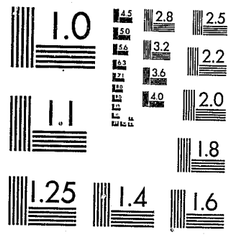

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CHANGES IN ROLE CONCEPTS OF POLICE OFFICERS DURING RECRUIT TRAINING

FINAL REPORT

by

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ıe final report on the first phase of a longitudinal research project "Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers," sponsored by Research [-14790, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; National of Health. This study deals with changes in role-related concepts place in connection with the recruit training of police officers. The e in the overall study will deal with the effects of field experience on subjects.

PREFACE

This is a study of occupational socialization, the process by which an individual acquires the necessary attitudes, knowledge and skills to perform his occupational role. Generally, when we think of the preparation for and entry into a vocation, we think in terms of the individual meeting certain formal requirements related to apprenticeship, education or training. The approach of this research accepts the fact that the completion of a formal training program may be a necessary condition for holding a given occupational position, but it is not a sufficient condition to prepare an individual for the actual enactment of that role. As such, a training program is merely a part of the preparatory phase of an occupational role. A formal training program does not mark the beginning nor does its completion mark the end of the socialization process. Role-related conceptions will have been developed through the process of anticipatory socialization before the beginning of formal training. Thus, the individual begins his training in a condition of role readiness. Of greater importance is the fact that role concepts will continue to be learned and modified throughout the working experience of the individual.

With regard to learning within the context of this research, it seems appropriate to recall the adage that not all which is taught is actually learned and not all that is learned is actually taught. Some of the ideas presented in police recruit schools are simply unlearned. Others are conditionally learned while still other ideas are learned and rejected as having no value. On the other hand, much is learned beyond that which is contained within the formal curriculum. Within the school, the incidental comments of instructors and other recruits may produce unintended learning. Outside the school, the actions, expressions, and words of friends and the general public may teach the recruit lessons of great significance. This expanded view of learning an occupational role is taken within this report.

The role of the police patrolman is a complex one. Not only is it complex in terms of the variety of demands placed on the individual enacting the role during his on-duty hours, but it is also complicated by the intense and pervasive character of the vocational role which impinges on his non-duty hours. As a consequence of this, an inquiry into the socialization process for the police initiate will reflect that complexity. The perspective of role theory has been adopted for this research because it offers a means by which the process of taking on the police role can be studied with greater clarity and deeper understanding than is possible with the usual common sense approaches or for that matter, other theoretical approaches.*

* For a basic understanding of the nature of role theory and its application to the police, see James W. Sterling, "Changes in Role Concept of Police Officers" (Multilith Manuscript, IACP, 1968), pp. 2-24.

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BECOMING A POLICE OFFICER

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

A Distinction in Roles

In the matter of role acquisition for the police recruit, we ordinarily tend to think of recruit training and the probationary period in the field which follows it as one continuous process in becoming a police officer. As conceptualized within this research, two specific roles are involved. One, the role of the student of law enforcement, differs considerably from that of the other, the apprentice patrolman.[1] Each calls for different behaviors, attributes, attitudes and perceptions. Each has different role senders and each has different expectations. One role is passive, the other is active. One involves primarily thinking, the other requires doing. The orientation of one is idealistic, the other is realistic. That the two roles are in fact distinct and in many ways discontinuous is suggested in the following introductory instruction to the police recruits in one major city:

> "The student is primarily a student and not a police officer. If you see the need for police action call 222-3333, identify yourself and ask that a police officer be dispatched. Do not become involved in police action unless it is of an emergency nature."[2]

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

1. The use of the word "apprentice" within this report is intended to mean "one who is learning by practical experience under skilled workers a trade, art, or calling." The apprenticeship period begins at the conclusion of formal recruit training.
2. "Standards of Professional Conduct," Education and Training Center, Education and Training Division, Baltimore City Police Department (undated, mimeographed manuscript).

> "We didn't do a thing. . . . We stood there with the rest of the crowd, waiting for the police to come. That afternoon, I sat in class asking myself why I hadn't done anything to help. After all, I'm a policeman too."[3]

This recruit failed to realize that he had not gone through the rites of passage and consequently, he did not hold the position of police officer. Hence, he could not enact that role. A partial explanation of his passive behavior is that the roles of student and apprentice are distinct from one another. In this instance, role theory would lead us to reason that either the recruit did not respond to the expectation of the crowd to take action or the crowd held no such expectation for the recruit trainee. Despite the intended preparatory function of the student role for the apprentice role and their temporal continuity, the two roles are, in many respects, discontinuous. For the recruit-student to declare that he is a police patrolman, it is necessary that he engage in the enforcement of laws with reference to citizens. Only then can he answer the question of "who am I" with the response of police patrolman.

Role Discontinuities

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

The role of the recruit-student is distinct from that of the apprentice patrolman. Quite obviously, the settings are dissimilar. Training is typically done in a school-like facility isolated from other police activity. The style of life for the recruit is reminiscent of high school. These students of law enforcement attend classes, listen to lectures, have reading assignments, and take periodic examinations. What may not be so obvious is a whole series of differences arising out of the concepts of role theory. At bottom, the recruit trainee and the apprentice do not occupy the same positions within the role system. Each has different role reciprocals. The trainee's role reciprocal is the trainer. The patrolman's reciprocals are experienced patrolmen, supervisors, and law violators. Their audiences or reference groups are different. The role model of the

3. Chicago Police Star, October, 1968, p. 3.

recruit-student may well be his trainer who manifests certain intellectual role attributes and a measure of erudition. The model for the apprentice may be the heroic patrolman who has captured a bank robber. In summary, different behavioral expectations are communicated to the focal person in each instance by a different set of role senders. Thus, the two roles have both situational and theoretical differences which serve to distinguish one role from the other.

Beyond these situational and theoretical differences, there is a third condition which serves to create a discontinuity in role sequences. Within the process of taking on a new role, there is a built in separation function of the new from the old. This is an active process by which the focal person cuts himself off from his former role and creates an after-the-fact discontinuity between the two roles. True, there is always some carry over in roles and one cannot deny the general principle that what is learned first will shape later learning. However, we must be aware of the effect of this counter process. With regard to the initiation process for the police officer, Westley pointed out that the recruit school serves two functions. First, it detaches the new man from his old experience, and secondly, it prepares the man for his new experience.[4] Consider the candidate for police service as he presents himself on his first day. Although the process of anticipatory socialization has created a condition of favorable role readiness, more than likely there is some residue of negative feelings toward the police carried over from previous civilian roles. As has been said, the policeman " . . . is the immediate object of <u>everybody's</u> excess emotions."[5] The youthful prospective patrolman is no exception. Recognizing the fact that the man comes from a society which reflects varying degrees of disdain for the police and that he has internalized some measure of this negative view, the utility of this segmenting function in this instance can be seen. At the outset, the man must become convinced of the goodness and rightness of the police.

At the next phase of this introductory role sequence, the detaching function again serves an important purpose. As the recruit completes his formal training and moves into the field, the old role becomes segmented from the new. The academic approach is devalued while the experiential is valued in this new action-oriented role. The highly detailed role prescriptions and proscriptions learned in recruit school may serve as impediments rather than guides to action. They must be seen as part of the behavioral expectations for a previous role which is different

4. William A. Westley, "The Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality," Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, Department of Sociology, 1951, pp. 251-2.
5. Adam Yarmolinsky as quoted in <u>Wall Street Journal</u>, November 5, 1968.

than that of the apprentice patrolman. The man must become detached from his former role and his provisional perspective which dealt with the ideal and take on his new role which deals with the actual.

> "Whatever he may learn from police schooling, sooner or later he will have to adjust to the system of expectations and appearances which prevails in the outside world, . . ."[6]

In essence, when we talk about socialization for the police recruit, we are talking about a sequence involving two distinct roles. In his longitudinal study of workers in an appliance factory, Lieberman found that his subjects showed significant changes in their role concepts as they moved from their initial positions within the rank and file to the positions of foreman and union steward (and in some instances back to the rank and file).[7] Similarly, it is hypothesized that within this research we will also see significant changes in the role concepts of our subjects when they move from their pre-police role to the role of recruit-student and again when they become apprentice patrolmen.

THE RESEARCH SITES

Four city police departments were chosen to be included within this research; Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio; and Indianapolis. The choice of these departments was dictated by both practical and theoretical considerations. Initially, a decision was made not to concentrate the research effort on a single large city. This would, of course, be the easiest way to get a fairly large number of subjects and it would facilitate the analysis and presentation of the data. However, it was felt that a study based in one large location would produce ad hoc results. Ideally, we wanted to find evidences of changes in role concepts which are common to all police recruits. The decision to use four cities was based on a desire to be in a stronger position to generalize about what happens to police recruits as a consequence of exposure to training and field experience. We believed that this approach would enhance the value of this research.

Timing was an important consideration. Because of the nationwide implications of one critical event involving a single major police department, it was felt that subjects in the four cities should be tested at about the same time. This would control to some degree for variations in time. It was also deemed necessary to conduct the initial testing of the recruits at a time as close as possible to the beginning of their formal recruit training. Insofar as possible, both of these conditions were met. The scheduling of the initial testing is shown in Table I.

6. David J. Dodd, "Police Mentality and Behavior," <u>Issues in Criminology</u>, Vol. 3, No. 1, Summer, 1967, p. 47.
7. S. Lieberman, "The Effects of Changes in Role on the Attitudes of Role Occupants," <u>Human Relations</u>, 9, 1956, pp. 385-402.

TABLE I

City	Date Training Began	Date Subjects Tested
Baltimore	16 September 1968	23 September 1968
Cincinnati	16 September 1968	19 September 1968
Columbus, Ohio	30 September 1968	1 October 1968
Indianapolis	23 September 1968	24 September 1968

Although the considerations of timing greatly limited the possible choices of research sites, it was still necessary to choose cities where the conditions of employment and the length of training were relatively equivalent. Selected factors as to these conditions are presented in the following table:

TABLE II

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

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

A further set of factors which were weighed concerned the size of the city and the police department. Relevant data is presented in Table III.

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

TABLE III

CHARACTERISTICS OF CITIES AND THEIR POLICE DEPARTMENTS[8]

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

It might be noted in passing that average figures for 15 cities with populations from 250,000 to 500,000 for the above characteristics are police per 1,000 population, 1.69; police per square mile, 12.74; and percent of civilian employees, 13.2.

The final judgment as to the four cities selected as research sites produced a regional bias. This is admitted as a possible limitation on the design of this study. However, it must be acknowledged that most of the regional differences which have been found in studies of various kinds are a consequence of other more basic variables such as age, education, income, and related social class factors. In the final analysis, the selection of Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Indianapolis represent sound and reasonable choices in light of the restrictions created by the aforementioned practical and theoretical considerations.

THE ROLE PERCEPTION BATTERY

The literature of role theory reflects a richness of theoretical concepts. At the outset, it was necessary to delimit the areas encompassed within this approach to those aspects which would be measurable, relevant to the experience of the police recruit, and susceptible to fluctuation in the short run. After considerable deliberation, a choice of conceptual areas was made. Preliminary instruments were designed, pretested in a number of locations, reconsidered, and redesigned. Ultimately, a battery of six instruments was decided upon.[9]

8. "General Administrative Survey," Planning and Research Unit, Kansas City, Missouri Police Department, October, 1967.
9. Copies of each of the instruments within the Role Perception Battery, a Life History, and Supplementary Information Form can be found in the appendix.

1. Role Conflict

Since role conflict is central to role theory, an instrument assessing this area was designed. The conflict instrument was adapted from the one designed by Gross, Mason, and McEachern.[10]

2. Perception of Audiences

The perception of audiences as role senders and evaluators is a fundamental concept in role theory. Osgood's semantic differential was employed as a method to measure the meaning of a variety of audiences who are or will be significant to the police recruit.

3. Aggregate Role

Even though the concept of aggregate role is not accorded great importance in the general literature, it was thought to be of major importance at this time within the field of law enforcement. Accordingly, an instrument tapping the subjects' concept of the aggregate role of the police was devised.

4. Role Attributes

Role attributes are an essential area of inquiry. Although Wetteroth's work is founded in traitist psychology rather than social psychology, it was replicated in connection with this part of the research. Here we attempted to get at the attributes thought to be essential to the enactment of the police role.[11]

5. Perception of Danger

Danger is intrinsic to the police role. Skolnick reasoned that the performance of the police role is modified considerably whenever a police officer perceives himself to be in a dangerous situation.[12] The instrument utilized was intended to determine the degree of danger perceived by police in typical work assignments.

10. Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), pp. 254-256.
11. William J. Wetteroth, "Variations in Trait Images of Occupational Choice Among Police Recruits Before and After Basic Training Experience," (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Brooklyn College, 1964).
12. Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. 42-70.

6. Attitudinal Orientations to Role

Lastly, our subjects entered their formal training in a condition of role readiness. This state of preparedness includes a variety of attitudinal orientations related to the police role. Twenty separate items make up a four-part scale drawn from a factor analysis of the responses of a nationwide sample of police patrolmen.[13] Responses of the subjects of this research can be compared to the responses of a nationwide sample of police recruits.

To the Role Perception Battery, a Life History form, a Supplemental Information form, and a standardized personality test was added. The data derived from these instruments served to give us the necessary background and personality information for our overall analysis of responses to the Role Perception Battery.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RECRUIT SUBJECTS

At the time of the initial testing at the start of recruit training, a total of 152 subjects were tested in the four cities.

TABLE IV

City	Number of Subjects 1st Testing	2nd Testing
Baltimore	43	28
Cincinnati	39	39
Columbus*	31	30
Indianapolis	39	39

As would be expected, some attrition took place between the first and second testing: In Baltimore where the training process is viewed as continuing the selection process, a total of 15 subjects were lost for various reasons. In Cincinnati where the idea was expressed that the training division's function was to train not to select, no subjects were lost.

13. The 1968 IACP Opinion Poll was funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under joint grants from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Grant 67218, and the National Institutes of Health, Grant 14790, which has made this full research project possible.

* Three men in this recruit class were members of small departments near the City of Columbus. Since their exposure to training was identical to the other 28 Columbus recruits, it was decided to keep them as subjects during the first phase of the research.

Residence

Probably the most striking group characteristic of the subjects was that of their residential stability. As is shown in Table V, from 41.9 percent (Columbus) to 67.4 percent (Baltimore) of the subjects had lived only in or near the city in which they work and nowhere else.

TABLE V

RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND OF SUBJECTS

	INDIANAPOLIS		COLUMBUS		CINCINNATI		BALTIMORE	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Lived in or near the city in which they work and nowhere else.	19	48.7	13	41.9	17	43.6	29	67.4
Lived in or near the city in which they work and nowhere else except during military service.	3	7.7	4	12.9	4	10.3	2	4.7
Lived elsewhere in the state at some time in their lives.	7	17.9	7	22.6	5	12.8	2	4.7
Lived outside the state at some time in their lives.	10	25.6	7	22.6	13	33.3	10	23.3
TOTAL	39	100.0	31	100.0	39	100.0	43	100.0

As mentioned earlier, only Indianapolis has a residence requirement, one year residence within the state. Potentially, the other three cities could recruit from anywhere in the nation. Yet, in all four cities, the majority of men with the exception of time spent in military service, had lived all of their lives in or near the city which they will police. Corroborative information derived from 1960 census data is shown in Table VI. Only men engaged in agricultural vocations showed a degree of residential stability which exceeds that of law enforcement

personnel. In this day and age of high mobility, these findings appear to be of more than passing interest. Just as the farmer is physically and psychologically tied to his land, so too is the police recruit psychologically tied to his city. The conservative nature of the police character has been commented on by numerous observers. It is suggested that the apparently high degree of residential stability may be related to the conservative and provincial outlook attributed to the police.

TABLE VI

STATE OF BIRTH OF EXPERIENCED MALE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, 1960[14]
(Ranked in Order of Percent Born in Same State)

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

Age

As will be recalled from the previous discussion of the conditions of employment as a police recruit, all four of the cities have set their minimum entrance age at 21 years. * The maximum age for appointment ranges from 30 to 35 years. The mean age of recruit subjects in each of the four cities is shown below in Table VII. For comparison purposes the mean age of 165 police recruit respondents to the 1967 Police Opinion Poll is also shown.

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

* Baltimore allows an applicant to take his entrance test three months before his 21st birthday.

TABLE VII

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECRUITS

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Total	IACP Opinion Poll
Under 25	34	30	21	21	106	100
25-29	8	8	11	13	40	49
30-34	0	1	0	4	5	7
35-39	0	0	0	0	0	6
40-44	0	0	0	0	0	1
45-49	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mean Age	23.0	23.3	23.7	24.8	23.7	25.0

The findings insofar as the age distribution of the subjects is concerned appears to be unremarkable. The fact that Baltimore has the youngest mean age, even though it is an apparently insignificant difference, may be explained by their recruiting procedure which allows interested men to take the examination before their 21st birthday.

Racial Origin

The racial origin of the subjects in each of the four cities is shown below and a comparison is made of the combined total.

TABLE VIII

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RECRUITS

	White	Black	Other	Percent Non-White	Non-White Percent of Total Population (1967)[15]
Baltimore	33	10	0	30	35%
Cincinnati	38	1	0	3	23%
Columbus	30	1	0	0	39%
Indianapolis	34	5	0	15	27%
Total	135	17	0	12.6	
Police Opinion Poll	142	18	2	14.0	

Marital Status

The marital background of subjects in each of the four cities is shown in the following table. For purposes of comparison, the marital status of the recruit subjects in the IACP Police Opinion Poll is included within Table IX.

15. U.S. Bureau of The Census. Subject Reports. Population Estimates, Series P-25, Number 378. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November, 1967.

TABLE IX

MARITAL STATUS OF RECRUITS

	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced
Baltimore	20	20	1	1
Cincinnati	12	27	0	0
Columbus	6	23	0	2
Indianapolis	9	25	3	2
Total	47	95	4	5
Percent of Total	31.1	62.9	2.7	3.3
Police Opinion Poll	45	116	2	2
Percent of Poll Total	27.3	70.3	1.2	1.2

Military Service

An interest was shown in the military background of the subjects as it relates to both recruitment and anticipatory socialization. Fourteen of the subjects (9.2 percent) had acquired some police experience while in the military service. Only Indianapolis does not give any preference to police applicants who are veterans. To what extent does preferential treatment of veterans tend to attract veterans into the police profession? Insofar as the data shows, a veteran's preference does not appear to affect the success of a department in attracting men with military experience.

TABLE X

MILITARY BACKGROUND OF RECRUITS

	Total Subjects	Men with Military Experience	Percent of Total	Men with Military Police Background	Percent of Total
Baltimore	43	26	60.5	3	7.0
Cincinnati	39	18	46.2	3	7.7
Columbus	31	26	83.9	4	12.9
Indianapolis	39	30	76.9	4	10.3
Total	152	100	65.8	14	9.2

Education

All of the subjects in all four cities were high school graduates. As shown in Table XI, 32.5 percent of the men had some college attendance. In comparison with the IACP sample of recruits, our subjects appear to have had less formal education at the college level.

TABLE XI

YEARS OF COLLEGE WORK COMPLETED

	Less than 1	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total No. with College Attendance
Baltimore (N=42)	4	2	0	1	3	0	10
Cincinnati (N=39)	6	6	3	2	1	0	18
Columbus (N=31)	7	2	2	0	1	0	12
Indianapolis (N=39)	2	3	1	2	1	0	9
Total (N=151)	19	13	6	5	6	0	49
Percent of total	12.6	8.6	4.0	3.3	4.0	0	32.5
Police Opinion Poll (N=165)	41	18	21	4	4	3	91
Percent of Poll Total	24.8	10.9	12.7	2.4	2.4	1.8	55.2

Occupational Background

The police have been described by many observers as having lower-middle-class, "working class," or lower class backgrounds. Proceeding from these general characterizations, they have reasoned that certain undesirable police behavior is a function of their low socio-economic class origin. To assess this factor, a determination was made of the previous occupations of the subjects and their fathers' major occupation.[16] This analysis proceeds on the assumption that occupations can be classified in terms of basic dimensions that reflect the social class structure. Thus, a man in a specific position of craftsman or foreman is assumed to share common behavior patterns, attitudes, and values with other persons in this general category and to differ in distinctive ways from persons in other general occupational classifications.

Data on the subjects' highest skill employment before entering police work is presented in Table XII. For purposes of comparison, equivalent data was drawn from the responses of recruit subjects to the IACP Police Opinion Poll. Similarly, data related to the father's occupation is presented in Table XIII.

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

TABLE XII

HIGHEST SKILL OCCUPATION BEFORE ENTERING POLICE WORK

	ROLE CHANGE STUDY		POLICE OPINION POLL	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional, Technical, Managerial	8	5.3	13	7.9
Clerical	23	15.1	32	19.4
Sales	12	7.9	15	9.1
Craftsmen, Foremen	20	13.2	33	20.0
Operatives	31	20.4	22	13.3
Service, Household	6	3.9	5	3.0
Farmers	--	--	--	--
Laborers	6	3.9	3	1.8
Military	22	14.5	14	8.5
Police	3	2.0	--	--
Police Cadet	8	5.3	--	--
Student	5	3.3	2	1.2
None	4	2.6	--	--
Can't Classify	4	2.6	26	15.8
TOTAL	152	100.00	165	100.0

TABLE XIII

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

	ROLE CHANGE STUDY		POLICE OPINION POLL	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional, Technical, Managerial	20	13.2	23	13.9
Clerical	12	7.9	10	6.1
Sales	11	7.2	10	6.1
Craftsmen, Foremen	52	34.2	41	24.9
Operatives	27	17.8	24	14.6
Service, Household	8	5.3	8	4.9
Farmers	1	.6	1	.6
Laborers	4	2.6	15	9.1
Military	3	2.0	3	1.8
Police	5	3.3	7	4.2
Can't Classify	9	5.9	23	13.9
TOTAL	152	100.0	165	100.0

Although there are many factors that are generally considered to be indicators of a particular socioeconomic class, the factors of occupation, education, and income are fundamental. For purposes of most research, one's occupation is considered to be the primary determinant of status since one's access to a position is related to educational achievement and the performance of an occupational role is the means by which one earns an income. If we wanted to learn about the social class origins of policemen, the most efficient approach would be to categorize their father's occupations. As a rule of thumb, it is held that occupations in the categories of craftsmen and foremen, clerical and sales, proprietors and managers, and professionals are middle-class and above. The remaining categories are something less than middle-class.

By applying this criteria to the data in Table XIII, 62.5 percent of the fathers of our recruit subjects held jobs at the middle-class level or better. In the case of the 165 IACP Opinion Poll recruits, the corresponding figure is 51.0 percent. This data seems to suggest that the common belief that "most policemen are products of a lower-middle-class environment should be open to question.

Length of Anticipatory Socialization

For purposes of this research, the process of anticipatory socialization is judged to have begun at the time the individual first became interested in police work as a vocational choice. Since the foundations on which police training will be built are structured through this process, consideration will be given to the length of time the individual has considered police work as a career possibility in the final analysis of role concepts. The year in which the subjects became interested in police work is presented in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

YEAR IN WHICH SUBJECTS FIRST CONSIDERED POLICE WORK AS A VOCATION

Age	During 1968	Since 1967	Since 1966	Since 1965	Since 1964	Since 1963	Since 1962	Since 1961	Since 1960	1959 and Before
21	9	10	4	6	1	2		1	1	1
22	8	5	4	1	1		2	1		2
23	5	2	2		2					2
24	5	3	4	2			1			2
25	7	2			1	1	1		1	
26	3	3		1	3	2		2		
27	1	2		1						
28	1		2			1		1	2	
29	1									
30+	2			2						1

Within the general occupational literature, the concept is found that it is desirable for persons to make vocational decisions as early as possible and at a time when guidance and information services are available to them. One law enforcement educator commented regarding the time of vocational choice:

> "Rather than leave a young man's decision to enter law enforcement to chance, it is more desirable to help him make his choice while still in high school through career guidance programs."[17]

17. Tom Adams, Law Enforcement (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1968), p. 9.

In the above table, the shaded portion contains the number of subjects who report that they first considered police work as a vocation while still in high school. These 24 subjects comprise 18.0 percent of the total subjects represented in the table.

Preparatory Work Experience

Every job has a primary orientation to data, people, or things. Some entail mainly working with data. Others like the job of the police patrolman are primarily people-centered. Still others fundamentally require only the manipulation of things. Yet, every job requires the worker to deal to some extent with each of these three elements at various levels of complexity. These relationships have been systematized in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles.[18] This authoritative source sets forth a detailed hierarchical classification of jobs according to their relationship with data, people, and things.

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

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

18. U.S. Department of Labor, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Vol. II, (USGPO, Washington, D.C., 1965), p. 649.

or people to any notable degree and he functions at the lowest level with regard to things.

Pertinent to this research is the question of the occupational backgrounds of the recruit subjects. To what extent have these men held jobs which served to prepare them for the position of police patrolman?* Subjects were asked to list the full-time job they held immediately before entering police work. Of the 152 subjects, 22 were in the military, 5 were students, and 10 gave responses which could not be classified. The jobs held by the remaining 115 subjects immediately before becoming a police recruit were classified according to data, people, and things. The results are shown in Table XV.

