcoholism, the new officer had gone through a searing personal experience which had acquainted him with broader emotional problems.

By March the project was developed. It was to be call the Stress Project, so named because, in the judgement of its authors, the work "stress" evoked tough, masculine feelings. Police officers are not entitled to have emotional problems, but it could be permissible for them to feel stress. It was based on the peer-counselling method, in part because that was the model being used for other purposes in other police departments, and partly because in the aggravated labor-management environment of the Boston Police Department, it seemed to be the only possible way to conduct a program like this one. To be even more reassuring, the project would be located outside the police department physically and organizationally, and its counsellors would be given protections against Department inquiry or interference.

Early in the year efforts were begun to prepare the Department for the program. The first of those efforts was intended to meet the suspicions of the command staff, of whom suspected that a counselling program would erode their authority to discipline patrolmen. By offering an alternative to discipline, the Stress Program appeared to be an attack on a prerogative of command which many members of the command staff regarded as essential to control. Further, in proposing a Stress Program the Commissioner appeared to be suggesting that the Department did have a large number of people with behavioral problems; and that was insulting. Privately many members of the command staff acknowleged that this was true, but most commanders felt that the publicity attached to a Stress Program would undermine public confidence in the Department. All police departments, they said, have people with problems, but they manage quietly to "take care" of people, isolating them where they will be of no harm to the Department.

To meet the resistance of the command staff, there were several meetings in which the proposed project was discussed.

The Department was attempting to improve its services, and to do so required finding more officers who could be on the streets answering calls for service. But the new administration had found that because of age, partial physical disability (heart, for example), and other kinds of disabilities including emotional ones, as much as 30 percent of the Department was not able to perform police services. Whatever rehabilitation efforts could be devised had to be tried. The Department could not afford to ignore treatable emotional problems. The Stress Program was offered as an alternative to discipilining people command officers were reluctant to discipline. It would give commanders some recourse when an officer was drunk or when a wife called to complain about the behavior of her patrolman-husband.

The second effort was directed at the Boston Police Patrolman's Association. The project's authors who were themselves patrolmen were so convinced of the righteousness of their cause that it seemed inevitable to them that the union would support the Stress Program. They began early in the year to meet with a committee of the Association to discuss their intentions. The BPPA's representative kept the project developing constantly off-balance. In one meeting, they argued that a manual of procedures was required; so it was developed. Then in the next meeting, called to discuss the draft manual, they denied having received it. In a third they pleaded for time to confer with their attorney. At a fourth, they said that their attorney had been too busy. And so it went with every issue.

Gradually it became clearer to Ravino and his colleagues that the people with whom they were meeting had no authority in the union. Their role was limited to discussing matters with management, and carrying management's requests back to the Chairman and Vice Chairman who alone could make decisions. Ravino met with the Chairman privately, but could learn little about the union's views or intentions. Finally, the BPPA notified the Department that since it was the sole representative of the Department's patrolmen, it considered inappropriate these discussions about a Stress Program conducted between the Patrolman's Union and "management's patrolmen," Therefore, in the future it would refuse to meet with any patrolmen on any issues.

Frustrated and angry, the Project's authors decided to move audaciously to demonstrate the usefulness of a Stress Program. A patrolman who had learned of the impending project was requesting help. He was in a desperate situation. A compulsive gambler with an alcoholic wife, he had gotten so deeply into debt that he had stolen the paycheck of a fellow patrolman, and had cashed it. The Department was proposing to suspend him for six months, depriving him of a livelihood. He was depressed, and without hope. The union would, of course, represent him in his Department hearing, but his pre-hearing meetings with the BPPA's counsel were not reassuring. He was being advised to accept the six-month suspension.

The Stress Program intervened. Arrangements were made for him to be counselled and for his wife to begin Alcoholics Anonymous. The Stress staff met frequently with the patrolman, negotiating an arrangement acceptable to him; and trying to persuade the Department to accept that arrangement. They prepared his case, and appeared at the hearing on his behalf. They were successful in persuading the Department that a rehabilitation effort was in the interest of the patrolman and the Department. Feeling triumphant, the staff believed that the BPPA would now understand the virtures of a Stress Program; but in fact their success deepened the union's suspicions.

Throughout the spring the project staff had been trying in one other way to win support for the project. The Department's regular in-service training was being held each morning, and nearly every morning patrol developing the Stress Program appeared to talk about their plans. Their appeal was direct and emotional. Kavino first spoke about his own experience with alcohol, complaining that when he was sick, the Department ignored his problem. He discussed reasons for police denial of emotional problems, the need to feel "strong" and therefore be unaffected by stress. Then one of the other patrolmen explained their plans, and stopped. At each class there were a few vocal supporters, one or two opponents, while most listened silently.

By summer all the development which, under the circumstances, could be accomplished before beginning a program had been completed. There seemed to be no reason to delay implimentation of the program. The project staff was created, and the Commissioner signed on July 1 an order creating the program.

The Program

The Stress office is located half a mile from Police Headquarters in a private building overlooking the Boston Common in the center of downtown. There are three counsellors, one of whom is a controversial, old-time alcoholic patrolman counsellor in the Department who, angry and suspicious, opposed development of the program, tried to sabotage it, and joined it under duress. Also working with the program is a patrolman who serves as the Department's hospital liaison and informally as a retirement counsellor to patrolmen.

Because the program is not institutionalized, referral is unsystematic, generally made by patrolmen under the programs's care, occasionally by wives who have heard about its services, by a few commanding officers who see virtures in the project, and, on two occasions, by a high union official who publically continues to oppose the program. Upon notification, one or more of the counsellors visits the officer to make an assessment. If he has been referred, the counsellor tries to learn if he believes he had a problem, and wants assistance. They give assurances of confidentiality, and talk about themselves and their difficulties.

If the officer is then willing to consider help, one of the counsellors visits his home to interview the family and assess the home life situation. If the patrolman's problem appears to have family roots or family consequences, as it nearly always does, the counsellor attempts to make arrangements for marriage or family counselling. If there are problems with drugs or finances, he begins arranging assistance on these. The counsellors are assisted informally by a small network of professions who are available to discuss cases, diagnose, and, to a limited degree, treat. They include an attorney, a psychologist, physician, and even a speech therapist.

To date the project has had contact with 91 alcoholics including 12 from police departments other than Boston. Most of them were referred by colleagues, wives, or themselves; and nine were sent to the program in disciplinary actions. Thirty-four of their wives have also sought assistance from the program on marital problems. In addition, the project has seen nine couples whose problems are not related to alcohol, one psychotic who eventually left the Department, and three officers depressed by deaths, two police officers who killed people and are suffering as a result. Three officers have been referred by the Department's Internal Affairs Division, two for threatening their families, and one for nonpayment of bills.

The typical officer under the care of the program is 47 years old, and has been in the Department 18 years. He is an active alcoholic who has been a problem drinker for 10 years, is a chronic abuser of sick leave, a lonely man with severe family and financial problems. He is well known in the Department to be alcoholic, has served in most police districts, and eventually has found a district in which people will not bother him. He comes to the attention of the Stress Program because one day his captain orders him there, because a colleague takes him there, or his wife, hearing about the Stress Program, calls it to ask for help.

