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# The Occupational Socialization of Policemen

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THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF POLICEMEN

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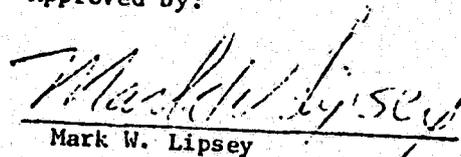
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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty  
of Claremont Graduate School in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Graduate Faculty of Psychology.

Claremont

1976

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Abstract

THE OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF POLICEMEN

By

Ilana Hadar

Claremont Graduate School: 1976

The primary purpose of this cross-sectional study was to examine the occupational socialization of policemen, i.e., the impact of their work experiences on their orientations. Characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors which are typical of policemen have usually been attributed to either pre-recruitment personality dispositions, changes due to occupational experience, or the interaction of both (cf. Lipset, 1969; Skolnick, 1966; Rokeach, Miller & Snyder, 1971).

Attitude, value, and role perception scales were administered to 670 sworn police officers and 100 police cadets. The scales were: Anomie, Cynicism, Empathy, Overidentification, Police Conservatism, Regard for the Public, Social Isolation, and Solidarity. The questionnaires also included indices of specific experiences and assigned activities involved in police work.

The general picture emerging from the findings was that policemen differ in several core orientations as a function of (a) the duration of exposure to the police environment and roles as measured by the number of years of experience; (b) natural maturation process as measured by age; (c) both years of experience and age; and (d) individual experiences and assigned activities. Thus, as nearly as can be learned from a cross-sectional study, the orientations of policemen change with "on the job" experience. This was evidenced by the fact that the scales

were related to years of experience and age, as would be expected if there were changes over time. Additional evidence was provided by the fact that the scales were related to the amount of participation in various experiences and activities, a pattern suggesting the influence of the job experience on the policeman's outlook. These findings lend support to Skolnick's (1966) notion of policemen's "working personality" and to the present author's hypothesis of occupational socialization.

The overall pattern of the relationship between years of experience and several scales was curvilinear, suggesting that certain stages in the policeman's career are more sensitive and vulnerable than others. The four scales that were significant (Cynicism, Overidentification, Regard for the Public, and Solidarity) reached their extreme value at the same time. Cynicism increased while Regard for the Public decreased; within the same period Overidentification ascended, but Solidarity descended. At a later stage of the career the level of Cynicism was reduced a bit and Regard for the Public gained momentum again, while Overidentification decreased and Solidarity increased. The initial increase (for Cynicism and Overidentification) or decrease (for Regard for the Public and Solidarity) seemed to cease after a certain point, then to gradually settle into a neutral or "adaptation level."

The age group comparisons showed significant differences on five of the scales: Cynicism, Empathy, Regard for the Public, Social Isolation, and Solidarity. The overall age influence thus showed about the same trend as years of experience. The exception was in

Regard for the Public where the impact of age was to produce a steady increase while the effect of experience, in earlier years, reduced that factor. This moderating influence of age is probably related to the increased Empathy and decreased Social Isolation in older patrolmen.

Especially interesting are the findings with regard to the specific experiences and assignments the individual policeman underwent. Among the individual experiences, three particular categories revealed recurring relations with the scales: (a) political, union, and student disturbances; (b) negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers; and (c) promotional activities and promotions. Among the assigned activities several were found to show regular interactions with years of experience and various scales, namely: (a) patrol; (b) adult, youth, and family disturbances; (c) theft, robbery, larceny, etc., crimes; and (d) violent crimes.

All things considered, the recurrent relationship between the scales and certain specific experiences and assignments provide evidence that some aspects of the policeman's occupational socialization are likely to be a product of more than just the "time" aspect of years of experience on the job.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors which are typical of policemen have usually been attributed to either pre-recruitment personality characteristics, changes due to occupational experience, or the interaction of both (cf. Lipset, 1969; Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971; Skolnick, 1966). The primary purpose of the study proposed here is to investigate the impact of policemen's experience on their attitudes, values, and perceptions regarding their occupational role. Following is an examination of (a) theoretical and empirical evidence that adult "personality" changes as a function of occupational roles, and (b) theoretical and empirical evidence that policemen's "personality" changes in particular ways as a function of their occupational role.

#### Occupational Socialization

"Occupational socialization" and "occupational personality" are terms used in psychology and sociology to describe the process and the outcome of changes that occur in adults' attitudes and behavior due to the roles and situations that are particular to their profession. Moore (1969) maintained that although socialization is a developmental process, socialization into work roles continues "well into and even

through the mature years of life" (p. 861). According to Becker and Carper (1956a):

One of the most compelling instances of personal change and development in adult life in our society is to be found in the typical growth of an "occupational personality" in the adult male who, as he matures, takes over an image of himself as the holder of a specialized position in the division of labor. (p. 239)

A number of studies in sociology have focused on the effect of one's occupation on his perceptions and personality. These studies postulate that the distinctive characteristics of an occupation are acquired through a process of role learning (Brim, 1960) or situational adjustment (Becker, 1964). In this view, a person learns how to act and react like a physician or a policeman at the same time that he learns the necessary mechanics of the job. Among the vocational groups studied have been teachers, soldiers, dance musicians, doctors, and assembly line workers (cf. Becker, 1951; Becker & Geer, 1958; Becker & Strauss, 1956; Janowitz, 1964; Terrien, 1955; Walker & Guest, 1952).

Although these theorists and others (e.g., Hughes, 1928, 1958; Parsons, 1953; Riseman, 1950) have discussed change due to occupational socialization, there is nevertheless a general lack of good evidence that helps describe those changes, or even that convincingly demonstrates the existence of such changes. It is not clear, for example, to what extent differences between the values of persons in different occupations are due to changes resulting from occupational experience and to what extent they are due to self-selection because people with different values choose to enter different occupations.

Underhill (1966) examined directly the problem of "whether values determine career choice or career choice determines values" (p. 171).

His conclusion, based on a longitudinal study, was that the answer depends, to a great extent, on the particular career. For humanities, education, and law, values seemed to be prior and tended to direct career choice. For medicine, engineering, physical science, and business, however, the career choice appeared to be prior and led to resulting changes in values. A shortcoming of Underhill's investigation, however, was that only seven career categories were analyzed--too few for a sound generalization. The author speculated that greater investment (e.g., time of schooling, energy) in the preparation for a career may make career choice more resistant to change so that values must change if there is conflict. Since the study included the college senior year and first post-college year only, the results bear only indirectly on the actual changes in values that may occur over the course of a career in a particular occupation.

The impact of occupational roles on adults' behavior is thus widely cited, yet incompletely understood. As Moore (1969) observed, "occupational socialization appears not to have excited scholarly interest proportional to its importance" (p. 861). Moore discussed the degree to which occupation determines adult behavior in modern society and noted that the amount of time spent in occupational activity is second only to time spent with family. Indeed if only waking hours are considered, occupation would probably emerge as the dominant determinant and locus of behavior. Although the study proposed here is designed mainly to investigate the occupational socialization of policemen, results should yield information regarding

occupational socialization in general. If policemen show significant occupational changes, that finding will provide additional evidence for the importance of an occupation to the values, attitudes, and behavior of its members.

#### The Occupationalization of Policemen

The term occupationalization will be used here to refer to the concept of occupational socialization, i.e., the process of change in values, attitudes, etc., due to the norms, roles, and other dictates of an occupation. The term was modeled after Clemmer's (1958) usage of the word "prisonization" to depict the effect that the prison atmosphere has on prisoners during their incarceration.

Drawing on the available literature, personal observations, and informal interviews held with policemen, the changes in the policemen's personality resulting from occupationalization seem to fall into two main categories: (a) attitudes and values; and (b) role elements. A discussion of the particular values, attitudes, and role elements that seem to be the most significant in the occupational experience of policemen follows.

#### Attitudes and Values

Anomie. Durkheim (1951, 1965) and Merton (1957) have discussed the sociological term anomie, which is a societal condition of apathy, confusion, frustration, alienation and despair. Niederhoffer (1967) analyzed the existence of anomie in policemen and proposed that "the elements of this syndrome are loss of faith in people, of enthusiasm for the high ideals of police work, and of pride and integrity"

(p. 96). Niederhoffer saw a clear connection between the development of anomie and change of values, and he attributed the change of values to the impact of the police career.

Anomie occurs particularly when the old values of a social system are being supplanted by a new code--exactly the case in the police organization. Seeking to wrest control from the old regime, the professionals are introducing a new ethic into the modern police force which is undermining old norms and loyalties. . . . The more professionalism becomes the predominant ethic, the greater each policeman's drive for advancement, and disappointment at failure. (pp. 96-97)

Niederhoffer thought that another element of the policeman's occupationalization was rooted in his perception of his role.

In performing his special role in the social system the policeman realizes that for much of his time on duty he is above the law. . . . He may kill where necessary, he may destroy property and invade privacy; he may make arrests merely on grounds of suspicion; he may disregard traffic regulations. The sense of power often corrupts him into a belief that he is superior to the law. . . . [His] role [is] symbolized by his distinctive weapons and uniform; likewise his constant dealing with crime may encourage him to view policemen as superior to the general race of men. (p. 97)

After several years of police work in a normless context the policeman may develop anomie.

Idealism--realism--cynicism. Becker and Geer (1958) distinguished between two types of workers: (a) people who idealistically believe that their work is what it seems on the surface to be; and (b) people who cynically admit that the primary aspect of their work is making a living. The former are the idealists, who view their work as a "noble" profession while the latter are the cynics, who regard their profession as a "racket." The most convincing data on reduction of idealism and the development of cynicism as a function of adult socialization is found in studies on medical students and

doctors (Becker & Gear, 1958; Eron, 1955). Brim and Wheeler (1966), in their discussion of socialization during adulthood, listed the transition from a concern with idealism to a concern with realism as one of the changes in the content of socialization.

Based on Brim and Wheeler (1966), Becker and Gear (1958), and Eron's (1955) findings, it may be hypothesized that the initial stage of idealism among policemen is replaced with cynicism, both toward the public and toward the police. However, I propose that at a later point in the policeman's career he adjusts to the disillusion and, rather than being either idealistic or cynical, he then becomes realistic.

The development of realism among policemen appears to be a function of both age and experience (cf. Ahern, 1972).

Niederhoffer (1967) claimed that cynicism develops in policemen gradually, and he distinguished between cynicism directed toward the world in general and that directed toward the police itself. The author considered cynicism to be related to anomie: "In the police system the typical adaptation to anomie is cynicism" (p. 99).

Niederhoffer reported a steady increase in cynicism as the years of experience increased, until it reached a high point between seven and ten years of experience. The author emphasized that the source of variation in this case was not the number of years itself but the effect of the occupational experience at each phase of the career. Niederhoffer pointed out that newly appointed recruits showed significantly less cynicism than recruits who were already in the police academy for a period of time. On the whole, the data suggested that

there may be a curvilinear relationship between the development of cynicism among policemen and the amount of experience they have. Curiously, Niederhoffer reported that patrolmen with college education scored higher on cynicism than those with less education. The author suggested that education only multiplies the frustration and cynicism for a policeman. College education, by itself, therefore, does not seem sufficient to prepare the policeman to adapt to his occupational role and to "immunize" himself against cynicism and anomie.

Conservatism. Policemen reportedly tend to be politically and emotionally conservative (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Guthrie, 1963; Skolnick, 1966). Skolnick (1966) concluded from his interviews with policemen that a "Goldwater type of conservatism is the dominant political and emotional persuasion of the police" (p. 61). Lipset (1969) claimed that conservatism among policemen existed prior to their recruitment and that they were initially recruited from the more conservative strata of society. Although policemen may be conservative before they become police, this does not necessarily mean that they do not become less or more conservative as a function of their occupationalization. Watson (1967), for instance, showed that patrolmen and detectives were more conservative than commanding officers.

Skolnick (1966) explained emotional conservatism as the need to retain the status quo. He related conservatism among policemen directly to certain elements of their occupational role:

If the element of danger in the policeman's role tends to make the policeman suspicious, and therefore emotionally attached to the status quo, a similar consequence may be attributed to the element of authority. The fact that a man is engaged in enforcing a set of rules implies that he also becomes implicated in

affirming them. Labor disputes provide the commonest example of conditions inclining the policeman to support the status quo. In these situations, the police are necessarily pushed on the side of the defense of property. Their responsibilities thus lead them to see the striking and sometimes angry workers as their enemy and, therefore, to be cool, if not antagonistic, toward the whole conception of labor militancy. If a policeman did not believe in the system of laws he was responsible for enforcing, he would have to go on living in a state of conflicting cognitions, a condition which a number of social psychologists agree is painful. (p. 59).

Trojanowicz (1971) found conventionalism to be one of the policeman's occupational characteristics: "he is cautious concerning abrupt changes and feels that change should be initiated in a conventional manner [slow change]" (p. 555). Skolnick raised the question as to the relationship between conservatism and authoritarianism and preferred the term "conventional personality" over authoritarianism in reference to policemen. He attributed to the policeman a "fundamental identification with conservative conventionality" (p. 150). Unlike the majority of conventional people the policeman comes in contact with various underworld and deviant elements of the population; and, as Skolnick pointed out, he "tends to resent the quietly respectable liberal who comes to the defense of such people on principle but who has rarely met them in practice" (p. 160).

Social isolation. Skolnick (1966) regarded two components of the policeman's role as responsible for the development of his occupational personality: danger and authority. Both elements contribute to the social isolation of the policeman:

. . . the character of the policeman's work makes him less desirable as a friend, since norms of friendship implicate others in his work. Accordingly, the element of danger isolates the policeman socially from that segment of the citizenry which

he regards as symbolically dangerous and also from the conventional citizenry with whom he identifies

The element of authority reinforces the element of danger in isolating the policeman. Typically, the policeman is required to enforce laws representing puritanical morality, such as those prohibiting drunkenness, and also laws regulating the flow of public activity, such as traffic laws. In these situations the policeman directs the citizenry, whose typical response denies recognition of his authority, and stresses his obligation to respond to danger. The kind of man who responds well to danger, however, does not normally subscribe to codes of puritanical morality. As a result, the policeman is unusually liable to the charge of hypocrisy. That the whole civilian world is an audience for the policeman further promotes police isolation and, in consequence, solidarity. (p. 44)

Skolnick quoted a California policeman who recalled that several months after joining the force he encountered alienation and hostility at a friend's party, and consequently he and his wife decided to go to parties where he was not the only policeman. The story is almost identical to the accounts of policemen I interviewed, and similar to the experiences told to Emmons (1973). Not really by choice, policemen gradually come to socialize only with other policemen, and their wives learn to socialize only with wives of other policemen (see Preiss & Ehrlich, 1966, for a description of the policeman's wife). One of the purposes of the present study is to examine Skolnick's theory that social isolation is a function of the policeman's role. It is therefore predicted that applicants and new recruits will have a social life that encompasses nonpolicemen, while more experienced patrolmen will socialize mainly and almost exclusively with police families. It is further predicted that as the patrolmen approach the last phases of their career, they will go back to socializing with nonpolicemen (although they will retain a few policemen as friends)

because they become less sensitive to the negative experiences in social situations.