This table shows that only 22.6 percent of the subjects held a job in which the relationship to data was equal to or greater than that of the patrolman. Of far greater significance is the fact that only 26 percent of the subjects held jobs in which the relationship to people was equal to or exceeded the classification assigned to the position of patrolman. Beyond this, if you accept the fact that a considerable part of a patrolman's job requires him to function in relationship to people at higher levels of complexity than serving, speaking, and signalling, i.e., persuading, instructing, negotiating, and mentoring, then the vocational preparation of our subjects is seen as even more inappropriate. When you consider that only one-third of them held jobs which had no significant relationship to people, one can hardly feel assured that these men can become prepared to deal with the complex people-problems they will soon confront after only a few hours of instruction in the areas of social problems and human relations. One observer of the police patrolman's job has commented that, "His education has not fitted him to master the enormous social-

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

TABLE XV

CLASSIFICATION OF JOBS HELD BY RECRUIT SUBJECTS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE ENTERING POLICE WORK (N=115)

DATA		PEOPLE		THINGS	
0	Synthesizing .9%	0	Mentoring ---	0	Setting-Up .9%
1	Coordinating 7.8	1	Negotiating 1.7	1	Precision Working 20.9
2	Analyzing 13.9	2	Instructing 1.7	2	Operating-Controlling 3.5
3	Compiling 36.5	3	Supervising 2.6	3	Driving-Operating 4.3
4	Computing 3.5	4	Diverting ---	4	Manipulating 4.3
5	Copying 1.7	5	Persuading 10.4	5	Tending 6.1
6	Comparing 1.7	6	Speaking-Signaling 9.6	6	Feeding-Offbearing .9
7)	No significant	7	Serving 3.5	7	Handling 22.6
8)	relationship 33.9	8	No significant relationship 70.4	8	No significant relationship 36.5

worker chores that are thrust upon him. The complexities of his job would tax a superman."[19] To this statement we can now add that his vocational experience has not fitted him to master the demanding people-problems that will soon be thrust upon him.

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

In terms of a general orientation to work, about one-third of the respondents expressed an interest in a job which required the incumbent to function in a relationship with people beyond that of serving, speaking, and signalling. By and large, not only do these subjects lack a vocational background which prepares them for dealing with people but they also seem to lack an interest in vocations which are people oriented. This analysis suggests that the social science component of police recruit training should have a two-fold purpose in preparing men to become patrolmen. First, such training should import to the men an understanding of what human relations is all about by drawing upon the essential findings in the behavioral sciences which are relevant to police work. Secondly, something should be done within the instructional process to create a generalized interest in dealing with and understanding people.

19. Fletcher Knebel, "Police in Crisis," Look, Vol. 32, No. 3, February 6, 1968, p. 15.

TABLE XVI

CLASSIFICATION OF JOBS CONSIDERED BY RECRUIT SUBJECTS
BEFORE THEY ENTERED POLICE WORK (N=100)

DATA			PEOPLE			THINGS		
0	Synthesizing	3%	0	Mentoring	4%	0	Setting-Up	2%
1	Coordinating	14	1	Negotiating	1	1	Precision Working	15
2	Analyzing	36	2	Instructing	12	2	Operating-Controlling	6
3	Compiling	22	3	Supervising	--	3	Driving-Operating	3
4	Computing	1	4	Diverting	3	4	Manipulating	12
5	Copying	--	5	Persuading	13	5	Tending	--
6	Comparing	--	6	Speaking-Signaling	20	6	Feeding-Offbearing	5
7)	No significant	2	7	Serving	--	7	Handling	3
8)	relationship	22	8	No significant relationship	47	8	No significant relationship	54

Shift Work

Shift work is a necessary condition of employment in law enforcement. Baltimore rotates patrolmen every 28 days. Cincinnati and Indianapolis rotate shifts every month. Columbus rotates its men every quarter. Such rotation of shifts requires a man to make rather difficult physiological, psychological, and sociological adjustments. It is of interest within this study to determine how many of the subjects had worked on shifts before entering police work. To have engaged in shift work before entering into police work is to have had a significant preparatory work experience.

TABLE XVII

SHIFT WORK BACKGROUND OF RECRUITS

City	Number who had done shift work before entering police vocation	Percent who had done shift work
Baltimore	26	61.9
Cincinnati	25	64.2
Columbus	25	80.6
Indianapolis	26	66.7
Total	102	67.6

That two-thirds of the recruit subjects have worked in jobs which require rotation of shifts reflects something of the nature of their previous occupational experience. Shift work is found almost exclusively in continuous process industries such as chemicals, oil, paper, and steel and in other industries in which there is a heavy capital outlay for plan and equipment. By and large, this percentage reflects in a general way a view which is consistent with the data in Table XII. As shown, a large proportion of men engaged in an occupation just before entering police work which was classified as craftsman, foreman, operative, or laborer.

Relative Income

Although many observers of the police have commented on the fact that many men who become police officers do so in order to gain increased occupational status, it may be that any such increase in status is merely a consequence of a more fundamental and understandable motivation, i.e., a desire to make more money. The data in Table XVIII indicates the number of subjects who will earn more money as a police officer than they did in their job immediately before becoming a police recruit.

TABLE XVIII

RELATIVE INCOME OF RECRUITS

City	Number who make more money as a patrolman	Percent who make more money
Baltimore	34	80.0
Cincinnati	31	79.4
Columbus	18	58.0
Indianapolis	23	58.9
Total	106	70.2

Influences on Vocational Choice

There are two approaches to finding out why our subjects became police officers. The first centers on the intrinsic appeal of the occupation. In the case of our subjects, they were undoubtedly attracted to the vocation for a variety of personal reasons. This approach will not be considered within this research. The other approach focuses on the influences which have impelled our subjects to choose law enforcement for their vocation. The data in Table XIX shows the influence of relatives, friends and reading on vocational choice.

TABLE XIX

SOURCES OF INFLUENCE ON VOCATIONAL CHOICE OF RECRUITS

	Number	Percent of Total Subjects	Number Positively Influenced	Percent Positively Influenced	Mean Influence Score*
Subjects who had relatives who are or were police officers.	62	40.8	35	56.5	3.32
Subjects who had friends who are or were police officers	126	82.9	93	73.8	3.77
Subjects who had read about police work in past year.	59	39.6	41	69.5	3.78

* This score was derived from an analysis of responses to three questions assessing the influence of relatives, friends, and reading on vocational choice. Values of 5 through 1 were assigned according to the degree of influence indicated. Here, the higher the score, the greater the reported influence.

Of the subjects, 40.8 percent of them had relatives who are or were police officers. Of those with police relatives, 56.6 percent reported that their decision to become a police officer was influenced by them. More of the subjects had friends who were police officers (82.9 percent) and more of these friends were believed to have influenced the subjects' vocational choice (73.8 percent). Fewer subjects had read books related to the police (39.6 percent) although of those who had done some reading, 69.5 percent said their vocational choice was influenced by such reading. The data was analyzed to show the kind of material read by the subjects during the year before they became police officers. In the table below, the responses are set forth in a two-fold division based on education. For purposes of this analysis, if a man reported any length of college education, he was included in the college category.

TABLE XX

READING LEVEL OF RECRUITS, BY EDUCATION

Reading Source	High School Graduate (N=29)	College Attendance (N=26)
Newspapers and popular magazines	11	3
Popular books	6	4
Occupational literature	3	3
Police publications, manuals, bulletins	3	2
Police periodical literature	3	5
Textbooks in law enforcement	3	9

From this data, we can say that the majority of men with a high school education had read about the occupation which they were entering only in newspapers, magazines and books. On the other hand, the majority of college men had read about police work in the police periodical literature and in textbooks. As a general rule, it would seem desirable that men considering a career in any field should read sources of information beyond newspapers and magazines. To make realistic occupational choices one needs to obtain, among other things, a broad picture of the work, an accurate description of the details of the work, and an objective description of the opportunity structure. This kind of information is not typically found in the accounts of police work in newspapers, magazines and popular books.

In terms of the vocational choice of our subjects, friends appear to be the most important source of influence. This seems to corroborate the premise upon which most police recruitment programs are based; that is, the best source of manpower is the friends of men now working as police officers. However, the data can be viewed not as proving the point but rather as confirming the belief.

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

The Life History form was administered to the subjects on only one occasion, the start of their recruit training. There are other questions structured to produce background information that assumedly would be answered differently by the subjects over time. We would expect that as the subjects' views of the nature of police work change as a consequence of training and/or experience, relative judgements would reflect this change. Questions of this kind were grouped together to make up a supplemental information form which was administered to the subjects at the start and at the end of their recruit training.

Preparatory Experience

As our subjects' concept of the police role changes, we would expect that their judgements of the preparatory value of their formal education and work experience would also change. More appropriate to the general theoretical view that the role of the recruit/student is generally discontinuous with that of the apprentice patrolman, we would anticipate that our subjects would report a higher valuation of formal education at the completion of their recruit training. This evaluation relates to the one police role they know, that of a recruit/student. Later, as the subjects take on the more active role of apprentice patrolman, we hypothesize that they would conceive of their formal education as being less relevant to their new occupational role.

The Supplementary Information form contained two questions probing the subjects' opinion of the preparatory value of their formal education and occupational experience. Responses to these two questions are presented in Table XXI in the form of mean scores. In the interpretation of the table, the higher the mean score, the stronger the subjects'feelings that the previous experience was a valuable preparation for police work.

TABLE XXI

A. "Do you feel that your formal education has helped prepare you for police work?"*

City	Mean T_1	Mean T_2
Baltimore (N=28)	3.89	4.29
Cincinnati (N=39)	4.18	4.49
Columbus (N=29)	3.69	3.93
Indianapolis (N=38)	4.03	4.34

B. "Do you feel that your previous work experience has helped prepare you for police work?"

City	Mean T_1	Mean T_2
Baltimore (N=28)	3.68	3.68
Cincinnati (N=39)	3.72	3.90
Columbus (N=29)	3.27	3.41
Indianapolis (N=38)	3.63	3.60

* The mean scores were derived fron an analysis of responses in which a value of 5 was assigned to definitely"yes" responses. Lower values were assigned to the other responses in a scale descending to a value of 1 for definitely "no".

The data in the table confirms the first hypothesis, that formal education is seen as more valuable at the time of the second testing. Beyond this, the subjects saw their formal education as a more valuable preparation for their police career than their previous work experiences.

Other Policemen as Friends

The tendency of the police to isolate themselves socially from non-police people has been a malevolent occupational characteristic attributed to them by many writers.[20] The point is a weak one. What is not considered is the fact that what is thought to be evidence of clannishness by outsiders is a characteristic of all occupations where shift work is practiced.[21]

This research approaches the question of friendships in such a way as to assess the dynamics of change. Subjects were asked to list their three closest friends at the start and at the conclusion of their training. It should be noted that this training period is the only time in their police career during which these subjects as a group will not be working around the clock. In an effort to determine some quantitative measure of this so-called clannishness, subjects were asked to list the occupations of their three closest friends. The number of policemen listed were counted and the data is shown in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII

NUMBER OF POLICEMEN LISTED AMONG THREE CLOSEST FRIENDS

City	T_1	T_2
Baltimore (N=28)	10	17
Cincinnati (N=39)	20	33
Columbus (N=31)	15	17
Indianapolis (N=39)	16	41

The data shows that the tendency toward increasing friendship ties with other police officers starts early in the career of these men and that it takes place even though the men are not actually rotating shifts. Thus, we can reason that, at this time, our subjects are either attracted to other policemen as personal friends because of the common experience they share or conversely, they come to value their non-

20. For a general discussion of the topic, see Skolnick, op. cit., pp. 49-65, and Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community (London: Tavistock Publications, 1964), pp. 248-49.

21. Paul E. Mott, et. al., Shift Work (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 20-36 and 147-175.

police friends less now that they themselves are police officers. *

Intra-Department Aspirations

"Everyone on this force should be aspiring to be commissioner."[22] This desire, expressed by the commissioner of a major police agency, is a useful motivational theme. As an idealistic goal, it is something we easily approve of. However, we should recognize that it is one of our guiding fictions, a part of our ethos which carries the belief that everyone can become president. As a personal goal to strive for in the everyday world of work, all men cannot become chiefs and presidents. The limited opportunity structure within a police department is such that all men cannot be promoted in rank.

All of the subjects in this research indicated that they intended to be promoted in rank within the next ten years. This was true at both the first and second testing. Clearly, if their aspirations were unchanging over time, most of the subjects would be destined to experience varying measures of disillusionment as a consequence of their unrealistic aspirations.

The position to which one aspires in both the short and the long run influences how one enacts his present role. To aspire to a lofty position which one is unsuited for because his personal attributes are not congruent with the requirements of that role is to create a kind of role conflict. Clearly, all of our subjects do not possess the attributes necessary to become supervisors or command officers. On the other hand, low aspirations may lead to role calculation, a condition in which the focal person consciously and deliberately simulates minimal conformity to role prescriptions and proscriptions. Thus, it becomes pertinent for this research to determine some measures of the subjects' aspirations.

Promotional Aspiration.

Assuming they were promoted in rank, subjects were asked to state the position they would like to have ten years from now. A detailed presentation of the promotional positions which our subjects desired to attain is presented in Table XXIII.

* In conjunction the latter explanation, the changing meanings assigned to "personal friends" on the semantic differential is relevant. As will be noted in a later section, at the end of their training subjects tended to see their friends on the cooperative-uncooperative antonym as more "uncooperative" than they were viewed as being at the start of training, ($t=2.43$; significant at the 2% level of confidence). See page 78.

22. James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 208.

TABLE XXIII

PROMOTIONAL POSITION WHICH SUBJECTS ASPIRE TO IN TEN YEARS

	Baltimore		Cincinnati		Columbus		Indianapolis	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Detective	3	1	6	3	7	2	4	1
Detective (Homicide)							1	1
Detective (Narcotics)					0	1	1	0
Detective (Vice)	4	0	3	2	2	4	1	1
Canine			1	2				
Juvenile			4	0	4	3	0	2
Public Relations					0	1		
Training			1	1			0	1
Sergeant	1	3	10	13	7	7	4	3
Sergeant (Detective)	2	1	4	1	1	3	0	1
Sergeant (Narcotics)					1	0		
Sergeant (Vice)	0	2	1	1				
Sergeant (Canine)	0	1						
Sergeant (Internal Affairs)			0	1				
Sergeant (Traffic)			3	2	0	1		
Sergeant (Tactical)			1	0				
Lieutenant	4	8	3	9	2	3	7	13
Lieutenant (Detective)	3	0			2	1	2	1
Lieutenant (Narcotics)							1	0
Lieutenant (Vice)	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
Lieutenant (Administration)							1	0
Lieutenant (Canine)							0	1
Lieutenant (Tactical)			1	0				
Lieutenant (Traffic)	2	1						
Lieutenant (Training)							1	0
Captain	2	5	1	1	0	1	6	4
Captain (Detective)	0	1					0	1
Captain (Homicide)							1	1
Captain (Vice)	1	1					0	1
Captain (Traffic)					1	0		
Rank Above Captain	2	2			1	0	6	3
Unclassifiable	2	1	0	2	1	2	3	3
Total	28	28	39	39	30	30	39	39

The positions are grouped into five levels ranging from the various specialist positions which may or may not constitute a "promotion" to ranks above captain, usually described as exempt positions. Table XXIV shows in summary form the percent of men who aspire to positions in each of the five levels.

TABLE XXIV

PROMOTIONAL LEVELS ASPIRED TO IN TEN YEARS
(reported in percents)

	Baltimore		Cincinnati		Columbus		Indianapolis	
Rank	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2
Specialist	27%	4	38	22	45	39	19	17
Sergeant	12	26	49	49	31	39	11	11
Lieutenant	42	37	10	27	17	18	31	44
Captain	12	26	3	3	3	4	22	19
Above Captain	8	7			3		17	8
Mean Aspiration Score	2.6	3.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	1.9	3.0	2.9

The subjects in both Baltimore and Indianapolis can be described as having relatively high aspirations. At the time of the first testing in Baltimore, 62 per cent of the men desired to become a lieutenant or above within 10 years. The corresponding figure at the time of the second testing was 70 per cent. For the Indianapolis subjects, the comparable percentage figures were 70 and 71. To the contrary, the Cincinnati and Columbus recruits held relatively lower aspirations. In Cincinnati at T_1, 13 per cent of the men aspired to a lieutenant's position within the first decade on the job. At the time of the second testing, the figure had risen to 30 per cent. In Columbus, the comparable figures were 23 and 22 per cent. Also contained in Table XXIV is a mean aspiration score. These scores are based on the assignment of numerical values ranging from 1 to 5 for the five levels. The higher the score, the higher the group aspiration level. This indicator of group aspirations also reflects the higher aspiration levels of the subjects in Baltimore and Indianapolis as compared to those in Cincinnati and Columbus.

Another aspect of aspiration which was explored was the relationship between aspiration and lack of success in recruit school. For purposes of this analysis, the unsuccessful man is operationally defined as the man who did not complete recruit school. Because of the small number of recruits who failed to complete their training,

this analysis can only suggest the nature of the relationship. The mean aspiration score for the 15 recruits who failed to complete their training was 2.29. The mean score for the successful recruits was 2.54 at the time of the first testing, and 3.00 at the second testing. Although the unsuccessful recruits' aspirations were lower, as indicated by this measure, it would be questionable to assign a causal connection between low aspiration and failure to complete recruit training.

Assignment Aspiration.

The promotional position hoped to be achieved within ten years is but one part of the career aspirations of our subjects. This can be conceived of as the vertical dimension. The horizontal dimension of career aspiration involves the attainment of positions in various fields of specialization without rising vertically in the rank structure of the department. In a study of New York City police recruits at the start of training, 38 per cent of them indicated that they would like to be assigned to the detective division. The same researcher assessed the preferences of a larger group of recruits during the third month of their training and found that the figure had risen to 58 per cent.[23] In this instance, it was reasoned that the preference for a detective assignment was a choice based on the glamorized view of the work presented in the mass media.

Table XXV shows a detailed breakdown of the job preferences of recruits in each

TABLE XXV

ASSIGNMENT WHICH SUBJECTS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IN TEN YEARS IF NOT PROMOTED

Unit Assignment	Baltimore		Cincinnati		Columbus		Indianapolis	
	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2	T_1	T_2
Patrol	3	7	10	17	10	5	10	12
Detective	10	4	3	4	4	4	10	3
Detective (Homicide)				1			2	1
Detective (Narcotics)	2	0			1	1	1	1
Detective (Vice)	5	3	3	4	3	7	1	3
Administration							2	2
Juvenile	0	2	5	2	1	3	1	0
Canine	0	2					0	1
Public Relations					0	1		
Staff Services							0	2
Tactical Unit			1	2				
Traffic	1	1	10	4	9	7	0	1
Training	0	2			0	1	0	2
Unclassifiable	4	3	5	4	2	1	7	6
Another job	3	4	2	1			5	5
TOTALS	28		39		30		39	

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

of the four cities at the start and the end of their training.

Some general impressions emerge from the data. First, with the exception of Cincinnati, 50 per cent or more of the men in all cities preferred an assignment either to the patrol or detective division. Relatively few men showed an interest in other functions of the department except for the relatively strong interest in traffic shown by the recruits in Cincinnati and Columbus. With regard to interest in a detective assignment, 33 per cent of the combined group preferred detective work at the time of their first testing. At the end of their training, only 26 per cent of the recruits indicated an interest in such an assignment. On the face of it, as compared to the preferences of the New York City recruits cited above, the relatively lower proportion of men interested in detective work reflects a more realistic assessment of existing opportunities. Further, the smaller proportion of men interested in a detective assignment at the end of their recruit training represents a movement toward reality in their career choices.

In light of the foregoing, it would seem that some attention to both vertical and horizontal mobility within the department would be a valuable supplement to recruit training. A general career orientation to what is both possible and probable in terms of promotion and reassignment would contribute toward helping the recruit plan his overall career in law enforcement. Any effort on the part of the training staff to give the men a more realistic view of the actual opportunities in the department and their chances of obtaining a desired position will have a salutary effect on the present and future performance of the men.

In this regard, what seems to be just plain common knowledge to experienced officers may not be understood at all by the men just beginning their police career. How many hours of study does the average man spend in preparation for a promotional assignment? What are the numerical chances of being promoted? What are the backgrounds of the men who are promoted? What qualifications are necessary and/or desirable to become a detective or a juvenile officer? Even the matter of how to go about requesting a transfer is important.

> In a large police department, a young Negro patrolman with a degree in mathematics told one of his supervisors that he was very disturbed over the fact that he had not been transferred to the detective division. At that time, the man had been on the job for nine months. He indicated that he had been told before he joined the department that because of his education he could get any assignment he wanted. The supervisor asked if he had submitted a formal request for transfer. The man indicated he had not done so. The man added that he didn't even know the procedure for requesting a transfer nor could he justify how a mathematics degree would qualify him for assignment as a

> detective. Three months later the man quit the department disappointed because his unrealistic expectations had not been met.

This resignation was unfortunate for both the man and the department. It was also unnecessary. The chances are good that it would not have occurred if the man had been given, at the beginning of his career, sound information about the personnel practices in the department.

The Measure of Approval of a Significant Role Reciprocal

Within the definitions set forth in the earlier report on this research, a reference group was defined as "a group by whom an actor sees his role performance observed and evaluated and to whose expectations and evaluations he attends."[24] Within the reference group of our subjects is the role reciprocal of wife, or if unmarried, parents. To what extent are these significant role reciprocals thought to approve of the subjects' becoming police officers? The data presented in Table XXVI deals with this subject.

TABLE XXVI

MEAN SCORES INDICATING APPROVAL BY WIFE/FAMILY

City	T_1	T_2
Baltimore	4.04	4.14
Cincinnati	4.23	4.31
Columbus	4.17	4.28
Indianapolis	4.03	3.95

Here, the higher the score, the greater the measure of approval. Recruits from Cincinnati indicate the strongest approval on the part of their wife and/or family while those in Indianapolis showed the least approval. By and large, the wives and families of the men were reported to approve of the occupational choice of the recruit. Overall, only nine men reported that their choice was disapproved of at the first testing. At the second testing, this figure was reduced to seven.

On a common sense level, it might be assumed that there would be a relationship between a low approval score and a low motivation to complete recruit training. The mean approval score for the 15 Baltimore subjects who failed to complete their training was 4.28 as compared to 4.04 for those who successfully completed their training.

24. Sterling, op. cit., p. 14.

Measures of Job Satisfaction

An examination of the nature and magnitude of the satisfaction derived from one's job is a major research undertaking in and of itself. On a general level, we know that job satisfaction is related to the worker's perception of the status and importance assigned to his work, the monetary return he gains from job performance, the degree to which he is accepted into informal groups of co-workers both on and off the job, and a host of other factors. To fully explore the many dimensions of job satisfaction is to stray from the scope of this research and its theoretical base. However, there are some logical relationships between job satisfaction and role which merit attention.

Blauner cautions researchers working in this subject area:

> "There is a certain naivete in expecting frank and simple answers to job satisfaction questions in a society where work is so important a part of one's self that to demean one's job is to question one's very competence as a person."[25]

Notwithstanding this cautionary advice, two items were included in the Supplementary Information form which relate to job satisfaction. They were constructed with an awareness of their limitations to evoke valid responses. Mean scores calculated from responses to the question, "How satisfied are you with your job as a police officer when you compare it with other jobs you had. . ." are presented below in Table XXVII

TABLE XXVII

MEAN SCORES INDICATING RELATIVE JOB SATISFACTION

City	Mean, T_1	Mean, T_2
Baltimore (N=28)	4.43	4.82
Cincinnati (N=39)	4.64	4.87
Columbus (N=29)	4.55	4.82
Indianapolis (N=38)	4.79	4.76

Only in the case of Baltimore was the increase in the mean job satisfaction score statistically significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Of further interest in the assessment of job satisfaction is the fact that no subject reported dissatisfaction

25. R. Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in W. Galeson and S. M. Lipset, eds., Labor and Trade Unionism: An Interdisciplinary Reader, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 355.

with his present job - either at the start or at the end of his training.

The general literature on job satisfaction contains two findings which relate to differences in satisfaction over time. First, as an employee begins to see his abilities as consistent with the requirements of his work, his satisfaction increases. Second, as he comes to be accepted by his co-workers and gain entry into their informal groups, his satisfaction also tends to increase. Therefore, we would expect the initial increase over time in job satisfaction.

The question arises as to whether the satisfaction score of the unsuccessful trainees differs from those who completed the training. We would expect that the scores of the unsuccessful trainees would be less than those of the successful. The mean score of the 15 unsuccessful trainees in Baltimore was 4.47, a score undifferentiated from the 4.43 of those who completed training.

In contrast to the first question which attempted to tap a complex psychological state, the second question was structured to get at a level of action, what the respondent reports he would have done. Responses to the question, "If you had it to do over again and knew what you now know, would you still become a police officer?" were reduced to mean scores and are shown in the following table.

TABLE XXVIII

MEAN SCORES INDICATING IF RECRUIT WOULD AGAIN BECOME A POLICE OFFICER

City	Mean, T_1	Mean, T_2
Baltimore (N=28)	4.61	4.79
Cincinnati (N=39)	4.72	4.95
Columbus (N=29)	4.69	4.83
Indianapolis (N=38)	4.76	4.76

Again, the mean scores suggest that job satisfaction increased between the first and the second testing. However, none of these differences were found to be statistically significant. As further evidence of the job satisfaction of the men, at the time of the first testing, only two men (in Baltimore and in Indianapolis) reported that they would not become police officers if they had it to do over again. At the second testing, only one man in Indianapolis reported that he would not have become a police officer if he had it to do over again. In summary, the men reported a high level of job satisfaction at the start of recruit training and an even higher level was indicated at the end of their training. This is consistent with the findings in the general theoretical literature on job satisfaction.

AN ASSESSMENT OF PERSONALITY

Within role theory, personality is not of primary importance. When we talk of role, we are talking about uniformities in the behavior of people who enact the same role. To the contrary, when we talk of personality, we refer to uniformities in the attitudes and actions of an individual as he enacts various roles. Nevertheless, within the framework of this research, it is important to make some assessment of personality since one cannot deny that personality is a factor which influences the selection of occupational roles as well as the way in which these roles are enacted. More specifically, within this research, personality variables may be correlated to other areas of inquiry such as role conflict, role attributes, the perception of various audiences, the perception of danger, and selected attitudes related to the police role.