If he agrees to try to let the program help him, the officer is sent for 12 days to one of the detoxification hospitals in the Boston area where he is visited by his counsellor each day. At the same time the counsellor begins visiting the officer's family. When detoxed, the officer returns to work and family, but is expected to attend AA meetings each night. He is called at least once every three days by his counsellor, and is seen by him at AA meetings.

Although alcoholism has been the focus of the treatment program to date, it has not been the only activity of the Stress Program. The staff is continued proselyting, speaking at in-service training.

Indeed, a good deal of the staff's work is intended to legitimize stress. They constantly say to police officers, "It is reasonable and not unmanly to feel; it is important for people to acknowledge their emotions. Failure to do so is dangerous to their health, family and general personal "welfare." The staff feel that their appeal has some value, and that as a result of it, police officers do come to talk to them and are able to speak about their feelings.

The staff have also developed a program for recruits and their spouses or fiances. They speak bluntly about the changes which occur in people who become police officers and things which cause them—marital strain, neighbor hostility, requests for favors, opportunities for graft and sex.

Some of the other activities undertaken by the program have been voluntary heart/blood pressure/cholesterol examinations, conducted outside the Department, a voluntary weight-reduction program in which 30 officers enrolled, a series of television, radio, and film appeals intended largely to increase public understanding of police stress, and dissemination activities including a conference held to encourage development of similar programs in other police departments, sponsored by the Massachusetts Chief's Association, and attended by 82 chiefs of police.

Perhaps the most important of the program's activities to date was a counsellor training class in which 20 patrol officers met weekly for 15 weeks. It was a program designed by the Department and the Boston University Counsellor Education Department. In the course, the students studied a variety of helping skills including non-verbal behavior, verbal behavior, establishing helping relationships, and so on. Didactic presentations, role-playing, video taping, "reaction papers," and stimulus films were all used to communicate and develop the skills; and throughout the particular problems of police officers were emphasized, including alcoholism and addiction, danger and fear, humiliation and anger, reactions to crisis and stress. All were dealt with from the perspectives of how the officer deals with the situation of himself and how he helps others while he himself is feeling stress.

The course was experimental, but because it was the first such course, the Department decided to treat it as a pilot, rather than an experiment, to see if such a course would be received enthusiastically by its students and whether they would perceive it as of value to them. The students were tested prior to the course and at the end of it; and did seem to respond to peer problems more openly and effectively after the course than they had at the beginning. A few of them demonstrated genuine promise as counsellors and most of them believe that the course has changed them as police officers.

As a result of the project, Boston University and the Department are preparing a new project design in which police officers would be trained under experimental conditions, and would be used by the Department in a variety of counselling roles—as case finders, peer counsellors both within the context of the Stress Program and in the context of patrol work in the districts, and teachers. In addition, there would be rigourous evaluation of the application of counselling skills to police work itself.

Assessment

It has been only a year since the Stress Program began, so assessing its activities is quite premature. But, looking back over the program's first year is worthwhile in two respects: First, although assessment may be premature, some issues have emerged clearly in the program, and are worthy of discussion; and second, the process of program development itself should be examined.

The achievements of the Stress Program are genuine. Police officers have been helped by its services, and are known in the Department to have benefitted from them. Fear of the program, inspired by the Patrolman's Association which believed that it would be a disguised effort to force out of the Department patrolmen with personal problems, has diminished. Some administrators are using the program, unconcerned that their acknowledgement of troubled police officers may reflect on their own abilities. There are even some signs that the program is beginning to be institutionalized by support from traditional command staff members.

It has made progress in other respects as well. Stress and its consequences are perceptibly more widely discussed in the Boston Police Department than was the case a year ago. Publicity given the program, once so fearsome to people in the Department, is now routine. In part, the diminuation of fear is due to the favorable attention given the program by police departments elsewhere in Massachusetts. It has been very difficult to regard the program as damaging to the Boston Police Department when departments elsewhere in the state have been speaking so highly of Boston's efforts and emulating them, often with our assistance.

There are other, even less tangible results. The existence of the Stress Program has effected the disciplinary processes of the Department, occasionally becoming a resource used by the Commissioner, and even more often used by others in the Department to dispose of matters before they become formal disciplinary issues.

But, if the program's achievements are real, a year after its beginning, the program's weaknesses are even more apparent. The first is that this effort which was supposed to have dealt with all sorts of police officers problems,

is an alcohol treatment project, dealing with family, financial, and other problems only incidentally to alcohol, and rarely getting involved with problems unrelated to alcohol.

It is true that the staff have made limited efforts to attract to the program people with problems other than alcoholism. But they have failed to do so. The alcohol orientation is a result of several factors. First, alcohol is genuinely a major problem of the Department. Because of the age of the Department perhaps, because of the culture of the City perhaps, or perhaps because drinking is an outcome of police job stress, alcoholism is probably the single biggest behavioral problem of the Department. So it is natural that it should have begun quickly to dominate the Stress Program.

A second reason for the alcohol orientation is that of all the problems police officers appear to suffer--marital conflict, psychosis, and suicide-- including those unique to the police field--excessive use of force and reckless driving--alcoholism may be the least threatening and the easiest to acknowledge. Alcoholism is recognized by everyone to be a disease, even a tolerable and familiar one, whereas those other problems seem so difficult and frightening.

But the third reason for the program's alcohol orientation is the most disturbing: that is the orientation of the counsellors. In spite of their efforts to see human problems as broader than those caused by alcoholism, the counsellors, all of whom are reformed alcoholics, seem to have been unable thus far to do so. Their failure has confined the program, and has, on occasion, led them to misdiagnose and mistreat officers.

So, in spite of original intentions and objectives, the Stress Program is, so far, an alcoholic treatment program, and apparently a successful one.

A second major failure of the program is adminstrative. Thus far, the program is entirely informal and personal. Two of the three counsellors work as a team on every matter, and the third works only alone. Case records are practically non-existent, records of time are poor, liaison with professional back-up is weak and casual, and follow-up informal and referral is unsystematic. In the fact of this, the Department is relatively powerless to assist. For although the Department can suggest, urge, and cajole, it has little power to compel. In creating the program, the Department relinquished formal control over it.

But assessment of the program thus far, as I have suggested is unfair, since it is new and developing. It is important, however, to make some assessment of the way in which this program was created.

Stress research and treatment are quickly becoming in vogue in the police field. Two Federal government agencies are involved in research, and one private agency has given a large grant for a research-action program. It seems all but certain that during the next five years there will be stress treatment projects in most major police departments. And if the brief history of efforts to innovate in the police field offers any guide to the future, the projects will be created without much knowledge about what works and what doesn't.

Although the Boston program offers little guidance on this question, it does suggest that innovation under the conditions of adversity is very difficult and risky. The Department's administration and the patrolmen developing the

Stress Program devoted a great deal of time over a seven month period to winning the support of the Patrolman's Association. Ultimately, they failed to do so, although it is conceivable that their efforts to do so persuaded the Association not to oppose the program more actively than it did.