Solidarity. Many occupational groups tend to be inclusive and their members identify with each other to a great extent. Policemen supposedly experience an extremely high degree of inclusiveness and solidarity (Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1953; Wilson, 1963). Skolnick claimed that, "set apart from the conventional world, the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu" (p. 52). According to Skolnick, solidarity is a consequence of both the element of danger and the social isolation experienced by law enforcers. The author's criterion for police solidarity was the occupation of the three closest friends of a policeman. Skolnick reported that 35% of the listed friends were policemen. Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1962) presented similar results from their study, in which policemen are compared with printers. Skolnick (1966) noted that in spite of the fact that printers were also found to have 35% of their friends from within their occupational group, the two groups were different in their solidarity--policemen were much more active socially (banquets, clubs, etc.). It is one of the purposes of this study to analyze the solidarity of policemen both in terms of the friends they associate with and their social activity patterns.

Empathy. It has been pointed out by some writers (e.g., Cumming, Cumming, & Edell, 1965) that the policeman's role resembles in many ways the role of the guide, friend, and the like. However, the behavioral style of the policeman is unique and rather than increasing

his sensitivity and empathy, he seems to lose it gradually. The policemen I interviewed introspected that as their experience increased, their feelings of empathy decreased. If this is a function of his job, it is possible that some empathy is regained as a policeman is promoted to a rank which no longer requires him to deal with the public on a regular basis. The loss of empathy may be a result of the conflicting demands of the policeman's occupational role; on the one hand, his superiors expect him to secure law and order in the community and, on the other hand, the public expects him to be a clergyman, a social worker, and a friend. He has to deal with alcoholics, family feuds, lost old ladies, ecc., and while this seems exciting at first, as the years go by the policeman no longer experiences friendly sympathy.

Regard for the public. Skolnick (1966) used the term "symbolic assailant" to describe the policeman's view of certain members of the public. According to the author, "One attribute of many characterizing the policeman's role stands out: the policeman is required to respond to assaults against persons and property" (p. 45). Skolnick contended that in order to qualify for the status of symbolic assailant, one need not ever have used violence. Policemen learn to be suspicious and alert to potential danger. This attitude is a function of their occupational role and is adopted by policemen who have never experienced a confrontation with an assailant.

Policemen feel that their job makes them an exclusive group of people and that everybody else is inferior. Their attitude toward

the public is not only marked with suspicion and mistrust, but also with a feeling of superiority. Some of the frequent expressions policemen use among themselves when discussing a nonpolice person are "stupid" (implying that policemen are smarter than the public), and "asshole" (implying general inferiority of nonpolice persons). From my interviews with policemen I drew the impression that this attitude increases in magnitude up to a certain point of their career and then begins to decrease.

#### Role Elements

Role perception and conflict. Some evidence that police occupationalization is related to role perception was provided by Preiss and Eärlich (1966). The authors analyzed the differences among the various police ranks in five role areas: advancement opportunity, social value and prestige, freedom to express feelings, self-realization, and job-family compatibility. The results were presented in two dimensions: (a) blockage--the degree to which the policeman perceived the role area as penalizing him; and (b) importance--the degree to which the area had been or should have been significant for the policeman and of concern to him. The comparison among ranks showed that corporals and sergeants (as well as resigned policemen) had higher blockage than recruits, policemen (patrolmen), officers (higher ranks than sergeants), and retirees. Officers and retirees showed mostly low levels of blockage, while recruits and policemen were in the middle.

The fact that the direction of the change in role perception was

not linear may be due to the different kinds of role demands that are made on the policeman at different career stages. Corporals and sergeants in particular appeared to experience role induced frustrations on matters that were of significance to them. For all policemen, however, the possibility exists that they will come to see their occupational role in conflicting terms as something to which they owe allegiance, on the one hand, and an obstacle to desired goals on the other.

Identification with the occupational role and overidentification.

Becker and Carper (1956b) listed four elements of occupational identification that were revealed by a comparison of three groups of graduate students (physiology, philosophy, and mechanical engineering). The four categories were: (a) occupational title and associated ideology; (b) commitment to task; (c) commitment to particular organizations or institutional positions; and (d) significance for one's position in the larger society. From interviews I conducted with law enforcers it seems that commitment to task is the dominant element of their identification with their occupational role. According to the men interviewed, at certain stages of their career they perceived their commitment to the task as their total way of life; in their words, they "eat, sleep, and think police." This phase can be described as overidentification with the occupational role, i.e., the policeman cannot or does not make the distinction between his occupational role and his way of life in general. Based on my informal interviews with policemen, I propose that over-

identification may be characterized by behaviors such as listening to police calls while off duty, and going to work early and staying late.

Summary of Expected Relationships Between  
Policeman's Occupational Experience and  
Their Attitudes, Values, and Role Perceptions

The expected findings described below are based partially on the evidence found in the literature and partially on my observations and informal interviews with policemen. The latter ground for hypotheses was adopted whenever the literature did not provide empirical data. The expected changes are in terms of curvilinear patterns, i.e., each of the particular characteristics measured is either lower at the beginning and the end of the career and higher in its middle stages or higher at both ends and lower in the middle. This relationship is not expected to be symmetrical, i.e., the scores on both ends of the curve are not predicted to be at the same magnitude, just lower or higher than the other stages of the career.

The variables listed below are hypothesized to be distinctive attitudinal and behavioral characteristics that do not exist at the beginning of the policeman's career but which become part of his makeup when he has reached a certain number of years of experience, assignments, individual experiences, and rank. These variables are expected to either peak or to be at their lowest at those stages of the career when the demands of the occupation are assumed to have the greatest influence over the policeman.

(a) Anomie (low-high-low)

- (b) Conservatism (low-high-low)
- (c) Cynicism (low-high-medium), i.e., idealism--cynicism--realism
- (d) Empathy (high-low-high)
- (e) Overidentification with the role (low-high-low)
- (f) Social isolation (low-high-low)
- (g) Solidarity (low-high-low)
- (h) Regard for the public (high-low-high)
- (i) Role conflict (low-high-low)

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### Pilot Study

Measures. A pilot study was undertaken in order to (a) purify the tentative scales developed for the cross-sectional study and (b) improve the questionnaire on the basis of comments from the pilot subjects. The subjects, 55 police officers, were drawn from four police departments in Southern California. (These stations were not sampled in the cross-sectional phase of the study.) Although participation was voluntary, the rate of refusal was less than 10%. Questionnaires were administered to the subjects on an individual basis. The questionnaire consisted of four segments: (a) demographic queries; (b) an inventory of experiences that policemen may have undergone in the line of duty; (c) a list of activities in which policemen routinely engage; and (d) 115 Likert-type items on the scales of Anomie, Conservatism, Cynicism, Empathy, Idealism, Overidentification with the Role, Realism, Regard for the Public, Role Conflict, Social Isolation, and Solidarity.

The Likert-type items for the pilot questionnaire were constructed on the basis of three sources: (a) items from existing scales; (b) new items based on extensive interviews with policemen; and (c) new items based on the investigator's observations of police-

men and the published comments of other observers. In constructing and selecting the items, an attempt was made to stay close to relatively specific issues regarding policemen's opinions and activities, rather than abstract, highly inferential issues. The various sections of the questionnaire and all new scale items were constructed in consultation with 12 local policemen of various ranks and experiences who also assisted in the selection of items from existing scales.

Analysis. Using the pilot data, the scales were refined with conventional item analysis and an analysis based on Campbell and Fiske's (1959) multitrait matrix. Following the analysis, items not correlated well enough with any scale were eliminated, a few items in some scales were replaced by items from other scales, and the Conservatism scale was bifurcated into two scales: Conservatism and Police Conservatism.

#### Cross-sectional Study

Subjects and sampling. Attitude, value and role perception scales were administered to 670 sworn male police officers and 100 male police cadets. The sworn officers were drawn from fourteen separate police departments located in San Bernardino County, Orange County, parts of Los Angeles County, and parts of Riverside County. The area to be sampled was chosen for convenience of location. A geographical map and a list of the police stations were used in order to accurately determine the boundaries of the area and the pool of the independent police stations from which a representative sample of stations was drawn. No county sheriff stations were included in the

pool of stations. Appendix A contains a map of the area sampled (see Figure A1) and the pool of stations (see Table A1), stratified into quadrants according to the size of the city and the part I crime rate (i.e., murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, manslaughter by negligence, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft) per 100,000 residents. The 1973-74 California Roster was used to determine the population, and crime figures from the Bureau of Criminal Statistics report, "Crime and Delinquency in California, 1973," were used to obtain the rate of part I crime per 100,000 residents. Since police manpower was shown to be uniformly proportional to the population size, the size of the station as a criterion for sampling was not used to avoid redundancy. Stations were sorted according to median population and median part I crime rate for the entire group. Thus, four quadrants resulted: (a) high crime rate - large city; (b) high crime rate - small city; (c) low crime rate - large city; and (d) low crime rate - small city. Initially, it was planned to sample three stations from each quadrant, but eventually two additional stations were sampled. Table A2 presents the police stations sampled within each quadrant. The sampling was done according to a combination between randomization and criteria, i.e., initially the stations were selected randomly; but in order to secure a relatively sharp distinction between the quadrants, the investigator also considered the criteria (crime rate and population size) to avoid sampling too many stations close to the median.

Except for San Bernardino Police Department (P. D.) and Riverside P. D., the sampling within stations was at least 95% of the sworn officers. A small proportion of the officers were on sick leave for a long time, on long vacations, etc., and did not participate in the study. In San Bernardino P. D. and Riverside P.D., the two largest stations in the sample, only 50% of the patrolmen (selected on a random basis) participated in the study. For the purpose of the analysis, the patrolmen in these two groups were weighted (i.e., the n's of the patrolmen from these stations were each doubled), although prior analysis showed no marked differences on the scales when these two groups were not weighted. The total numbers of policemen (prior to weighting) sampled from each city and each quadrant are shown in Table A2.

Measures. The face sheet of the questionnaire included in introductory statement and Demographic measures (e.g., rank, job title, and age). The second sheet of the questionnaire contained an index of 37 experiences which the respondent might have encountered during his career (e.g., being verbally abused, being shot at, and administering first aid). These experiences were mostly by-products of the police role (for example, being shot at is not an assigned activity). The subjects were asked to indicate approximately how many times they had experienced each. The third, fourth, and fifth pages comprised an index of 94 activities and assignments involved in police work; the subjects were asked to indicate the degree of their involvement in these activities within the past six months. The activities listed

here were activities and assignments routinely involved in police work (e.g., motor patrol, family disputes, and homicides).

The fourth section of the questionnaire included 59 Likert-type items, selected from the 115 pilot items on the basis of the analysis of the pilot data. The 59 items included 47 scale items and 12 "at large" items. The "at large" items were items that were not assigned to any scale but were retained due to their content. Each Likert-type item contained a statement and a seven-point scale consisting of the following possible responses: "strongly agree," "moderately agree," "mildly agree," "undecided," "mildly disagree," "moderately disagree," and "strongly disagree."

Based on a posteriori inter-item correlational analysis and conventional item analysis, some of the items were transferred from the scales to the "at large" pool and vice versa. Consequently, there were 46 scale items and 13 "at large" items. Table 1 presents the final inventory of the 12 scales and the "at large" items. The source of each item in each of the final scales is documented in Table B1. A final conventional items analysis (see Table C1) and an inter-item correlational analysis (see Table C2) were conducted again. A coefficient alpha was calculated as an estimate of the reliability of each scale, based on the inter-item correlations for each scale obtained from the total sample of sworn officers (see Table 2). Seven of the scales (Anomie, Cynicism, Empathy, Overidentification, Regard for the Public, Social Isolation, and Solidarity) demonstrated acceptable levels of alpha (ranging from  $r = .50$  to  $r = .75$ ); the Police

Table 1  
Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

---

Anomie scale (AN)

1. Everything changes so quickly these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the right rules to follow. (+)
2. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on. (+)
3. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile. (+)
4. Nobody cares whether you vote or not, except the politicians. (+)
5. With everything so uncertain these days, it almost seems as though anything could happen. (+)

Conservatism scale (CON)

1. If called upon to do so, a citizen should be willing to sacrifice his life for his country. (+)
2. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat. (-)
3. This country would be better off if religion had a greater influence in daily life. (+)
4. Regulation of business by government usually does more harm than good. (+)

Cynicism scale (CYN)

1. The majority of special assignments in police departments depend on who you know, not on your qualifications or experience. (+)
2. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught. (+)

Table 1 (continued)

## Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

Cynicism scale (cont.)

3. The average police superior is quicker to blame his subordinates than to praise them. (+)

Empathy scale (EMP)

1. I don't like to be emotionally involved with the people I encounter during police work. (-)
2. A policeman can't let himself care too much about the problems of the people he deals with. (-)
3. Caring too much about people's problems may affect the efficiency of a policeman. (-)

Idealism scale (IDL)

1. The typical policeman would not hesitate to perform police duties even though he may have to work overtime. (+)
2. With constant work and dedication the police will eventually wipe out crime. (+)
3. There will come a time when even the newspapers will fully appreciate the work and the conduct of the police. (+)
4. A good policeman should stand up for what he thinks is right even if it costs him his job. (+)

Overidentification scale (OV)

1. If I had a son, I would want him to be a policeman when he grew up. (+)
2. I like to listen to police calls when off duty. (+)

Table 1 (continued)

## Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

Overidentification scale (cont.)

3. I go to work early and stay late so I won't miss much of the action. (+)
4. I "eat, sleep, and breathe" police work. (+)

Police Conservatism scale (PC)

1. Individual rights are not as important as the right of the police to safeguard the community. (+)
2. I don't feel that women should be working on the street as police officers. (+)
3. In our country, sentences handed out to criminals are usually too light. (+)

Realism scale (RE)

1. The police may be able to react to crime but they cannot really be expected to prevent crime. (+)
2. I feel that the policeman's real duty is to enforce the spirit of the law and not always the letter of the law. (+)
3. Harassment of policemen is usually due to what the uniform represents and not to the individual in the uniform. (+)

Regard for the Public scale (REG)

1. Most people have a much poorer understanding of human behavior than policemen. (-)
2. Most people have a vicious streak that will come out when given a chance. (-)

Table 1 (continued)  
Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

---

Regard for the Public scale (cont.)

3. A policeman must consider every person as a potential criminal.  
(-)
4. In general, policemen are probably better quality people than most other members of the community. (-)
5. One reason police work is difficult is that most people have such low moral standards. (-)

Role Conflict scale (RO)

1. My wife (girlfriend) complains that I neglect her, and I'm torn between her needs and the demands of my job. (+)
2. If I witnessed relatives or close friends breaking the law, I would feel bad if I arrested them. (+)
3. It does or would bother me to have to place my work before my family. (+)

Social Isolation scale (SOC)

1. In general, most of my off-duty recreational and sports activities are done with other policemen and their families. (+)
  2. I seldom associate with other policemen off duty. (-)
  3. My closest friends are not in police work. (-)
  4. I feel more at ease socially when I'm around other policemen than around nonpolice persons. (+)
  5. In a college environment, I am (or would be) reluctant to reveal that I'm a policeman. (+)
-

Table 1 (continued)

## Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

Solidarity scale (SOI)

1. I consider all policemen my friends whether I know them personally or not. (+)
2. People who are not policemen just can't understand what it is like. (+)
3. If policemen don't stand up for each other, nobody else will. (+)
4. Policemen are like brothers and should stick together. (+)

"At Large" items

1. Any policeman who completely trusts even one person is asking for trouble.
2. Except for my family, the only people I feel I can really count on are other policemen.
3. I am not able to share my police experiences with my wife (girlfriend).
4. I sometimes stop and watch policemen working when I'm off duty.
5. It bothers me that because I'm a policeman I'm denied some of the rights that every other citizen (even a criminal) has.
6. It bothers me when I have to swallow my pride and take abuse from a citizen.
7. Laws which benefit the people are more important than laws which strengthen the nation.
8. Many women chase policemen just because of the uniform.
9. The world is a pretty rotten place and the police don't make

## Table 1 (continued)

## Inventory of Scale Items and "At Large" Items

"At Large" items (cont.)

it much better.