For purposes of gaining some convenient measures of a number of personality variables, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was utilized. The EPPS provides measures of the following personality variables.[26]

1. Achievement: To do one's best, to be successful, to accomplish tasks requiring skill and effort . . .
2. Deference: To get suggestions from others, to follow instructions and do what is expected, to let others make decisions . . .
3. Order: To make plans before starting on a difficult task, to have things arranged so they run smoothly without change. . .
4. Exhibition: To say witty and clever things, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to talk about personal achievements . . .
5. Autonomy: To be able to come and go as desired, to be independent of others in making decisions, to avoid situations where one is expected to conform . . .
6. Affiliation: To be loyal to friends, to participate in friendly groups, to do things with friends rather than alone . . .
7. Intraception: To analyze one's motives and feelings, to put one's self in another's place, to judge people by why they do things rather than by what they do . . .

26. These variables are drawn from Murray's list of manifest needs. For a full discussion of these variables, see H. A. Murray, et. al., Explorations in Personality (N. Y.: Oxford University Press, 1938), and Allen L. Edwards, "Revised Manual, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule," (New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1959), p. 11.

8. Succorance: To have others provide help when in trouble, to seek encouragement from others . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A consideration of the scores obtained by the subjects of this research is of little value unless they are compared to other known scores or norms. The primary norms which were used in this analysis are the college sample of Edwards.[27] This sample is composed of high school graduates with some college. Our sample of police recruits, as will be recalled, is composed of high school graduates, some with college. Clearly, the two samples are not equivalent. The Edwards college sample is not even representative of college students.

27. Ibid. (Edwards), pp. 9-10.

> "In all likelihood, the normative group probably has a higher proportion of students enrolled in psychology course than the general student bodies involved. We cannot assume that students enrolled in any course, unless it is a course taken by all, are representative of the whole."[28]

Furthermore, there are differences in the mean ages of the two groups. The police recruits had a mean age of 23.6 years as compared to a mean of 22.5 years for the college sample. Koponen cautions in this regard in the following way.

> "A normative age group can be misleading unless it is truly representative of the particular age group . . . If a sample were drawn for an age group that was not representative of that age group in education and other factors as well, the norms would not be a true reflection of the universe."[29]

Furthermore, each group has passed through a different selective process in order to gain their present position. College students have been selected according to certain admission standards based primarily on previous academic performance. Police recruits have been selected according to certain physical, mental, moral and psychological standards based on the experience of the police in screening applicants. These different filter systems would tend to produce very different groups.

Suffice it to say that a comparison of our recruits with the college sample may be misleading as it is fraught with the possibility of error. However, these normative scores are the best that can be obtained and the analysis is limited accordingly. Be that as it may, the percentile group scores for the two samples are graphically shown on Chart I.

28. A. Koponen, "The Influence of Demographic Factors on Responses to the Edwards Personel Preference Schedule," (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), p. 41.
29. Ibid., p. 40.

A Comparison of Percentile Scores for 152 Police Recruits and 760 Male College Students

EDWARDS PERSONAL PREFERENCE SCHEDULE

LEGEND: Police Recruits

College Students

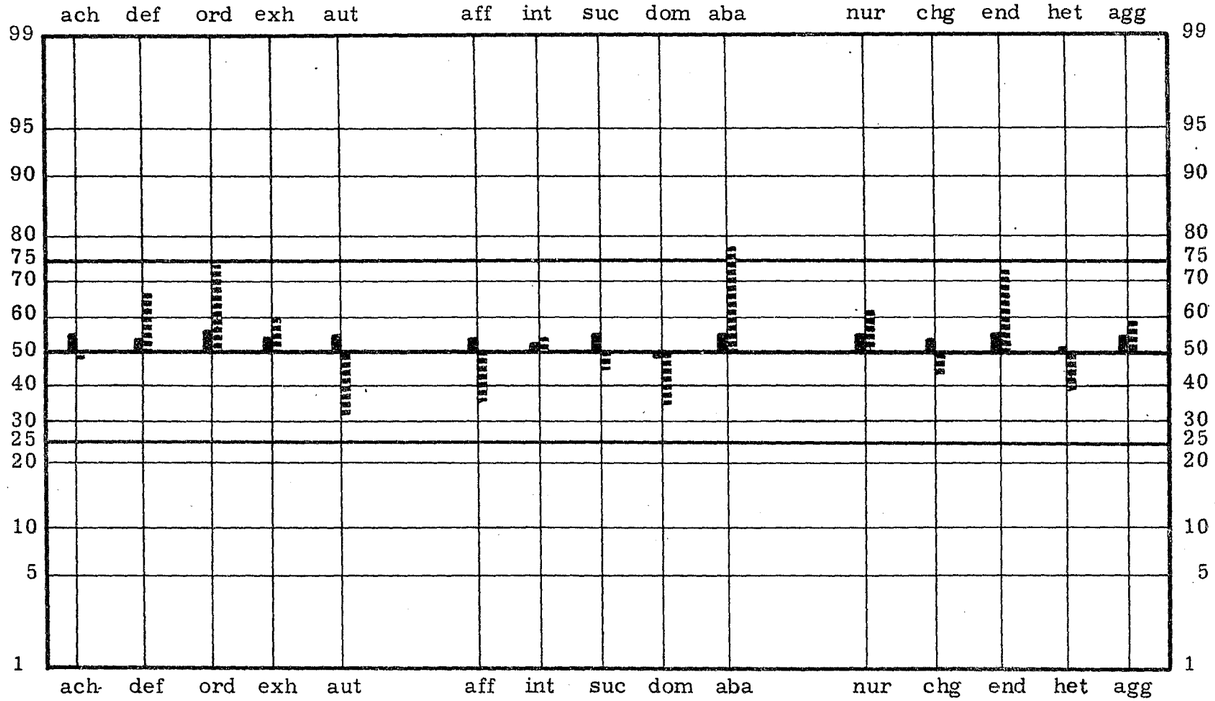

CHART I

The test manual warns against any precise definition of what constitutes a high and a low percentile score although they do suggest that scores inside of the 17-84 percentile range can be considered average.[30] However, for purposes of this analysis, the percentile range of 25-75 is arbitrarily considered to be average. An examination of Chart I shows that the recruit group goes outside the bounds of the average range on only one variable, that of abasement. Recruit subjects are higher than average on this personality variable.*

In an effort to introduce another dimension in this comparative analysis, the mean scores of 191 experienced Chicago patrolmen are also shown in Table XXIX.[31] In this case, statistically significant differences between the means of the experienced Chicago patrolmen and our recruit subjects were found in four variables; achievement, autonomy, abasement, and nurturance. Such differences suggest personality variables which might change as our recruits acquire active police experience.

Since this is a study of a group of men in a period of transition from various civilian roles to a police role, relative descriptions of personality logically can take two forms. They can be compared to the civilian group which they are leaving and the occupational group which they are entering. Table XXIX makes such a comparison. Mean scores of the male college students previously cited and the mean scores of 191 experienced Chicago patrolmen were the standards used in this comparative analysis.

30. Edwards, op. cit., p. 15.

* When the abasement score was compared to the norms presented in the test manual for the adult male sample, the recruit's group score was at the 35th percentile, in this instance within the bounds of our arbitrary average range.

31. Melany E. Baehr, John E. Furcon, and Ernest C. Froemel, "Psychological Assessment of Patrolman Qualifications in Relation to Field Performance," (Industrial Relations Center, The University of Chicago, Nov., 1968). This report did not contain the data shown in column 1. Means and standard deviations were obtained from Mr. Furcon by personal correspondence.

TABLE XXIX

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE EPPS VARIABLES

Personality Variable	Experienced Chicago Patrolmen (N = 191)	Comparison of Means ←	Recruit Subjects (N = 152)	Comparison of Means →	EPPS Male College Sample (N = 760)
Achievement	M = 16.53 SD = 3.87	t = 4.19 *	M = 14.81 SD = 3.70	t = 2.53 *	M = 15.66 SD = 4.13
Deference	M = 13.35 SD = 3.74	t = 2.4	M = 12.45 SD = 3.21	t = 4.26 *	M = 11.21 SD = 3.59
Order	M = 13.48 SD = 4.21	t = 1.97	M = 12.51 SD = 4.74	t = 5.49 *	M = 10.23 SD = 4.31
Exhibition	M = 14.41 SD = 4.00	t = 1.05	M = 14.84 SD = 3.57	t = 1.39	M = 14.40 SD = 3.53
Autonomy	M = 13.31 SD = 4.07	t = 3.45 *	M = 11.72 SD = 4.37	t = 6.73 *	M = 14.34 SD = 4.45
Affiliation	M = 12.16 SD = 3.75	t = 2.36	M = 13.09 SD = 3.52	t = 5.86 *	M = 15.00 SD = 4.32
Intraception	M = 16.28 SD = 4.26	t = 0.37	M = 16.45 SD = 4.25	t = 0.84	M = 16.12 SD = 5.23
Succorance	M = 9.22 SD = 4.16	t = 0.45	M = 9.42 SD = 3.99	t = 3.61 *	M = 10.74 SD = 4.70
Dominance	M = 16.08 SD = 4.27	t = 0.84	M = 15.70 SD = 4.07	t = 4.65 *	M = 17.44 SD = 4.88
Abasement	M = 11.87 SD = 5.02	t = 7.75 *	M = 15.68 SD = 4.10	t = 9.11 *	M = 12.24 SD = 4.93
Nurturance	M = 12.96 SD = 4.31	t = 3.89 *	M = 14.82 SD = 4.47	t = 1.94	M = 14.04 SD = 4.80
Change	M = 15.16 SD = 4.27	t = 2.01	M = 14.27 SD = 3.92	t = 3.43 *	M = 15.51 SD = 4.74
Endurance	M = 16.64 SD = 4.76	t = 1.94	M = 15.63 SD = 4.81	t = 6.83 *	M = 12.66 SD = 5.30
Heterosexuality	M = 15.57 SD = 6.71	t = 0.52	M = 15.93 SD = 5.97	t = 3.29 *	M = 17.65 SD = 5.48
Aggression	M = 12.97 SD = 3.75	t = 0.58	M = 13.22 SD = 4.17	t = 1.14	M = 12.79 SD = 4.59
Inconsistency	M = 4.27 SD = 5.03	t = 0.25	M = 4.17 SD = 1.91		
Consistency			M = 10.73 SD = 1.91	t = 4.73 *	M = 11.53 SD = 1.88

* Statistically significant difference at the 1 per cent level of confidence.

Statistically significant differences were found between the recruits and the college sample on 11 personality variables while differences between the recruits and the experienced patrolman sample occurred in only four instances.

If we accept the equivalence of the male college sample with the group of civilians from which the recruits came, and the equivalence of the Chicago police sample with the generalized police occupational groups, then we can say that our recruit subjects seemed to be more similar in terms of personality needs to the members of the occupational group which they were entering than they were to the civilian groups from which they came. However, as inviting as such a comparison is, the reader is cautioned against such a facile interpretation of the data. The norms used are simply not a sufficiently accurate reflection of the true universe to allow for valid comparisons. Koponen's research fully supports this cautious approach.[32]

The EPPS was employed within this research to assess changes which might occur in the responses of the same subjects on the first and second testing. We are interested in learning to what extent personality, as reflected in the scores of the 15 variables in the EPPS, is modified by police experience. Although statements comparing the subjects' scores at the time of the first testing with the normative scores obtained by other samples can serve us as a rough benchmark, those normative scores do not allow us to make general comparative statements between groups nor do they allow us to make general descriptive statements about the group personality characteristics of our subjects.

One personality variable, autonomy, does call for some mention at this time. This variable is defined as the ability to come and go as desired, to be independent of others in making decisions, and to avoid situations where one is expected to conform. Recruit subjects scored significantly lower than either the college or the experienced police sample. The Baehr report noted that low-tenure officers with excellent performance made relatively lower scores on the EPPS autonomy variable.[33] Colarelli found that the "good men" in the Kansas Highway Patrol also made lower scores on the EPPS autonomy variable.[34] These two findings suggest that the variable of autonomy may be related to good police performance and therefore should be given special consideration in the future analysis of the data obtained from the next administration of the test.

The question of whether or not there are inter-city differences in the scores obtained on the EPPS is pertinent to the goals of this research. Table XXX shows the mean scores on all fifteen variables obtained by recruits in each of the four cities.

32. Koponen, op. cit., p. 41.
33. Melany E. Baehr, et. al., op cit., p. VIII-9.
34. Nick J. Colarelli, et. al., unpublished, untitled typescript of oral report to the Department of Psychology, Topeka State Hospital professional staff on May 6, 1960, p. 10.

TABLE XXX

EPPS MEAN SCORES OF POLICE RECRUITS

Personality Variable	Baltimore (N=43)	Cincinnati (N=39)	Columbus (N=31)	Indianapolis (N=39)
Achievement	13.93	14.46	15.32	15.72
Deference	11.72	12.79	12.68	12.72
Order	11.83	12.33	13.00	13.03
Exhibition	13.97	15.72	14.13	15.49
Autonomy	12.81	10.64	11.84	11.49
Affiliation	12.62	13.51	13.61	12.74
Intraception	16.93	16.41	15.26	16.90
Succorance	9.67	9.21	9.03	9.67
Dominance	15.30	15.21	16.10	16.31
Abasement	15.53	15.62	17.10	14.79
Nurturance	14.55	14.28	15.81	14.85
Change	15.02	13.79	13.35	14.64
Endurance	14.37	17.18	16.68	14.64
Heterosexuality	18.44	15.59	14.45	14.69
Aggression	13.74	14.03	12.03	12.79
Consistency	10.84	10.74	11.77	10.00

Moreover, differences in mean scores among the four cities were calculated and checked for their statistical significance. Only four inter-city differences were found to be statistically significant at the 1 percent level of confidence. These are shown in Table XXXI.

TABLE XXXI

INTERCITY COMPARISONS OF DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES ON SELECTED PERSONALITY VARIABLES
(All Differences Shown are Significant at the 1 Per Cent Level of Confidence)

Personality Variable	City	Mean	Variance	t
Endurance	Cincinnati & Baltimore	17.18 14.37	28.66 19.58	2.58
Heterosexuality	Baltimore & Columbus	18.44 14.45	39.18 34.38	2.80
Heterosexuality	Baltimore & Indianapolis	18.44 14.69	39.18 24.78	3.02
Consistency	Columbus & Indianapolis	11.77 10.00	2.69 3.38	4.25

This analysis suggests that the personality characteristics of the men recruited into police work in the four cities included within this research do not differ in any appreciable way. On the face of it, this finding tends to suggest that men of a certain personality type tend to be attracted into law enforcement. However, a more careful consideration of the matter should include the possibility that this similarity may not merely be the result of men being attracted to police work in terms of their personality needs. Rather, it may also result from the selection of men who are of a certain personality type. This selection process may take two forms, the formal and the informal. With regard to formal selection procedures, psychological tests and examinations are commonly used to screen out applicants who appear to be unsuited for the work. This is an obvious means of narrowing down the range of personality types entering into police work.

Not so obvious are the informal mechanisms of selection. Perhaps the most important factor here is the typical nature of the recruitment activity. Most police departments depend very heavily on their present personnel to recruit promising men. Many police departments have offered their men incentives in the form of cash or time off for each candidate they recruit. Although experience seems to show that this means of recruitment is generally the primary source of new men, it nevertheless may serve as a selective device in ways which are unintended. The police officer seeking to recruit men must make a judgment about the kind of man they themselves consider to be potential police officers. Part of this judgment will include a consideration of personality characteristics. For example, if an officer feels that a young man who manifests the characteristics of high achievement, low deference, high autonomy, or high intraception is unsuitable for police work, more than likely the man who exhibited these characteristics in their contacts with a police officer will not be encouraged by the officer to consider a law enforcement career. Now it may be true that men with such personality characteristics are not suited for the police role. However, that judgment can best be made through the use of formal selective procedures.

The selective nature of this means of recruitment has been recognized by the police as a procedure which had the unintended result of excluding members of minority groups from police work. As a consequence, police officers have been urged to invite minorities to look into a police career. By the same token, we should recognize that recruitment programs which are based primarily on the efforts of their present personnel may have the unintended result of narrowing the range of the personality types of men entering police work.

ROLE CONFLICT INSTRUMENT

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

> "He is truly the'man in the middle.' He stands between the lawless and the law abiding and between the rioter and society. And no matter what course of action he takes he is between Scylla and Charybdis for one side will always take him to task."35

The intra-role conflict referred to above arises out of the differential expectations held by various reference groups about the role performance of the police.

The police, like all other occupational roles, have certain prescriptions and proscriptions governing the performance of the role. Some of these directions are written and codified in detail while others are implicit and vague. However, if we conceive of the on-the-job conduct of an officer as being directed wholly by the formalized do's and dont's related to the job, then we are accepting a view of behavior which is both mechanistic and simplistic. Realistically, we know that in the case of a police officer, the rules and regulations of the department and the orders of his supervisors are not the only determinants of the way the man does his job. There are many other factors which affect his job performance.

A full consideration of the causes of behavior is clearly beyond the scope of this discussion. However, in keeping within the framework of role theory, we can say that much of our role behavior is influenced by the expectations of others who are perceived by the actor as being significant to him. How much of the behavior of a police officer is determined by the behavioral expectations of significant others? We don't know, but a consideration of the following examples and perhaps a moment's reflection on our own experience will suggest that a large part of what we do is determined by the behavioral expectations held by other people. A former member of a state highway patrol recalled his feelings at the time he was assigned to work in a Negro urban area.

> "...I found myself roughing up Negroes routinely in the back seat of the patrol car -- not because I disliked Negroes, but because in the police group it was the thing to do."36

35. Thomas Reddin, "Law Enforcement in a Complex Society," (General Telephone Company of California, undated pamphlet), p. 2.

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

Not only are police officers perceptive of the expectations of other fellow officers but they are also sensitive to the expectations of the general public. Consider the statement of a police officer from a large city department.

> "If there was a real bad murder, you would get the feeling that the public wanted the killer and they didn't care how we caught him." "We also used to have the feeling that the public wanted us to keep pushing around homosexuals and other perverts."[37]

In the first instance, the police officer perceived of an expectation held by some of his fellow officers that he should engage in behavior which violates not only departmental rules and regulations but also the very laws he should be enforcing. In the second instance, the police officer was expressing an awareness of an expectation on the part of the general public to engage in extra-legal activities in the enforcement of the law. The officer is caught between two conflicting perceptions. One expectation perceived by the officer seems to tell him to do one thing while another expectation of which he is aware tells him to do another thing. This is the nature of the role conflict we are concerned with in this section.

Before a police officer can experience intra-role conflict, he must first identify role relevant reference groups and second, he must become aware of their expectations. This is an essential part of the socialization process for the police recruit. In the case of our recruit/student, police instructors and other trainees constitute the primary members of their reference group. Consequently, there is limited possibility for role conflict to arise. Conflict may originate from the conflicting expectations of various members of the training staff or it may arise out of conflicting expectations expressed by any one trainer. There is also the possibility for role conflict in connection with the expectations of other recruits and those of his trainers. In any event, from the first day of training, the recruit does not need to go through any lengthy process of learning to identify his role relevant reference groups. His trainers and his fellow recruits are the most important reference groups for him. Inherent in the role of the police trainer is the direct communication of behavioral expectations to his role reciprocal, the police trainee. Thus, if we were to hypothesize about the nature and extent of role conflict experienced by the student of law enforcement, we would expect such conflict as there is to be quite limited and of low intensity. Training would assumedly expand the possibility of conflict and increase its intensity since one of its functions is to increase the sensitivity of the trainee to the behavioral expectations of other reference groups. Later when the man moves into the role of apprentice patrolman, the number of his reference groups increases. So too does the potential for conflict increase.

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

As has been stated, the role conflict instrument employed within the RPB was modeled after the form devised by Gross, et. al.[38] Our modified form allows us to assess the subjects' awareness of what he considers to be the nature of the expectations held by fifteen audiences, the number of audiences whose expectations are not yet perceived by the subjects, and the degree to which the conflict situation bothers the recruit. Five conflict situations were utilized in this analysis. The responses of the subjects in the four cities have been combined in the analysis of this data and in the related discussion.

1. Learning Essentials of Police Work.

The first situation deals with the recruits' perceptions of the way in which members of various reference groups expect him to learn the essentials of police work. The subject matter of this situation is one of major importance for the general thesis of this paper. While in recruit training, the man assumedly will perceive of the expectations of others as being that the essence of police work can be learned in the classroom. In a very real sense, the recruit is committed to this expectation because classroom training is the means by which he must learn enough about the police role to perform his next role, that of apprentice patrolman. In this latter role, a craft-like theme in which experience is valued will be perceived as constituting the expectations of significant reference groups.

Responses to the first situation are presented in Table XXXII-A. For purposes of interpretation, responses indicating perceived expectations have been categorized into four general audience classifications. Totals have been calculated for three of these four general classifications. The fourth classification, significant public audiences, is too diverse to be considered as representing a common grouping and consequently, no total is shown.

As indicated in Table XXXII-A, at the time of the first testing, clearly the "mixed" expectation is the majority view of the police audience. The percentage figure for the total police group equals 65.26. For the recruits themselves, 76.97 percent of them felt that they will learn the essentials of the police role both in the classroom and later, through field experience. It is significant to note that at the start of their training, 38.81 per cent of the subjects indicated that they felt that experienced patrolmen expected them to learn the police role through field experience. This is the highest percent of any audience group in the "field experience" column. By and large, the other audiences; court, personal, and public, were perceived of as holding primarily the "mixed" expectation. Generally, these audiences were also perceived of as holding the "classroom" expectation to a greater extent than the police group.

Although there are no striking evidences of conflict between the expectations of the various audiences suggested by these data, the seeds of conflict are evident.

38. Gross et. al., op. cit., pp. 254-56.

TABLE XXXII-A

Expectations Perceived by 152 Police Recruits, T_1
(1) Learning the essentials of police work

Audiences	Class-room	Field Experience	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	5.92%	38.81	53.29		.66	1.31
Other new ptlmn.	23.03	19.08	53.29	.66	2.63	1.31
Instructors/trainers	19.08	4.60	75.66		.66	
Supervisors	14.47	17.76	67.10		.66	
Self	10.53	11.18	76.97			1.31
TOTAL	14.60	18.29	65.26	.13	.92	.79
COURT						
Judges	26.97	12.50	57.24	.66	1.97	.66
Lawyers	34.21	13.16	47.37	2.63	1.97	.66
Probation Officers	25.66	22.37	36.18	4.60	11.18	
Prosecutors	25.00	14.47	42.10	4.60	13.81	
TOTAL	27.96	15.62	45.72	3.12	7.23	.32
PERSONAL						
Friends	26.97	37.50	25.00	5.26	3.29	1.97
Wife/Family	23.68	13.16	58.55	1.31	3.29	
TOTAL	25.33	25.33	41.78	3.29	3.29	.98
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	26.31	15.13	48.68	4.60	5.26	
Civil Rights Leaders	27.63	22.37	17.10	17.76	13.81	1.31
Clergymen	38.16	8.55	31.58	8.55	13.16	
Newspapermen	25.66	29.60	24.34	12.50	7.24	.66
Politicians	32.24	17.10	25.00	12.50	11.18	1.97

TABLE XXXII-B

Expectations Perceived by 136 Police Recruits, T_2
(1) Learning the essentials of police work

Audiences	Class-room	Field Experience	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	2.94%	64.70	30.14		.73	1.47
Other new ptlmn.	17.64	42.64	38.97	.73		
Instructors/trainers	34.55	16.17	49.26			
Supervisors	17.64	32.35	49.26		.73	
Self	1.02	33.08	53.67			2.20
TOTAL	16.76	37.79	44.26	.14	.29	.73
COURT						
Judges	33.08	19.85	45.58	.73	.73	
Lawyers	45.58	15.44	33.08	4.41	1.47	
Probation Officers	25.73	29.41	22.05	9.55	12.50	.73
Prosecutors	33.82	15.44	44.85	3.67	1.47	.73
TOTAL	34.55	20.03	36.39	4.59	4.04	.36
PERSONAL						
Friends	34.55	32.35	22.79	8.08	1.47	.73
Wife/Family	21.32	22.79	47.05	2.94	5.88	
TOTAL	27.94	27.57	34.92	5.51	3.67	.36
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	30.88	22.79	36.02	6.61	3.67	
Civil Rights Leaders	42.64	19.11	13.97	18.38	5.88	.73
Clergymen	43.38	19.85	22.05	6.61	7.35	.73
Newspapermen	35.29	29.41	15.44	16.91	2.20	.73
Politicians	41.17	13.97	16.91	18.38	8.82	.73

The expectations of experienced patrolmen reported to be perceived by 38.81 per cent of the subjects reflect a craft orientation to the police role, i.e, they will learn the police role through experience. We should note that experienced patrolmen will be an important, if not the most important, role reciprocal for the apprentice patrolman. On the other hand, the greater relative proportion among the non-police audience groups for the "classroom" expectation reflects a professional orientation to learning the police role.

When the data from the first administration of the instrument is compared with that derived from the second testing, the possible sources of conflict are more evident. As shown in Table XXXII-B, the "mixed" expectation for the police audience was reduced to 44.26 per cent. While the majority of the recruits themselves held the "mixed" expectation, a majority also perceived of other new patrolmen and experienced patrolmen as holding the "field experience" expectation. In contrast, the recruits now perceive of a sizeable proportion of their trainers, 34.55 per cent, as holding the "classroom" expectation. Overall, the potential for role conflict with regard to learning the police role is present among the specific groups which make up the police audience.

Within the three other audiences, the recruits perceived the majority expectation for lawyers, friends, civil rights leaders, clergymen, newspapermen, and politicians to be that of learning the police role in the classroom. In terms of the dynamics of perceptual change between the first and second testing, while the recruits' concepts of the expectation of the police audience was moving toward an increased valuation of field experience, the expectations for lawyers, friends, and various public audiences are seen as moving in the direction of greater value for classroom training. Here again is a possible early source of role conflict.

2. Dealing With the Public.

Impersonality in dealing with the public is one of the hallmarks of professionalism and certainly, this manner of dealing with people is generally considered to be desirable for law enforcement personnel.