In any case, the project development process was based on a conviction that to have the union's support would have been immensely preferable to its opposition; and there is no reason to doubt this. Indeed, the importance of police unions in this field led the Police Foundation to fund a large project in which the International Conference of Police Association will conduct research on job stress, and ultimately establish treatment programs perhaps within individual police unions.

A second lesson of the project development effort is that patrolman innovation is difficult, risky, and on occasion, productive. Patrolman participation in change has been a theme of Robert di Grazia's administration in Boston. Patrolmen have been surveyed on equipment; they formed a majority on a task force created to rewrite the Department's rules and regulations; they staff the Planning and Research Division of the Department; they are called together in ad hoc groups for consideration of specific issues.

The Boston Police Patrolman's Association has opposed all of these patrolman involment efforts as subversive of its power; but on most occasions, its opposition has been futile. It was so in the case of the Stress Program. For the larger audience of patrol officers in the Department, participation in organizational change has become important, and even expected. It has spread throughout the Department as a way of making change, and even of doing routine business. For example, patrolmen serve on the ad hoc committee formed to review each use of a firearm.

To a Department like Boston, unaccustomed to innovation, the involvement of large numbers of personnel in making changes probably has made change smoother and easier. To a department like Boston's, non-bureaucratic and decentralized, it probably has been essential to involve large numbers of people in making change, since all significant changes can so easily be sabotaged. Indeed, on those few occasions in which the Department has attempted to make major changes without involvement, there have been clear failures.

Finally, the process of innovation in which Boston engaged does offer some guidance to other police departments which will consider establishing stress treatment programs during the next several years. Although the labor-management war fare of Boston is unique in the nation, job stress in policing is going to be a threatening matter everywhere and treatment programs are likely to be opposed. Changing the field reporting system of a police department or the manner in which man-power are allocated are complex and frequently difficult. But, they are changed without much emotional content.

Job Stress goes to the heart of police self-image. Merely to discuss it, much less creating programs to treat it, is to touch the emotions of police officers in very complex ways. It will require great understanding and sensitivity to create stress treatment without feeling "weak" and "unmanly." That Boston was able to do this is perhaps the most significant test of its process of innovation.

Job Stress in Law Enforcement:
A Treatment and Prevention Program *

Michael D. Roberts
Director of Psychological Services
San Jose Police Department

The Psychological Services Unit of the San Jose Police Department began in 1971 (Roberts, 1972). The original goal of the program was to: psychologically screen entry-level recruits; develop and implement a field training and evaluation program for new officers; and to provide a free, voluntary and confidential psychotherapy service for all sworn officers and their families. Although the size and scope of the program was increased significantly over the past four years, these basic services are still the core of the unit's function.

The integration of these services into one unit has provided a unique perspective of job stress in law enforcement work. From a pool of thousands of applicants, several hundred recruits have been psychologically evaluated and recommended for employment. After a standard Academy experience, each individual's performance is monitored as they go through one of the most sophisticated field training and evaluation programs in the country (Roberts & Allen, 1973). The surviving officers (75%) are re-evaluated after their first year on the streets, and again, prior to any special unit assignment (e.g., SWAT, Bomb Squad). At various points in this sequence a significant number of officers have utilized the thearpy service, which has added another dimension to the understanding of how individual officers react to stressful events on the job.

In addition to this longitudinal assessment of the effects of job stress, the therapy service has provided a very comprehensive cross-sectional view of the problem. Since 1971 over 30% of the department's sworn officers have voluntarily engaged in psychotherapy and every unit and rank in the agency has been represented.

The Sources of Job Stress in Law Enforcement Work

Some research has been conducted in this area (see papers by Eisenberg and Hurrell and Kroes in this volume), and an extensive national survey is currently underway by NIOSH and the Police Foundation. This author's experiences tend to concur with the existing research conclusions that stress may be traced to contributory factors: (1) outside the police organization, e.g., hostile media, politicians, and citizenry; (2) within the police organization, e.g., poor supervision, lack of career development opportunities, offensive policies; (3) within the criminal justice system, e.g., the interference and leniency of the courts, the failure of correctional and referral subsystems; (4) within the individual officer, e.g., the skill deficient, the anxious and/or fearful, the immature, the impulsive; and (5) from the interaction of these factors.

The Effects of Job Stress on Law Enforcement Officers

The existing medical strain (symptom) research on law enforcement officers indicates clearly that they are more likely to develop and/or die from circulatory and digestive disorders than those in most other occupational groups (Guralnick, 1963; Richard & Fell, 1975).

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*Editors note: Potentially offensive expressions have been retained in this article in the interest of presenting an accurate report of actual police situations.

These strain reactions have an early onset, as in evident in the cross-sectional research done on Los Angeles County Deputy Sheriffs (Pitchess, 1973).

Although research on the emotional strains associated with police work is just beginning, we do know that suicide is a major cause of death of police officers (Guralnick, 1963, Richard & Fell, 1974). In fact, recent reports indicate officers are six-and-one-half times more likely to commit suicide than non-law enforcement citizens (Friedman, 1967).

The same isolation, despair and loss of purpose that is involved in suicide seems to account for some officer's failing marriages, and their often desperate reliance upon the supportive aspects of the "police culture." In agencies which have examined the failure rates of police marriages (Seattle, Los Angeles, San Jose, Montreal) the data often indicate as high or higher rates than exist in the population the agency serves. In any event, the rates are surprisingly high in view of the relatively conservative and conventional value structure of most officers. Whatever the reason for the frequent failure of police marriages, it is evident that most officers view their work as a major cause of the problem (Kroes & Margolis, 1974).

The daily business of internal Affairs Divisions (IAD) provides another view of the effects of job stress (Hillgren, 1974). Many of the officers who come to the attention of IAD are exhibiting poor coping reactions that require the attention of a therapist, as well as departmental discipline.

The most direct reflection of emotional strain due to police work is in the experience of the psychotherapist who work with police agencies. The previously mentioned 30% utilization rate in San Jose is solid evidence that many officers experience emotional strain. Further, 10% of these clients are troubled enough to require temporary re-assignment out of the field because they pose a threat to themselves, other officers, or the citizens. It is notable that almost every re-assignment has been agreed to by the officer.

The generality of these strains in law enforcement work is evident in the fact that many police agencies are trying to develop in-house therapy services, usually at the joint request of the employee's union and the agency head.

Recognizing that many of the identified stressors are either basic to law enforcement work, or in a practical sense unchangeable in the near future, the most pragmatic solution seems to be "weeding out" those who are least likely to adapt successfully, and assisting the remainder to develop more comfortable coping methods.

Stress Prevention By "Deselection"

Contrary to some recent court decisions, not everyone is either capable, or even trainable, as a police officer. As Eisenberg (1975) has noted, the officer who is incompetent intellectually, physically or emotionally, is under severe stress in this often demanding occupation.