10. When I arrest a person I sometimes admit to myself that if I were in his situation I would have behaved the way he did.
11. When I deal with a criminal I sometimes think that if things had been a little different, I might have been the criminal and he the policeman.
12. When I go shopping I sometimes watch for shoplifters.
13. When I witness a traffic violation while off duty, I sometimes try to stop and warn the violator.

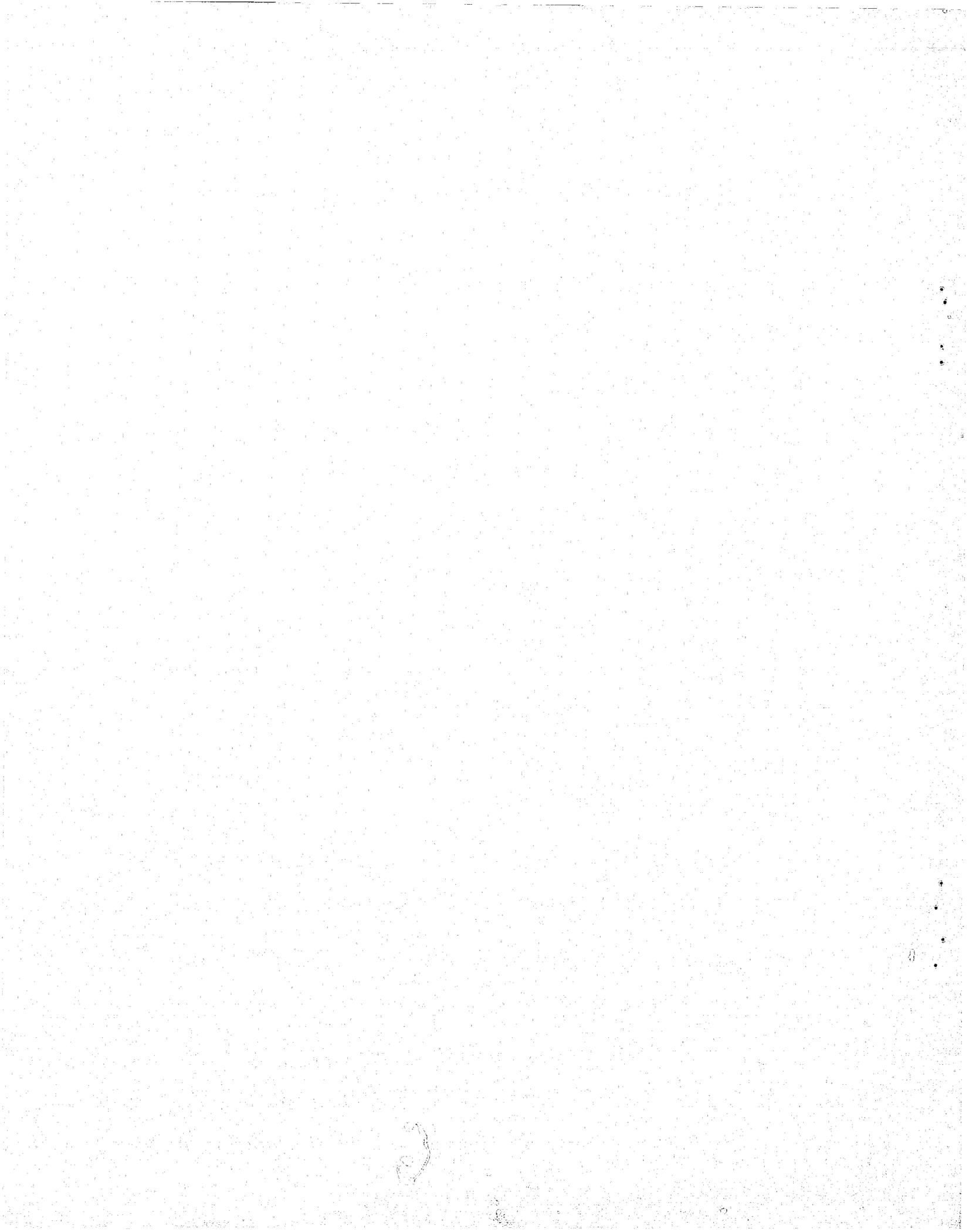


Table 2

Inter-Scale Correlational Analysis with Estimates of Reliability (in parentheses)

	AN	CON	CYN	EMP	IDL	OV	PC	RE	REG	RO	SOC	SOL
Anomie	(.62)	.06	.34	-.28	-.01	.07	.24	.14	-.43	.22	.08	.38
Conservatism		(.19)	-.02	-.07	.03	.07	.15	.03	-.10	.02	-.04	.11
Cynicism			(.50)	-.12	.04	.00	.18	.07	-.27	.15	.06	.13
Empathy				(.59)	.08	.01	-.22	-.12	.31	-.13	-.12	-.32
Idealism					(.22)	.30	.01	.01	-.02	-.02	.01	.09
Overidentification						(.66)	.11	-.04	-.25	-.03	.26	.26
Police Conservatism							(.41)	.15	-.32	.21	.23	.28
Realism								(.10)	-.09	.13	.07	.08
Regard for the Public									(.59)	-.18	-.29	-.47
Role Conflict										(.27)	.20	.14
Social Isolation											(.75)	.37
Solidarity												(.60)

Conservatism scale showed a somewhat lower reliability level ( $r = .41$ ); the remainder of the scales (Conservatism, Idealism, Realism, and Role Conflict) showed a very low level of inter-item consistency (ranging from  $r = .10$  to  $r = .27$ ). These last four scales, although analyzed, were excluded from the report and interpretation of results.

The inter-scale correlational analysis (see Table 2) showed that most of the scales were fairly independent from each other, ranging up to  $r = +.47$ , but with a median (unsigned) value of  $r = +.12$ .

The items from the index of individual experiences were combined into conceptual categories on an a priori basis. Frequency distributions were then obtained for all the experience variables, and these frequency distributions were collapsed into three groups (low, medium, and high) with  $n$ 's as nearly equal as possible. This procedure was carried out in order to standardize the scores on the experience variables so that the categories would not be differentially weighted by the different ranges of scores on these variables. The collapsed experience variable scores were combined (summed) in the predetermined categories, and frequency distributions were then obtained for each experience category. These frequency distributions were collapsed into three groups (low, medium, and high) with  $n$ 's as nearly equal as possible. Table 3 presents the inventory of the categories of experiences and their items.

The items from the routine activities index were also combined into a priori categories, using a similar procedure to the one used for the experience categories: (a) activity variables were combined

## Categories of Experiences

Verbal abuse

Been verbally threatened  
 Been verbally abused  
 Been called racial names (such as "nigger," "honky," etc.)

Physical abuse

Been stabbed  
 Been shot at  
 Been hit by fists  
 Been hit with any weapon  
 Been spit at  
 Had rocks and/or bottles, etc., thrown at you

Pursuits and crashing in a police car

Crashed in a police car (but you were not injured)  
 Crashed in a police car (and you were injured)  
 Been involved in pursuits

Being held at gun point

Gave up your gun under threat  
 Had your gun taken away by force  
 Been held at gun point

Racial disturbances

Encountered major race disturbances  
 Encountered inter-racial group fights  
 Encountered inter-racial fights between individuals

Political, union, and student disturbances

Encountered political and/or union demonstrations (non-student)  
 Encountered student disturbances

Shootings and killings by police

Shot at someone (without injuring him/her)  
 Shot at someone (and injured him/her)  
 Killed someone

Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers

Had your testimony ignored or disbelieved in court  
 Been reprimanded by a judge  
 Been reprimanded by a supervisor  
 Been suspended  
 Been verbally abused or insulted by a fellow policeman

Promotional exams and promotions

Taken promotional examinations  
 Been promoted

Helping experiences

Helped deliver a baby  
 Administered first aid  
 Helped a lost child  
 Helped a lost adult  
 Saved the life of a citizen  
 Transported mental patients  
 Searched for a missing person

(summed) in the predetermined categories; (b) frequency distributions (marginals) were obtained for each activity category; and (c) these frequency distributions were collapsed into three groups (low, medium, and high), having  $n$ 's as nearly equal as possible. Table 4 presents the inventory of activity categories and their items.

Procedure. The questionnaires were administered to the subjects either by the investigator or by one of the two graduate assistants who were trained especially for this task. The policemen were polled in small groups, usually before or after the briefing periods that precede the various shifts. Sometimes subjects were polled individually; this happened in cases where an officer was sick, on vacation, or out on duty when his fellow officers were interviewed. The chiefs and their assistants were asked in advance not to be present during the interview sessions. In addition to the brief introduction on the face sheet of the questionnaire, the experimenters gave a brief oral introduction prior to distributing the questionnaires. In their introduction, the experimenters introduced themselves by name and explained that the study was sponsored by Claremont Graduate School, and not by police, as a project for a doctoral dissertation. The subjects were promised confidentiality and anonymity, and were told that the investigator was not interested in the individual responses of any officer. The experimenters also asked the subjects to work privately and invited them to write comments on the back of the questionnaire if they wished to do so. Although participation was voluntary, the rate of refusal was only 2.5%. Upon completion of the questionnaires, many of

## Categories of Activities

Patrol

Walk patrol  
Motor patrol  
Tactical unit

Traffic

Traffic violations  
Reckless driving  
Drunk driving  
Traffic accidents

Adult, youth, and family disturbances

Family disputes  
"Disturbance of peace"  
Noise complaints  
Disturbance with teenagers  
Gang violence  
Students unrest  
Race disturbances  
Curfew

Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes

Shoplifting  
Burglaries  
Burglary alarm sound  
Burglary in progress  
Robberies  
Robbery in progress  
Theft  
Stolen cars  
Forgery  
Embezzlement

Violent crimes

Homicides  
Assault with a deadly weapon  
Firearms discharge  
Rape  
Kidnapping

Victimless crimes

Glue sniffing  
Drug violation  
Prostitution  
Gambling  
Drunkedness  
Indecent exposure

Court and jail details

Court appearances  
Delivering subpoenas  
Jailer

Helping activities

Assist invalids and/or aged  
Lost persons  
First aid  
Animal bite victim  
Attempted suicide  
Insane person  
Officer needs help  
Suspicious person

Desk and public relations

Taking down reports by telephone  
Taking down reports from walk-in citizens  
Routine duties (teletype, etc.)  
Radio dispatcher  
Complaint board  
Community meetings  
Public school lectures  
Traffic safety presentations  
Anti-theft & burglary presentations  
Anti-rape programs

## Categories of Activities

Investigation

Investigating crime scenes  
 Obtaining and preserving evidence  
 Dusting for fingerprints, foot-  
 prints, etc.  
 Interrogating suspects  
 Follow-up investigations  
 Surveillance, tailing, stakeouts,  
 etc.  
 Preparing cases for court  
 Juvenile

Vice

Approaching prostitutes  
 Approaching homosexuals  
 Gambling  
 Enforcing alcoholic beverage  
 violations  
 Enforcing court ruling on ob-  
 scenity  
 Enforcing court ruling on  
 pornography  
 Collecting pornographic  
 material for court ruling  
 Buying  
 Locating and identifying pushers  
 Locating and identifying users

Supervisory tasks

Advising field officers  
 Directing field situations  
 Evaluating performance  
 Supervising a shift  
 Supervising detectives  
 Training

Administrative tasks

Watch commander  
 Reviewing complaints from public  
 Reviewing complaints from per-  
 sonnel  
 Staff research  
 Grant studies  
 Statistical analysis  
 Recruitment  
 Internal affairs  
 Public affairs (city council  
 meetings, etc.)  
 Public education (lectures, etc.)  
 Supervising jail  
 Budget planning

the subjects disclosed that they enjoyed filling out the questionnaire and that the questions were interesting.

It should be noted here that the experimenter as well as the two graduate assistants were females and were considered to be attractive. They established a good rapport with the subjects and on the whole were welcomed in the various stations. At the outset of the data collection one of the interviewers was a male, but his rapport with the police administrators was so poor that it was decided to employ only female interviewers. In informal conversations with a number of patrolmen, detectives, supervisors and administrators the policemen often disclosed that they preferred and enjoyed the interactions with the female interviewers. These comments, and the expressed interest in the purpose and the results of the study, provided indirect evidence that the polled policemen answered the questionnaires with an adequate degree of candor.

Analyses of variance on the Likert-type scales showed no significant differences on any of the scales as a function of which experimenter administered the questionnaires.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

The stratification of subjects into basic groups is presented in Table 5. Since rank by itself or job title by itself were not adequate indicators of the subject's occupational role and position, the assignment of subjects into a group was based on both. The major groups that emerged were: (a) patrolmen (rank)/patrolmen (title); (b) agents (rank)/patrolmen (title); (c) agents (rank)/detectives (title); (d) detectives (rank)/detectives (title); (e) sergeants (rank)/administrators (title). The mean years of experience and the mean age for each cell are also presented in Table 5.