> "Patrolmen often equate being 'impersonal' with being effective, for to be impersonal is to assume that embodying legal authority is sufficient. To get involved means to display one's personal qualities, . . . "[39]

There is much about law enforcement which lends itself to impersonality. Impersonality is an essential characteristic of our criminal justice system. The wearing of

39. Wilson, op. cit., p. 33.

a uniform further contributes to impersonality. The routine-emergency nature of some occupations contributes to this quality.

> "In many occupations, the. . . practitioners. . . deal routinely with what are emergencies to the people who receive the services. . . His very competence comes from having dealt with a thousand cases of what I like to consider my unique trouble. The worker thinks he knows from long experience that people exaggerate their troubles. He therefore builds up devices to protect himself to stall people off."[40]

One of these devices is impersonality. Further, in terms of the nature and number of contacts which the police have with people, a blunting emotional tone is a possible occupational characteristic. Impersonality thus is not a universally desired quality in human relations. That this is so is best exemplified by the comments of a civil rights leader to a command officer at the scene of a racial demonstration. While the impassioned demonstrators marched and chanted close to a cordon of stone-like uniformed police, the two men conversed with another. Since the men had seen each other a number of times before in a similar situation and a degree of trust for one another existed, they were able to talk quite openly. The civil rights leader asked a rhetorical question, "Do you know what irritates these demonstrators the most!" He continued by saying that it was the fact that the police didn't react as human beings. They simply didn't react to the taunts of the demonstrators. They appeared to be non-human.

The data in Table XXXIII-A shows that, by and large, the police audience is perceived of by the subjects as holding an impersonal expectation. Although the subjects themselves hold the impersonal expectation, the percentage for "self" in the "impersonal" column is the lowest within the police audience. The percentage figure for experienced patrolmen is the highest in the police group. The majority of subjects also perceive of the "impersonal" expectation as representative of the court audience. However, the majority of subjects perceive of both personal and public audiences as holding the contrary expectation. They are believed to expect the police to be good-natured and friendly in dealing with the public. Here then is a conflict situation which the subjects are aware of even at the start of their training.

On the whole, the second administration produced slight changes in the data. Again, the majority of the subjects saw the police and court audiences as holding the "impersonal" expectation while the majority view of personal and public audiences was the "good natured" expectation. Only in two instances were the changes in percentage figures of significance. More subjects saw prosecutors holding the "impersonal"

40. Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Work and the Self," in J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (eds.) Social Psychology at the Cross Roads (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 322.

TABLE XXXIII-A

Expectations Perceived by 152 Police Recruits, T_1
(2) Dealing with the public

Audiences	Impersonal	Good Natured	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	55.26%	19.74	21.05	2.63	1.31	
Other new ptlmn.	43.42	27.63	20.39	1.97	5.92	.66
Instructors/trainers	46.05	20.39	31.58		1.97	
Supervisors	49.34	21.71	26.97		1.97	
Self	40.79	28.95	28.95	.66		.66
TOTAL	46.97	23.68	25.79	1.05	2.24	.26
COURT						
Judges	65.13	16.45	16.45	.66	1.31	
Lawyers	58.55	24.34	11.84	2.63	1.97	.66
Probation Officers	40.79	28.29	12.50	6.58	11.18	.66
Prosecutors	52.63	19.08	11.84	5.26	11.18	
TOTAL	54.27	22.03	13.15	3.78	6.41	.32
PERSONAL						
Friends	13.16	67.10	13.81	3.28	2.63	
Wife/Family	20.39	47.37	25.66	3.95	1.97	.66
TOTAL	16.78	57.24	19.74	3.62	2.30	.33
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	35.53	47.37	9.21	4.60	2.63	.66
Civil Rights Leaders	25.66	46.71	6.58	11.84	8.55	.66
Clergymen	13.16	61.84	8.55	3.95	11.18	1.31
Newspapermen	30.26	47.37	9.87	7.89	4.60	
Politicians	21.71	51.97	11.84	5.92	7.89	.66

TABLE XXXIII-B

Expectations Perceived by 136 Police Recruits, T_2
(2) Dealing with the public

Audiences	Impersonal	Good Natured	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	55.14%	18.38	20.58	4.41	1.47	
Other new ptlmn.	44.85	30.88	18.38	2.20	2.94	.73
Instructors/trainers	50.73	23.52	23.52	.73	.73	.73
Supervisors	55.88	20.58	21.32	1.47	.73	
Self	41.17	33.82	24.26			.73
TOTAL	49.55	25.44	21.61	1.76	1.17	.44
COURT						
Judges	60.29	20.58	13.97	2.94	2.20	
Lawyers	50.00	25.00	12.50	8.08	4.41	
Probation Officers	43.38	28.67	7.35	7.35	12.50	.73
Prosecutors	63.23	16.17	13.97	2.94	2.94	.73
TOTAL	54.22	22.61	11.94	5.33	5.51	.36
PERSONAL						
Friends	14.70	68.38	8.08	6.61	2.20	
Wife/Family	27.20	52.94	14.70	2.94	2.20	
TOTAL	20.95	60.66	11.39	4.77	2.20	
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	25.00	58.08	8.82	5.14	2.94	
Civil Rights Leaders	26.47	50.73	4.41	11.02	7.35	
Clergymen	18.38	66.17	11.02		3.67	.73
Newspapermen	24.26	43.38	8.08	14.70	8.08	1.47
Politicians	26.47	44.11	8.08	12.50	8.82	

expectation at the time of the second testing than at the first. Also, more subjects saw businessmen as having the "good natured" expectation at the end of their training than at the start. Beyond these changes, exposure to recruit training did little to alter the recruits' perceptions of the expectations of various audiences with regard to dealing with the public.

3. Handling the Arrest of a Drunk.

The uniform application of the law is a guiding principle within the criminal justice system. Especially is this so for the police and the courts. In the conflict situation presented, the decision to arrest has already been made. We are talking about the way of processing the arrestee.

Wilson described two extreme styles of law enforcement which are relevant to this topic. The "watchman" style of police departments is one in which the officers are encouraged to take personal differences into account. At the other extreme, there is the legalistic style.

> "The police will act, on the whole, as if there were a single standard of community conduct -- that which the law prescribes -- rather than different standards."[41]

The data displayed in Table XXXIV-A shows that the majority of subjects perceive of the expectations of their colleagues as being in the direction of handling arrests in the "same way." The same is true for the court audiences. The subject's family is seen as expecting a uniform application of the law while their friends are seen as evenly divided between the two positions.

Almost 62 per cent of the subjects report the perceived expectation of businessmen as being one of handling the arrest of the laborer and the school teacher differently, the highest figure in that column. With regard to civil rights leaders, the data is remarkable. With all their stress for equality, one might reasonably anticipate that civil rights leaders would be perceived of almost universally as holding the "same way" expectation. That over 34 per cent of the subjects felt that civil rights leaders held the "different way" expectation does seem to be worthy of notice. Overall, the data reflects a considerable degree of nascent conflict for the recruit. Police and court audiences are seen as holding the "same way" expectation while the public is seen as holding the "different way" expectation.

As shown in Table XXXIV-B which displays data obtained at the end of training, the perceived expectations of the subjects had undergone a notable change which was consistent for all audiences. A greater percentage of the subjects reported the "different way" expectation at the time of the second testing than at the first. The data suggests that training has had the effect of causing the subjects

41. Wilson, op. cit., p. 173.

TABLE XXXIV-A

Expectations Perceived by 152 Police Recruits, T_1
(3) Handling the arrest of a drunk

Audiences	Same Way	Different Way	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	77.63%	17.76	1.31	1.31	1.31	.66
Other new ptlmn.	77.63	17.10	.66	2.63	1.97	
Instructors/trainers	83.55	13.81	1.31		1.31	
Supervisors	81.58	13.81	2.63		1.97	
Self	85.53	13.81				.66
TOTAL	81.18	15.26	1.18	.79	1.31	.26
COURT						
Judges	75.00	17.76	1.31	1.97	3.95	
Lawyers	54.60	36.18	.66	3.95	4.60	
Probation Officers	62.50	18.42	.66	8.55	9.87	
Prosecutors	64.47	17.76	.66	5.92	10.53	.66
TOTAL	64.14	22.53	.82	5.09	7.23	.16
PERSONAL						
Friends	46.71	46.05		4.60	2.63	
Wife/Family	63.16	28.29	1.31	3.95	3.29	
TOTAL	54.93	37.17	.66	4.28	2.96	
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	27.63	61.84	.66	7.89	1.97	
Civil Rights Leaders	50.00	34.21	1.97	6.58	7.24	
Clergymen	42.76	45.39	1.31	3.95	6.58	
Newspapermen	36.84	50.66	.66	5.26	6.58	
Politicians	28.29	54.60	.66	7.24	8.55	.66

TABLE XXXIV-B

Expectations Perceived by 136 Police Recruits, T_2
(3) Handling the arrest of a drunk

Audiences	Same Way	Different Way	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	64.70%	31.61	2.20	.73		.73
Other new ptlmn.	67.64	27.20	1.47	.73	3.67	
Instructors/trainers	72.05	24.26	2.20		.73	.73
Supervisors	70.58	25.73	2.94		.73	
Self	69.85	25.00	2.20	2.20		.73
TOTAL	68.97	26.76	2.20	.58	1.02	.44
COURT						
Judges	65.44	28.67	2.20	.73	2.94	
Lawyers	51.47	42.64	2.20	2.20	1.47	
Probation Officers	48.52	22.79	2.94	12.50	13.23	
Prosecutors	62.50	30.14	2.20	2.20	2.94	
TOTAL	56.98	31.06	2.38	4.41	5.14	
PERSONAL						
Friends	36.02	54.41		4.41	4.41	.73
Wife/Family	48.52	40.44	2.20	3.67	4.41	.73
TOTAL	42.27	47.42	1.10	4.04	4.41	.73
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	13.97	75.00	1.47	6.61	2.20	.73
Civil Rights Leaders	50.73	36.76	2.20	6.61	3.67	
Clergymen	43.38	45.58	2.20	4.41	2.94	1.47
Newspapermen	31.61	52.94	1.47	8.08	5.14	.73
Politicians	19.11	60.29	.73	14.70	5.14	

to feel that they will be expected to make distinctions in the way they handle drunks on the basis of who the drunk is.

4. Stop Crime or Respect Civil Liberties.

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

> "Two distinct views are current in American society about the role of police. The most widely held is based on the belief that maximum efficiency in enforcing the law is impossible without the sacrifice of some constitutional guarantees: that law enforcement is impossible without a certain amount of secrecy on the part of the police; that all laws must be enforced exactly as enacted; that law violators, in effect, give up their civil rights; and that it may sometimes be necessary for the police to violate laws in the interests of effectively protecting the broader interests of society.
>
> Basically, this has been the dominant view. Most policemen reject or only reluctantly accept the concept that constitutional guarantees against coerced or otherwise illegally obtained confessions or admissions, against unwarranted search and seizure, against illegal arrests and confinements are among the most important elements of a free society, even though these guarantees may be barriers to an 'efficient' police service."[42]

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

> "Some persons feel strongly that crime among minority groups ought to be stamped out even at a high cost in the violation of civil liberties; others feel that civil liberties ought to be safeguarded even at a high cost of crime."[43]

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

42. Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 20.
43. "A National Survey of Police and Community Relations," (East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1967), p. 385.

civil liberties. As can be seen from Table XXXV-A, this compromise expectation represented the majority response in every instance but one, that for the civil rights leaders. Here, 48.03 per cent of the subjects felt that civil rights leaders held the expectation of respecting civil liberties even if it results in increasing crime.

In the analysis of this table, we should keep in mind that two of the three positions represent extreme points of view. Nearly 24 per cent of the respondents perceive of the expectation held by experienced patrolmen as being one of stopping crime even if it requires sacrificing certain civil liberties. That 37.5 per cent of our subjects feel that businessmen held the same extreme point of view is a surprising finding. The opposite view was attributed to civil rights leaders, i.e., that civil liberties must be respected even if it results in increasing crime. The potential for conflict is intrinsic in this situation.

As shown in Table XXXV-B, the second administration of the item to the subjects suggests even greater potential for conflict even though the subjects' perceptions changed to a considerable degree in only three cases. A greater proportion of subjects perceived of the "stop crime even if it requires sacrificing certain civil liberties" expectation for the experienced patrolmen and other new patrolmen audiences. Again, we should remember that both of these audiences will be of great significance as the individual recruit takes on the apprentice patrolman role. As in the first testing, the majority of subjects saw civil rights leaders as holding the "respect civil liberties even if it results in increasing crime" expectation. Thus, the essence of the role conflict suggested from the data drawn from the first administration is the same. The difference is that the potential for conflict seems to have been intensified.

5. Police Experience Will Change a Person.

The last conflict situation is one which may appear at first glance to be relatively inconsequential. Perhaps it is in terms of a public issue. One school of thought reasons that there is no real benefit in selecting good men for the police job since after a few years of experience in the field, they become like all the rest of them. This view would argue that the self emerges out of the performance of a role. The contrary position is that role enactments are shaped by a relatively immutable self. Therefore, high quality personnel at the point of entry into police service will be of great help in improving law enforcement.

More to the purposes of this research is the fact than an individual who feels that others hold the expectation that he as a person will change is in a different psychological environment than is another who perceives the expectation that he will not change. Katz and Kahn add another dimension to this discussion.

TABLE XXXV-A

Expectations Perceived by 152 Police Recruits, T_1
(4) Stopping the rise in crime

Audiences	Stop	Respect	Stop but Respect	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE							
Exp. ptlmn.	23.68%	2.63	69.73	3.29		.65	
Other new ptlmn.	17.76	2.63	74.34	3.29	.65	1.32	
Instructors/trainers	12.50	3.29	80.92	2.63		.65	
Supervisors	14.47	3.29	78.29	2.63		.65	.65
Self	16.45	1.97	78.95	1.97			.65
TOTAL	16.97	2.76	76.45	2.76	.13	.65	.23
COURT							
Judges	13.81	5.92	76.97	.66	.66	1.31	.66
Lawyers	9.21	12.50	71.71	1.97	1.31	3.29	
Probation Officers	13.81	8.55	60.53	2.63	4.60	9.21	.66
Prosecutors	16.45	8.55	68.42	.66	.66	5.26	
TOTAL	13.32	8.88	69.40	1.48	1.80	4.76	.32
PERSONAL							
Friends	19.74	3.95	67.76	.66	1.97	5.26	.66
Wife/Family	17.76	3.29	69.08	2.63	3.95	2.63	.66
TOTAL	18.75	3.62	68.42	1.64	2.96	3.95	.66
PUBLIC							
Businessmen	37.50	5.92	50.00	2.63	1.31	2.63	
Civil Rights Leaders	2.63	48.03	43.42	1.97	1.31	2.63	
Clergymen	8.55	13.81	70.39	1.31	.66	4.60	.66
Newspapermen	10.53	17.76	60.53		3.95	5.92	1.31
Politicians	9.21	17.10	64.47	3.29	1.97	3.95	

TABLE XXXV-B

Expectations Perceived by 136 Police Recruits, T_2
(4) Stopping the rise in crime

Audiences	Stop	Respect	Stop but Respect	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE							
Exp. ptlmn.	36.02%	1.47	58.82	1.47		1.47	.73
Other new ptlmn.	25.00	2.94	66.17	.73		4.41	.73
Instructors/trainers	11.76	5.14	76.47	2.94		1.47	2.20
Supervisors	17.64	3.67	75.00	2.20		1.47	
Self	16.91	2.20	77.94	2.20	.73		
TOTAL	21.47	3.08	70.88	1.91	.14	1.76	.73
COURT							
Judges	11.76	7.35	77.20	2.20		1.47	
Lawyers	9.55	14.70	70.58	1.47	2.20	1.47	
Probation Officers	8.82	6.61	66.17		7.35	8.82	2.20
Prosecutors	10.29	5.88	78.67	.73	1.47	1.47	1.47
TOTAL	10.11	8.63	73.16	1.10	2.75	3.30	.91
PERSONAL							
Friends	20.58	6.61	63.23	1.47	5.14	2.94	
Wife/Family	13.23	1.47	78.67	2.20	2.20	2.20	
TOTAL	16.91	4.04	70.95	1.83	3.67	2.57	
PUBLIC							
Businessmen	49.26	4.41	44.11	.73		1.47	
Civil Rights Leaders	2.94	51.47	40.44	1.47	3.67		
Clergymen	11.02	13.97	70.58	.73	.73	2.20	.73
Newspapermen	12.50	18.38	51.47	.73	11.02	5.14	.73
Politicians	9.55	17.64	56.61	2.20	6.61	6.61	.73

> ". . . people who were flexible rather than rigid were subjected to greater pressures to change by their role senders. The behavior of role senders toward extremely rigid focal persons seemed to reflect a judgment of futility and acceptance and the abandonment of continuing attempts to influence behavior in the direction of ideal performance."[44]

Here people are categorized by role senders according to their personality characteristics and, depending on whether they are thought to be flexible or rigid, are then subjected to appropriate expectations for change.

From an inspection of Table XXXVI-A, it appears that the majority of recruits feel that the police audiences hold the expectation that police experience will make them change as persons. Again, in such a situation where the expectation for change is widely perceived, conditions are favorable for change. The subject who does not perceive that others hold an expectation that police experience will change him is psychologically more immune to being changed as a person.

Table XXXVI-B contains the data from the second testing. Here again, the majority of subjects perceived of the expectation held by the police audience that police work would change them. Court and public were also seen by the majority of recruits as holding this expectation. Only in the case of wife/family was the "little effect" expectation indicated by the majority of recruit subjects.

Since this study is one of investigating changes in role conceptions, this conflict situation serves as a useful device to categorize subjects. Within this research, we would hypothesize that subjects who did not feel that others held the expectation that police experience will change them will themselves show less change over time on all instruments in the RPB.

In an interpretation of the data for this conflict situation, it should be pointed out that this last item had the greatest proportion of subjects report the "unconcerned" expectation. One in five of the subjects saw civil rights leaders and politicians as holding the unconcerned expectation.

A Summary View of Role Conflict

The data can be examined in another way which more directly compares the perceived expectations of others with the views of the respondents themselves. This kind of analysis moves from that of the general conflict in perceived expectations between the police and other non-police audience groups as discussed above to the specific conflict of the subject's views with those believed to be held by various other audience groups.

44. David Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 193.

TABLE XXXVI-A

Expectations Perceived by 152 Police Recruits, T_1
(5) Changing as a result of police experience

Audiences	Change Me	Little Effect	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	71.71%	21.05	3.29	2.63	1.31	
Other new ptlmn.	56.58	32.24	3.95	3.95	2.63	.66
Instructors/trainers	72.37	22.37	1.97	1.31	1.97	
Supervisors	70.39	23.03	1.97	1.97	2.63	
Self	59.21	38.16	1.97	.66		
TOTAL	66.05	27.37	2.63	2.10	1.71	.13
COURT						
Judges	59.87	24.34	1.31	9.21	4.60	.66
Lawyers	53.95	25.66	1.97	11.18	5.92	1.31
Probation Officers	44.08	25.66	1.97	14.47	13.16	.66
Prosecutors	48.68	25.66	.66	11.84	11.18	1.97
TOTAL	51.64	25.32	1.48	11.67	8.71	1.15
PERSONAL						
Friends	48.03	43.42	3.29	2.63	1.31	1.31
Wife/Family	42.76	50.66	2.63	1.31	2.63	
TOTAL	45.39	47.04	2.96	1.97	1.97	.66
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	51.97	25.00	1.97	13.81	7.24	
Civil Rights Leaders	46.71	19.74	.66	19.74	13.16	
Clergymen	41.45	36.18	1.97	8.55	11.18	.66
Newspapermen	46.71	23.68	.66	17.76	10.53	.66
Politicians	39.47	26.97	1.31	20.39	11.18	.66

TABLE XXXVI-B

Expectations Perceived by 136 Police Recruits, T_2
(5) Changing as a result of police experience

Audiences	Change Me	Little Effect	Mixed	Uncon-cerned	No Idea	No Response
POLICE						
Exp. ptlmn.	69.11%	24.26	1.47	2.20	2.20	.73
Other new ptlmn.	60.29	30.14	.73	4.41	2.94	1.47
Instructors/trainers	69.85	26.47		.73	1.47	1.47
Supervisors	69.11	25.73	2.20	1.47	1.47	
Self	52.20	45.58	1.47	.73		
TOTAL	64.11	30.44	1.17	1.91	1.61	.73
COURT						
Judges	64.70	28.67	.73	2.94	2.94	
Lawyers	62.50	25.00	1.47	7.35	3.67	
Probation Officers	50.73	23.52		14.70	11.02	
Prosecutors	60.29	22.05		11.02	6.61	
TOTAL	59.55	24.81	.55	9.00	6.06	
PERSONAL						
Friends	51.47	42.64	.73	2.20	2.20	.73
Wife/Family	44.85	50.73		1.47	2.94	
TOTAL	48.16	46.69	.36	1.83	2.57	.36
PUBLIC						
Businessmen	63.23	15.44		15.44	5.88	
Civil Rights Leaders	52.94	18.38		21.32	7.35	
Clergymen	46.32	38.97		5.88	7.35	1.47
Newspapermen	50.73	24.26	.73	17.64	5.14	1.47
Politicians	45.58	23.52	1.47	19.85	8.82	.73

In each of the five situations, the majority expectation of the recruit subjects is the predominate expectation which the recruit feels is held by other police groups. Thus, at both the start and the end of training, the prevailing view of the subjects corresponds with the felt expectations of other police groups. From this point of view, there is little potential for conflict within the overall police group. For example, the situation on learning the essentials of police work shows 76.97 per cent of the recruits indicated that they held a mixed expectation. Other police audiences are perceived of by the greater proportion of respondents as also holding the mixed expectation.

Similarly, this is true in the case of judges, lawyers, probation officers, prosecutors, wife/family, and businessmen. However, the dominant expectation held by the respondents is not the same expectation perceived by the majority of subjects to represent the views of politicians, personal friends, civil rights leaders, clergymen, and newspaper men. To the extent that this situation influences the attitudes and actions of people, the possibility for conflict is greater in instances of personal contact between these latter audiences and the police. This pattern of analysis is presented in Tables XXXVII A and B for all five conflict situations.

Admitting a lack of precision in the foregoing analysis, it nevertheless suggests a contrary view to that of Preiss and Ehrlich who found that the audience groups which were believed to hold conflicting views to the police position remained constant regardless of the nature of the situation presented to the subjects. They stated,

> ". . . it was not the situation (or situational pressures) which were determinative of deviance but rather that audiences perceived as deviant were perceived as such in all situations."45

In our analysis, audience groups perceived of as deviant did not remain constant. The audience(s) listed in both columns appear to have shifted in all five cases in an understandable way. Table XXXVII-B shows the same was true for the second testing of the subjects. Only in situations 3 and 4 was there any change in the audiences listed as holding a view different than the police.

Effect of the Conflict Situations

To what extent are the subjects bothered by each of the five conflict situations presented to them. By assigning scores from 1 for the response of "a great deal" to a 5 for the response of "not at all," mean scores were computed at both the start and the end of training for subjects in each of the four cities. Here, the lower the score, the greater the degree that the subject was bothered by the situation. The data is shown in Table XXXVIII. In general, the recruits' responses clustered around the

45. Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich. An Examination of Role Theory, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 108.

TABLE XXXVII-A

MAJORITY EXPECTATIONS PERCEIVED BY SUBJECTS, T_1

	Majority Expectation of Police	Audiences Perceived by Majority of Subjects as Holding a View...	
		Same As Police	Different Than Police
Situation 1 (Learn Essentials)	Both class and field	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Prosecutors Wife/Family Businessmen	Politicians Friends Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 2 (Dealing with Public)	Impersonal and reserved	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Prosecutors	Politicians Friends Wife/Family Businessmen Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 3 (Handle Arrest)	Arrest same way	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Friends Wife/Family Civil Rights Leaders	Politicians Businessmen Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 4 (Stop Crime)	Stop but respect	Judges Lawyers Politicians Probation Officers Prosecutors Friends Wife/Family Businessmen Clergymen Newspapermen	Civil Rights Leaders
Situation 5 (Changed person)	Changed person	Judges Lawyers Politicians Probation Officers Prosecutors Friends Businessmen Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen	Wife/Family

TABLE XXXVII-B

MAJORITY EXPECTATION PERCEIVED BY RECRUIT SUBJECTS, T_2

	Majority Expectation of Police	Audiences Perceived by Majority of Subjects as Holding a View. . .	
		Same As Police	Different Than Police
Situation 1. (Learn Essentials)	Both class and field	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Prosecutors Wife/Family Businessmen	Politicians Friends Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 2. (Dealing with Public)	Impersonal and reserved	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Prosecutors	Politicians Friends Wife/Family Businessmen Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 3. (Handle Arrest)	Arrest same way	Judges Lawyers Probation Officers Prosecutors Wife/Family Civil Rights Leaders	Politicians Friends Businessmen Clergymen Newspapermen
Situation 4. (Stop Crime)	Stop but respect	Judges Lawyers Politicians Probation Officers Prosecutors Friends Wife/Family Clergymen Newspapermen	Businessmen Civil Rights Leaders
Situation 5. (Changed person)	Change me	Judges Lawyers Politicians Probation Officers Prosecutors Friends Businessmen Civil Rights Leaders Clergymen Newspapermen	Wife/Family

TABLE XXXVIII

A COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES INDICATING THE EXTENT TO WHICH RECRUIT SUBJECTS REPORT BEING "BOTHERED BY" EACH OF THE FIVE CONFLICT SITUATIONS

	Mean Score Start of Training	Mean Score End of Training
	1. Classroom - Field Experience	
Baltimore (N=28)	3.61	3.86
Cincinnati (N=39)	3.77	3.85
Columbus (N=29)	3.55	3.75
Indianapolis (N=38)	3.44	3.42
	2. Impersonal - Good Natured	
Baltimore	3.61	3.89
Cincinnati	3.85	3.90
Columbus	3.82	3.89
Indianapolis	3.71	3.50
	3. Arrest Same Way - Different Way	
Baltimore	3.50	3.71
Cincinnati	4.08	3.62*
Columbus	3.79	3.68
Indianapolis	3.52	3.50
	4. Stop Crime - Respect Civil Liberties	
Baltimore	3.41	3.79
Cincinnati	3.90	3.59
Columbus	3.55	3.79
Indianapolis	3.44	3.39
	5. Change Me - Have Little Effect	
Baltimore	3.61	3.86
Cincinnati	3.92	4.05
Columbus	3.75	4.00
Indianapolis	3.81	3.57

*t=2.4462, significant at the 1% level of confidence

level of 4 indicative that they were hardly at all bothered by the conflict situations presented. For situation 3, Cincinnati subjects reported being more bothered by the conflict situation after completing recruit training. As shown, this is the only difference that was statistically significant. Furthermore, Indianapolis stands as atypical. In each of the five situations, the scores at T_2 were lower than those at T_1. This means that in each instance the situation tended to bother the recruits more at the completion of recruit training than it did at the start of training. We should note that this increase in the degree to which Indianapolis subjects were bothered by the conflict situations was not statistically significant.