Recently, many entry-level selection standards have been lowered because of the relatively high failure rates of "protected classes" on these tests, together with the unconvincing validity data used to support the existing cut-off points. This lack of significance of existing validity data has often been used to justify removing, or severely lowering, existing standards. A

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more appropriate conclusion, however, would be that while existing criteria are perhaps too stringent, some minimum standard is almost certainly necessary. Any order to change a standard should be accompanied by an evaluation program designed to determine the minimum performance on that standard which is likely to be associated with acceptable performance on the job. To reiterate: a change in standards should be regarded as an _experiment_, not a new definition of reality.

The Psychological Services Unit has been conducting a two stage validation program since 1972. The first stage involves the validation of many pre-employment selection standards against field performance during the Field Training and Evaluation Program (FT & EP). The performance criteria are daily ratings on 31 job task elements by Field Training Officers (FTO's) during the new officer's first three months of street work. This intensive scrutiny of actual job performance is assumed to be a good predictor of what the same officer's eventual performance would be like. In view of the very high human and economic risks involved if selection mistakes are made, such an assumption seem justified.

The second stage is the validation of most pre-employment selection standards, and post-employment FT & EP standards, against many out-put criteria reflecting work quantity and quality after several years of employment. These include: departmental disciplinary actions; citizens complaining; vehicle accident involvement; frequency and type of felony arrests, and their disposition at the district attorney and court levels; and "resisting" and "assualting an officer" arrests, analyzed as a function of beat, shift, officer productivity, and suspect characteristics.

On the basis of validity data from the project's first stage a number of pre-employment tests criteria have been identified as predictive of successful performance during the FT & EP. Some of these criteria, specially indices of cognitive skill and emotional stability are now being used to avoid hiring individuals who because of their own characteristics, would be particularly vulnerable to job stress in police work.

One spinoff of the validation program described has been the identification of a pass-point on the entry-level written examination (CPS 51X) associated with satisfactory performance on such frequent police tasks as report writing, use of the police radio, and use of the beat map. By raising the recently lowered written pass-point, there is some assurance that new officers will have sufficient cognitive skill to learn these routine job tasks without becoming overwhelmed by "evaluation anxiety," and thus have other areas of their performance deteriorate.

Pre-Employment Psychological Screening

Although most police agencies utilize some form of psychological screening (Grencik, J. M., et al. 1973), the mental health experts they hire are almost always external to the agency. This "outsider" status has been praised as a guarantee of objectivity, but in actual fact is more often a guarantee that the professional's contribution is of little value. Ignorant of the psychological demands of street police work, and insulated from even subjective feedback about their selection mistakes, the "expert's" recommendation relies upon the inappropriately lax standards of emotional stability derived from experience with the general public.

Psychological Services Unit uses a multimethod assessment format which reflects the cautiousness derived from living with selection errors; the need to judge in the absences of completely satisfactory validity data; and the Chief's concern about moral and legal responsibility in view of the "negligent admission," and "negligent retention" concepts (Schmidt, W., 1973).

This format includes the use of a test battery,* a group stress interview, a personal interview, and examination of the background investigation.

Some scales of the MMPI, and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory, have been particularly worthwhile in the selection process. There is a strong statistical relationship between indices of anxiety and poor field performance - particularly stress-related behavior like "control of conflict," "driving under stress conditions," and "officer safety." In addition, these measures of generalized anxiety seem able to identify recruits whose behavior becomes non-productive under evaluation conditions. Eventually some of these tests may be used to eliminate applicants on an actuarial basis, but only if the current replication and cross validation efforts are successful.

The group stress interview is a modification of the situational assessment technique used by Mills (1972). In the San Jose model a psychologist and at least two experienced officers who have been trained as raters and role players evaluate five applicants during a four hour session. The interviewers engage the applicants in a "no B.S." discussion of their perception of police work, then flow into police-related situational role playing, and end with a peer evaluation process. The applicants are always given the police officer role, and they are exposed to several standardized confrontation situations (e.g., uncooperative burglary suspect; man-with-a-gun; family fight). The raters look for poise, well modulated control tactics, and ability to think clearly under stress conditions.

Line officers are used as raters because of their first-hand exposure to recruits who have evolved into good officers, or poor ones. The success of the peer rating technique in selection research would seem to justify this approach. An unanticipated benefit of the use of line officers in this phase of psychological screening is the resulting respect within the department for the entire process.

The personal interview is used to consolidate the information from each assessment method, compare it to the applicant's prior behavior, and arrive at a recommendation. The recommendation, then, is a product of the clinical distillation of past behavior (background), statistically probable future behavior as a police officer (tests), and subjective impressions from current behavior (personal and stress interviews).

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*Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI); California Personality Inventory; Spielberger's State-Trait Anxiety Inventory; Shutz's FIRO-B and FIRO-F; Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale; Interpersonal Trust Scale, Incomplete Sentences Blank; and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

When the confounding variable of deficient cognitive skill has been ruled out by a sufficiently demanding written examination, about 15% of the remaining candidates are dropped by the psychologist. This selection ratio, and the psychological characteristics of the "suitable" applicant, is essentially the same for minorities and females.

Post-Employment Probationary Selection

Confronted by the failure of the educational system to guarantee even minimal reading and writing skills in its high school and college graduates, together with the "non-selection" that results from many "non-discriminatory" entry standards, the law enforcement employer has come to rely upon the evaluation of academy and field performance as the heart of the selection system.

The Academy

Law enforcement agencies that have used the probationary period as part of the selection process have almost universally expected the police academy to eliminate unsuitable recruits. Unfortunately, in many agencies the same educational system that graduates functional illiterates after 12 to 14 years, is expected to produce officers with all the requisite skills in only three months.

Even if this dilemma is resolved (and it must be), another problem for academy "selection" seems inevitable. It is likely that if adverse impact occurs during academy training, the courts will agree with apellants that "academy performance is not job performance." It would be wise to anticipate such an outcome, and utilize the academy to document and eliminate only those who are deficient in: (1) learning skills, and (2) motivation - both as reflected in significant substandard performance on objective written and work sample tests.

To the extent that academy standards are comparable with work demands, the "buck is passes" to the angency itself.

Field Training and Evaluation Program

The role of the "training officer" in police work is as old as the profession itself. Although the idea is good, the reality is usually discouraging - particularly to the recruit officer. The cause of this state of affairs can be traced to: (1) the reluctance of police administrators to place the authority for evaluation and termination at the rank level that is given the responsibility for the task; (2) the random assignment of recruits to senior officers who are not necessarily skilled at teaching or evaluating; and (3) the protective aspects of the police culture that render official performance evaluation meaningless.

The San Jose Police Department FT & EP has resolved these basic issues, and advanced a number of innovations to the field. The structural characteristics of this program reflect the overall objective of producing an officer who can assume solo beat responsibility in a technically and humanely profiecient fashion after twelve weeks. This objective necessarily avoids training and evaluation criteria expected of the seasoned officer. A job task analysis was conducted by examining narrative comments made about recruit

officers by FTO's and FTO sergeants. This analysis led to a list of job task elements to be evaluated, and a series of teaching blocks patterned after the task hierarchy.

The Psychological Services Unit provides consultation to the FT & EP staff, particularly during the bi-monthly evaluation sessions when the recruits' progress is examined by the entire team, and remedial training is prescribed for those who need it.