#### Patrolmen

##### The Attitude Scales

Table 6 shows the mean responses for patrolmen on each of the eight attitude scales. Also shown in Table 6 are the percentages of patrolmen whose mean answers on the scales ranged within the extreme low points (1 and 2), the middle points (3, 4, and 5), and the extreme high points (6 and 7). As demonstrated in Table 6, the mean response on Anomie was closest to the neutral point (i.e., the point where aggregate responses cross over from generally agree to generally

Table 5

## Title and Rank Cells with Mean Years of Experience and Mean Age

Rank	Title				
	Patrolmen	Detectives and Vice	Super- visors	Administra- tors	Desk; Communi- cations
<u>n</u>	468	12	11	0	9
Row %	93.60	2.40	2.20	0	1.80
Col. %	96.10	9.60	10.90	0	64.30
$\bar{x}$ (years)	4.95	6.83	7.54	0	7.77
$\bar{x}$ (age)	28.96	30.16	32.82	0	33.11
<u>Agents</u>					
<u>n</u>	19	20	5	0	2
Row %	41.30	43.50	10.90	0	4.30
Col. %	3.90	16.00	5.00	0	14.30
$\bar{x}$ (years)	7.05	11.10	9.20	0	10.00
$\bar{x}$ (age)	31.00	35.00	31.80	0	34.00
<u>Detectives</u>					
<u>n</u>	0	92	0	0	2
Row %	0	97.90	0	0	2.10
Col. %	0	73.60	0	0	14.30
$\bar{x}$ (years)	0	11.92	0	0	8.50
$\bar{x}$ (age)	0	36.60	0	0	31.50
<u>Sergeants</u>					
<u>n</u>	0	1	85	6	1
Row %	0	1.10	91.40	6.50	1.10
Col. %	0	0.80	84.20	9.80	7.10
$\bar{x}$ (years)	0	14.00	11.89	10.17	19.00
$\bar{x}$ (age)	0	47.00	36.33	35.33	47.00
<u>Lieutenants and Captains</u>					
<u>n</u>	0	0	0	55	0
Row %	0	0	0	100.00	0
Col. %	0	0	0	90.20	0
$\bar{x}$ (years)	0	0	0	17.56	0
$\bar{x}$ (age)	0	0	0	41.87	0

Table 6

Mean Response on the Eight Scales for Patrolmen, and the Percentages of Patrolmen Who Responded on the Extreme Low (1 and 2), Middle (3, 4 and 5), and Extreme High (6 and 7) Points of Each Scale

Scale	Means	Extreme Low	Middle	Extreme High
		Points	Points	Points
		%	%	%
Anomie	4.01	6.60	84.60	3.80
Cynicism	3.54	19.40	72.90	7.70
Empathy	3.25	30.60	66.40	3.00
Overidentification	2.82	39.20	57.90	2.90
Police Conservatism	4.95	2.10	63.90	34.00
Regard for the Public	3.94	7.70	87.20	5.10
Social Isolation	4.09	9.60	71.20	19.20
Solidarity	5.11	1.40	55.40	43.20

disagree), the mean for Overidentification was the nearest to the extreme low point, and the mean for Solidarity was the nearest to the extreme high point. These results corresponded with the percentages of patrolmen who responded within the extreme low, middle, and extreme high ranges. Almost 40% of the patrolmen scored within the lowest range of the Overidentification scale, while over 40% scored within the highest range of the Solidarity scale. Other extreme concentrations of answers were: (a) Cynicism (almost 20% in the extreme low); (b) Empathy (about a third in the extreme low); (c) Police Conservatism (over a third in the extreme high); and (d) Social Isolation (almost 20% in the extreme high). Although the scales are not strictly comparable, the mean responses and percentages presented in Table 5 did provide some idea as to how patrolmen felt about issues as specified in the scales' items constructed by the investigator.

The experience and age related findings for all patrolmen on the Likert-type scales fell into four basic categories: (a) scales that showed mostly an effect of the number of years of experience; (b) scales that showed mostly an effect of age; (c) scales that showed an effect of both experience and age; and (d) scales that showed neither experience nor age effects. A general illustration of the relationship between the scales and experience and age is presented in Table 7, which includes the correlations between each scale and the experience and age variables. In addition to the effect of the number of years of experience and age on patrolmen, of course, these subjects also differed as a function of the types of specific individual experiences

Table 7

Correlation Coefficients on the Eight Scales as a Function of Age and Years of Experience for Patrolmen<sup>1</sup>

	Years of Experience	Years of Experience (with age partialled out)	Age	Age (with years of experience partialled out)
AN	-.02	-.03	-.01	.02
CYN	.09 <sup>a</sup>	.09 <sup>a</sup>	.04	-.04
EMP	.04	-.08 <sup>a</sup>	.12 <sup>b</sup>	.14 <sup>c</sup>
OV	-.17 <sup>c</sup>	-.21 <sup>c</sup>	-.05	.12 <sup>b</sup>
PC	-.03	-.02	-.06	-.05
REG	.09 <sup>a</sup>	-.03	.15 <sup>c</sup>	.12 <sup>b</sup>
SOC	-.06	.08 <sup>a</sup>	-.15 <sup>c</sup>	-.16 <sup>c</sup>
SOL	-.14 <sup>c</sup>	-.13 <sup>b</sup>	-.07	.05

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

<sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$

<sup>1</sup> Relationship of scales to years of experience and age were not linear in every case; therefore, some of their correlations are underestimates of strength of actual relationships.

they had encountered and the extent of their involvement in the various routine activities and assignments.

#### The Effect of Years of Experience

Overidentification. It was hypothesized that overidentification would show a curvilinear trend, increasing during the first years of the career and then decreasing gradually. Means and F ratio on all the scales are presented in Table 8. Results yielded significant differences among the nine groups of patrolmen ( $F = 3.33$ ,  $df = 8$ , 458,  $p < .01$ ). Figure 1 illustrates that Overidentification was at its highest point in the fourth year, and then decreased to even a lower point than it was in the first year of the career. When the effect of years of experience on Overidentification among patrolmen was analyzed with age as a covariate, results showed a marked impact of experience ( $F = 3.95$ ,  $df = 8$ , 456,  $p < .01$ ), but no effect of age, as shown in Table 9. The results of correlational analyses on overidentification provided additional evidence of the relationship between this scale and years of experience, as demonstrated in Table 7. Overidentification correlated  $-.17$  with experience, and when age was partialled out, the correlation increased to  $-.21$ .

#### The Effect of Age

Empathy. The results presented in Table 10 show that the magnitude of empathy increased significantly as the age of the patrolmen increased ( $F = 5.88$ ,  $df = 3$ , 452,  $p < .01$ ). Figure 6 clearly demonstrates a monotonic increase of empathy. An analysis of variance

Table 8

Means and Analysis of Variance on the Eight Scales  
as a Function of Years of Experience for Patrolmen

Scale	Years of Experience									F(8,458)
	1 (n=45)	2 (n=68)	3 (n=71)	4 (n=66)	5 (n=62)	6 - 7 (n=82)	8 - 10 (n=40)	11 - 15 (n=23)	16 - 30 (n=10)	
Anomie	4.12	3.90	4.21	4.31	3.90	3.91	3.95	4.06	4.04	1.22
Cynicism	3.20	3.39	3.64	3.78	3.83	3.96	3.80	3.52	3.70	2.14 <sup>a</sup>
Empathy	3.13	2.91	2.93	3.19	3.34	3.23	3.50	2.99	3.13	1.37
Overidentification	3.07	3.18	3.02	3.35	2.84	2.61	2.62	2.61	2.45	3.33 <sup>b</sup>
Police Conservatism	4.95	4.83	5.02	5.34	4.70	5.02	4.74	4.84	4.67	1.61
Regard for the Public	3.97	3.75	3.72	3.54	4.01	4.03	3.84	3.97	4.56	2.42 <sup>a</sup>
Social Isolation	3.90	4.21	4.43	4.29	4.22	4.26	4.30	4.44	3.04	1.74
Solidarity	5.54	5.38	5.30	5.33	5.21	4.96	5.05	5.28	4.68	2.04 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

Table 9

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Analysis of Variance on Overidentification as a Function of Years  
of Experience with Age as a Covariate for Patrolmen

Source	df	MS	F
Covariate (Age)	1	1.43	1.11
Years of experience	8	5.08	3.95 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	456	1.29	
Total	465	1.35	

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .001$

Table 10

Means and Analysis of Variance on the Eight Scales  
as a Function of Age of "Patrolman"

Scale	Age				F (3, 462)
	21 - 24 (n=77)	25 - 29 (n=217)	30 - 34 (n=119)	35 - 57 (n=53)	
Anomie	4.09	4.10	3.90	4.02	.95
Cynicism	3.17	3.81	3.83	3.49	6.22 <sup>b</sup>
Empathy	2.69	3.15	3.27	3.52	5.88 <sup>b</sup>
Overidentification	3.13	2.95	2.73	3.01	2.04
Police Conservatism	4.97	5.01	5.00	4.52	2.49
Regard for the Public	3.55	3.86	3.94	4.09	3.87 <sup>b</sup>
Social Isolation	4.44	4.32	4.08	3.87	2.86 <sup>a</sup>
Solidarity	5.53	5.19	5.13	5.18	2.60 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

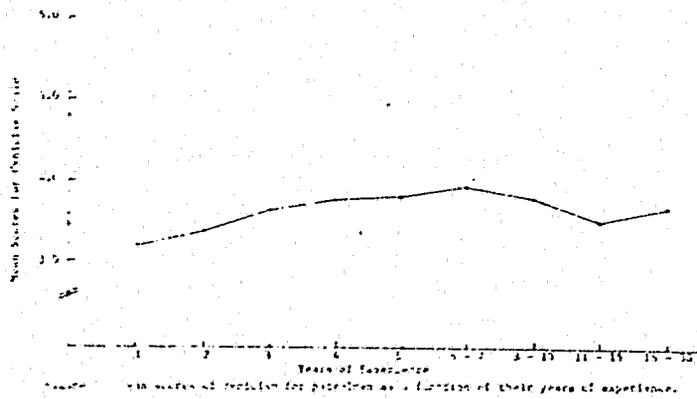


Figure 1. Mean scores of political science for political as a function of their years of experience.

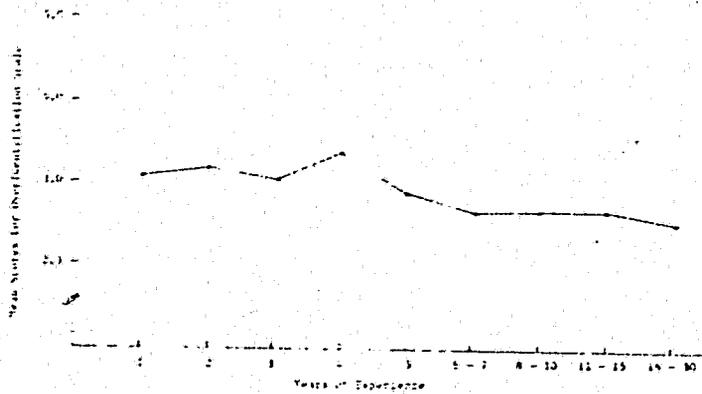


Figure 2. Mean scores of overclassification for political as a function of their years of experience.

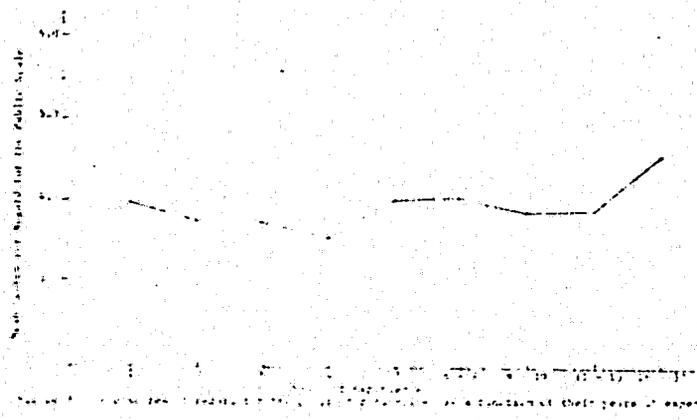


Figure 3. Mean scores of report for the public for political as a function of their years of experience.

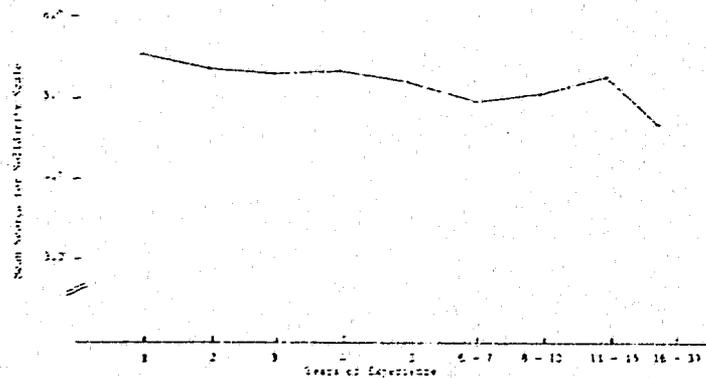


Figure 4. Mean scores of solitary for patrolmen as a function of their years of experience.

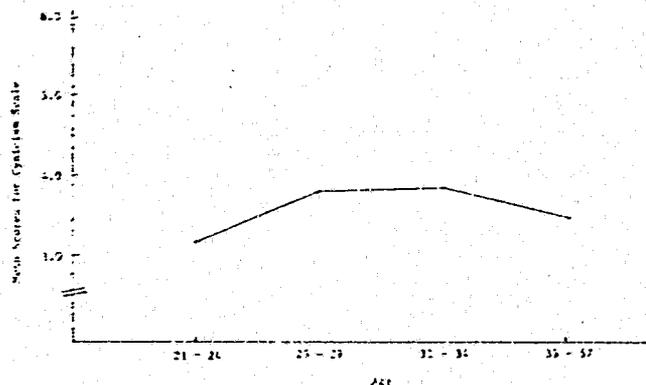


Figure 5. Mean scores of cynicism for patrolmen as a function of their age.

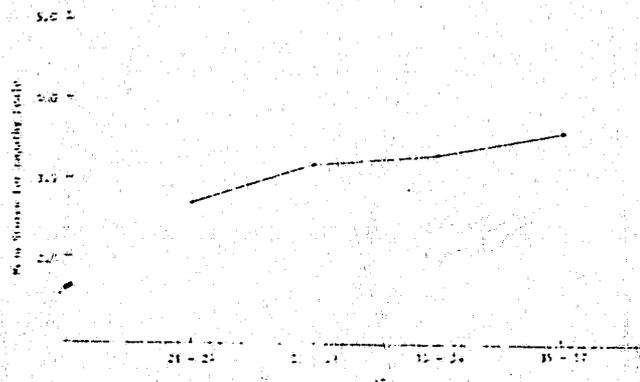


Figure 6. Mean scores of empathy for patrolmen as a function of their age.

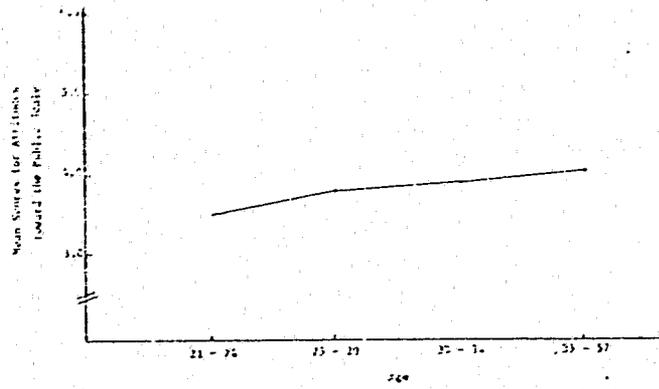


Figure 7. Mean scores of attitude toward the public for patrolmen as a function of their age.

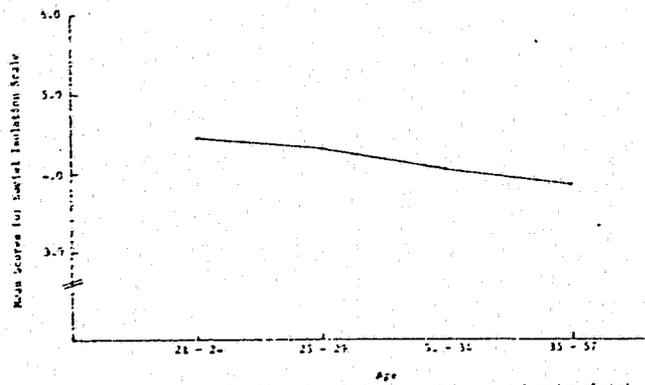


Figure 8. Mean scores of social isolation for patrolmen as a function of their age.