The Accuracy of Expectations

Throughout this discussion we have omitted any concern for the accuracy with which the subjects perceive of the expectations of others. It is entirely possible that they are grossly in error for each of the groups listed. However, role conflict can originate from both real and imagined contradictory expectations. Relevant to this point, we have one internal check for assessing the validity of the expectations perceived by the subjects. In each of the five situations presented, the subjects were asked to indicate the expectation they believed was held by other recruits. This represents a perceptual awareness of a group expectation. This is what they believe the group expects. The subjects were also asked to indicate the expectations that they themselves had. Collectively, these responses make up the actual expectations held by the group of recruits. Thus, we have a measure of both the actual and the perceived expectations for the recruit group. The greater the correspondence between the percentages for the "self" and "other new patrolmen", the greater the accuracy of their perceptions.

Since "other new patrolmen" is the group to which the subjects belong and regularly interact, we would anticipate that their perceptions of this group's expectations would be more accurate than those for any of the other audiences listed. Our data does not hold evidences on this point. However, our data does tell us something about a second and related hypothesis. We would logically expect that the subjects' perceptions of the expectations of the group of "other new patrolmen" would be more accurate at the time of the second testing than they are at the first since they will have functioned on a face-to-face basis within this group for three months. This, however, was true for only situations 1, 2, and 3. In the case of situations 4 and 5, the recruit's expectations were more inaccurate at the time of the second testing. Again, it is emphasized that role conflict can be generated out of contradictory expectations which are either real or imagined.

Awareness of Expectations

One of the goals of occupational socialization for the police recruit is an awareness of and sensitivity to the expectations of role-related reference groups. Tables XXXIX-A and B present data relative to the subjects' awareness of the expectations

TABLE XXXIX-A

TABULATION OF "NO IDEA" RESPONSES TO
PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS OF VARIOUS AUDIENCES, T_1

	Situation 1		Situation 2		Situation 3		Situation 4		Situation 5		Total	Overall
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
POLICE AUDIENCES												
Exp. Ptlmn.	1	14	2	14.5	2	14.5	1	14	2	14.5	8	15
Other New Ptlmn.	4	10	9	6	3	12	2	11.5	4	11	22	10
Instructors	1	14	3	11.5	2	14.5	1	14	3	13	10	14
Supervisors	1	14	3	11.5	3	12	1	14	4	11	12	13
COURT AUDIENCES												
Judges	3	11.5	2	14.5	6	7	2	11.5	5	9	18	12
Lawyers	3	11.5	3	11.5	5	8.5	5	7	9	8	25	8
Probation Officers	18	4.5	18	2	15	2	14	1	20	1.5	85	1
Prosecutors	21	1.5	18	2	16	1	8	3.5	18	4	81	2
PERSONAL AUDIENCES												
Friends	5	8.5	4	8.5	4	10	8	3.5	2	14.5	23	9
Wife/Family	5	8.5	3	11.5	5	8.5	4	9	4	11	21	11
PUBLIC AUDIENCES												
Businessmen	8	7	4	8.5	3	13	4	9	11	7	30	7
Civil Rights Leaders	21	1.5	13	4	11	4	4	9	20	1.5	69	4
Clergymen	20	3	18	2	10	5.5	7	5	18	4	73	3
Newspapermen	11	6	7	7	10	5.5	9	2	16	6	53	6
Politicians	18	4.5	12	5	13	3	6	6	18	4	67	5
TOTALS	140		119		108		76		154		597	

TABLE XXXIX-B

TABULATION OF "NO IDEA" RESPONSES TO
PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS OF VARIOUS AUDIENCES, T_2

	Situation 1		Situation 2		Situation 3		Situation 4		Situation 5		Total	Overall
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
POLICE AUDIENCES												
Exp. Ptlmn.	1	12	2	13	0	15	2	11	3	12.5	8	13
Other New Ptlmn.	0	14.5	4	8	5	6.5	6	4	4	10	19	9
Instructors	0	14.5	1	14.5	1	13.5	2	11	2	14.5	6	15
Supervisors	1	12	1	14.5	1	13.5	2	11	2	14.5	7	14
COURT AUDIENCES												
Judges	1	12	3	11	4	9	2	11	4	10	14	12
Lawyers	2	9	6	5	2	12	2	11	5	8	17	11
Probation Officers	17	1	17	1	18	1	12	1	15	1	79	1
Prosecutors	2	9	4	8	4	9	2	11	9	5	21	8
PERSONAL AUDIENCES												
Friends	2	9	3	11	6	4.5	4	5	3	12.5	18	10
Wife/Family	8	4.5	3	11	6	4.5	3	6.5	4	10	24	6
PUBLIC AUDIENCES												
Businessmen	5	6	4	8	3	11	2	11	8	6	22	7
Civil Rights Leaders	8	4.5	10	4	5	6.5	0	15	10	3.5	33	4
Clergymen	10	3	5	6	4	9	3	6.5	10	3.5	32	5
Newspapermen	3	7	11	3	7	2.5	7	3	7	7	35	3
Politicians	12	2	12	2	7	2.5	9	2	12	2	52	2
TOTALS	72		86		73		58		98		387	

of the various audience groups. By analyzing the "no idea" responses, we can obtain a measure of the real or imagined awareness which the subjects have of the expectations of others.

The tables show the number of "no idea" responses given by the subjects for each reference group in each of the five situations. Audience groups were then given a rank according to the number of "no idea" responses made by the subjects. For example, in the case of experienced patrolmen, only one subject responded "no idea" in situation 1. In situation 2, two recruit subjects gave a "no idea" response. Also, in situation 5, two subjects indicated "no idea." The total for all five situations was eight "no idea" responses. Relative to the other audiences listed, the expectations of experienced patrolmen were perceived of as being the least unknown. They were thus ranked fifteenth. On the other hand, probation officers received a total of 85 "no idea" responses for the five situations. Their expectations were felt to be the most unknown and accordingly, they received an overall rank of one.

As we would reason, the expectations of police audiences are reported as being "known" by more subjects than is the case for the other groups. In general, the expectations of personal and court audiences rank next in terms of being perceived by the subjects. Least known are the public audiences. The expectations of the public groups will remain relatively unknown until the recruits enter the role of apprentice patrolman and actually begin to interact with these reference groups.

Within the framework of this research, we would hypothesize that at the start of training, more subjects would report a "no idea" response than would be the case at the end of their training. This is reasonable since training should familiarize the recruit/student with the expectations of others which pertain to the police role. When the total "no idea" responses from the first testing, shown at the bottom of Table XXXIX-A, are compared with the totals from the second testing, shown at the bottom of Table XXXIX-B, we can see that in each situation, the T_2 total was less than T_1. Thus, the data tends to confirm the hypothesis. Recruit training appears to be related to a real or imagined increase in awareness on the part of our subjects to the expectations of a variety of audience groups.

Four notable shifts took place between the first and second administrations with regard to the "most unknown-least unknown" ranking of audiences. Lawyers, ranked eighth at T_1 moved in the direction of being more known and were ranked in eleventh place at T_2. Training apparently was related to the recruits' feeling that they knew more about the expectations of lawyers at the end of training than at the beginning of training. This move from the unknown to the known is in the direction which we would logically expect as a consequence of training. The second notable change took place with regard to the politicians who moved from fifth to second most unknown. Their expectations

were increasingly unknown at the conclusion of training. This shift is not in the expected direction and suggests that the views of politicians regarding these five situations and presumably other situations related to law enforcement are either unknown, confusing, or no attention is given to the matter during training. In general, politicians have been reluctant to let the police know where they stand in terms of the substantive issues which the police confront. Goldstein has observed that this was the case for mayors and city managers.

> "Most mayors and city managers have had no reluctance to take the responsibility for final decisions relating to the hardware and mechanics of policing (e.g., facilities, communications, vehicles, and supplies); or have they hesitated to supervise the personnel practices of a police agency in the same manner in which they direct such practices in other agencies (e.g., recruitment, screening, and promotion).
>
> But there has been a general reluctance on the part of both managers and mayors to become directly involved in decisions relating to the substance of policing -- in deciding, for example, how a given law is to be enforced, in deciding how violators are to be processed, and in determining how the police should respond to a given category of incidents."[46]

In light of this, it would seem to be appropriate for recruit training to present to the recruit/students at least some information about the relationship between the police and the political structure, and the general political context within which they must function. As suggested in Goldstein's comments, ideally political leaders ought to convey their expectations to the police on such subjects as how a law is to be enforced, how violators are to be processed, and how the police should respond to selected incidents. The recruit level would be a productive place to start.

Prosecutors made the third notable shift, from the relatively unknown to the known. This is both expected and desirable. Recruit training should give the recruit some understanding of the expectations of significant people within the criminal justice system. Certainly prosecutors are of considerable importance to the police.

Lastly, with regard to the perceived expections of wife/family, the shift toward the unknown raises certain questions. The fact that the subjects feel that they know less about the expectations concerning police work held by their wife and family suggests the possible beginning of estrangement. Perhaps the subjects themselves are responsible for not knowing or not feeling that they know what their wife or family expects.

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46. Herman Goldstein, "Who's in Charge Here?" Public Management, December, 1968, p. 306.

> "My wife knows very little about police work and I would just as soon keep it that way. She won't worry so much. I put in five years with the Burglary Squad, and it is rare that I would even discuss a case with my wife. I may tell her a funny incident that happened during the day or something, but it's mostly things you'd rather not talk about at home."[47]

In summary, the five conflict situations presented here represent only a small sample of the situational dilemmas which the police face. A reasonable approach to reducing the potential for conflict would be to give some attention to such topics in explicit terms during recruit training. To neglect to do so or to deal with the expectations of only the police audience is to miss the only real opportunity police trainers have to deal constructively with those issues which the new man will soon confront.

47. Patricia Lynder, "Why I'm a Cop," Atlantic Monthly, March 1969, p. 108.

CONCEPTION OF AUDIENCES

Socialization for the police recruit includes both the adoption of normative modes of police behavior and the extinction of certain other behaviors which were appropriate for his previous civilian roles. In learning the new role, the police recruit undertakes a complex process of learning which includes more than just knowledge and skills. He will also learn a system of attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and values. The most important learning related to perception concerns the identification of role relevant reference groups and a sensitivity to their expectations and evaluations.

There are many groups who observe and evaluate the role performance of a police patrolman. There are fewer groups who hold expectations for and evaluations of the police which the patrolman attends to. Whenever the patrolman does attend to their expectations and evaluations, they constitute an audience or reference group for him. For the recruit/student there are very few persons in his role related reference groups. There are other new patrolmen, trainers, personal friends who are police officers, and perhaps some role models. Thus, the reference groups for the student of law enforcement are relatively restricted. Once he enters the new role of apprentice patrolman, the number of relevant reference groups enlarges. As Skolnick said, ". . . the whole civilian world is an audience for the policeman."[48] Clearly, his use of the word "audience" is not equivalent to the use of the word within role theory. Although the whole civilian world may be observing and evaluating the role performance of the patrolman, the patrolman obviously does not attend to the expectations and evaluations of all civilians. Preiss pointed out that the recruit ". . . must develop a hierarchy of audience groups."[49] Westley addressed himself to this point when he said,

> "Policemen seem to distinguish and define these groups on the basis of their supposed attitude toward the police, their values. . ., their political and their relationship to the ends of the police. In their concern for public approval they analyze these groups in terms of the degree of influence which they have over the police and the way in which they must be treated in order to obtain respect and other social goals of the police."[50]

The process by which the police distinguish and define reference groups is the subject area of this section of the research. In this regard, the first task was to derive a list of reference groups which were thought to be significant to those who enact the police role. To do this, a threefold approach was used. First, the author drew from his eleven years of police experience and compiled a list of significant audience groups. Second, a search of the literature was undertaken to corroborate and expand the inventory. The result was a list of twenty-two groups which

48. Skolnick, op. cit., p. 44.
49. Preiss and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 169.
50. Westley, op. cit., p. 163.

were believed to be of importance to the patrolman's role. Third, this list was submitted to a class of 30 police training directors and additionally, a number of other experts in the field of law enforcement from throughout the nation. They were asked to rank the groups in order of importance. On the basis of an analysis of these rankings, the number of reference groups in the final form was reduced to 15.

The semantic differential was employed to determine the meanings assigned to these 15 reference groups by the recruit subjects. Subjects were given the list of the 15 reference groups and were directed to rate each concept on ten bipolar scales. This constituted a 150 item test of meaning. The resulting data was to be analyzed in two ways. First, factor analysis was to be undertaken to produce a factor structure for each audience group. Such a factor analyses would probably have produced three dimensions of meaning; evaluative, potency, and activity. Second, the distance measure (D) developed by Osgood was to be employed to assess the distance or dissimilarity in meanings between audience groups.[51] Because of a lack of funds, neither analysis was completed.

This kind of an analysis of the data would have been useful in examining the similarity or dissimilarity among the various reference groups included within this study. For example, in the area of community relations, the question as to whether or not the subjects see the distance between various members of the police reference group and civil rights leaders as increasing or decreasing with experience is important. Related to the establishment of associational ties with other members of the department, the distance measure between other new patrolmen and experienced patrolmen will prove insightful. Relevant to police training is the question of the difference over time in the distance measure between other new patrolmen or experienced patrolmen and police trainers. Overall, this analysis would have been informative about the larger question of how the police view others. Whether they take on a misanthropic perspective and conceive of people in general with distrust or they make distinctions in their views of people based on their personal experiences with them would have been important and useful information in this study of occupational socialization.

A preliminary analysis of this data produced some tentative results which are of interest within this discussion. As we have suggested, while the recruit is in training, his role reciprocal is the police trainer. His trainers hold expectations for and make evaluations of the recruits. Pertinent to this relationship is the question of the nature of the conception the recruits have of their trainers and the corollary question of how these conceptions change over time. For one city, Cincinnati, the responses of recruit subjects are diagrammed in Graph I. It is significant to note

51. Charles E. Osgood, G. J. Suci, and P. H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), p. 91.

that on the adjectival pairing of informed-uninformed, instructors were rated as less informed than they were at the start of training. This difference was the only one for this reference group that was statistically significant at the one percent level of confidence.

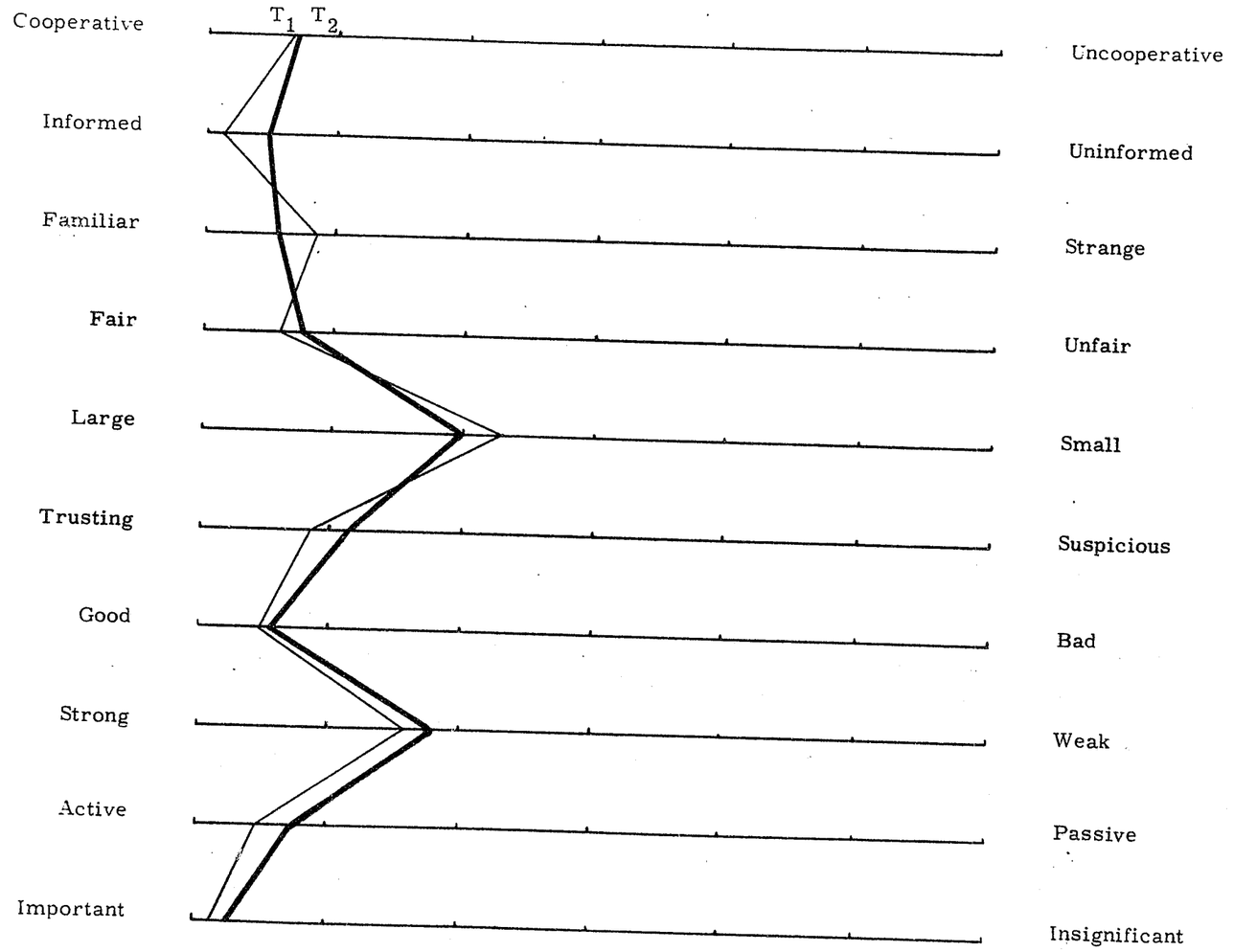
Clearly, changes in conceptions can be expected for reference groups with which the recruit has personal contact during training. Whether or not shifts in conception take place for reference groups with which the recruit does not have personal contact during his training is another question. Here we are talking about role relationships involving not only experienced patrolmen and police supervisors, but also officials of various kinds and members of the general public. On a common sense level, one would expect that there would be few changes in conceptions for reference groups of this kind. Only when the students of law enforcement become apprentice patrolmen and actually have interpersonal contact with them will their conceptions change. This view, however, is inconsistent with the broader nature of the socialization process. Within this perspective, one would expect the recruit to begin to alter his perceptions of these reference groups while still in training. This is an essential part of his training. Consider the case of probation officers. One would expect that the instructional material presented to the recruits about the criminal justice system would convey an impression of the efficacy of probation and nature of the practitioners within that component of the system. An examination of the mean scores obtained at the start and the end of training on the ten bipolar adjectives which are diagrammatically presented in Graph II shows a marked shift in the conception of probation officers in the negative direction.

Still another question arises. Although references to probation officers, lawyers, judges, and civil rights leaders are clearly within the scope of police training and probably are expressed in explicit terms in all four cities, we should ask if conceptions of reference groups which are, on the face of it, relatively unrelated to the police role also change. Businessmen as a group probably receive only implicit mention during recruit training. Yet, as a reference group in his subsequent roles, businessmen may be of much significance. Westley points to the ambivalence which policemen hold for the small businessman; the merchant, the bartender, and the owner of places of recreation.

> "This conflicting definition of the businessman arises out of a mixture of feelings and experiences. On the one hand, the policeman experiences friendly relationships with the businessman. He is greeted cordially, the businessman likes to have him around. . . On the other hand, he recognizes that . . . everytime he accepts something from the businessman he is indebting himself to that man. This, to the policeman carries an adverse moral connotation which he finds unpleasant."[52]

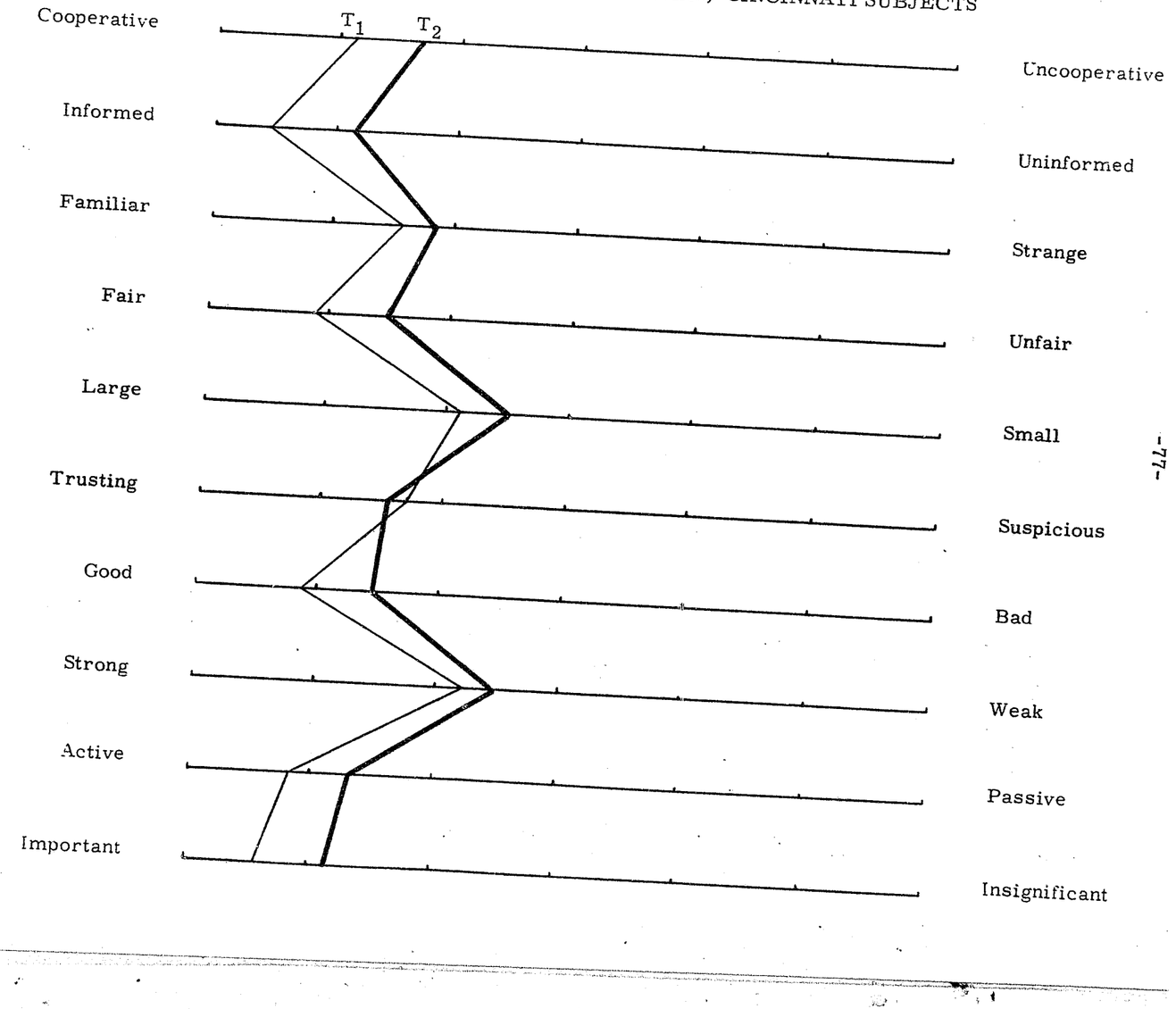
52. Westley, op. cit., p. 130.