The program has a three year history, and during that period about 25% of all recruits resigned in lieu of termination, or were terminated.

Stress Reduction Through Inoculation

Confronted by the anguished pain and defeat of some citizens, frightened by the violence and hostility of others, the new police officer can soon become defensively alienated from emotional contact with other humans. After the first few years of street work some officers come to view the world as composed of two classes of people: cops and "assholes." The officer's attempts to share his experiences with his wife and civilian friends are all too often rejected. As the pressure and loneliness mount, he turns to the venerable analgesic found in every policeman's bar in the country: alcohol mixed liberally with war stories. Only in the company of other officers can he openly discuss the fear he felt, or the violence he exhibited (or wanted to). But, even here, the desired contact is brief, and far too shallow to give any lasting satisfaction. Nevertheless, some kind of contact is better than none, so the event becomes an institution.

Wambaugh's The Choir Boys is a dramatic illustration that the single common denominator uniting otherwise very different human beings is the depth of this simultaneous dread-desire for human closeness. The personal, marital, and career damage done by this coping style is enormous.

In an attempt to minimize reliance on this coping mechanism, the Psychological Services Unit provides a block of training on the effects of job stress in the Basic Academy, Advanced Officer Training, Field Training Officer Seminar, and Supervisory Training. The early warning signs of physical and emotional response to stress are presented at each of these stages, along with a discussion of various alternative responses (psycho-therapy, outside interests, improved personal contacts, aerobic exercise, meditation, biofeedback).

During recent Academy sessions the officer's mates have been invited, and a panel of older officers (sometimes wives) discuss these issues from a very personal perspective.

The Treatment of Job Stress: Psychotherapy

The responsibility for a successful outcome in psychotherapy rests in large part on the psychological reserves and motivation of the client. In this context, officer-clients are relatively easy to work with because they have a strong aversion to being "screwed up," and no matter how serious the emotional disruption, they usually have a history of life success behind them.

The average officer enters therapy because he cannot deal with his wife and/or girlfriends. In many cases one partner's mind is made up, and the therapy becomes "divorce counseling;" focusing on the rejected person's need for self-esteem, and the departing person's guilt feelings for hurting their mate and children.

These marital problems are due in part to job stress: the defensive alienation from close emotional ties, the secondary status of wife and family, and the lack of diversity in outside friendships. In addition, many common cultural stresses are also at play: the changing roles of women, the disparity between the men and women's educational experience and level of sophistication, and the re-definition of the marriage relationship into an egalitarian partnership.

Other problems commonly dealt with in therapy are the officer who is hyperaggressive on the street; the temporary emotional disruption that follows many police killings; the conflict with superiors that affects every rank; and various motivational problems, from the "workaholic" to the "deadwood."

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Stress Awareness

Joseph J. Hurrell, Jr., and William H. Kroes
National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health
Cincinnati, Ohio

In the past five years, the topic of stress in policing has received in-
creased attention from researchers, police officials, police unions and the
public at large. As research uncovers more and more of the dire effects of
job stress, those concerned with the performance, safety and well being of
police officers are gradually beginning to recognize that stress is something
more than mere griping or job tension. Perhaps Joseph Wambaugh comes close
to capturing the enormity of the problem in the statement:

> The physical dangers of being a cop are already vastly
> overrated by TV and movies, while no one pays attention
> to the more serious danger which is the emotional vio-
> lence of the job that drives cops to divorce, suicide,
> alcoholism and drug addiction in greater numbers than
> any other vocational group.

Yet what are these emotional dangers? What is job stress and what are
its consequences?

That we don't know all the psychological dangers in police work nor their
consequences is painfully obvious. What is most disheartening, however, is
that very few of those persons closest to policing are themselves aware, ex-
cept perhaps superficially, of what job stress is and how it affects the
physical and mental health of police officers and the health and well being
of their families. This lack of awareness is evident from the questions and
pleas for help which are directed to us by line police officers, union represen-
tatives and senior level police officials. Although lack of awareness is in
many ways understandable, it is unfortunate. For when individuals are unaware
of the nature of threats to their well being, they are less able to escape, avoid
or directly confront them. Thus, in order to successfully cope with stress on
an individual or organizational level, officers need to be made aware of the
nature of job stress and its consequences, for awareness alone may serve to both
prevent job stress and mediate its effects.

Awareness of job stress serves as a stress reducer in several ways. By
being aware of the nature of psychological job stress, the officer is alerted
to the potential danger facing him and is cognizant of the fact that stress is
in part a function of his environment and not totally within and unique to him-
self. Stress awareness enables him to more easily mobilize his defenses.
Another important function of awareness is that it places the unknown into the
realm of the known. Awareness further serves a training or rehearsal function,
so the officer will be prepared for what is to come and be able to monitor reac-
tions to sometimes "overwhelming" events. In addition, awareness gives the
officer the knowledge that stress is not just some little irritant that comes
and goes, but can profoundly affect his health, life, and job performance.
By knowing that job stress is a significant problem, the officer will be more
motivated and willing to take the appropriate steps to see that it does not get

the best of him. As the old saying goes, "Forewarned is forearmed." Moreover, being aware of the cause of one's discomfort often brings about some relief, through a reduction in the anxiety and worry over the unknown. In the hope of creating such an awareness, the following paper will attempt to answer a series of the more common questions about stress in policing.

What is job stress?

To be sure, we all have some rough idea of what is meant by the term job stress, yet even among researchers there is no universally accepted definition. Indeed, uses of the term job stress have been so general and so diverse that the likelihood of complete agreement on any precise conceptual definition seems remote. One model of job stress, however, has generated significant research findings and is increasingly being accepted by the research community. In this "stress-strain" model, job stress is defined as the condition in which some factor, or combination of factors at work interacts with the worker to disrupt his psychological and physiological equilibrium. The factor or combined factors are referred to as job stressors and the disrupted equilibrium is called job-related strain. (Margolis & Kroes, 1975).

In the above definition the concept of factors interacting with the worker is significant, as it is quite clear that individuals respond to identical job situations in very different ways. One police officer, for example, may be upset at being assigned to a traffic detail, while another might find the work enjoyable. The strain (or disrupted equilibrium) which occurs as a result of this interaction between stressors and the individual may be manifested in a number of ways. To begin with, workers may experience short-term subjective states of anxiety, tension, anger and the like. Associated with these subjective states are transient clinical physiological changes, including changes in levels of blood pressure, blood lipids, catacholamines, and many others. If the stressors persist, or if the worker fails to cope with them, more chronic depression, feelings of fatigue, or alienation may become evident, or more serious physical health problems may develop.

No matter how job stress is defined, the most important thing to be aware of is that psychological stress at work is a serious occupational hazard. Like noxious chemicals in the working environment, job stressors are capable of causing serious health problems. How serious these problems are will be made evident in later sections of this paper.

What are the sources of stress in policing?