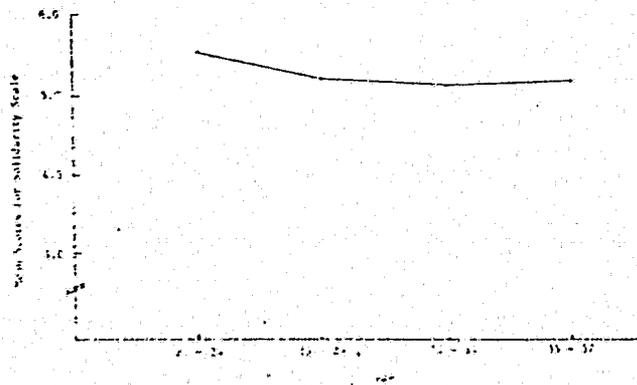


Figure 9. Mean scores of solidarity for patrolmen as a function of their age.

checking the effect of experience with age as a covariate revealed a significant effect of age ( $F = 7.11$ ,  $df = 8$ , 456,  $p < .01$ ), as demonstrated in Table 11. Table 7 shows that empathy correlated positively ( $r = .12$ ) with age, and when experience was partialled out, the correlation increased ( $r = .14$ ).

Social isolation. An analysis of variance indicated that patrolmen differed significantly on social isolation as a function of age ( $F = 2.86$ ,  $df = 3$ , 462,  $p < .05$ ), as shown in Table 10. Figure 8 illustrates that social isolation decreased monotonically as the age of the patrolmen increased. A covariate analysis of variance also yielded a significant effect of age ( $F = 10.68$ ,  $df = 8$ , 456,  $p < .01$ ), as shown in Table 12. The inverse relationship between social isolation and age also emerged from the correlational analyses. Table 7 demonstrates that social isolation correlated negatively ( $r = -.15$ ) with age, and a slightly higher correlation ( $r = -.16$ ) was obtained when years of experience was partialled out.

#### The Effect of Both Years of Experience and Age

Cynicism. Patrolmen differed significantly on cynicism as a function of both years of experience and age. Table 8 presents the mean scores of cynicism for the nine subgroups of years of experience. As anticipated, the trend of the differences was curvilinear, with the highest degree of cynicism emerging in the sixth and seventh years of the police career ( $F = 2.14$ ,  $df = 8$ , 458,  $p < .05$ ). Figure 1 shows that although the magnitude of cynicism decreased after this point (except for the ninth subgroup), cynicism still remained the lowest

Table 11

Analysis of Variance on Empathy as a Function of Years  
of Experience with Age as a Covariate for Patrolmen

Source	df	MS	F
Covariate (Age)	1	10.08	7.11 <sup>a</sup>
Years of Experience	8	2.23	1.57
Residual	456	1.42	
Total	465	1.45	

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

Table 12

Analysis of Variance on Social Isolation as a Function of Years  
of Experience with Age as a Covariate for Patrolmen

Source	df	MS	F
Covariate (Age)	1	17.70	10.68 <sup>a</sup>
Years of experience	8	3.18	1.92
Residual	456	1.66	
Total	465	1.72	

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

at the beginning of the career. An additional analysis revealed that when the last two subgroups were collapsed together, the trend of the means took the shape of an inverted U, with the scores gradually increasing up to the sixth and seventh years and then decreasing ( $F = 2.43$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $459$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The mean for the combined subgroup was 3.58. An analysis of covariance showed a significant main effect of years of experience on cynicism ( $F = 2.04$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $456$ ,  $p < .05$ ) as demonstrated in Table 13.

An analysis of variance on the effect of age on cynicism also yielded significant differences in the predicted direction ( $F = 6.22$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $462$ ,  $p < .01$ ) as shown in Table 10. Similar to the trend of cynicism as a function of years of experience, the shape of the curve of the four age subgroups was also an inverted U, as illustrated in Figure 5.

The correlational analyses presented in Table 7 revealed a higher correlation between cynicism and years of experience ( $r = .09$ ) than for age ( $r = .04$ ). When age was partialled out, the correlation remained the same as the correlation obtained prior to the partialling procedure. The analysis of covariance showed no significant effect of age. In light of these results, it seems that even though the one-way analyses of variance showed effects of both experience and age, the covariate and correlational analyses indicated a relatively stronger relationship between cynicism and years of experience than between cynicism and age.

Regard for the Public. A low score on the Regard for the Public

Table 13

Analysis of Variance on Cynicism as a Function of Years of Experience with Age as a Covariate for Patrolmen

Source	<u>df</u>	MS	F
Covariate (Age)	1	1.13	.74
Years of experience	8	3.10	2.04 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	456	1.52	
Total	465	1.55	

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

scale reflected less favorable attitudes toward non-police persons, and a high score represented more positive attitudes. The results in Table 8 show significant differences among patrolmen as a function of years of experience ( $F = 2.42$ ,  $df = 8, 456$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As illustrated in Figure 3, in the fourth year the attitudes were more negative than at the beginning of the career, and at the later stage of the career (16 to 30 years of experience), the patrolmen had more favorable feelings toward the public.

Results of the analysis of regard for the public as a function of age revealed a significant monotonic increase of regard for the public as the age of the patrolmen increased ( $F = 3.87$ ,  $df = 3, 452$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as shown in Table 10 and as illustrated in Figure 7. Table 14 shows the significant effect of age as a covariate on regard for the public ( $F = 10.56$ ,  $df = 8, 456$ ,  $p < .01$ ). This relationship was also evidenced in the results of the correlational analyses (see Table 7). Age correlated a positive .15 with regard for the public and only a positive .09 with years of experience. When years of experience was partialled out from the correlational analysis, the correlation turned negative and slightly lower ( $r = -.12$ ). Thus, it should be pointed out that although both years of experience and age were found to be significantly related to regard for the public, the relationships differed in magnitudes and in directions.

Solidarity. Both years of experience and age were found to have a significant effect on solidarity. Table 8 presents the means of solidarity as a function of years of experience. Solidarity decreased

Table 14

Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function of  
Years of Experience with Age as a Covariate for Patrolman

Source	<u>df</u>	MS	F
Covariate (Age)	1	9.78	10.56 <sup>a</sup>
Years of experience	8	1.69	1.82
Residual	456	.93	
Total	465	.96	

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

gradually up to the sixth and seventh years, as illustrated in Figure 4. The lowest degree of solidarity was between 16 to 30 years of experience.

Table 10 shows the solidarity means as a function of age ( $F = 2.60$ ,  $df = 3, 462$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As demonstrated in Figure 9, solidarity was at its largest magnitude in the youngest age group (21 to 24 years of age).

Results of an analysis of covariance fall short of significance for both the main effect of years of experience and the effect of age as a covariate. However, the correlational analyses (see Table 7) revealed negative relations with both years of experience ( $r = -.14$ ) and with age ( $r = -.07$ ). When age was partialled out from the correlation between solidarity and years of experience, almost no change was revealed ( $r = -.13$ ).

#### No Effect of Years of Experience or Age

The scales of Anomie and Police Conservatism showed no significant differences as a function of either years of experience or age. These findings essentially replicated the results of a recent study (Hadar & Snortum, 1975). In their study the Anomic Authoritarianism scale was similar to the present Anomie scale (two out of the five items were identical, and the other three were drawn from the same source), and the Punitive Morality scale conceptually resembled the present Police Conservatism scale. Covariate analysis showed no significant effects of years of experience or age on anomie and police conservatism, results which corresponded with those of the one-way

analysis of variance.

The detailed patterns of the relation of years of experience to patrolmen's responses on the scales are illustrated in Figures D1 to D8. Figures E1 to E8 demonstrate the pattern of mean responses for the various age groups of patrolmen.

#### The Effect of Crime Rate and Size of City

Several analyses were performed on the patrolmen grouped according to the sampling quadrant in which their home station fell. The four quadrants were large city with a high crime rate (LH), large city with a low crime rate (LL), small city with a high crime rate (SH), and small city with a low crime rate (SL). A two-way analysis of variance on the quadrants (for patrolmen) indicated the absence of the effect of either crime rate or the size of the city. This finding indicated, of course, that the total group of patrolmen could be combined for the purpose of most analyses regardless of the crime rate and the city size. It did not, however, provide sufficient information about possible interaction effects between years of experience and one or both of these two factors, or between age and these factors. In other words, in light of the findings regarding the overall effects of years of experience and age, another pertinent issue related to patrolmen's socialization was whether or not years of experience and/or age interacted with crime rate and city size. For the purpose of exploring this possibility, two other series of analyses were performed.

Results of three-way analyses of variance (crime rate, city size, and years of experience) performed on the scales revealed that there

was a significant interaction between city size and years of experience in two of the scales, Regard for the public ( $F = 2.10$ ,  $df = 8, 433$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and Solidarity ( $F = 2.10$ ,  $df = 8, 433$ ,  $p < .05$ ). There was a triple effect for Anomie ( $F = 2.26$ ,  $df = 7, 433$ ,  $p < .05$ ), as demonstrated in Table 15, but its pattern is not clear.

Three-way analyses of variance (crime rate, city size, and years of experience) on the scales with age removed as a covariate yielded the same results obtained from the three-way analysis of variance reported above, i.e., age was found to be unrelated to the interactions between crime rate, city size, and years of experience.

#### The Effect of Specific Experiences

In addition to checking for the relationship between the responses on the scales and the general aspects of experience (e.g., years of experience and age) or the relationship between these responses and relatively less general aspects of experience (e.g., crime rate, size of city, and age of recruitment), it was also deemed important to check for a third possible association to the patrolmen's reactions on the scales--the specific experiences that patrolmen had encountered in their line of duty, both the assigned activities and the by-product type of experiences. Some of the intercorrelations among the specific experience categories were quite high (see Table F1), and some of the activity categories also correlated highly (see Table F2). The results reported below were based on separate analyses on each category regardless of their independence; however, in the discussion of results, those categories that were not independent were

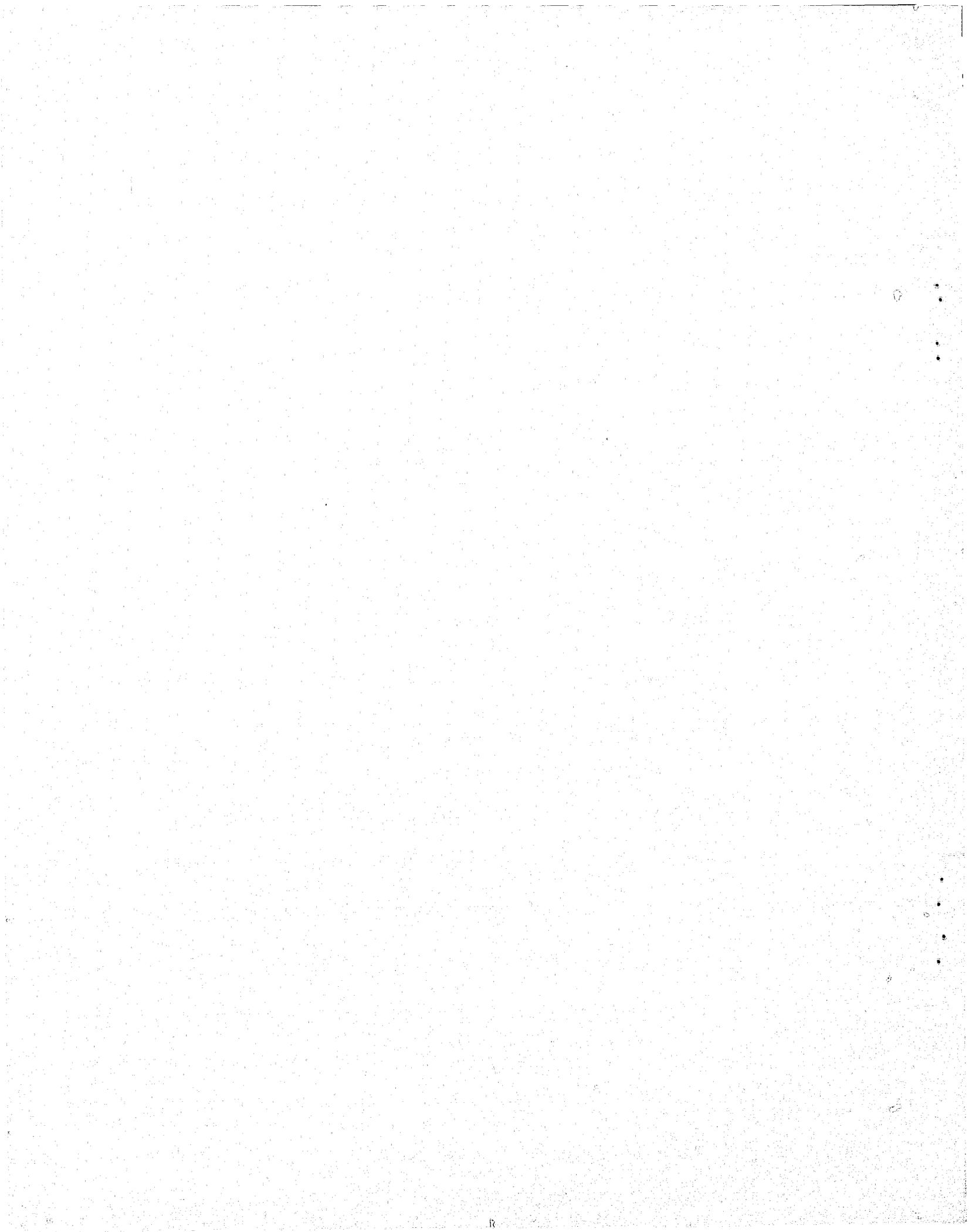


Table 15

Means and Analysis of Variance on Anomie as a Function of Years of Experience, Crime Rate, and City Size

	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
<u>Small City</u>									
Low Crime Rate	4.38	3.71	4.28	4.40	3.89	3.89	4.36	1.20	
High Crime Rate	3.87	4.03	3.90	4.00	3.69	4.26	3.20	4.72	
<u>Large City</u>									
Low Crime Rate	4.16	4.24	4.63	4.16	3.15	4.09	3.43	4.40	2.60
High Crime Rate	4.07	3.83	4.17	4.35	4.07	3.84	4.15	4.01	4.40
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
City size (C)			1			.00			.00
Crime rate (R)			1			.02			.01
Years of experience (Y)			8			1.41			1.21
C x R			1			.42			.36
R x Y			7			.24			.20
C x Y			8			1.48			1.27
C x R x Y			7			2.63			2.26 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			433			1.16			
Total			466						

<sup>a</sup> p < .05

interpreted accordingly. The intercorrelation matrix comparing the experience categories with the activity categories showed that the various activity categories were fairly independent from each other ( $|r| < .25$ ), as shown in Table F3. In order to check for possible interactions between the number of years of experience and the specific experience and activity categories, two-way analyses of variance were conducted on the scales (see summary Tables 16 and 17). In addition, the scales underwent the above two-way analyses of variance with age as a covariate, in order to check whether age was related to these possible interactions. The results of these two sets of analyses are reported below.