GRAPH I
PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE TRAINERS/INSTRUCTORS, CINCINNATI SUBJECTS



GRAPH II

PERCEPTIONS OF PROBATION OFFICERS, CINCINNATI SUBJECTS

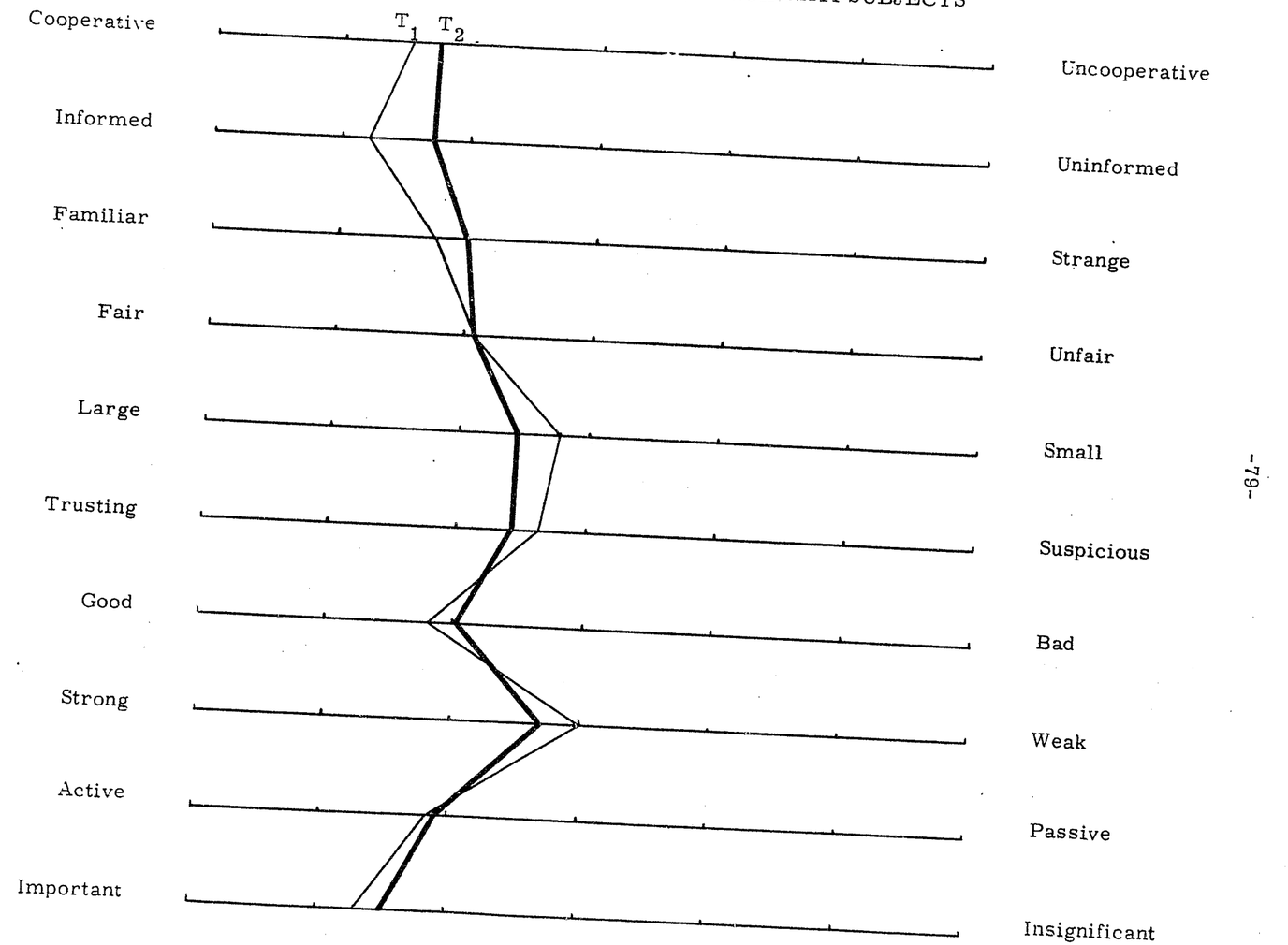


A graphic representation of the recruit subjects' conceptions of businessmen at the start and at the end of training is shown in Graph III. Both the informed-uninformed and large-small descriptive scales produced differences in mean scores which were significant at the 5 per cent level.

The data derived from the responses given to our inquiry concerning personal friends is of interest and deserves mention here. As shown in an earlier section, the number of policemen listed among the three closest friends of the subjects rose from 61 at the time of the first testing to 108 at the time of the second testing. This increase is explained in part by the general tendency of people to choose their friends from among their working colleagues. However, this tendency may be accelerated in the case of our subjects who view their personal friends as less cooperative, informed, and active at the end of recruit training than they did at the start. (Graph IV). We should be cautious in this assumption since the difference in group means was statistically significant at the five per cent level for only the cooperative-uncooperative antonym. Nevertheless, this analysis suggests that an increasingly negative conception of personal friends may contribute to the clannishness of the police.

GRAPH III

PERCEPTIONS OF BUSINESSMEN, CINCINNATI SUBJECTS

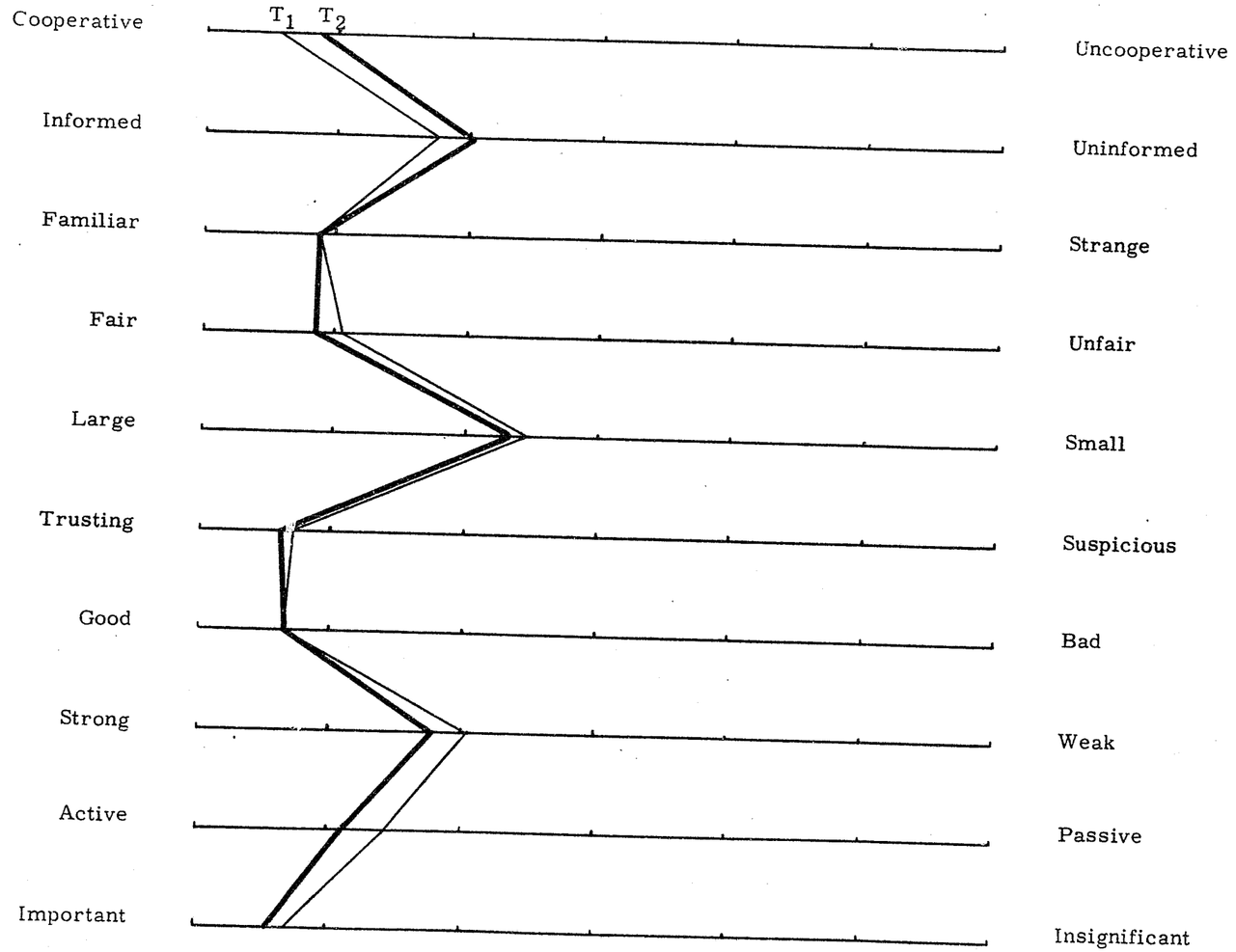


CONTINUED

1 OF 2

GRAPH IV

PERCEPTIONS OF PERSONAL FRIENDS, CINCINNATI SUBJECTS



AGGREGATE ROLE

Within role theory, the concept of aggregate or group role has been defined as the specific function assigned by society to be performed by an organization within that society. The performance of any one role within an organization is directed by specified prescriptions and proscriptions which are consistent with the organization's overall purpose or aggregate role. Thus for the police, society has assigned the functions of preserving the peace, enforcing laws, preventing crime and performing a variety of public service activities. All of the positions within a police department contribute in varying degrees to the performance of these culturally determined functions. In fact, we can view a police department as an organization of positions structured expressly for the ultimate purpose of enforcing the law. Each of the positions therein is goal-oriented.

Appropos this discussion, Gross and Mason observed that the prestige of a position within an organization will be higher than that of another to the extent that the position allows the incumbent to make a larger contribution to the group function.[53] Though prestige is a nebulous concept, at bottom it is based in the degree to which the enactment of a given role contributes to the organization's mission. Prestige, power, and wages are a function of the contribution of a single role to the aggregate role or the organization. For example, patrolmen are necessary to accomplish the police mission, but their contribution can never be as great as that of the chief. Accordingly, the chief has more prestige, holds more power, and receives more wages than do patrolmen.

Respondents to the aggregate role instrument were asked to select and rank five positions in a list of 20 which they believed to be most important in accomplishing the overall police function. Their choices would reflect their conception of the aggregate role of the police. The instrument was designed to hold rank constant in order to eliminate any bias which would be caused by this variable. The data derived from the administration of the instrument at the start of recruit training is shown in Table XL-A. In interpreting the data, the function ranked one is the most important. The higher the rank, the less important the function was believed to be.

For the combined group of subjects, motorized patrol (most probably their future role) and one of their future role reciprocals, the radio dispatcher, are seen as the most important. We should note that the recruit subjects perceive of their present role reciprocal, the police instructor and, by inference, their present role as the most important. One cannot be sure whether the top ranked positions reflect a conception of the aggregate role of the police or the truism that we all like to believe that what we do or will do is important. However, even admitting a strong subjective influence of the desire for self importance, it should be pointed out that this personal evaluation is still founded in the relationship of a given position to the aggregate role.

53. Neal Gross and Ward Mason, "Intra-Occupational Prestige Differentials," American Sociological Review, Vol. XX, 1955, p. 328.

TABLE XL-A

RANKS ASSIGNED TO SELECTED POSITIONS WITHIN POLICE DEPARTMENTS, T_1

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Mean of Ranks	Combined Rank
LINE FUNCTIONS						
Patrol						
Walk	5	3	11.5	6.5	6.50	5
Motor	2	2	1	3	2	1
Tactical	8.5	9	--	13.5	10.33	10
Traffic						
Enforcement	8.5	5.5	11.5	16	10.37	11
Safety Education	19	16	13.5	15	15.87	18
Criminal Investigation						
Robbery	12.5	13	7	5	9.37	9
Homicide	4	12	2	--	6	4
Autos	--	--	--	20	20	22
Vice						
Narcotics	6	14	6	8.5	8.62	7
Prostitution	20	19	15	13.5	16.87	19
Juvenile	7	7	4	8.5	6.63	6
AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS						
Records	11	15	10	10	11.50	14
Communications	1	4	3	4	3.00	2.5
Detention	17	20	19.5	17	18.37	20
Crime Laboratory	14	10	8.5	12	11.12	13
Identification	--	--	19.5	--	19.50	21
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS						
Training						
General Instructor	3	2	5	2	3.00	2.5
Range Instructor	17	17	8.5	18	15.12	16
Inspection	17	18	16	11	15.50	17
Planning	12.5	11	18	1	10.62	12
Personnel	15	8	17	19	14.75	15
Community Relations	10	5.5	13.5	6.5	8.87	8

TABLE XL-B

RANKS ASSIGNED TO SELECTED POSITIONS WITHIN POLICE DEPARTMENTS, T_2

	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Columbus	Indianapolis	Mean of Ranks	Combined Rank
LINE FUNCTIONS						
Patrol						
Walk	3	2	3	6	3.50	3
Motor	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tactical	7	6	--	19	10.67	12
Traffic						
Enforcement	5	3	8	18	8.50	6
Safety Education	15.5	14.5	7	16	13.25	15
Criminal Investigation						
Robbery	12	13	9	5	9.75	9
Homicide	12	7.5	5	--	8.17	5
Autos			--	14.5	14.5	17
Vice						
Narcotics	10	10.5	11	10	10.38	11
Prostitution	19.5	19	13.5	12	16	18
Juvenile	7	12	10	8	9.25	8
AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS						
Records	9	14.5	6	11	10.13	10
Communications	2	5	2	2	2.75	2
Detention	18	16.5	17	17	17.13	20
Crime Laboratory	14	10.5	13.5	9	11.75	13
Identification	--	--	19	--	19	22
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS						
Training						
General Instructor	4	4	4	3.5	3.88	4
Range Instructor	12	18	17	20	16.75	19
Inspection	19.5	20	20	13	18.13	21
Planning	15.5	16.5	15	3.5	12.63	14
Personnel	17	7.5	17	14.5	14.00	16
Community Relations	7	9	12	7	8.75	7

There is little in the relevant police literature to which we can compare our data for a fuller understanding of its meaning. One close observer of the police has remarked about the tendency of those in law enforcement to see all police tasks as equal in importance. That our subjects experienced no difficulty in ranking positions and that inter and intra-city correlations were high would seem to suggest that this view is not applicable to our subjects. Another pertinent point of view is that of Westley who reported that the detective division is the locus of power and prestige in a police department.

> "The bureau, or upstairs, as the men say, is where policemen feel the 'real' police work is done. It is also where the prestige is obtained. It is the center of information about police activities."54

Insofar as the research shows, this view is not held by our subjects. It is hypothesized that this concept will be developed through experience in the field.

Table XL-B shows the ranking of positions for each city and for the combined group at the time of the second testing. There is little in the way of significant changes in rank for the various positions. Motorized patrol and communications (radio dispatcher) are again ranked first and second. Traffic enforcement showed the greatest change in position. * This function was seen as more important -- rising from the eleventh to the sixth position. Corresponding to this shift is the change in rank for safety education which moved from eighteenth to fifteenth position. Records increased in importance -- rising from fourteenth to tenth. The inspection function decreased in importance, moving downward from seventeenth to twenty-first place. Again, it is significant to note that the subjects did not overvalue the place of detective work. Narcotics, for example, decreased in importance from seventh at T_1 to eleventh.

The rank-difference correlation was obtained from the data in order to derive a measure of the relative closeness of the relationship between the ranks assigned at both administrations of the test. The correlation coefficients are presented below in Table XLI. All the correlations shown are significantly different from zero at the 1 percent level of confidence.

TABLE XLI

CORRELATION ANALYSIS OF FUNCTIONS
RANKED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

City	correlation	t
Baltimore	.84	6.56
Cincinnati	.90	8.77
Columbus	.73	4.53
Indianapolis	.91	9.32
Combined Group	.92	10.49

54. Westley, op. cit., p. 65

* Because only one city ranked autos, criminal investigation, the shift in rank from 22nd to 17th is omitted from this analysis. Primarily, we are interested in general tendencies in this analysis.

The ranks assigned by the recruits in Cincinnati and Indianapolis were the most highly correlated. There was a lower correlation between rankings at T_1 and T_2 for the Columbus recruits. Among the most notable shifts in rank in that city were walking patrol, safety education, narcotics, juvenile, crime lab, and range instructor. Why the changes in position took place in this city is open to conjecture at this time.

In terms of a more general view of the data, it is of interest to note that within the line functions, five positions rose in rank, four decreased, and two remained the same. For the auxiliary functions, two rose in rank, one decreased, and two remained the same. At the administrative level, five of six positions were downgraded in rank. Thus, although the subjects exhibited little in the way of change in rank for line and auxiliary functions, they did tend to devalue the importance of administrative functions within the overall department.

ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE POLICE ROLE

The literature of the day has characterized the police as being anti-intellectual, authoritarian, conservative or ultra-conservative, and cynical. In the face of these impressionistic views, it becomes important for the research to seek out data related to these descriptions of the police.

As a necessary aside to the research, it becomes important to raise the theoretical question of why the police are as they are said to be with regard to these characteristics. Either the occupation may attract persons of a given type or the enactment of the police role over a period of time may bring about certain common attitudinal changes. As will be recalled, the analysis of the EPPS scores presented earlier suggested that the personality characteristics of the men recruited into police work did not differ in any appreciable way among the four cities. Furthermore, the presentation of background information of the recruits shows further homogeneity. Within this section of the research, the matter of change related to enactment of the police role over time will be explored.

In the first report of this research project, data derived from the 1968 IACP Police Opinion Poll tended to confirm that time is an important variable in the formation of role concepts. These findings lend credence to the longitudinal frame of reference adopted for this study. In this section of the research, our task becomes one of determining in greater detail the nature of these temporal changes.

A factor analysis of the responses of 2,042 experienced police patrolmen to Part I of the IACP Police Opinion Poll produced four factors with loadings beyond the statistically significant level of .30. The individual items which make up these four factors and their tentative descriptive titles are shown below.

		Rotated Factor Loading
Factor I	VALUATION OF FORMAL EDUCATION	
	The police service needs more college trained career officers.	.58
	The best officers generally have more education than the others.	.49
	It would be desirable if candidates for police service were required to complete certain college courses in order to be certified by the state for initial employment.	.67

		Rotated Factor Loading
Factor II	HARDNESS OR CYNICISM	
	Court decisions on interrogating suspects will undoubtedly result in fewer solutions of criminal cases.	.39
	The police are not receiving the backing they should from the political power structure in our cities.	.36
	The police are justified in regarding a juvenile with "beatnik" or "mod" appearance as a person who needs to be watched.	.37
	In certain areas of the city, physical combat skills and an aggressive bearing will be more useful to a patrolman on the beat than book learning and a courteous manner.	.51
	The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.	.37
	The trouble with psychology and sociology is that they are not related to the everyday realities of the police job.	.35
	Experience has shown police officers that there is a big difference between whether a man really is guilty and whether the court says he is.	.33
	Some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in police schools are unworkable under the actual conditions on the beat.	.42
	Preservation of the peace requires that police have the authority to order people to "move along" or "break it up" even though no law is being violated.	.34

		Rotated Factor Loading
Factor III	CONFORMITY TO AUTHORITY	
	The good policeman is one who gives his commanding officer unquestioning obedience.	.33
	The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.	-.36
	The best officer is one who knows and sticks strictly to departmental procedures.	.65
	The best officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors.	.33
Factor IV	CONSERVATISM	
	Since ours is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their job.	.33
	It would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies.	.34
	The police are often responsible for the fact that defendants are not found guilty.	.32
	If police put as much effort into crime prevention as they do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we would be farther ahead in reducing crime.	.34
	There is nothing wrong with the idea of civilian review boards if people who are fair and unbiased could be found to serve on them.	.43

As can be seen from the copy of the form given to the subjects shown in the Appendix, the questions were placed in a random order rather than by factor groupings. A "strongly disagree" response was given a numerical value of one while, at the other extreme, a "strongly agree" response was treated numerically as five. Thus, throughout this section, when we talk about either a mean factor score or a factor score, the higher the numerical score, the stronger the subjects agreed with the items within the factor.

In the statistical analysis of the data derived from the first administration of the instrument, the mean factor scores of recruit subjects from all four of the cities were combined. A comparison of these combined mean scores for the subjects in the research was made with the equivalent factor scores obtained by the 165 recruit respondents to the IACP Police Opinion Poll. As will be noted in Table XLII, no statistically significant differences were found at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Thus, the two recruit groups, both intended to be somewhat representative of police recruits in general, are equivalent in terms of their responses to these questions.

TABLE XLII

COMPARISON OF COMBINED MEAN FACTOR SCORES
OBTAINED BY ROLE SUBJECTS AND POLICE OPINION POLL SUBJECTS (N=165)

Factor Number	Recruit Role Subjects, T1	Recruit Poll Subjects	Value of t	1 per cent level of confidence
I	M=3.07 s=1.77	M=3.20 s=1.20	1.69	Not significant
II	M=3.15 s=1.19	M=3.20 s=1.20	1.16	Not significant
III	M=3.44 s=1.12	M=3.42 s=1.09	0.34	Not significant
IV	M=3.06 s=1.14	M=2.99 s=1.20	1.33	Not significant

For purposes of generating hypotheses to be tested in the final analysis of our data, a comparison was made of the mean factor scores of recruit subjects in this research, and recruit subjects in the Police Opinion Poll with the comparable factor scores of 400 police respondents to the opinion poll with up to three years of field experience. The data is shown in Table XLIII. Again, the equivalence of the two recruit groups is reflected in the fact that both groups, when compared to a group of police officers with limited experience, showed statistically significant differences in mean scores on Factors II and III. Both groups of recruits had lower mean scores on Factor II than did the men with limited field experience. On Factor III, both recruit groups had higher mean scores than did the group of experienced officers. In general terms, this means that insofar as hardness or cynicism is reflected in these scores, the police group with limited experience exhibited hard and cynical attitudes to a greater degree than police recruits at the start of their training. Also, police recruits at the start of their training reflected an attitude of conformance to authority to a greater degree than did the group of patrolmen with up to three years experience. On the basis of this analysis, we would hypothesize that as our subjects gain police experience, they will show an increasing measure of hardness or cynicism (Factor II) and a lesser degree of rigid conformance to authority (Factor III) to the extent that these characteristics can be measured by this instrument. The temporal dimension within which we would expect the hypothesized changes to occur for our subjects is the range of service of the group of 400 experienced respondents to the Police Opinion Poll used in the foregoing analysis, i.e., up to three years field experience.

The question should be considered at this time whether any of these hypothesized changes have occurred within the limited time dimension of recruit training, fourteen weeks. Appropriate statistical techniques for dealing with correlated data were employed to test the significance of the difference between the factor scores at the start and at the end of training in each of the four cities. The analysis is shown in Tables XLIV-A through D.

The analysis indicates that, in the cities of Cincinnati and Baltimore, there were no statistically significant changes in any of the four factors related to exposure to 14 weeks of recruit training. However, in Indianapolis, a statistically significant difference at the 1 per cent level was found between the score at T_1 and T_2 for Factor II. The responses of Columbus recruits also showed a significant difference in the score for Factor I between the first and second testing. In the case of Indianapolis, this difference was in the expected direction though not necessarily expected to occur so soon. However, the difference on Factor I in the case of Columbus was unexpected. One can conjecture that the increased valuation of formal education occurs as an incidental consequence of the recruit/student role in which the subjects are necessarily committed to formal instruction as the means of learning this new occupational role.

That so few statistically significant differences occurred during the short time span of recruit training is consistent with the conceptual framework of this research. Changes in attitudinal orientations to the police role are relatively unrelated to the recruit/student role. Rather, they are more related to the enactment of the subsequent role, that of apprentice patrolman.

TABLE XLIII

COMPARISON OF COMBINED MEAN FACTOR SCORES OF TWO POLICE RECRUIT GROUPS WITH SCORES OF EXPERIENCED OFFICERS

Factor Number	(A) Recruit Role Subjects (N=152)	Test Means (A) & (B)	(B) Poll Subjects Up to three years experience (N=400)	Test Means (B) & (C)	(C) Recruit Poll Subjects (N=165)
I	M=3.07 SD=1.18	t=2.33	M=3.22 SD=1.22	t=0.34	M=3.20 SD=1.20
II	M=3.15 SD=1.19	t=6.38*	M=3.39 SD=1.23	t=5.51*	M=3.20 SD=1.20
III	M=3.44 SD=1.12	t=4.04*	M=3.23 SD=1.17	t=3.83*	M=3.42 SD=1.09
IV	M=3.06 SD=1.14	t=2.29	M=2.95 SD=1.29	t=0.74	M=2.99 SD=1.20

* Significantly different at 1 per cent level.

TABLE XLIV-A

BALTIMORE (N=28)

COMPARISON OF FACTOR SCORES, T_1 and T_2

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Start of training	9.43	29.32	13.25	16.50
End of training	9.46	29.71	13.00	16.64
Coefficient of correlation	0.6	0.45	0.39	0.35
Standard error of difference	0.47	0.93	0.56	0.56
t	0.08	0.42	0.45	0.26
Result	N. Sig.	N. Sig.	N. Sig.	N. Sig.

TABLE XLIV-B

CINCINNATI (N=39)

COMPARISON OF FACTOR SCORES, T_1 and T_2

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Start of training	9.77	27.82	13.31	14.56
End of training	9.51	27.92	12.62	14.67
Coefficient of correlation	0.36	0.38	0.08	0.22
Standard error of difference	0.43	0.59	0.42	0.51
t	0.60	0.17	1.66	0.20
Result	N. Sig.	N. Sig.	N. Sig.	N. Sig.

TABLE XLIV-C

COLUMBUS (N=30)

COMPARISON OF FACTOR SCORES, T_1 and T_2

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Start of training	9.10	28.27	14.20	15.17
End of training	10.27	28.47	13.80	14.97
Coefficient of correlation	0.49	0.27	0.30	0.44
Standard error of difference	0.39	0.93	0.47	0.58
t	3.01	0.21	0.85	0.34
Result	diff. -1% level	N. Sig.	N. Sig.	N. Sig.

TABLE XLIV-D

INDIANAPOLIS (N=38)

COMPARISON OF FACTOR SCORES, T_1 and T_2

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Start of training	8.74	27.55	14.00	14.89
End of training	9.82	31.24	13.18	13.89
Coefficient of correlation	0.37	0.09	0.36	0.48
Standard error of difference	0.49	0.79	0.47	0.50
t	2.21	4.67	1.74	2.01
Result	N. Sig.	diff. -1% level	N. Sig.	N. Sig.

Further corroborative information can be extracted from our data if we change the focus of our analysis from the magnitude of the differences to the direction of the differences. In this analysis, for example, the Baltimore recruits obtained a higher score on Factor I at the end of their training than they did at the start. The change was in the direction of agreement and hence reflected a higher valuation of education. The direction of change in attitudes on all four factors is summarized in Table XLV. It is of interest to note that in the case of Factors II and III, the direction of change was consistent for all four cities. The reader should recall that Factors II and III were the two factors for which we hypothesized that statistically significant differences would occur. This analysis tends to support this hypothesis.

If we can extract any general lesson from this examination, it would be that we could expect the police recruit to become harder and more cynical as well as less conforming to authority during his first year or so on the job. If this conjecture has validity and is accepted as a useful prediction, it would suggest that police trainers and field supervisors should give some attention to those beliefs and experiences which tend to produce these changes in attitudes.