Undoubtably a police officer's working environment is replete with potential job stressors, and one could write a book just listing and explaining each stressor. As this is cumbersome, for discussion purposes it is helpful to group the specific stressors under some general framework. One such framework (Kroes, in press) makes a distinction between those stressors which are, by in large, unique to policing, and those which are present in other occupational environments. Table 1 presents a list of major job stressors found in policing (Kroes, in press; Kroes, Margolis, and Hurrell, 1974) categorized in this fashion. Although this list is certainly not exhaustive, it does give an idea of the diversity of stressors impinging on police officers. When one examines these two categories,

Table 1
Some Major Stressors in Policing

Stressors shared with other Occupations

Administration	Policies concerning work assignment, procedures and personal conduct
Role Conflict	Situations in which officers are caught between discrepant expectations
Second Job	Holding down an additional part-time job
Inactivity	Physical and/or mental idleness
Shift Work	Having work hours other than normal 8 AM to 5 PM
Inadequate Resources	Lack of the proper materials, equipment, etc., necessary to carry out one's job
Territoriality	Working in an alien environment
Work Overload	Having too much work to do in a given period of time
Responsibility for People	Having excessive responsibility for the lives and welfare of others
Promotional Procedures	Difficulties surrounding advancement within the department
Role Ambiguity	Not knowing one's exact role at work
Job Complexity	Having to deal with many different people, problems, and tasks
Inequities in Pay and Status	Being underpaid and under-recognized for one's work compared to other occupations

Police Specific Stressors

Courts	Court rulings, procedures, and treatment of police officers
Negative Public Image	Unfavorable attitudes held by citizens toward police officers
Racial Situations	Confrontations between police officers and minority group members
Line of Duty/Crisis Situations	Duty situations which either pose a threat to the officers physical well being or which may overwhelm him emotionally

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it can be seen that not all of the stressors in either category are truly inherent in policing. Both categories may therefore be further divided into two sub-categories (or another framework): stressors inherent in the nature of police work and stressors which have evolved and become a part of policing (See Table 2). Thus divided, it appears that only the stressors responsibility for people, complexity, organizational territorality and line of duty/crisis situations stem from the nature of police work and will always exist to some extent. All others, then, seem to arise from other sources and can under "enlightened" management be reduced or eliminated.

Examining those stressors shared with other occupations which have evolved and become a part of policing, one can identify two distinct sources: the organization and the community. Administration, promotional procedures, inadequate resources, shift work and second job are all in some way related to organizational practices and procedures. There is a very direct relationship between the nature of police organizations and the degree to which officers experience problems stemming from administration, promotional procedures and inadequate resources. Generally speaking, those departments which are more organizationally authoritarian seem to experience greater problems with these stressors.

Table 2
Stressors in Policing Classified as to whether they are Inherent in the
Nature of Police Work or have Evolved

Shared Stressors

Inherent	Evolved
Responsibility	Administration
Complexity	Role Conflict
Territoriality	Second Job
	Inactivity
	Shift Work
	Inequities in Pay Status
	Work Overload
	Promotional Procedures

Police Specific Stressors

Inherent	Evolved
Line of Duty Crisis	Courts
	Negative Public Image
	Racial Situations

Work overload, inactivity, role conflict, inequities in pay and status, and role ambiguity are all shared stressors for police officers that have their sources in the community. Whether an officer is overworked or spends long periods of time in inactivity in part seems to depend on the socio-economic status and crime rate of the community and the size of the community's police department. However, the degree to which officers experience role conflict or perceive inequities in their pay and status often depends on the attitudes and expectations of the citizenry. Further, if the officer is expected by the community to perform a multiplicity of conflict roles (as is too often the case), he is extremely likely to experience both role conflict and role ambiguity. If the attitudes of the community members are hostile and if awareness of the difficulty of the job is minimal, officers are not only likely to feel inadequately compensated for their work, but they are also likely to feel that they are held in relatively low esteem.

Looking at the Police-Specific Stressors (Table 2) which have evolved and become a part of policing, it can be seen that both negative public image and racial situations also have their sources in the community. If the officer is held in high esteem by the majority of residents in the community he is not likely to encounter racial situations or be affected by the "cop" label both on and off the job. The courts stressor, however, is in many ways unique, in that it is not traceable in origin directly to the community or organization. The frustration experienced by police officers when a suspect is t. ed loose on "technicalities" or receives a "light" sentence can be traced only to the criminal justice system. Further, the discourtesy shown to police officer in scheduling court appearances at inconvenient times appears to be a result of lack of awareness on the part of court officials of the problems which police officers face. Also, the "rough treatment" given to officers on the witness stand is a function of the established court system.

In conclusion, since the majority of the stressors listed have their source in either the department's organizational structure or in the attitudes of citizenry, organizational change and public awareness is needed.

Can job stress cause heart attacks?

Although the exact causal chain between job stress and coronary heart disease (CHD) has not been identified, research over the last 10-15 years has demonstrated a clear association between psychological job stress and coronary heart disease and its risk factors, such as high blood pressure, high cholesterol levels and heavy smoking (House, 1974). In fact, a growing number of researchers have concluded that stress is a more important factor in the etiology of coronary disease than diet, smoking and exercise combined (McQuade, 1972).

Generally, three lines of evidence link job stress to CHD. First, there are large occupational differences in morbidity and mortality from CHD and cardiovascular diseases in general, which appear to be related to psychological stress differences. Policemen, sheriffs, and marshals in 1940, for example, had a significantly higher death rate from diseases of the cardiovascular system that did lawyers and judges (Guralnick, 1963). Secondly, there is strong evidence (House, 1972; Sales and House, 1971) that specific psychological

factors such as low job satisfaction and low self-esteem in work (which are thought to be strain consequences of stress) predispose men to heart disease. A host of studies have documented relationships between specific job stressors such as work overload and responsibility for people as heart disease risk factors (e.g., Caplan and French, 1968).

Lastly, there are findings from studies of heart attack victims that point to stress as a significant antecedent. For example, Russek and Zohman (1958), studying 100 coronary patients and 100 controls, found that stress accounted for a greater difference between the two groups than diet, heredity, smoking or exercise!

With possibility of job stress being the most significant single factor in the etiology of coronary heart disease and the fact that this disease annually accounts for nearly one third of all deaths in the United States (CHD is the leading killer of working age males), we believe much more serious attention should be paid to the problem of job stress and CHD. This is particularly true for those in the police profession.

What are the consequences of shiftwork in policing?

In answering the question about the sources of stress in policing, shift work was identified as a significant stressor, not just because of the physiological effects of changing eating or sleeping habits, but also because of the psychological effects resulting from disruption of family and social life. Concerning the physiological effects, it is now recognized that there are over fifty fluctuating neuro-physiological rhythms within man, many of which are diurnal in nature. These rhythms include such things as basal metabolic rate, blood sugar level, blood temperature and mental efficiency. To what extent disrupted physiological rhythms impact upon individual health is an unanswered question (see Froberg and Akerstedt, in press). There is some evidence, however, which suggest that physical health problems are related to the rate of adaptation of time-oriented body functions to alterations of existing diurnal patterns. Mott, Mann, McLaughlin, and Warwick (1965), for example, found the incidence of ulcers and rheumatoid arthritis to be higher among shiftworkers who reported relatively more difficulty in adjusting rhythmic time oriented body functions.