Anomie. Results of the two-way analyses of variance revealed no main effects for years of experience, a finding which corresponded with the general results of the analysis on Anomie, as reported earlier in this paper. There were, however, several significant interaction relationships. Racial disturbances were found to significantly interact with years of experience ( $F = 2.06$ ,  $df = 15, 435$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Also, years of experience interacted with political, union, and student disturbances ( $F = 2.76$ ,  $df = 15, 438$ ,  $p < .001$ ). There was an interaction between years of experience and the amount of shooting and/or killing a person by the patrolmen themselves ( $F = 2.14$ ,  $df = 14, 438$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The interaction between years of experience and negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers ( $F = 1.80$ ,  $df = 15, 425$ ,  $p < .05$ ) is shown in Table 13. In addition to the by-product experiences, there were several activity categories that were related to years of experience. There was an interaction

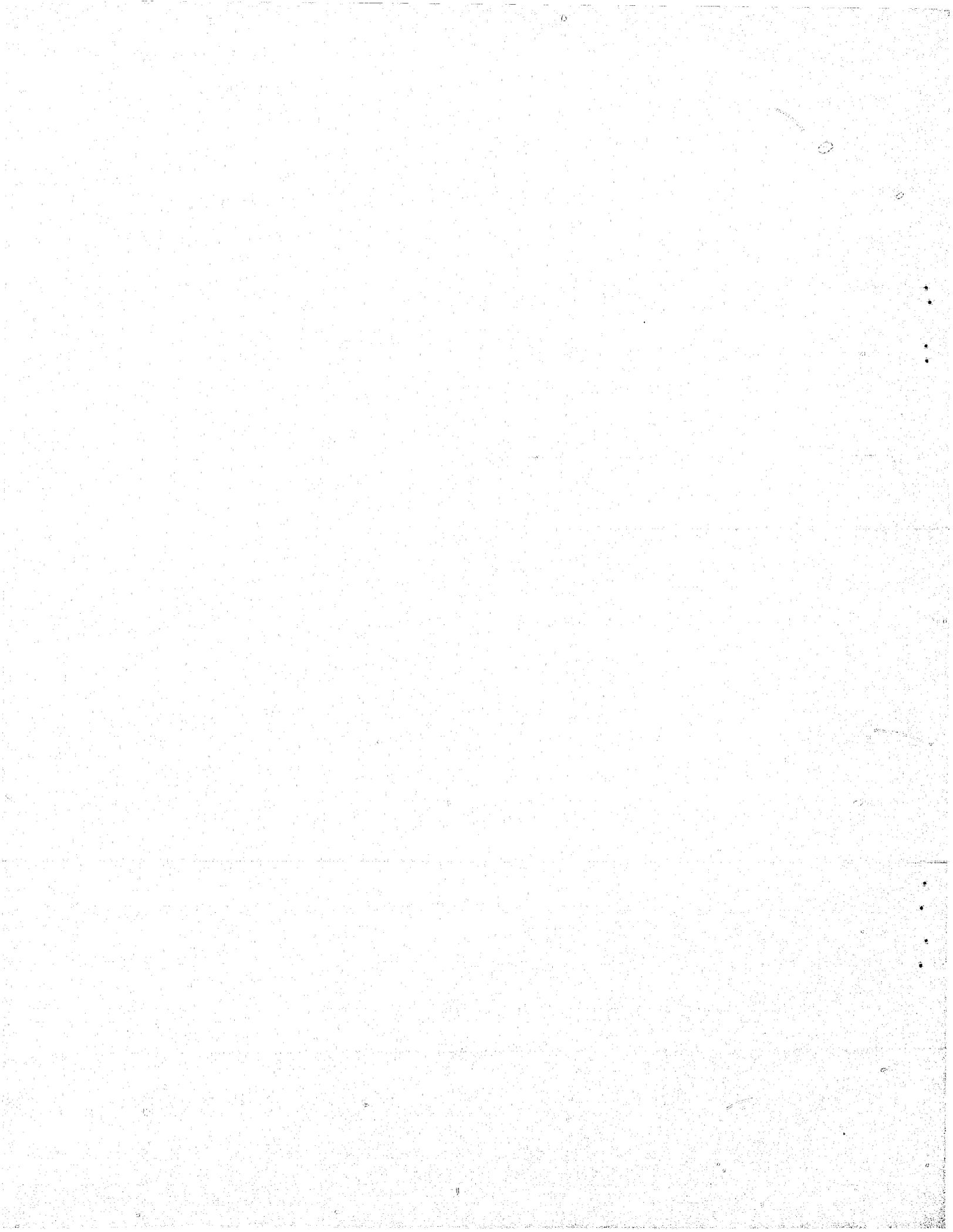


Table 16

Summary of Analyses of Variance on the Scales as a Function of Years of Experience (Y) and of the Specific Experiences Categories (E)

Scale	Category	F(Y)	F(E)	F(Y x E)
Anomie	Racial disturbances	1.52	.26	2.06 <sup>b</sup>
	Political, union, and student disturbances	1.33	.39	2.76 <sup>c</sup>
	Shootings and killings by police	1.26	.14	2.14 <sup>b</sup>
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	1.73	1.95	1.80 <sup>a</sup>
Cynicism	Promotional exams and promotions	1.08	3.82 <sup>a</sup>	1.27
	Political, union, and student disturbances	1.73	.02	1.87 <sup>a</sup>
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	1.26	5.75 <sup>b</sup>	1.00
Empathy	Promotional exams and promotions	1.22	7.54 <sup>c</sup>	.94
	Verbal abuse	1.43	.90	2.26 <sup>b</sup>
	Pursuits and crashing in a police car	.97	3.72 <sup>a</sup>	1.53
Police Conservatism	Promotional exams and promotions	1.56	5.38 <sup>b</sup>	1.17
	Verbal abuse	2.00	4.85 <sup>b</sup>	1.06
	Being held at gun point	1.62	.27	3.20 <sup>c</sup>
	Political, union, and student disturbances	2.04	5.09 <sup>b</sup>	.78
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	2.27 <sup>a</sup>	4.36 <sup>b</sup>	.97
	Promotional exams and promotions	1.39	5.11 <sup>b</sup>	1.42
	Helping experiences	1.69	3.48 <sup>a</sup>	1.17

Note: Main effects of years of experience are not included if nothing else was significant.

<sup>a</sup> p < .05      <sup>c</sup> p < .001

<sup>b</sup> p < .01

Table 16 (Continued)

Summary of Analyses of Variance on the Scales as a Function of Years of Experience (Y) and of the Specific Experiences Categories (E)

Scale	Category	F(Y)	F(E)	F(Y x E)
Regard for the Public	Physical abuse	2.51 <sup>b</sup>	.30	1.98 <sup>a</sup>
	Being held at gun point	2.55 <sup>b</sup>	.32	2.15 <sup>a</sup>
	Racial disturbances	2.99 <sup>b</sup>	3.66 <sup>a</sup>	1.49
	Political, union, and student disturbances	3.14 <sup>b</sup>	4.65 <sup>b</sup>	2.02 <sup>b</sup>
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	3.03 <sup>b</sup>	7.26 <sup>c</sup>	2.22 <sup>b</sup>
Social Isolation	Promotional exams and promotions	2.20 <sup>a</sup>	3.89 <sup>a</sup>	2.39 <sup>b</sup>
	Verbal abuse	1.29	4.34 <sup>b</sup>	1.68
	Political, union, and student disturbances	1.84	4.60 <sup>b</sup>	1.36
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	2.02 <sup>a</sup>	3.46 <sup>a</sup>	1.65 <sup>a</sup>
Solidarity	Helping experiences	2.37 <sup>a</sup>	5.55 <sup>b</sup>	.60
	Verbal abuse	2.66 <sup>b</sup>	4.21 <sup>a</sup>	.94
	Racial disturbances	2.20 <sup>a</sup>	.89	1.95 <sup>a</sup>
	Political, union, and student disturbances	2.43 <sup>b</sup>	1.56 <sup>b</sup>	1.76 <sup>a</sup>
	Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	2.87 <sup>b</sup>	4.42 <sup>b</sup>	1.53
	Promotional exams and promotions	1.17	4.43 <sup>b</sup>	1.60
	Helping experiences	1.60	.21	2.81 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

<sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$

Table 17

Summary of Analyses of Variance on the Scales as a Function of Years of Experience (Y) and of the Specific Activities Categories (A)

Scale	Category	F(Y)	F(A)	F(Y x A)
Anomie	Patrol	1.52	.24	2.12 <sup>b</sup>
	Traffic	1.45	1.99	2.07 <sup>b</sup>
	Adult, youth, and family disturbances	1.38	.86	2.00 <sup>b</sup>
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	1.31	.06	2.74 <sup>c</sup>
	Violent crimes	1.48	3.87 <sup>a</sup>	.89
	Victimless crimes	1.47	4.23 <sup>a</sup>	1.26
	Court and jail details	1.43 <sup>b</sup>	2.44 <sup>a</sup>	2.02 <sup>b</sup>
Cynicism	Patrol	2.74 <sup>b</sup>	3.86 <sup>a</sup>	1.55
	Adult, youth, and family disturbances	1.99 <sup>a</sup>	5.45 <sup>b</sup>	1.46
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	2.12 <sup>a</sup>	3.57 <sup>a</sup>	2.14
	Violent crimes	2.02 <sup>a</sup>	2.77 <sup>b</sup>	1.99 <sup>a</sup>
Empathy	Desk and public relations	2.44 <sup>b</sup>	6.01 <sup>b</sup>	.90
	Violent crimes	1.62	3.62 <sup>a</sup>	1.55
	Victimless crimes	1.26	7.18 <sup>c</sup>	.90
Overidentification	Patrol	3.71 <sup>c</sup>	1.97	2.05 <sup>b</sup>
	Traffic	3.75 <sup>c</sup>	.15	3.62 <sup>c</sup>
	Adult, youth, and family disturbances	3.23 <sup>b</sup>	.81	1.98 <sup>b</sup>
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	3.37 <sup>c</sup>	1.06	1.98 <sup>b</sup>
	Violent crimes	3.53 <sup>c</sup>	.25	2.91 <sup>c</sup>
	Court and jail details	3.66 <sup>c</sup>	2.14	2.68 <sup>c</sup>
	Desk and public relations	2.82 <sup>b</sup>	.30	1.92 <sup>a</sup>

Note: Main effects of years of experience are not included if nothing else was significant.

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$       <sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

Table 17 (Continued)

Summary of Analyses of Variance on the Scales as a Function of Years of Experience (Y) and of the Specific Activities Categories (A)

Scale	Category	F(Y)	F(A)	F(Y x A)
Police Conservatism	Patrol	1.78	2.23	2.25 <sup>b</sup>
	Traffic	1.74	.39	2.10 <sup>b</sup>
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	1.73	2.56	2.90 <sup>c</sup>
	Violent crimes	1.55	2.07	2.59 <sup>c</sup>
	Victimless crimes	1.37	1.54	1.81 <sup>a</sup>
Regard for the Public	Traffic	1.94 <sup>a</sup>	.61	2.10 <sup>b</sup>
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	2.46 <sup>b</sup>	.15	3.06 <sup>c</sup>
	Violent crimes	2.35 <sup>a</sup>	2.74 <sup>a</sup>	2.50 <sup>b</sup>
	Victimless crimes	1.31	3.75 <sup>a</sup>	1.27 <sup>a</sup>
	Court and jail details	2.27 <sup>a</sup>	11.00 <sup>c</sup>	1.75 <sup>a</sup>
Social Isolation	Patrol	1.53	4.20 <sup>a</sup>	1.33 <sup>b</sup>
	Violent crimes	1.68	1.85 <sup>b</sup>	2.16 <sup>b</sup>
	Court and jail details	1.49	6.83 <sup>b</sup>	1.63
Solidarity	Patrol	2.12 <sup>a</sup>	3.81 <sup>a</sup>	1.63 <sup>b</sup>
	Traffic	2.24 <sup>a</sup>	1.90	2.26 <sup>b</sup>
	Adult, youth, and family disturbances	1.84	2.85	2.08 <sup>b</sup>
	Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	1.99 <sup>a</sup>	.23	1.95 <sup>a</sup>
	Violent crimes	2.16 <sup>a</sup>	2.80	1.68 <sup>a</sup>
	Victimless crimes	1.90	4.21 <sup>a</sup>	1.29 <sup>b</sup>
	Court and jail details	2.05 <sup>a</sup>	2.82	2.00 <sup>b</sup>
	Desk and public relations	1.80	.59	1.74 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

<sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$

Table 18

Means and Analysis of Variance on Anomie as a Function of Years of Experience and of Negative Experiences with the Court, Superiors, and Fellow Officers

Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	Years of Experience								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	4.05	3.63	4.12	4.36	3.85	4.14	2.88	3.60	3.40
Medium level	4.23	4.27	4.57	4.34	3.83	3.62	3.81	3.35	2.80
High level		3.95	3.87	4.14	3.97	4.07	4.42	4.26	4.37
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers (E)			2			2.20			1.95
Years of experience (Y)			8			1.95			1.73
E x Y			15			2.03			1.80 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			425			1.13			
Total			450						

<sup>a</sup> p < .05

between years of experience and patrol activities ( $F = 2.12$ ,  $df = 16, 430$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Years of experience interacted with traffic assignments ( $F = 2.07$ ,  $df = 16, 433$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Adult, youth, and family disturbances were found to significantly interact with years of experience ( $F = 2.00$ ,  $df = 16, 437$ ,  $p < .01$ ). There was also an interaction between years of experience and assignments related to theft, robbery, and larceny type of crimes ( $F = 2.74$ ,  $df = 16, 435$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Anomie was found to increase monotonically with the increase of the level of involvement in such violent crimes as homicide, rape, and assault ( $F = 3.87$ ,  $df = 2, 438$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and in assignments involving victimless crimes ( $F = 4.23$ ,  $df = 2, 432$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but there was no interaction with years of experience. There was an interaction between years of experience and court and jail assignments ( $F = 2.02$ ,  $df = 16, 437$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as shown in Table 19. The two-way analyses with age as a covariate yielded no different interaction results.