TABLE XLV

DIRECTION OF CHANGE IN ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATION BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND TESTING OF SUBJECTS

City	Factor I (... Education)	Factor II (... Cynicism)	Factor III (Conformity...)	Factor IV (Conservatism)
Baltimore	Higher value	More cynical	Less conforming	More liberal
Cincinnai	Lower value	More cynical	Less conforming	More liberal
Columbus	Higher value	More cynical	Less conforming	More conservative
Indianapolis	Higher value	More cynical	Less conforming	More conservative

ROLE ATTRIBUTES

One's concept of what attributes are essential for the enactment of the police role is, at bottom, a reflection of what the role of the police is thought to be. Changes in conceptions of role attributes over time will take place to the degree that one's concept of the police role is altered. If a recruit at the start of training conceives of police work as consisting largely of physical tasks carried on in a hostile environment, then logically the attributes which are seen to be essential for work of this kind are physical strength and courage. After training, if the recruit now recognizes the role of the police in regard to performing a variety of public service functions and sees that people can in many instances be manipulated more easily through verbal rather than physical skills, then such characteristics as verbal skills, courtesy, and knowledge come to be valued more highly.

In one inquiry into the qualities most necessary in a good policeman, 41 per cent of the 27 respondents listed alertness and competence as the most essential attributes. Thirty-seven per cent listed "hard, consistent work" as a desired characteristic while 30 per cent of the subjects stated that a "likeable personality" was important.[55] In connection with our view that role attribues are a consequence of the perceived nature of the role, it is of interest to note that for these 27 subjects, ". . . a pleasant personality is highly valued for the long hours in a car can easily drag."[56]

In an effort to determine the nature of the role attributes held to be essential by our recruit subjects, Wetteroth's Trait Image Scale was utilized.[57] In his research, he used an empirically derived list of 40 qualities which were all positively related to the role of the police. The list was given to 40 New York City police recruits at three points in time; pre-appointment, post-academic, and post-field training. At each administration, they were asked to select the ten most essential traits. From their responses, he determined a "trait image," a cluster of seven or eight characteristics which were believed to be "essential in a good policeman." One of the general findings of his research which should be kept in mind within this discussion is the marked stability in the trait clusters over time. *

Wetteroth's list of 40 qualities was duplicated and administered to the 152 subjects in this research. When a trait was chosen by the subjects with a frequency which was greater than chance alone at the 1 per cent level of confidence, it was included within the image of role attributes. Role attributes chosen in each of the four cities at both the start and the end of training are shown in Tables XLVI-A and -B.

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55. Westley, op. cit., p. 65.
56. Ibid, p. 64.
57. Wetteroth, op. cit., p. 88.

* Wetteroth has recently replicated his study using his original subjects who now have ten years of police experience. In personal conversations with this researcher, he indicated that there still exists marked stability in trait clusters. This is surprising in light of the general changes in conceptions which we would have expected to have occurred during ten years of experience. Even more so, it is surprising because of the changes which have taken place in the police role over the past decade.

TABLE XLVI-A

ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS, T_1

Attribute	Selection Frequency	% of Total Subjects	Variance of P
INDIANAPOLIS (N=39)			
Dedication	32	82.05	0.0038
Alertness	26	66.66	0.0057
Job knowledge	24	61.53	0.0061
Well trained	24	61.53	0.0061
Common sense	23	58.97	0.0062
Appearance	18	46.15	0.0064
Respect for superiors	18	46.15	0.0064
BALTIMORE (N=43)			
Alertness	35	81.39	0.0035
Job knowledge	29	67.44	0.0051
Courage	26	60.46	0.0055
Honesty	26	60.46	0.0055
Intelligence	25	58.13	0.0057
Well trained	24	55.81	0.0057
Dedication	24	55.81	0.0057
Common sense	22	51.16	0.0058
CINCINNATI (N=39)			
Dedication	31	79.48	0.0042
Alertness	29	74.35	0.0049
Well trained	25	64.10	0.0059
Honesty	22	56.41	0.0063
Courage	22	56.41	0.0063
Job knowledge	21	53.84	0.0064
Common sense	20	51.28	0.0064
Intelligence	20	51.28	0.0064
COLUMBUS (N=31)			
Alertness	22	70.96	0.0066
Well trained	20	64.51	0.0074
Dedication	18	58.06	0.0078
Intelligence	17	54.83	0.0080
Patience	17	54.83	0.0080
Responsibility	16	51.61	0.0080
Reliability	15	48.38	0.0080
Common sense	14	45.16	0.0080
Appearance	14	45.16	0.0080

TABLE XLVI-B

ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS, T_2

Attribute	Selection Frequency	% of Total Subjects	Variance of P
INDIANAPOLIS (N=38)			
Alertness	29	76.31	0.00475
Common sense	29	76.32	0.00475
Dedication	25	65.79	0.00592
Appearance	25	65.79	0.00592
Well trained	23	60.53	0.00628
Job knowledge	22	57.89	0.00641
Courtesy	19	50.00	0.00657
Responsibility	17	44.74	0.00650
Initiative	17	44.74	0.00650
Honesty	17	44.74	0.00650
BALTIMORE (N=28)			
Appearance	20	71.43	0.00728
Common sense	19	67.86	0.00778
Job knowledge	19	67.86	0.00778
Well trained	18	64.28	0.00820
Alertness	17	60.71	0.00851
Intelligence	17	60.71	0.00851
Responsibility	15	53.57	0.00888
Dedication	15	53.57	0.00888
Courtesy	15	53.57	0.00888
CINCINNATI (N=39)			
Alertness	31	79.49	0.00418
Common sense	30	76.92	0.00455
Well trained	30	76.92	0.00455
Intelligence	24	61.54	0.00606
Honesty	24	61.54	0.00606
Courtesy	22	56.41	0.00630
Job knowledge	20	51.28	0.00640
Dedication	17	43.59	0.00630
Responsibility	17	43.59	0.00630
COLUMBUS (N=30)			
Alertness	28	93.33	0.00207
Common sense	24	80.00	0.00533
Honesty	18	60.00	0.00800
Job knowledge	18	60.00	0.00800
Intelligence	18	60.00	0.00800
Appearance	17	56.67	0.00818
Courtesy	15	50.00	0.00833
Dedication	14	46.67	0.00829
Well trained	14	46.67	0.00829

In order to summarize the findings and to facilitate the comparison of essential role attributes, Tables XLVII-A and -B were prepared.

TABLE XLVII-A

INTER-CITY COMPARISON OF ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS, T_1

Attribute	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	N. Y.[58]
Dedication	X	X	X	X	X
Alertness	X	X	X	X	X
Well Trained	X	X	X	X	X
Common Sense	X	X	X	X	X
Job Knowledge	X	X		X	X
Intelligence	X	X	X		X
Honesty	X	X			X
Appearance			X	X	X
Courage	X	X			
Respect for superiors				X	
Patience			X		
Responsibility			X		
Reliability			X		

TABLE XLVII-B

INTER-CITY COMPARISON OF ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS, T_2

Attribute	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	N. Y.
Alertness	X	X	X	X	X
Common sense	X	X	X	X	X
Well trained	X	X	X	X	X
Dedication	X	X	X	X	
Job knowledge	X	X	X	X	
Courtesy	X	X	X	X	
Appearance	X		X	X	X
Honesty		X	X	X	X
Intelligence	X	X	X		X
Responsibility	X	X		X	
Initiative				X	
Courage					X

58. Ibid, p. 38.

At the start of recruit training, dedication, alertness, well trained, and common sense represent common attributes among the five cities. At the other extreme, respect for superiors, patience, responsibility, and reliability represent attributes which were unique to the subjects in only one city. At the end of recruit training, the qualities of alertness, common sense, and well trained were common to all five cities. In contrast, only initiative and courage were unique characteristics chosen in only one city.

If we exclude the responses of New York City recruits from this analysis and deal with the four cities we have studied throughout this research, the list of those qualities which were common to all four cities rose from four at T_1 to six at the time of T_2. Further, the number of characteristics chosen in only one city decreased from four at the time of the first administration to one at the time of the second. In general terms, this represents a movement toward commonality in conception of attributes essential to the police role. Probably the most striking change between the two sets of data relates to the attribute of courtesy. Courtesy was not included in the list of attributes chosen by the subjects at the start of their training. By the end of training, the recruits in all four cities chose this attribute.

As indicated at the beginning of this discussion, the choice of an attribute which is considered to be essential for an occupational role is a function of the aggregate role concept. In this instance, whereas at the start of training the subjects did not conceive of police work as a role calling for the human relations skill of courtesy, by the end of training subjects in all four cities had apparently experienced a change in role concept which was reflected in the choice of courtesy as an essential attribute. This suggests that police recruit training had been successful in convincing the men of the necessity for that part of the Law Enforcement Code of Ethics which states that "I will enforce the law courteously."

A further analysis was undertaken to determine statistically if there were any significant differences among the attributes chosen by subjects in all four cities. We are looking at the same data in an expanded form and applying a more precise method of making comparisons.[59] Among the four cities, there were six theoretically possible comparisons. A total of thirteen attributes were chosen at the start of training, all of which were selected by the subjects in at least one city with a frequency which exceeded chance alone. Thus, there were 78 possibilities for a significant difference to exist between any two cities for any one attribute. The analysis showed significant differences to exist in only five instances at the 1 per cent level of confidence and six instances at the 5 per cent level of confidence. These eleven differences are shown in Table XLVIII-A. This table has been reduced from 78 cells to 30. Only those rows and columns which contain at least one statistically significant difference at the 5 per cent level or better were included.

59. In order to allow inter-city comparisons to be made of respect for superiors, patience, responsibility, and reliability (chosen in only one city), attributes were drawn from the full listing of essential attributes for other cities without regard to our arbitrary limit of a Chi-square value significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence.

TABLE XLVIII-A

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS IN FOUR CITIES, T_1

Attribute	Cincinnati-Columbus	Cincinnati-Baltimore	Columbus-Baltimore	Columbus-Indianapolis	Baltimore-Indianapolis
Dedication		t=2.30**		t=2.227**	t=2.694*
Intelligence					t=2.333**
Patience			t=3.379*	t=2.581*	
Honesty					t=2.311*
Courage	t=2.091**		t=2.5223*		t=2.052**
Job Knowledge			t=2.551*		

* t scores greater than 2.5 are significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence.
** t scores greater than 1.96 are significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

In the analysis of data gathered at the start of training, Baltimore proved to be most atypical in terms of their choice of role attributes. Eight of eleven differences resulted from comparisons with Baltimore. At least one statistically significant difference existed between Baltimore and each of the three other cities. These differences were most numerous in the comparison between Baltimore and Indianapolis.

TABLE XLVIII-B

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN ROLE ATTRIBUTES CHOSEN BY POLICE RECRUITS IN FOUR CITIES, T_2

Attribute	Baltimore-Cincinnati	Baltimore-Columbus	Baltimore-Indianapolis	Cincinnati-Columbus	Cincinnati-Indianapolis	Columbus-Indianapolis
Appearance	t=3.60*			t=2.22**		
Alertness		t=3.17*				t=2.06**
Well trained				t=2.67*		
Intelligence			t=2.45**		t=2.77*	t 2.43**
Honesty	t=2.50**	t=2.22**				
Dedication					t 2.00**	

* Significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence
** Significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence

Table XLVIII-B presents the data for the second testing of the subjects. In this instance, there were again six possible inter-city comparisons. A total of 11 attributes

were selected by the subjects in at least one of the four cities with a frequency which exceeded chance alone. There were 66 possibilities for differences to exist between any two cities on any single attribute. Analysis of the data for the second testing produced eleven statistically significant differences. In the case of both Baltimore and Indianapolis, five differences resulted from comparisons involving each of these cities. Again in general terms, this analysis tends to support the impression of a commonality in viewpoint held by the subjects in all four cities. We should also note that with the attribute of courtesy, none of the inter-city differences included this attribute.

PERCEPTION OF DANGER

Skolnick observed that the performance of the police role is modified considerably whenever an officer perceives he is in a dangerous situation. In such instances, his behavior tends to be structured more by expediency than by the expectations of others or by role prescriptions.[60] Katz and Kahn's comment about the soldier in combat seems analogous to the police and serves to explain that which Skolnick only describes.

> "Additional and important sources of influence in role-taking are the objective, impersonal properties of the situation itself . . . The soldier in combat seeks cover when under fire not so much because of the expectations of members of his role set as because of the demands of the situation.[61]

Other researchers have concerned themselves with the reactions of military personnel in stressful situations. Grinker and Spiegel stated that when an individual is confronted with a dangerous situation, "he may be thrown back into a state of less differentiated response."[62] Stouffer held that the fear reaction to a dangerous situation is " . . . apt to interfere so seriously that the men are unable to exercise good judgment or to carry out skillfully an action which they have been trained to perform."[63] Thus, the perception of danger can rather dramatically affect the enactment of an occupational role. It is the task of this part of the research to assess the degree to which police recruits perceive of danger. To that extent will their performance of the police role be modified.

As we have suggested throughout this paper, the socialization process for the police recruit is a complex one. Knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values are essential components of his occupational socialization. Beyond these, the recruit-student must learn some things related to perception, the most important of which is the perception of danger.

Danger is intrinsic to the police role and learning about danger is an essential part of taking on the role. Despite this fact, police recruit training programs do not typically give attention to the specific problem of danger and how to cope with it. Westley commented back in 1951 that " . . . the theme of danger of the work has little real meaning for the ordinary recruit. Danger is not explicitly covered -- it is incidental learning."[64] Things seem not to have changed in this regard since then.

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60. Jerome H. Skolnick, op. cit., pp. 42-70.
61. Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 178.
62. R. R. Grinker and S. P. Spiegel, Men Under Stress (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1945), p. 144.
63. Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 223.
64. Westley, op. cit., p. 249.

Learning about danger may take five forms. The first relates to the relationship between the police occupation, per se, and the danger associated with it. During the process of anticipatory socialization, the prospective recruit will probably learn something about the risk of danger in law enforcement as compared to the risk of danger in other jobs. A recent study of the matter showed that

> "Only garbage collectors, loggers and coal miners face more hazards on their jobs than policemen. A banker can expect 217 accident-free years on his job -- he could work five lifetimes before suffering a disabling injury. Loggers, however, have only eight years before being felled by occupational accident; coal miners have 11 years; and for policemen odds run out in 12 years."[65]

This kind of information, based upon the degree of probability of physical injury in connection with a given occupation role, may only vaguely influence the overall tone of the working environment of the police. Information on this level is unlikely to influence the perceptions of those people already in the occupation. More than likely, information of this kind would be a greater influence on people outside of the occupation, particularly those individuals entering or considering a police career.

Secondly, danger may be considered with regard to its predictability. For the police specialist in bomb disposal, danger is quite predictable. The few moments he actually defuses the charge are indeed most dangerous. However, for the police generalist, the patrolman, danger appears to be far more unpredictable. This lack of predictability is an attitudinal orientation associated with the police role which must be learned. Of pertinence here is the fact that the ubiquitous possibility of danger in police work seems to affect the perceptions of those persons within the occupation.

> "Like soldiers at the battle front, American policemen now face death every minute of their working day. It shapes them and the way they do their job and their family life. They work in a climate of casual violence. Like battle medics, it blunts them to the pains of flesh."[66]

Wilson commented about the unpredictable nature of danger in connection with the maintenance of order activities of the police:

> "Statistically, the risk of injury or death to the patrolman may not be great in order-maintenance situations but it exists and worse, it is unpredictable, occurring . . . 'when you least expect it . . .' I would add that the risk of danger in order maintenance patrol work . . .

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65. Statement given by Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, to Congress as reported in "Copsules," The Police Chief, January, 1969, p. 6.
66. Colin McGlashan in "The Hot Line, Community Relations and the Administration of Justice," No. 3. (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, October, 1968).

> has a disproportionate effect on the officer partly because its unexpected nature makes him more apprehensive and partly because he tends to communicate his apprehension to the citizen."[67]

Thirdly, danger can be considered with regard to its spatial and positional characteristics. The police in high crime sections of a large city may believe that they work in a dangerous setting. Other low crime areas, the so-called "country club" sections, may be thought of as a safe place to work.[68] By the same token, the officer who works in a clerical capacity in a headquarters office works in a safer position than does the patrolman in the field. Again, the police initiate must learn to relate varying degrees of danger with these spatial and positional variables.

Fourth, the recruit must be able to judge the appearance and the conduct of people for their danger potential. Sarbin states that this ability to classify the conduct of others according to its dangerousness is common to both policemen and prison guards.[69] Skolnick also comments about the perceptual ability of the police to recognize the potential threat posed by people who exhibit certain symbols of danger.

> "The policeman, because his work requires him to be occupied continually with potential violence, develops a perceptual short-hand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence."[70]

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67. James Q. Wilson, "The Patrolman's Dilemma," New York, September, 1968, pp. 19-20.
68. This assumption was tested in connection with this research. The Perception of Danger instrument was administered to 96 experienced police officers in Washington, D. C. assigned to the highest crime districts as well as the lowest. Differences in the mean scores obtained by the subjects in these districts proved to be not significant. Thus, in this one instance, the degree of danger perceived by these patrolmen as measured by this instrument seems not to be a function of the amount of criminality existing in the district within which the patrolman works. The question obviously calls for further research in other locations.
69. Theodore R. Sarbin, "The Dangerous Individual: An Outcome of Social Identity Transformations," unpublished paper read at the joint meeting of the American Society of Criminology and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Berkeley, December, 1965.
70. Skolnick, op. cit., p. 45.

Obviously, this perceptual ability must be learned. Not so obvious is that it is learned largely through experience. Werthman and Piliavin address themselves to the nature of this learning process:

> "Policemen develop indicators of suspicion by a method of pragmatic induction. Past experience has, in large part, led them to conclude that . . . Negroes are more likely to cause public disturbance than whites, and that adolescents in certain areas are a greater source of trouble than other categories of the citizenry. On the basis of these conclusions, the police divide the population . . . into a variety of categories and make some initial assumptions about the moral character of people. . ."[71]

Last, the presence or absence of danger can be considered in relationship to certain situations. Danger in this regard is commonly given explicit mention in recruit training and in the general police literature. For example, the following statement tells what a typical recruit learned, among other things, during the first week of recruit training.

> "He was warned not to use his squad car as a garbage can, and told that disturbance calls are the most dangerous and the most interesting."[72]

On a more general level, Toch made reference to the beginning police officer learning about the danger related to handling certain assignments.

> "Universal apprehensiveness about certain types of assignments may be communicated to the young officer, and they may induce panic in many situations."[73]

FBI statistics contained in the Uniform Crime Reports regularly stress the danger related to the handling of disturbance calls. For the period of 1960-1967, 86 police officers were killed in responding to disturbance calls. No other single police activity exceeded that amount.[74] After the subjects in this research completed their Perception of Danger instrument, they frequently mentioned that they had learned that family disturbance calls are the most dangerous. The situational evaluation of danger is the variable which was utilized as the base for the Perception of Danger instrument.

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71. Carl Werthman and Irving Piliavin, Gang Members and the Police (Berkeley: University of California, undated mimeographed manuscript). p. 8.
72. "The Recruit," The Chicago Police Star, October, 1968, p. 4.
73. Hans Toch. Violent Men, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 242.
74. Tabular data shows 137 officers killed in connection with "attempting other arrests and transporting prisoners." This is a catch-all category and is not comparable to other specific police activities listed in the table. See John Edgar Hoover, Crime in the United States -- Uniform Crime Reports, 1967 (Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Justice, 1967), p. 49.

Between 1960 and 1967, 411 police officers have been killed by criminal action. Of this total, 66 per cent of the deceased officers were assigned to car patrols.[75] Assignment to a patrol car is the typical initial assignment a recruit receives after completion of recruit training. The apprentice's first assignment then, is ordinarily to what is perhaps the most dangerous position in law enforcement. That part of the Role Perception Battery which was designed to assess the perception of danger was structured to this situation, motorized patrol.

The source of information about assignments is the police radio. To the experienced officer, the police radio sends out more than specific assignments. The veteran officer can almost tell what dayit is without a calendar or whether or not he will have a busy tour of duty simply by listening for a few minutes to the kinds of calls, the locations of the incidents, and the pace at which the assignments are broadcast.

> "The police radio--the control center of every metropolitan police department--is where. . . all tasks of the force converge. A citizen calls for help . . . . At once, a police dispatcher calls the nearest scout car with the address of the 'run' and a description of the trouble, phrased in terse, lean English that tells the story fast.
>
> The officer in the scout car promptly answers, 'Got it,' and the tone in which he says it sometimes tells volumes. If a bandit with a revolver is reported to be holding up a drugstore, the words are spat out with assurance and urgency . . . But if it is a case of family trouble, the words are likely to be spoken with weary resignation, as if to say, 'Oh, God, here we go again'".[76]

Thus, the experienced man receives not only words over the radio, but he also sees a picture colored vividly with the memory of past experiences. It is this preconceived image that this instrument was designed to tap.

The Perception of Danger instrument consists of twenty standardized radio assignments. Subjects are asked to rate each assignment as to the degree of danger they believe would be associated with handling the incident. The instrument was administered to the 152 recruit subjects in the four cities studied. Tables XLIX-A and -B show the mean scores for each of the 20 items by city and for the combined group at T_1 and T_2. In comparing the combined group at the start and the end of training, the mean danger score increased in twelve instances and decreased in eight. It is significant to note that in the case of the five assignments rated above 4.00 (high danger and above) at the time of the start of their training, four of them were rated as even more dangerous at the second testing. Furthermore, "firearms discharged" and "insane person" reached the level of 4.00 by the end of training.

75. J. Edgar Hoover, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 47.
76. George Edwards, Police on the Urban Frontier (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1968), p. 5.

TABLE XLIX-A

MEAN DANGER SCORES BY CITY, T_1

Assignment	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	Combined
1. Murder	4.47	4.00	4.55	4.00	4.24
2. Indecent exposure	1.91	1.85	1.87	1.84	1.87
3. Family disturbance	3.10	2.45	3.07	2.49	2.77
4. Reckless driving	3.09	2.49	2.67	2.61	2.73
5. Burglar alarm sounding	3.63	3.66	3.90	3.67	3.70
6. A man down	2.51	2.46	2.55	2.05	2.39
7. Disturbance with teenagers	2.93	2.58	2.65	2.61	2.70
8. Firearms discharged	3.98	3.77	3.81	3.92	3.88
9. Officer needs help	4.58	4.26	4.58	4.49	4.47
10. Attempted suicide	3.28	2.50	2.65	2.79	2.83
11. Robbery in progress	4.58	4.46	4.42	4.53	4.50
12. Assault with a deadly weapon	4.56	4.26	4.71	4.39	4.47
13. Rape victim	2.77	2.13	1.87	1.85	2.18
14. Burglary in progress	4.21	4.21	4.16	4.08	4.17
15. Drunk driver	2.84	2.50	2.52	2.54	2.61
16. Insane person	4.19	3.44	3.90	3.85	3.85
17. Malicious mischief	2.07	1.97	1.93	1.97	1.99
18. A suspicious person	2.60	2.49	2.55	2.44	2.52
19. Meet a citizen	1.42	1.39	1.29	1.26	1.34
20. Animal bite victim	2.40	1.67	1.39	1.69	1.82

TABLE XLIX-B

MEAN DANGER SCORES BY CITY, T_2

Assignment	Balt.	Cin.	Col.	Ind.	Combined
1. Murder	4.14	3.26	2.73	3.59	3.60
2. Indecent exposure	2.00	2.38	1.83	2.15	2.12
3. Family disturbance	3.04	3.69	3.83	3.00	3.39
4. Reckless driving	3.00	2.92	2.40	2.79	2.81
5. Burglar alarm sounding	3,93	3.74	4.20	3.77	3.91
6. A man down	2.14	2.54	2.27	1.92	2.25
7. Disturbance with teenagers	2.57	2.67	2.63	2.72	2.67
8. Firearms discharged	3.86	4.23	3.90	3.95	4.00
9. Officer needs help	4.50	4.56	4.60	4.67	4.62
10. Attempted suicide	2.79	2.69	2.37	2.95	2.75
11. Robbery in progress	4.57	4.44	4.63	4.72	4.61
12. Assault with a deadly weapon	4.25	4.08	4.47	4.10	4.24
13. Rape victim	1.89	2.18	1.77	1.97	2.00
14. Burglary in progress	4.21	4.33	4.50	4.23	4.33
15. Drunk driver	2.89	2.74	2.20	2.41	2.59
16. Insane person	4.07	3.97	3.90	4.05	4.02
17. Malicious mischief	1.89	2.28	1.97	2.33	2.18
18. A suspicious person	2.57	2.72	2.97	2.92	2.82
19. Meet a citizen	1.64	2.28	1.67	1.90	1.93
20. Animal bite victim	1.46	1.56	1.57	1.62	1.57

The question immediately arises as to whether or not any of the differences in mean scores between any two cities are statistically significant. The Chi square test was used to determine the significance of the differences. As shown in Table L-A, there were six items which were statistically significant, at the 5 per cent level. Only two were significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. The data in Table L-B drawn from responses given at the end of training show five differences. It should be noted that there were inter-city differences at both the start and the end of training in the case of only two assignments, "family disturbance" and "a man down."