How severe are the effects of the police officer's job on homelife in comparison to other occupations?

A definite answer cannot be given to this question as there is very little data available for comparison purposes. There are rumblings, however, that police indeed do have more family problems as a result of their work stress. The high divorce rate statistics that various police departments have reported seem to confirm this.

Unlike families of workers in other high stress occupations, "police families" are confronted with problems stemming solely from policing. One of the most difficult of these is the stigma of being a "cop's wife" or "cop's kid". Whether an officer brings the pressure of his work home with him or not, a segment of the community sees to it that the officer's wife and children are reminded that her husband and their father is a "cop". As a defense against these strong negative pressures on them, police families tend to close in among

themselves and turn to each other for support. The families in a sense become socially isolated from the rest of the community. They are viewed with suspicion and subjected to jokes and insults, especially when stories of police corruption appear in the media.

In a similar vein, a double standard is applied to police officers and their families. Children of police officers are expected by society to be beyond moral reproach. Their teachers, neighbors and even their police officer father often expect them to be better than other children. When they cannot live up to these exaggerated expectations they are told that "you should know better, your father is a policeman". Certainly this treatment if not tempered with some understanding can result in developmental problems.

In addition to the problems created for the wife by shift work, there is always the shadow of potential danger. The fear of something happening to her husband at work is often extreme and difficult to cope with. Add to this fear, the problem of police officers trying to maintain a hardened image and show no emotion and serious marital problems may result.

In summary, policing has the potential to cause serious family problems. In addition to coping with the stress brought home by an officer, the police family must cope with a host of other serious pressures. These pressures include a negative image in the community and meeting the exaggerated expectations of community members. Thus, it may well be that the effects of policing on homelife are more severe in comparison to other occupations.

Is alcoholism job related?

Disentangling the web of interacting determinants in alcoholism is especially difficult. Traditionally there have been too views concerning alcoholism. The first and probably more established view is that alcohlics are people who drink because of some flaw in their personality. The second view, the medical model, is that alcoholism is a disease and like other diseases it may afflict anyone. In our opinion, however, both points of view are naive. Studies on alcohol addiction (e.g., Jellinek 1952; 1960) suggest the sequences from moderate social drinking to chronic alcoholism follows a fairly predictable path. First of all, social imitation gives rise to the practice of drinking. Once the practice of normal social drinking becomes established, however, the powers of positive reinforcement become more significant than those of imitation. In other words, after an individual begins drinking socially he may learn to his pleasure that alcohol can diminish stress and bolster his confidence. The rate at which he drinks may be determined by the amount of stress he experiences. Given the presence of high levels of stress, drinking can become a deeply ingrained stress coping technique. It is especially powerful in this regard since its effects are immediate, in contrast to the slow and delayed character of other more complicated forms of coping.

From the above discussion, it seems logical to assume that alcoholism is job related to the extent that the stress an individual experiences emirates from the working environment. A recent study by Margolis, Kroes and Quinn (1974) lends some credence to this assumption. Using interview data from some 1,496 employed persons, these researchers found that overall job stress was significantly related to escapist drinking, i.e., those experiencing high stress drank

more than those experiencing less job stress. Further they found significant relations between escapist drinking and a number of specific job stressors. Thus it might be stated that alcoholism can be job related depending on the pressures resulting from work.

Looking at policing, in particular, it would seem that the police setting is especially conducive to alcoholism. Since police officers frequently work in an environment where social drinking is common place, it is relatively easy for them to become social drinkers. The nature of their work and the environment in which it is performed provides the stress stimulus. All the officer need do is discover how easy it is to alay stress by drinking. Although there is no hard data to substantiate a high incidence of alcoholism among police, department officials have reported informally that as many as 25 percent of the officers in their respective departments have serious alcohol abust problems.

Traditionally police departments adhere to the "character flaw" theory of alcoholism explained above. This philosophy calls for the denunciation and dismissal of an officer with a alcohol problem because recongizing him as a symptom of underlying problems reflects on the department. What is not considered is that alcoholism may result from the extraordinary stresses of the job and that eliminating the officer does not do away with the sources of stress.

Does the existence of a police subculture intensify job stress?

Some maintain that "the existence of the police subculture probably greatly intensifies stress. Police officers who always associate only with other officers, talking shop, comparing experiences, exaggerating exploits, displaying their manliness, are living and reliving their stressful experiences at the same time that they are creating false and exaggerated expectations for themselves" (from Kliesment, 1975). In our opinion the contrary occurs; the existence of a police subculture does not intensify stress but reduces it. This building of "esprit de corps" serves a very positive function. Lacking positive feedback from other segements of society, the officer is often able to obtain needed social support only from his peers. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the reliving of stressful experiences helps the officer to get the trauma off his chest and allows others to see how difficult situations are handled, and also increases their stress awareness!

Social support appears to be one of the stronger factors in mitigating the strain consequences of job stress. Generally speaking, it seems to act as a buffer between job stress and strain. That is to say, men who have high social support from others in their work environment show few strain effects (Caplan, Cobb, French, Harrison and Pinneau, 1975). In fact, social support has been shown to condition the effects of job stress on cortisol, blood pressure, glucose, the number of cigarettes smoked, and the rate of quitting smoking (see Caplan, et. al., 1975). Again relating to the police subculture, the police peer group can and often does serve as a major source of social support for the individual officer.

As stated, one's peers can play a positive role in terms of stress reduction. However, there are negative factors in the police subculture which diminish the potential force for good. There is often an extreme competitiveness

between officers which is disruptive of good psychological functioning. Also, at times there is a fear to relate all to one's peers, fear of looking bad, or fear that officers might pass on damaging information which may hurt their career. It must be remembered that promotional opportunities in policing are poor and only a few advance up the ranks. This creates a sort of juggling for positions which hinders a true group cohesion.

Does exercise help reduce stress?

Although this specific question has received little research attention, a great deal of literature indirectly suggest that achieving physical fitness through regular systematic physical activity may reduce stress or mediate its effects. To begin with, there is evidence which suggests that habitual exercise produces a decreased susceptibility to cardiovascualar incidents (e.g., Fox and Skinner, 1964). In fact, two recent studies (Paffenbarger and Hale, 1974; Kroener, 1973) strongly indicate that repeated bursts of strenuous exercise establish a plateau of protection against coronary mortality. In simple terms, exercise helps develop a collateral blood supply network which in an emergency, such as a blood clot, will provide an alternate pathway for blood flow.

Exercise may also benefit individuals psychologically, since through exercise the individual is able to unwind and release some built-up tension. The benefits suggested by the literature from regular exercise include greater relaxation, greater participation in family and social activities, improvement in work attitudes, and increased capacity for work and recreation (Kroener, 1973).