Cynicism. The two-way analyses of variance showed a significant interaction between years of experience and political, union, and student disturbances ( $F = 1.87$ ,  $df = 15, 438$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The main effect of negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers was related to cynicism ( $F = 5.75$ ,  $df = 2, 425$ ,  $p < .01$ ) which increased monotonically as the extent of encounters increased. Another experiential association with cynicism was found to be promotional exams and/or promotions ( $F = 7.54$ ,  $df = 2, 440$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Among the activity categories, the effect of adult, youth, and family

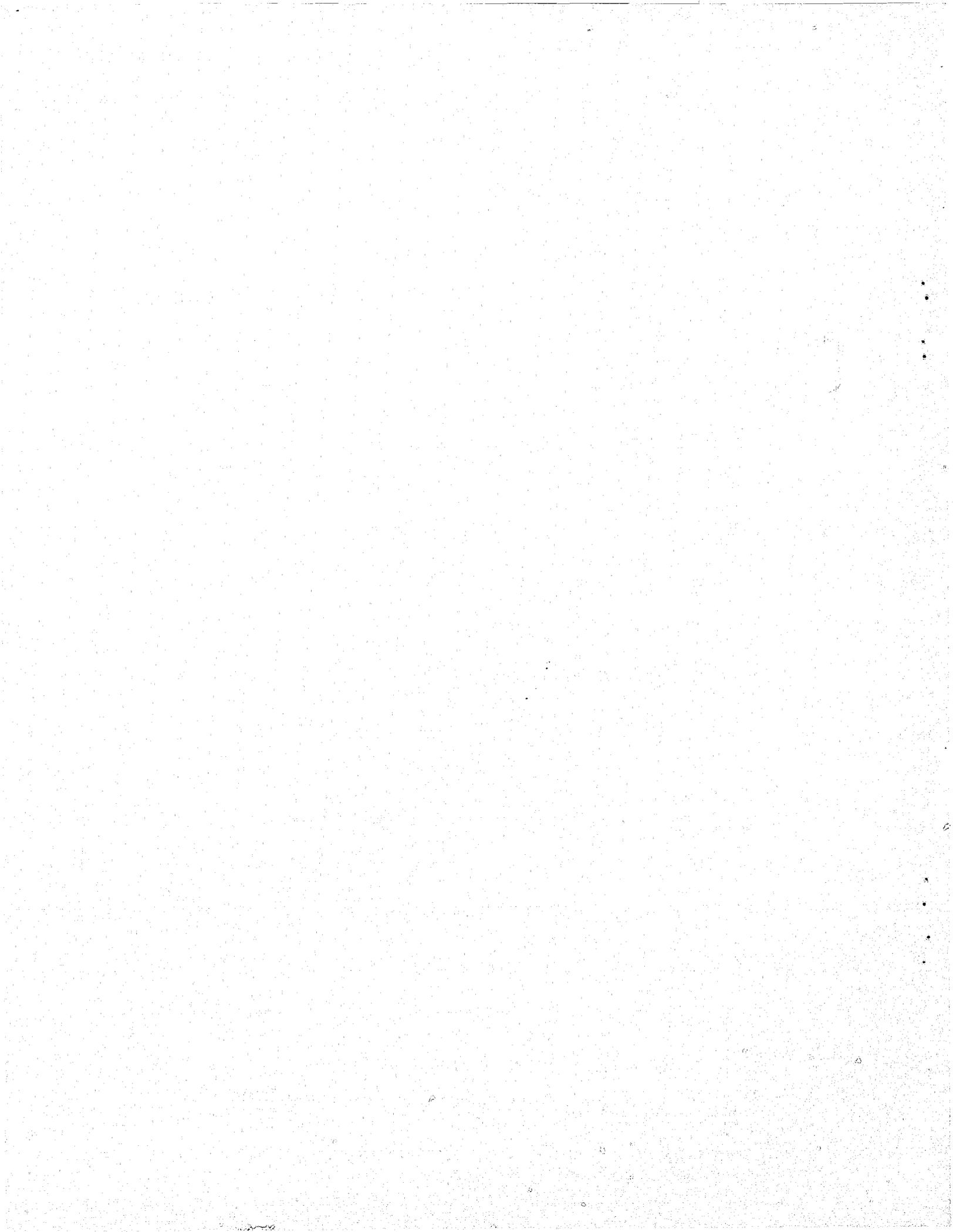


Table 19

Means and Analysis of Variance on Anomie as a Function of Years of Experience  
and Assigned Activities of Court and Jail Details

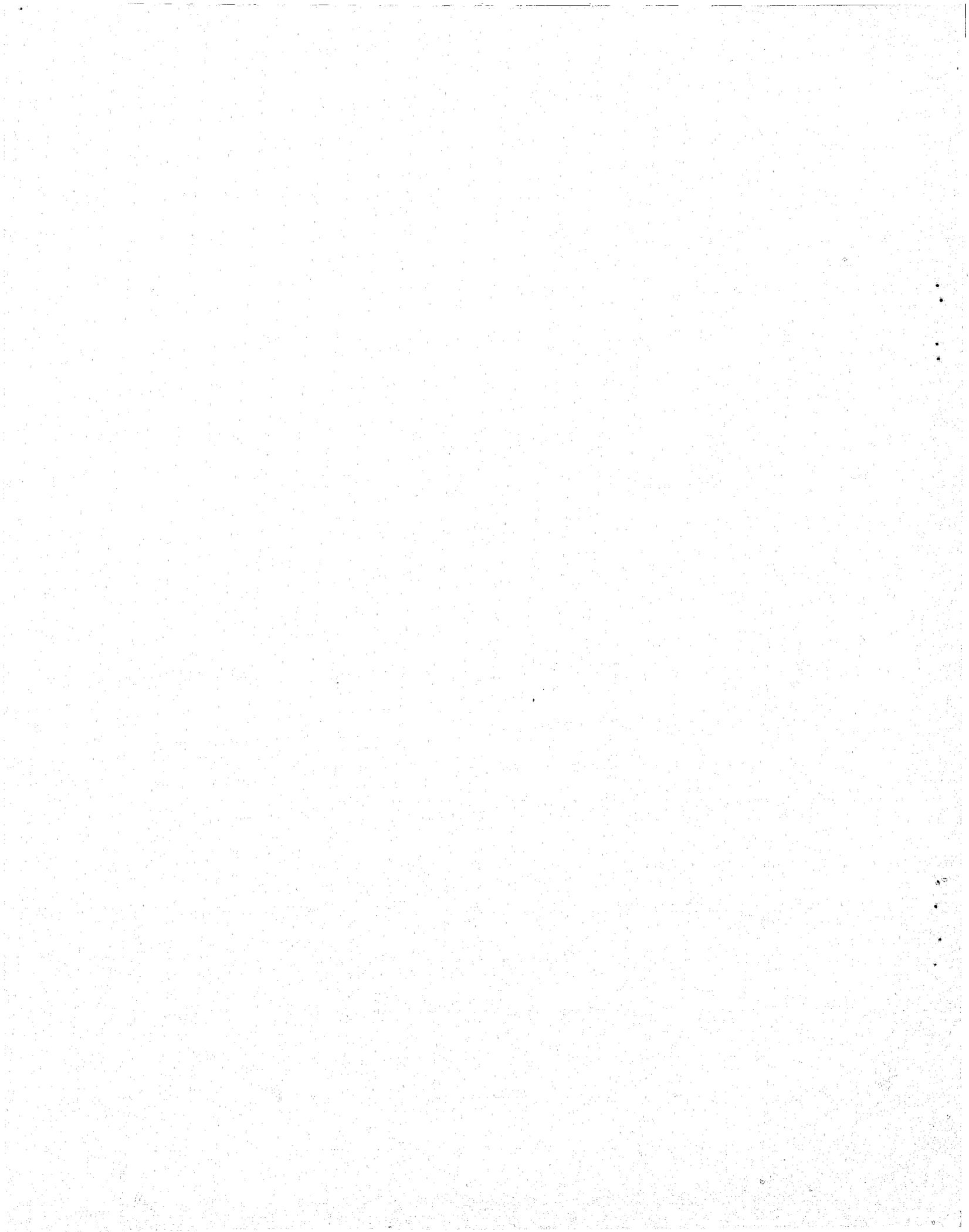
Court and jail details	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.92	4.13	4.09	4.18	4.03	3.31	2.89	3.98	4.40
Medium level	4.09	3.42	4.50	4.45	3.71	4.06	4.05	3.53	1.40
High level	4.55	4.08	4.04	4.41	3.93	4.09	4.34	4.25	4.20
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>				<u>MS</u>		<u>F</u>
Court and jail details (A)			2				2.73		2.44
Years of experience (Y)			8				1.60		1.43
A x Y			16				2.27		2.02 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			437				1.12		
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

disturbances was related to cynicism in an inverse direction-- cynicism decreased as the frequency of involvements increased ( $F = 5.45$ ,  $df = 2$ , 437,  $p < .01$ ). Results also showed significant effects for both years of experience ( $F = 2.12$ ,  $df = 8$ , 435,  $p < .01$ ) and activities involving theft, robbery, and larceny type of crimes ( $F = 3.57$ ,  $df = 2$ , 435,  $p < .05$ ), as well as an interaction between the two ( $F = 2.14$ ,  $df = 16$ , 435,  $p < .01$ ). Table 20 shows the interesting interaction relationships between years of experience and violent crimes ( $F = 1.99$ ,  $df = 15$ , 438,  $p < .05$ ). The findings on all the interaction effects were similar when age was removed as a covariate.

Empathy. Results of the two-way analyses of variance showed an interaction effect of years of experience and verbal abuse on empathy ( $F = 2.26$ ,  $df = 14$ , 432,  $p < .01$ ), as demonstrated in Table 21. Again, the removal of age as a covariate did not change any interaction effects for this scale but its main effect was significant for some of the categories (e.g., verbal abuse).

Overidentification. Several significant relationships emerged from the two-way analyses on this scale. Patrol activities showed an interaction with years of experience ( $F = 2.05$ ,  $df = 16$ , 430,  $p < .01$ ). Traffic assignments also interacted with years of experience ( $F = 3.62$ ,  $df = 16$ , 433,  $p < .001$ ). There was an interaction between the adult, youth, and family disturbances category and years of experience ( $F = 1.98$ ,  $df = 16$ , 437,  $p < .01$ ). Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes interacted with years of experience ( $F = 1.98$ ,  $df = 15$ , 435,  $p < .01$ ), and the latter interacted with violent crimes





**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 3**

Table 20

## Means and Analysis of Variance on Cynicism as a Function of Years of Experience and Assigned Activities of Violent Crimes

Violent crimes	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.33	2.91	3.73	3.90	4.01	4.32	4.00	4.12	4.28
Medium level	2.78	3.84	3.69	3.44	3.00	3.86	3.87	3.19	2.83
High level	4.47	3.11	3.56	3.87	3.94	3.64	3.71	2.67	
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Violent crimes (A)			2			4.04			2.77
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.94			2.02 <sup>a</sup>
A x Y			15			2.90			1.99 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			438			1.46			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup> p < .05

Table 21

Means and Analysis of Variance on Empathy as a Function of Years of Experience  
and Experiences with Verbal Abuse

Verbal abuse	<u>Years of Experience</u>									
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30	
Low level	3.22	3.07	3.07	2.94	3.57	2.93	4.44	3.67	3.39	
Medium level	1.78	2.73	2.77	2.96	3.58	3.34	3.54	3.48		
High level		3.47	3.03	3.98	2.81	3.17	3.28	2.20	2.75	
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>	
Verbal abuse (E)			2			1.26			.90	
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.00			1.43	
E x Y			14			3.16			2.26 <sup>a</sup>	
Residual			432			1.40				
Total			456							

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

assignments ( $F = 2.91$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $438$ ,  $p < .001$ ). There was an interaction between years of experience and court and jail details ( $F = 2.68$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $437$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and finally, assignments such as desk, communications, and public relations also interacted significantly with years of experience ( $F = 1.92$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $433$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Again, these interaction effects did not change when age as a covariate was removed.

Police conservatism. As noted earlier in this report, police conservatism was one of the two scales that showed an effect of neither years of experience nor age. There were, however, several significant relationships between the individual experiences/activities categories and years of experience. Police conservatism increased monotonically with the increase of verbal abuse ( $F = 4.85$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $432$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Experiences such as being held at gun point, giving away the gun under threat, etc., interacted with years of experience ( $F = 3.20$ ,  $df = 10$ ,  $445$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This finding, however, should be interpreted with utmost caution since the  $n$ 's in both the medium- and the high-level groups were extremely small (for example, 1, 3, 4, and 6). There were relations between years of experience and the activities of patrol ( $F = 2.25$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $430$ ,  $p < .01$ ), traffic ( $F = 2.10$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $433$ ,  $p < .01$ ), theft, robbery, and larceny crimes ( $F = 2.90$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $435$ ,  $p < .001$ ), violent crimes ( $F = 2.59$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $438$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and victimless crimes ( $F = 1.31$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $432$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Age as a covariate did not show different interactions.

Regard for the public. The two-way analyses of variance yielded many significant interactions between experiences/activities and years

of experience. The interaction between years of experience and physical abuse is shown in Table 22 ( $F = 1.98$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $435$ ,  $p < .05$ ). There was an interaction between years of experience and being held at gun point, etc. ( $F = 2.15$ ,  $df = 10$ ,  $445$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As aforementioned, any interaction with this category of experience should be interpreted with reservations, due to the small  $n$ 's in the medium- and high-levels of involvement. There was a main effect of encounters with political, union, and student disturbances ( $F = 4.65$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $478$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and an interaction relationship between these experiences and years of experience ( $F = 2.02$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $438$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as demonstrated in Table 23. The pattern of the main effect of negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers ( $F = 7.26$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $425$ ,  $p < .001$ ) is presented in Table 24 as well as its interaction with years of experience ( $F = 2.22$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $425$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The main effect of promotional experiences ( $F = 3.89$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $440$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and the interaction relations ( $F = 2.39$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $440$ ,  $p < .01$ ) are shown in Table 25. There was an interaction of years of experience with traffic activities ( $F = 2.10$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $433$ ,  $p < .01$ ), activities involving theft, robbery, larceny, etc. ( $F = 3.06$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $435$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and violent crimes ( $F = 2.50$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $438$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The main effect of victimless crimes was inversely related to regard for the public, which decreased monotonically as the rate of such assignments increased ( $F = 3.75$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $432$ ,  $p < .05$ ). There was an interaction between years of experience and court and jail assignments ( $F = 1.75$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $437$ ,  $p < .05$ ); the main effect for the latter and its interaction pattern are demonstrated in Table 26. Age

Table 22

Means and Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function  
of Years of Experience and Physical Abuse

Physical abuse	Years of Experience								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.98	3.70	3.94	3.99	3.66	3.72	3.00	3.95	4.94
Medium level	3.78	3.65	3.46	3.45	4.47	4.22	3.80	3.86	3.67
High level	4.60	4.18	3.94	3.36	3.65	3.97	3.89	3.82	
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>				<u>MS</u>		<u>F</u>
Physical abuse (E)			2				.27		.30
Years of experience (Y)			8				2.27		2.51 <sup>b</sup>
E x Y			15				1.79		1.98 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			435				.91		
Total			460						

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

Table 23

Means and Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function of Years of Experience and Experiences with Political, Union, and Student Disturbances

Political, union, and student disturbances	Years of Experience								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.97	3.84	4.01	3.68	4.19	4.01	5.47	3.00	
Medium level	4.20	3.49	3.51	3.69	3.69	4.10	3.58	4.15	4.90
High level	3.40	3.68	3.43	3.27	4.04	4.01	3.53	4.01	4.33
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Political, union, and student disturbances (E)			2			4.15			4.65 <sup>a</sup>
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.80			3.14 <sup>a</sup>
E x Y			15			1.80			2.02 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			438			.89			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .01$

Table 24

Means and Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function of Years of Experience and Negative Experiences with the Court, Superiors, and Fellow Officers

Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	4.07	4.09	3.38	3.79	4.51	3.98	4.92	4.60	4.00
Medium level	3.63	3.51	3.89	3.30	4.05	4.29	3.87	4.08	4.70
High level		3.26	4.11	3.40	3.70	3.77	3.47	3.66	3.80
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers (E)			2			6.13			7.26 <sup>b</sup>
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.55			3.03 <sup>a</sup>
E x Y			15			1.88			2.22 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			425			.84			
Total			450						

<sup>a</sup> p < .01

<sup>b</sup> p < .001

Table 25

Means and Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function of Years of Experience and Experiences with Promotional Exams and Promotions

Promotional exams and promotions	Years of Experience								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	4.02	3.78	3.72	3.78	3.89	4.31	3.60	3.40	
Medium level	3.40	3.44	3.83	3.05	4.05	3.46	3.66	4.60	6.60
High level	3.40	3.91	3.37	4.40	4.04	4.23	3.93	3.82	4.05
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>				<u>MS</u>		<u>F</u>
Promotional exams and promotions (E)			2				3.46		3.89 <sup>a</sup>
Years of experience (Y)			8				1.95		2.20 <sup>a</sup>
E x Y			15				2.12		2.39 <sup>b</sup>
Residual			440				.89		
Total			465						

<sup>a</sup> p < .05

<sup>b</sup> p < .01

Table 26

Means and Analysis of Variance on Regard for the Public as a Function of Years  
of Experience and Court and Jail Assignments

Court and jail details	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	4.08	3.78	3.55	3.99	4.36	4.19	4.97	3.98	4.67
Medium level	4.16	4.09	3.81	3.59	4.13	4.05	3.66	3.87	6.60
High level	3.55	3.49	3.79	3.12	3.62	3.84	3.50	3.80	3.67
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Court and jail details (A)			2			9.58			11.00 <sup>b</sup>
Years of experience (Y)			8			1.98			2.27 <sup>a</sup>
A x Y			16			1.53			1.75 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			437			.87			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .001$

as a covariate did not change any of the interaction relationships, nor added any new ones.