TABLE L-A

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF INTER-CITY DIFFERENCES IN MEAN DANGER SCORES, T_1

Assignment	$x^2=$	Degree of Freedom	Significant at 5% level of confidence	Significant at 1% level of confidence
1. Murder	13.5681	6	*	
2. Indecent exposure	0.4419	6		
3. Family disturbance	20.8908	6	*	*
4. Reckless driving	10.5875	6		
5. Burglar alarm sounding	12.955	9		
6. A man down	18.2043	9	*	
7. Teenage disturbance	8.6356	6		
8. Firearms discharged	6.069	9		
9. Officer needs help	7.3713	6		
10. Attempted suicide	11.565	6		
11. Robbery in progress	1.5776	6		
12. Assault with deadly weapon	9.8823	6		
13. Rape victim	18.3739	9	*	
14. Burglary in progress	0.5878	6		
15. Drunk driver	5.2861	6		
16. Insane person	18.8798	9	*	
17. Malicious mischief	6.3132	6		
18. A suspicious person	2.9106	6		
19. Meet a citizen	6.9606	6		
20. Animal bite victim	21.7699	6	*	*

TABLE L-B

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF
INTER-CITY DIFFERENCES IN MEAN DANGER SCORES, T_2

Assignment	x^2=	Degree of Freedom	Significant at 5% level of confidence	Significant at 1% level of confidence
1. Murder	8.7425	6		
2. Indecent exposure	12.5252	6		
3. Family disturbance	27.2620	6		*
4. Reckless driving	10.9426	6		
5. Burglar alarm sounding	10.0098	6		
6. A man down	14.9600	6	*	
7. Teenage disturbance	2.2038	6		
8. Firearms discharged	10.7985	6		
9. Officer needs help	4.7433	6		
10. Attempted suicide	8.4293	6		
11. Robbery in progress	3.7929	3		
12. Assault with deadly weapon	5.4187	6		
13. Rape victim	10.3914	6		
14. Burglary in progress	6.8960	6		
15. Drunk driver	21.1400	6		*
16. Insane person	2.2848	6		
17. Malicious mischief	14.1293	6	*	
18. A suspicious person	7.7470	6		
19. Meet a citizen	17.3841	6		*
20. Animal bite victim	1.5403	3		

The next aspect of the data to consider is that of the correlation of items ranked in order of the degree of danger believed to be associated with the call. The mean scores for the combined group of 152 subjects at both the start and end of training are shown in rank order in Table LI

TABLE LI

MEAN SCORES OF 152 POLICE TRAINEES
ON THE PERCEPTION OF DANGER INSTRUMENT
(IN RANK ORDER)

Assignment	T_1	T_2
1. Robbery in progress	4.50	4.61
2. Officer needs help	4.47	4.62
3. Assault with a deadly weapon	4.47	4.24
4. Murder	4.24	3.60
5. Burglary in progress	4.17	4.33
6. Firearms discharged	3.87	4.00
7. Insane person	3.85	4.02
8. Burglar alarm sounding	3.70	3.91
9. Attempted suicide	2.83	2.75
10. Family disturbance	2.77	3.39
11. Reckless driving	2.73	2.81
12. Disturbance with teen-agers	2.70	2.67
13. Drunk driver	2.61	2.59
14. A suspicious person	2.52	2.82
15. A man down	2.39	2.25
16. Rape victim	2.18	2.00
17. Malicious mischief	1.99	2.18
18. Indecent exposure	1.87	2.12
19. Animal bite victim	1.82	1.57
20. Meet a citizen	1.34	1.93

Inter-city rank order correlations ranged from 0.949 to 9.968.* In light of these high correlations and the few differences in mean scores between the cities on any one item, we have another evidence of the similarities among the group of recruits in the four cities studied.

The next question to be considered is that of differences in danger scores which occurred between the first and second administrations of the instrument. For purposes of this analysis, the overall mean danger score was compared at the beginning and at the end of training in each of the four cities. The statistical data is shown in Table LII.

* A further inquiry was made with regard to rank order. The instrument was administered to 105 New York City recruits. Their scores ranged from 4.59 to 1.38. The coefficient of correlation between combined rating and New York City was 0.944. One apparent difference between our group and the New York City recruits was the fact that they rated 7 items as having a danger score about 4.0 (high danger), whereas the combined group of 152 recruits rated only 5 items at this level.

TABLE LII

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEAN
DANGER SCORES OF POLICE RECRUITS

City	Mean, T_1	Mean, T_2	Correlation Coefficient	t
Baltimore (N=28)	3.24	3.08	0.40	1.69
Cincinnati (N=39)	2.92	3.14	0.41	3.75*
Columbus (N=30)	3.04	3.06	0.65	0.06
Indianapolis (N=39)	2.97	3.11	0.36	0.31

* Significant at the 1 per cent level

This analysis shows these cities to be different in two regards. The first relates to the direction of change. Whereas the aggregate mean score rose in three cities as a consequence of training, the mean score in Baltimore decreased. Second, with regard to the magnitude of the change, a statistically significant difference was found only for Cincinnati.

Danger and the Sufficiency of Training

We have indicated in the above analysis that training has an effect on the recruit's perception of danger. In essence, he learns both formally and informally to perceive of danger in certain situations. There is another relationship between training and danger which is worthy of consideration. This is the idea that a sense of danger may be a consequence of the belief that the training one has received has been insufficient. With regard to the military, Stouffer suggested:

> "That fear reactions in combat may be due, in part, to an attitudinal factor, the feeling that one has not had sufficient training for one's combat job."[77]

This same concept was voiced by an experienced police officer:

> "Although a possibility of physical injury in the line of duty exists, I feel that with proper training in methods of protection, a police officer has a better chance of survival in a combat situation, and it reduces the chance of injury. However, he must always be aware of danger."

The Supplementary Information form given the subjects at the conclusion of their training contained an item designed to assess the subjects' conception of the sufficiency of the training he had been given. Thirteen subjects areas were listed, five of which were related to those aspects of police work which might produce physical injury: crowd control techniques, firearms use, patrol procedures,

77. Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath, Vol. II, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 227.

physical combat skills, and the techniques of arrest. Each recruit rated the thirteen subject areas on a scale from 1 through 5. A mean sufficiency score was derived from an analysis of the responses to only the five subject areas named above. These scores in each of the five subject areas in the four cities are shown in Table LIII. In reading the table, the higher the score, the stronger the belief that the training was sufficient.

TABLE LIII

MEAN SCORES OF POLICE RECRUITS ON
SUFFICIENCY OF TRAINING SCALE

City	Crowd Control	Firearms Use	Patrol Procedures	Physical Combat	Arrest Techniques
Baltimore	3.57	4.71	4.71	3.96	4.39
Cincinnati	4.21	4.79	4.56	4.31	4.41
Columbus	4.53	4.77	4.13	3.90	4.43
Indianapolis	2.92	4.67	4.38	4.08	4.23

An inspection of the table shows that in all four cities, the strongest belief in the sufficiency of their training was shown for firearms use. Also, firearms use, patrol procedures, and arrest techniques were rated in all four cities at above 4.00, a numerical value which corresponds to a response between "probably yes" and "definitely yes."

In examining the central question of the relationship between the felt sufficiency of training and the perception of danger, scores at the end of training on the perception of danger instrument were correlated to those on the sufficiency of training instrument. Our hypothesis would lead us to expect that the higher the scores on the danger scale, the lower the scores on the sufficiency of training scale. Specifically, we are saying that the man who feels that his firearms training was definitely sufficient for the work he will be doing as a patrolman will perceive of less danger in the 20 assignments listed in the danger instrument. Contrariwise, the recruit who feels that his training in physical combat skills was definitely not sufficient would perceive of greater danger in the situations listed on the perception of danger form. Table LIV shows the correlation coefficients resulting from this analysis.

TABLE LIV

CORRELATION OF $DANGER_2$ AND
$TRAINING\ SUFFICIENCY_5$

City	number	correlation	t	Significance
Baltimore	28	0.18	.93	Not significant
Cincinnati	39	0.11	.67	Not significant
Columbus	30	0.002	.01	Not significant
Indianapolis	39	0.29	1.85	Not significant

The table shows that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two factors. The low correlation coefficient in Columbus shows that there was almost no relationship whatsoever between the perception of danger and the felt sufficiency of certain aspects of recruit training. Moreover, the direction of the correlation is opposite to that which would be expected, i.e., the coefficients should be negative. Our hypothesis is not supported by the data. Another question was considered within this analysis. In the case of Baltimore, there were 15 subjects who did not complete the training program. What relationship might exist between the level of perceiving future danger (as indicated by scores on the danger instrument) and successful performance in recruit training? Performance may improve with small amounts of danger but it will tend to deteriorate when an excessive degree of danger is perceived. There is a possibility that the unsuccessful trainees performed inadequately because they perceived of an excessive degree of danger. The mean danger score for the 28 successful Baltimore recruits was 3.235 as compared to a mean of 3.306 for the 15 unsuccessful recruits. The t score of 0.604 showed these differences not to be statistically significant.

By and large, this analysis indicated that little in the way of statistically significant differences related to the perception of danger occurred in relationship to recruit training. This is consistent with the view that little explicit attention is given to danger and the police role during recruit training. Only in Cincinnati did the recruits show a statistically significant increase in their perception of danger. The few inter-city differences in mean danger scores and the high inter-city rank order correlations suggest a further evidence of similarity among the recruit groups in the four cities studied. It is anticipated that the perception of danger will change considerably during the early months of experience in the field.

APPENDIX

LIFE HISTORY FORM

PERSONAL

1. Name: _____

2. Present Address: _____
   Street City State

3. Other cities you have lived in: _____
   City and State
   When did you live there? 19____ to 19 ____

   _____
   City and State
   When did you live there? 19 ___ to 19 ___

4. Age:
20-24	( )	40-44	( )
25-29	( )	45-49	( )
30-34	( )	50-54	( )
35-39	( )	55 and over	( )

5. Ethnic Origin: White ( ); Negro ( ); Other ( )

6. Marital Status: Single ( ); Married ( ); Separated ( ); Divorced ( ); Widowed ( ).

7. Military Service: Yes ( ) No ( ) Years of Service: 19___ to 19 ___

   What was your major assignment: _____

EDUCATION

8. High School Graduate: Yes ( ) No ( ) Equivalency Certificate ( )

9. College: (convert courses or credits into equivalent of academic years and check years completed)

   Less than 1 ( ); 1 ( ); 2 ( ); 3 ( ); 4 ( ); 5 ( ); 6 or more ( )

   Major field(s) in college _____

   What degree(s) held _____

10. How much education does (or did) your father have? Not high school grad. ( );

    High school grad. ( ); Some college ( ); College grad ( ).

EMPLOYMENT

11. What full time job did you hold immediately before entering police work?

    _____

12. What other full time jobs have you held? _____

    _____

13. During what year did you first become interested in police work as a vocational choice?
    19 _____.

14. What other kinds of work were you considering before you decided to become a police officer? _____

    _____

15. Have you done shift work before joining the department? Yes ( ) No ( )

16. Will you make more money as a patrolman than you did in your former job?
    Yes ( ) No ( )

17. Father's occupation (if deceased, list his major occupation during his working years.)

    _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

18. Do you have any relatives who are or were police officers? Yes ( ) No ( )

    If yes, do you feel that they influenced your decision to become a police officer?
Definitely Yes	( )
Probably Yes	( )
Don't Know	( )
Probably No	( )
Definitely No	( )

19. Do you have any friends who are or were police officers? Yes ( ) No ( )

    If yes, do you feel that they influenced your decision to become a police officer?
Definitely Yes	( )
Probably Yes	( )
Don't Know	( )
Probably No	( )
Definitely No	( )

(118)

20. Have you read any books or magazines about police work within the past year?
Yes ( ) No ( )

If so, list titles: _____

_____

_____

21. Do you feel that your reading has helped you in your decision to become a police officer?

Definitely Yes ( )
Probably Yes ( )
Don't Know ( )
Probably No ( )
Definitely No ( )

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION *

(119)

1. Name: _____

2. Do you feel that your formal education has helped prepare you for police work?

Definitely Yes ( )
Probably Yes ( )
Don't Know ( )
Probably No ( )
Definitely No ( )

3. Do you feel that your previous work experience has helped prepare you for police work?

Definitely Yes ( )
Probably Yes ( )
Don't Know ( )
Probably No ( )
Definitely No ( )

4. What are the ages and occupations of your three closest friends?

_____
age occupation

_____
age occupation

_____
age occupation

5. Do you expect to be promoted in rank within the next 10 years? Yes ( ); No ( )

6. If you are promoted in rank, what position or assignment would you like to have 10 years from now? _____

_____

7. If you are not promoted in rank, what position or assignment would you like to have 10 years from now? _____

_____

8. What does your wife think about your becoming a police officer? (If you are unmarried, what do your parents think about your becoming a police officer?)

Strongly approve ( )
Approve ( )
Have no opinion ( )
Disapprove ( )
Strongly disapprove ( )

* Questions 12 through 18 were not given to the subjects at the time of the first testing.

9. How satisfied are you with your job as a police officer when you compare it with other jobs you had before you entered law enforcement?

Very well satisfied ( )
Fairly well satisfied ( )
Undecided ( )
Fairly dissatisfied ( )
Very dissatisfied ( )

10. If you had it to do over again and knew what you now know, would you still become a police officer?

Definitely Yes ( )
Probably Yes ( )
Undecided ( )
Probably No ( )
Definitely No ( )

11. If your answer to the above question is "no", do you intend to remain with the department?

Yes ( )
No ( )
Undecided ( )

12. In each of the following subject areas, do you feel that you have had sufficient training to prepare you for the work you will be doing as a patrolman?

	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Undecided	Probably No	Definitely No
Accident investigation					
Crowd control techniques					
Firearms use					
First Aid					
Human Relations					
Investigative techniques					
Juvenile procedures					
Laws of arrest, search, and seizure					
Patrol procedures					
Physical combat skills					
Report writing					
Techniques of arrest					
Traffic control					

13. How old are you? _____ years.
List the ages of all of your brothers and sisters.

_____

_____

14. What are the most valuable things you have learned about police work in this training program? Why do you think so?

15. What are the least valuable things you have learned about police work in this training program? Why do you think so?

16. What additional things do you feel you will learn about police work through field experience?

17. As a police officer, you will be dealing with all kinds of people. What are the most important things you have learned in this training program about people?

18. Do you feel that you are now ready to do the work of a police officer or that you still have a lot to learn? Tell why you feel this way.

NAME: _____

Everybody seems to have something to say about how the police should do their job. At the start, your instructors will be a major source of "how to do it" information. Later, your supervisors will let you know how to do your work. A lot of other people -- even those outside the department -- will also let you know in one way or another how they think you should do your job.

On the following pages are 5 items designed to determine the way you think various people in your community feel about the police and their work. For each of the 15 groups listed on each page, indicate the way you think they feel about the matter presented at the top of the page.

Look at the first item. If you feel businessmen expect you to learn the essentials of police work mainly through formal classroom training, place an X in column A across from businessmen. On the other hand, if you feel businessmen expect you to learn the essentials of police work mainly through experience in the field, place an X in column B. If you feel businessmen hold both points of view, place an X in both columns A and B. If you feel businessmen are unconcerned or you don't know how businessmen feel about the matter, place an X in the appropriate column.

Continue on by indicating your responses in the same way for each of the 14 other groups of people listed on the page.

Next, place an X in the column which represents what you feel about the matter.

Lastly, indicate the extent to which you are bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours.

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO LEARN THE ESSENTIALS OF POLICE WORK MAINLY THROUGH FORMAL CLASSROOM TRAINING.

B. EXPECT ME TO LEARN THE ESSENTIALS OF POLICE WORK MAINLY THROUGH EXPERIENCE IN THE FIELD.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO FEELING EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Classroom)	B (Field Experience)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Which way do you feel you will learn the essentials of police work?	( )	( )	( )	

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1. A great deal ( )
2. Considerably ( )
3. To some degree ( )
4. Hardly at all ( )
5. Not at all ( )

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO BE SOMEWHAT IMPERSONAL AND RESERVED IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC.

B. EXPECT ME TO BE GOOD-NATURED AND FRIENDLY IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Impersonal)	B (Good-natured)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Which way do you feel you should be when dealing with the public?	( )	( )	( )	

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1. A great deal ( )
2. Considerably ( )
3. To some degree ( )
4. Hardly at all ( )
5. Not at all ( )

Here Are Three Ways That Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO HANDLE THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN SCHOOL TEACHER IN THE SAME WAY AS THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN LABORER.

B. EXPECT ME TO HANDLE THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN SCHOOL TEACHER IN A DIFFERENT WAY THAN THE ARREST OF A DRUNKEN LABORER.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO FEELING EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Same Way)	B (Different Way)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )
	What do you feel you ought to do?	( )	( )	( )	

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.	A great deal	( )
2.	Considerably	( )
3.	To some degree	( )
4.	Hardly at all	( )
5.	Not at all	( )

Here are Four Ways that Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT ME TO STOP THE RISE IN CRIME EVEN IF IT REQUIRES SACRIFICING CERTAIN CIVIL LIBERTIES.

B. EXPECT ME TO RESPECT CIVIL LIBERTIES EVEN IF IT RESULTS IN INCREASING CRIME.

C. EXPECT ME TO STOP THE RISE IN CRIME BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, RESPECT CIVIL LIBERTIES.

D. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Stop Rise)	B (Respect)	C (Stop but Respect)	D (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	What do you feel you ought to do?	( )	( )	( )	( )	

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1.	A great deal	( )
2.	Considerably	( )
3.	To some degree	( )
4.	Hardly at all	( )
5.	Not at all	( )

Here are Three Ways that Various Groups and Individuals in Your Community Might Feel About the Police and Their Work.

A. EXPECT POLICE EXPERIENCE TO MAKE ME A CHANGED PERSON.

B. EXPECT POLICE EXPERIENCE TO HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON ME AS A PERSON.

C. UNCONCERNED AND/OR HAVE NO ATTITUDE EITHER WAY.

For each group or individual listed below, check the space which most nearly represents the way you think they feel about this matter.

		A (Change Me)	B (Little Effect)	C (Unconcerned)	I Have No Idea
1.	Businessmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
2.	Civil rights leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
3.	Clergymen	( )	( )	( )	( )
4.	Experienced patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
5.	Judges	( )	( )	( )	( )
6.	Lawyers	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	Newspaper men	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Other new patrolmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	Personal friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	Police instructors/trainers	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Police supervisors	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Politicians	( )	( )	( )	( )
13.	Probation officers	( )	( )	( )	( )
14.	Prosecutors	( )	( )	( )	( )
15.	Wife/family	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Which way do you feel police experience will affect you?	( )	( )	( )	

To what extent are you bothered by the fact that certain groups in the list themselves hold opposing views and/or a view which conflicts with yours?

1. A great deal ( )
2. Considerably ( )
3. To some degree ( )
4. Hardly at all ( )
5. Not at all ( )

NAME: _____

A police officer really gets to know people. Police work gives a man an opportunity to observe all kinds of people in all kinds of situations. In fact, watching people is an important part of his job.

At the top of each of the attached sheets is the name of a group or an individual. Below the name is a list of ten opposing pairs of words which are commonly used to describe people. Between each pair of words is a scale numbered 1 through 7.

Place an "X" in the box which indicates your rating of the group on each pair of descriptive words. In the example below, you might feel that taxicab drivers are very pleasant people. In this case, you would put an "X" in box 1, as shown. On the second pair of words, clean and dirty, you might feel that cab drivers are really neither clean nor dirty. They are, in a sense, in the middle on this quality. Therefore, you would put an "X" in box 4, as shown. On the third pair of words, you might think that taxicab drivers are fairly unskilled people. You would then put an X in box 6, as shown.

Work rapidly! Your first impressions are desired here.

TAXI-CAB DRIVERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
pleasant	☒	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	unpleasant
clean	☐	☐	☐	☒	☐	☐	☐	dirty
skilled	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☒	☐	unskilled

BUSINESSMEN *

Rate "Businessmen" on each of the seven point scales between the ten word pairs shown below. Place an "X" in the box which indicates your choice.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a.	cooperative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uncooperative
b.	informed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	uninformed
c.	familiar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	strange
d.	fair	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	unfair
e.	large	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	small
f.	trusting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	suspicious
g.	good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	bad
h.	strong	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	weak
i.	active	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	passive
j.	important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	insignificant

* In addition to businessmen, subjects were asked to rate in the same manner civil rights leaders, clergymen, experienced patrolmen, judges, lawyers, newspaper men, other new patrolmen, personal friends, police instructors/trainers, police supervisors, politicians, probation officers, prosecutors, and wife/family.

NAME: _____

Each of us has a part in the overall mission of our department. Some of us contribute to the achievement of this mission more than others--not because of differences in effort but rather because of the nature of the position we hold. For example, a janitor is necessary to accomplish the police mission, but his contribution can never be as great as that of the chief.

On the following page is a list of 20 positions occupied by patrolmen in your department. Some positions are highly important in terms of the overall police mission while others are of lesser importance. Based upon your present knowledge of police work, select the five positions which you believe to be the most important in accomplishing the overall police function. Place an X in the space to the left of each of the five positions that you select.

Next, indicate the order of importance by placing a number (1 through 5) in the space to the right of the 5 positions selected. For example, number 1 should be used to designate the most important position; number 2, the next most important; and number 5, the fifth most important of the positions you chose.

X (1 through 5)

_____ Patrolman assigned to Youth Division . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Inspectional Services Division . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned as turnkey in substation lockup. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Traffic Enforcement Section . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Central Records Division . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Robbery Unit of Criminal Investigation Div. _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Training and Education Division as Instructor _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Homicide Unit of Criminal Investigation Div. _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Communication Control Center. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Range as Instructor. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Planning and Research Division. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Narcotic Unit of Vice Section . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Community Relations Division . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to District foot post. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to District radio car. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Tactical Section of Patrol Division . . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Laboratory Division of Services Bureau. . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Traffic Education Unit. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Personnel Division. . . . . _____

_____ Patrolman assigned to Prostitution Unit of Vice Section. . . . . _____

NAME: _____

Please give your opinion on each statement by circling the proper number. Here is what the numbers mean:

1. I strongly disagree
2. I disagree
3. Don't know or have no opinion
4. I agree
5. I strongly agree

1. Court decisions on interrogating suspects will undoubtedly result in fewer solutions of criminal cases. 1 2 3 4 5

2. The police are not receiving the backing they should from the political power structure in our cities. 1 2 3 4 5

3. The good policeman is one who gives his commanding officer unquestioning obedience. 1 2 3 4 5

4. The police service needs more college trained career officers. 1 2 3 4 5

5. The police are justified in regarding a juvenile with "beatnik" or "mod" appearance as a person who needs to be watched. 1 2 3 4 5

6. In certain areas of the city, physical combat skills and an aggressive bearing will be more useful to a patrolman on the beat than book learning and a courteous manner. 1 2 3 4 5

7. The best officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done. 1 2 3 4 5

8. Since ours is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their job. 1 2 3 4 5

9. The trouble with psychology and sociology is that they are not related to the everyday realities of the police job. 1 2 3 4 5

10. It would be a good idea to fill some vacancies in command positions with qualified officers from other police agencies. 1 2 3 4 5

11. Experience has shown police officers that there is a big difference between whether a man really is guilty and whether the court says he is. 1 2 3 4 5

1. I strongly disagree
2. I disagree
3. Don't know or have no opinion
4. I agree
5. I strongly agree

12. The police are often responsible for the fact that defendants are not found guilty. 1 2 3 4 5

13. The best officer is one who knows and sticks strictly to departmental procedures. 1 2 3 4 5

14. If police put as much effort into crime prevention as they do into investigation after a crime has been committed, we would be farther ahead in reducing crime. 1 2 3 4 5

15. The best officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors. 1 2 3 4 5

16. The best officers generally have more education than the others. 1 2 3 4 5

17. It would be desirable if candidates for police service were required to complete certain college courses in order to be certified by the state for initial employment. 1 2 3 4 5

18. There is nothing wrong with the idea of civilian review boards if people who are fair and unbiased could be found to serve on them. 1 2 3 4 5

19. Some of the ideals of politeness and decency taught in police schools are unworkable under the actual conditions on the beat. 1 2 3 4 5

20. Preservation of the peace requires that police have the authority to order people to "move along" or "break it up" even though no law is being violated. 1 2 3 4 5

NAME: _____

(135)

1. Read over the following list completely.
2. Select 10 qualities which you believe to be essential in a good policeman.
3. Indicate the order of importance by placing a number (1 - 10) in the space next to the quality selected. #1 is most important, #2 is next in importance, etc.
4. If you think some quality of importance has been omitted, write it in one of the spaces provided under "other", and indicate its numerical order as above.

Alertness	____	Dedication	____
Self reliance	____	Air of Authority	____
Initiative	____	Even tempered	____
Cooperation	____	Efficient	____
Appearance	____	Good Health	____
Courtesy	____	Common Sense	____
Intelligence	____	Emotional Maturity	____
Sense of Humor	____	Respect for Superiors	____
Patience	____	Physical Strength	____
Tolerance	____	Honesty	____
Courage	____	Knowledge of the Police Job	____
Compassion	____	Leadership	____
Discretion	____	Religious	____
Good Family Background	____	Friendly	____
Sobriety	____	Well Trained	____
Integrity	____	Practical	____
Morality	____	Not Naive	____
Responsibility	____	Studious	____
Pleasant Personality	____	Reliability	____
Industrious	____	Well Educated	____
Other _____	____	_____	____

NAME: _____

There is no question about it. A police officer's work is dangerous. A man can find himself in a dangerous situation suddenly and without warning.

Some assignments carry with them a very real possibility of personal danger and violence. Other assignments do not. Below is a list of radio assignments drawn from the standardized Ten Code System. Imagine you are assigned to a patrol car and you receive a radio assignment. Rate each code assignment listed below according to the degree of danger you think might be present in handling each incident to which you might be assigned.

For example, if you think an assignment has almost no possibility for danger, place a check in the first column. If, on the other hand, you feel there may be a high degree of danger present in handling the call, place a check in the fourth column. Your choice, in each instance, should be in terms of what you believe at the present time. Work rapidly. Your first impressions are desired here.

		No Danger Whatsoever	Slight Danger	Moderate Danger	High Danger	Certain and Extreme Danger
1.	Murder	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Indecent exposure	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Family disturbance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Reckless driving	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Burglar alarm sounding	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	A man down	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Disturbance with teenagers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Firearms discharged	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Officer needs help	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Attempted suicide	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Robbery in progress	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Assault with a deadly weapon	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Rape victim	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Burglary in progress	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Drunk driver	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Insane person	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Malicious mischief	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	A suspicious person	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	Meet a citizen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	Animal bite victim	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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