One caution concerning exercise: just being "physically fit" is not, by itself, adequate insurance against experiencing the health consequences of job stress. We mention this caution because there appears to be a tendency in policing to hit upon one answer in stress reduction, and to proceed as if it was the panacea, immediately installing or crusading for that technique as the answer. In the particular case of formalized physical fitness programs, it is just one technique, and one which we would consider a "down the line variable" (i.e., one that may have less payoff than some others for stress reduction in policing).

Given that policing is a high stress occupation, what can be done about it?

Though stress reduction may be accomplished in a myriad of ways, the various methods all fall within one of the following categories: eliminating the stressors, increasing the individual's stress coping ability, or providing the stressed individual with help (Kroes, in press). Although the following paragraphs discuss these three types of methods individually, one must bear in mind that every person is somwhat unique in his reaction to stress and no single method can be expected to work optimally for all individuals. Thus, what is most desirable is a systems approach combining various methods to meet the special needs of a particular department.

Of the three types of stress reduction methods, probably the most effective approach involves identifying and eleminating the job stressors. Although there are a number of ways to go about identifying stressors, one of the easiest involves using the "consultant" services of the rank and file officer. The officer on the street has built up a wealth of experience and intimately knows the stressors which impinge on him. By getting a group of experienced officers together to talk about stress problems, the most significant stressors can be identified. Once the major stressors are known, ideas need to be developed on how they may be eliminated. Since organizational change may be necessitated, the full cooperation of management is necessary in this process. It is also especially important to allow individual officers to participate in any decision about eliminating a stressor which directly affects their job should it be found that a particular stressor is "impossible" to eliminate, job rotation may be helpful. That is, personnel could be rotated on and off assignments so that they are faced with as little of the stressor as an individual's stress coping ability might be used in a comprehensive stress reduction program. In a practical sense, these techniques involve training in stress awareness, insights into self and others, and specific skill training. Since the advantages of training in stress awareness were discussed in some detail earlier, they will not be reiterated in the following discussion.

Most individuals have available a major untapped resource to help them cope with stress—themselves. Yet this resource will remain untapped as long as the individual is ignorant of how to use his full potential. Therefore, an officer needs training to understand his own reactions to various stimuli. Since the officer's job to a large extent involves interacting with people, he also needs training in what roles personality, motivation, cognition, emotion, fear, etc., have in affecting human behavior. Although it is unreasonable to expect an officer to become a fully trained behavioral scientist, there is a body of practical psychology that the officer needs to know and be trained in. Since there are college courses and instructors available around the country this training is readily available and should be considered.

Specific skills training differs from the above two mentioned approaches in increasing an individual's ability to cope with stress in that the officer is taught how to act and deal with specific stituations. Training in dealing with events which are highly stressful and which the officer is very likely to encounter is especially called for. These events include family crisis situations, racial conflicts, and child tragedies. Through training, the officer's skills are improved and his overall stress level is decreased when he faces the situations, as he is somewhat desensitized to the events.

Another distinct type of specific skill training involves the learning of psychological processes pertinent to police work (such as human communication, group dynamics, and organizational behavior). Take the stress of administration for example. One way to better handle it is to know more about the human side of organizations. To do this specific training in group dynamics and organizationational psychology would prove useful, as it would give the officers new awareness into the nature and dynamics involved in organizations. Another type of training would be toward developing improved communications skills, much of the friction in policing is a result of either police-citizen interaction or police-police administration interaction.

Training in direct relaxation techniques may also prove to be useful in a stress reduction. One of the more promising of these techniques involves the use of biofeedback. As the name implies, the individual is given feedback on his biological processes. From this feedback, he may learn to relax and eliminate problems such as tension, anxiety and migraine headaches. Another relaxation technique of some benefit to policing is neuromuscualr relaxation. Here the officer is also trained in how to relax his body, but in this case by conscious effort to detect and subsequently control residual muscle tension (without the aid of monitoring devices). There are more exotic but no less effective relaxation techniques such as yoga, transcendental medication and the like. All have one thing in common--they help the individual become more aware of himself and his body and help him to physically relax. As suggested earlier, the third category of stress reduction techniques includes those methods which are aimed at providing the stressed individual with help. Either an acute situational crisis or a slow buildup of job-related strain to a chronic and dangerous level can cause a police officer to need professional help. In most communities there are mental health professionals available, yet these professionals are often ill prepared to deal with police personnel because of their lack of familiarity with the nature of police work and the pressures a police officer experiences. Therefore, it is advisable to have a full-time mental health worker on the police force. This arrangement has several advantages. For one, the consultant gets to know on an intimate level the workings of the police force and the problems involved. For another, the men learn to trust and find it easier to discuss their problems and the problems of their families. The full-time health consultant also is more able to provide viable inputs to the department on stress matters.

Stressed officers may also be provided with help in more informal ways. Social support, as mention earlier, is one of the more important avenues available for reducing stress. A supportive supervisor is a tremendous resourse to his men in times of trouble. Social support from the family is also extremely important and can be encouraged in a number of ways. One is simply to encourage a get-together between experienced police officers wives and the wives of new recruits. The senior wives can relate their experiences, and in so doing begin to prepare the younger wives for what is to be expected and the difficult periods their husbands may go through.

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Bruce B. Barker
Chief, Littleton and Boxbourough Police Departments
Littleton, Massachusetts 01460

Stanley L. Brodsky, Ph.D.
Department of Psychology
University of Alabama
Box 2968
University, Alabama 35486

Terry Eisenberg, Ph.D.
Patrolman, San Jose Police Department
201 W. Mission Street
San Jose, California 95110

John R. P. French, Jr., Ph.D.
Program Director, Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Mark Frustenberg
Director of Personnel
Boston Police Department
154 Berkeley Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Carl Goodin
Chief, Cincinnati Police Department
310 Lincoln Park Drive
Cincinnati, Ohio 45214

Judith M. Grencik, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice
California State University
Long Beach, California 90840

Neal Q. Herrick
Director, Ohio Quality Work Project
8 East Long Street, 9th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Joseph J. Hurrell, Jr.
National Insitute for Occupational Safety and Health
1014 Broadway
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Jerome H. Jacobi, M.D.
816 Hollywood Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069

George L. Kelling, Ph. D.
Director of Evaluation, Police Foundation
1734 East 63rd Street, Suite 104
Kansas City, Missouri 64104

George L. Kirkham, Ph.D.
School of Criminology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

William H. Kroes, Ph.D.
National Insitute for Occupational Safety and Health
1014 Broadway
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Robert M. Mills, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice
French Hall, Room 402
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221

Lourn Phelps
Department of Criminal Justice
University of Nevada
Reno, Nevada 89507

Martin Reiser, Ed.D.
Department Psychologist
Los Angeles Police Department
150 N. Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, California 90012

Wayne Richard, Ph.D.
Dede Wallace Center
700 Craighead Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37204

Michael Roberts, Ph.D.
Director of Psychological Services
San Jose Police Department
201 W. Mission Street
San Jose, California 95110

Cindy Schwartz, Ph.D.
Law Enforcement Training and Research Associates, Inc.
1321 20th Avenue
San Francisco, California 94122

Jeffery Schwartz, Ph.D.
Law Enforcement Training and Research Associates, Inc.
1321 20th Avenue
San Francisco, California 94122

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