Social isolation. The two-way analyses of variance showed significant interactions with years of experience for only two categories. The main effect for negative experiences with the courts, superiors, and fellow policemen ( $F = 3.46$ ,  $df = 2, 425$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and its interaction with years of experience ( $F = 1.85$ ,  $df = 15, 425$ ,  $p < .05$ ) are presented in Table 27. There was a main effect of helping experiences ( $F = 5.55$ ,  $df = 2, 427$ ,  $p < .01$ ), where social isolation increased monotonically as the rate of helping experiences increased. This is a noteworthy finding, since the popular notion of society is that helping acts usually bring people together. It appeared not to be the case for patrolmen. Table 28 demonstrates the interaction of years of experience with assignments involving violent crimes ( $F = 2.16$ ,  $df = 15, 438$ ,  $p < .01$ ). There was a monotonic relationship between social isolation and the main effect of court and jail details--as one increased, so did the other ( $F = 6.83$ ,  $df = 2, 437$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The fact that there were such few interaction effects with years of experience further supported the initial findings reported earlier in this paper that social isolation appeared to be influenced by age rather than by years of experience. The two-way analyses with age as a covariate showed the same interaction results, i.e., age did not contribute to more or less interactions, but as anticipated, its main effect showed for many of the categories (e.g., violent crimes, and negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers).

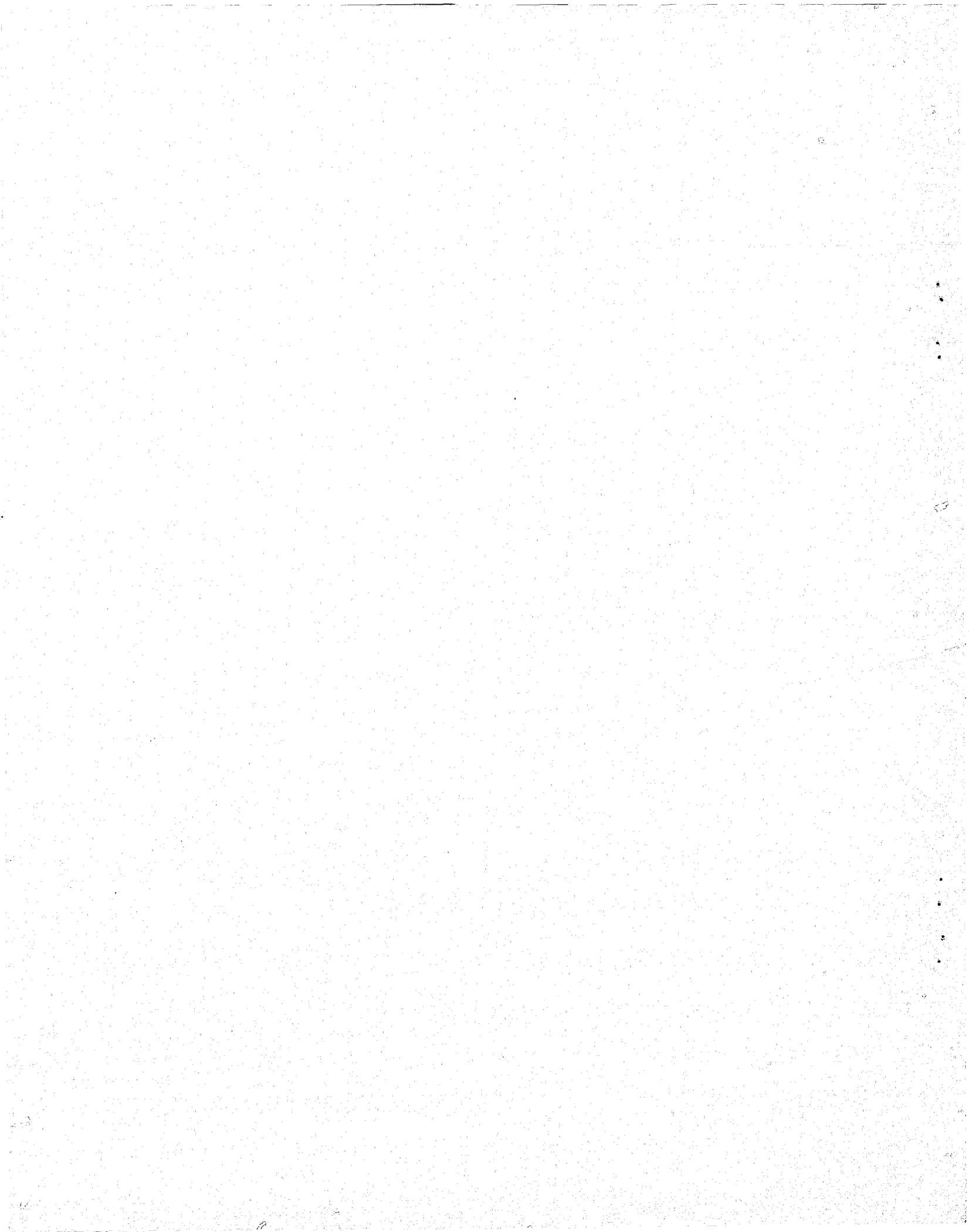


Table 27

Means and Analysis of Variance on Social Isolation as a Function of Years of Experience and Negative Experiences with the Court, Superiors, and Fellow Officers

Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers	Years of Experience								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.84	3.86	4.52	4.12	4.04	3.76	3.84	4.60	3.20
Medium level	4.47	4.75	4.42	4.54	3.39	4.38	4.80	4.30	3.00
High level		4.18	4.51	4.23	4.98	4.43	4.14	4.26	2.00
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers (E)			2			5.69			3.46 <sup>a</sup>
Years of experience (Y)			8			3.32			2.02 <sup>a</sup>
E x Y			15			3.05			1.85 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			425			1.65			
Total			450						

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

Table 28

Means and Analysis of Variance on Social Isolation as a Function of Years of Experience and Assigned Activities of Violent Crimes

Violent crimes	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	3.64	4.35	4.25	4.61	4.28	4.52	4.58	4.42	2.90
Medium level	4.16	4.44	3.93	4.61	3.56	3.58	3.56	4.33	3.25
High level	3.76	3.92	4.79	3.92	4.37	4.65	4.60	5.80	
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Violent crimes (A)			2			3.01			1.85
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.73			1.68
A x Y			15			3.51			2.16 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			438			1.63			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup> p < .01

Solidarity. The two-way analyses of variance revealed several significant relationships. Encounters with racial disturbances interacted with years of experience ( $F = 1.95$ ,  $df = 15, 435$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Political, union, and student disturbances also interacted with years of experience ( $F = 1.76$ ,  $df = 15, 438$ ,  $p < .05$ ). An inverse and monotonic relationship was found between promotional experiences and solidarity; as one increased, the other decreased ( $F = 4.43$ ,  $df = 2, 440$ ,  $p < .01$ ). This particular finding can easily be explained since any promotions or even just taking the promotional examinations would tend to set apart those patrolmen who no longer are in the same boat with the others, and "standing up for each other" or "sticking together" are then typically viewed with reservations. Helping experiences and years of experience interacted with each other ( $F = 2.81$ ,  $df = 13, 427$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In the activity categories, there was a monotonic increase of solidarity as the extent of patrol activities increased ( $F = 3.81$ ,  $df = 2, 430$ ,  $p < .05$ ), a finding that was in accord with the expectations. There was an interaction between years of experience and traffic assignments ( $F = 2.26$ ,  $df = 16, 433$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Table 29 shows the interaction between years of experience and adult, youth, and family disturbances ( $F = 2.08$ ,  $df = 16, 437$ ,  $p < .01$ ). It should be noted here that family disputes have been long recognized as the most frequent killer of policemen (references will be cited). This type of experience therefore constitutes a strong element of danger, and as Skolnick (1966) asserted, danger enhances solidarity among policemen. Thus, it could be assumed that in certain stages of the career, the element of danger has a lesser or greater association

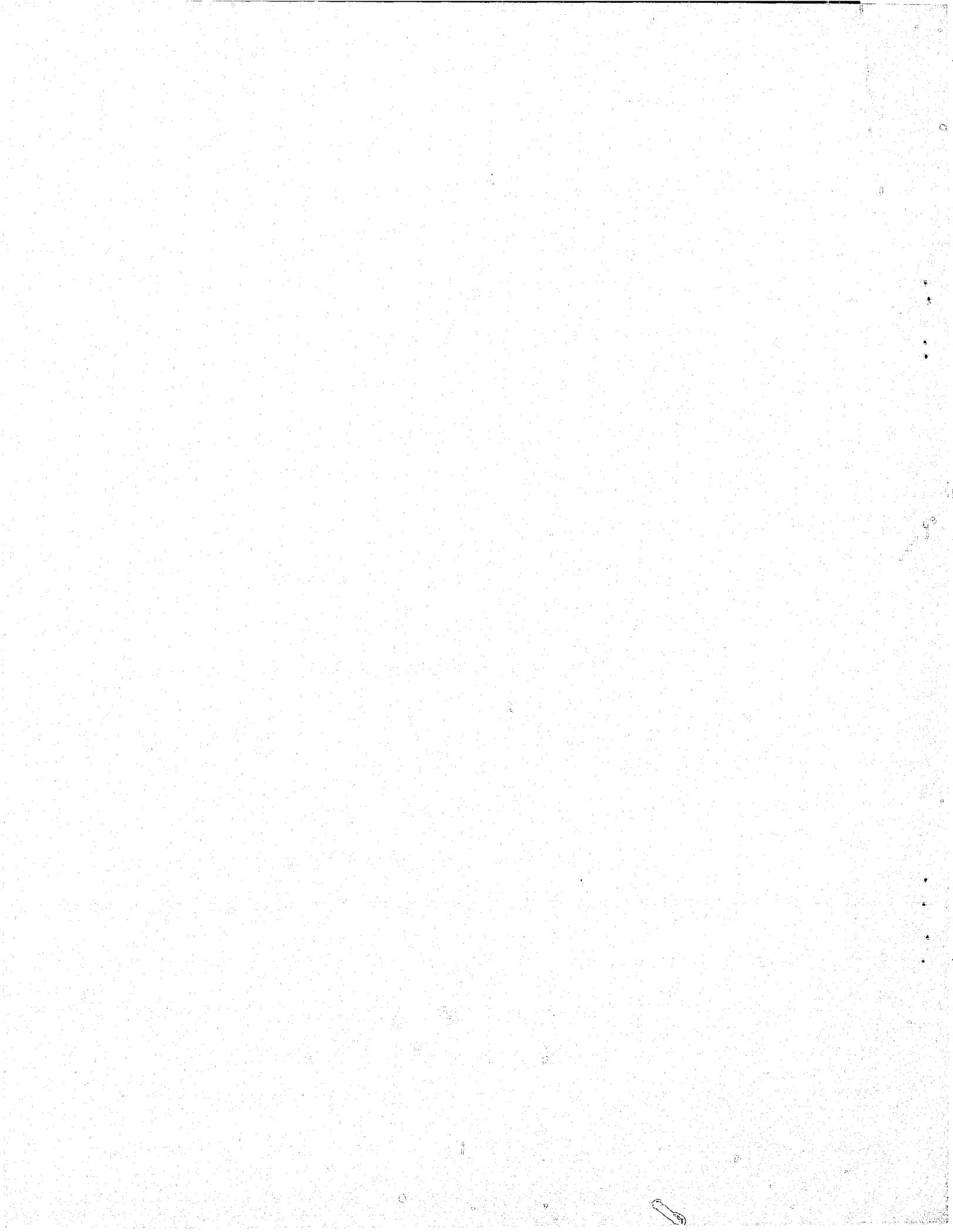


Table 29

Means and Analysis of Variance on Solidarity as a Function of Years of Experience and Assigned Activities with Adult, Youth, and Family Disturbances

Adult, youth, and family disturbances	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level	5.74	5.01	5.11	5.62	4.96	4.86	4.77	5.15	5.16
Medium level	5.14	5.40	5.10	5.19	5.53	4.96	5.41	5.50	3.75
High level	5.93	5.59	5.72	5.35	5.29	5.23	4.91	6.75	1.75
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Adult, youth, and family disturbances (A)			2			2.86			2.85
Years of experience (Y)			8			1.85			1.84
A x Y			16			2.08			2.08 <sup>a</sup>
Residual			437			1.00			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup> p < .01

with solidarity, depending on the number of years one has been a patrolman. The category of theft, robbery, and larceny, etc., was also found to interact with years of experience ( $F = 1.95$ ,  $df = 16, 435$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Table 30 demonstrates that there was also an interaction between violent crimes and years of experience ( $F = 1.68$ ,  $df = 15, 438$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As in the case of adult, youth, and family disturbances, there is an element of danger in such activities, but any interpretation relating this finding to danger should include the role of years of experience also. Years of experience also interacted with court and jail details ( $F = 2.00$ ,  $df = 16, 437$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and with desk and public relations assignments ( $F = 1.74$ ,  $df = 15, 433$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As in the results for all the other scales, age as a covariate did not show any difference in the interaction effects.

In summary, the findings on the experiential and activity categories indicated that individual experiences appeared to be related to the attitudes, values, and role perceptions (as represented by the various scales) of patrolmen. Some of them had a relatively pure bond with some of the scales, while others interacted with years of experience, and the interpretations of the latter type of relationship should be given cautionary consideration, because the very nature of police work suggests that a greater extent of occurrence of specific experiences is most likely to be related to the length of the patrolman's career, as measured by the number of years of experience. Thus, we know that the two elements interact, but how exactly a given interaction is related to any of the scales can be easier described than explained.



Table 30

Means and Analysis of Variance on Solidarity as a Function of Years of Experience and Assigned Activities with Violent Crimes

Violent crimes	<u>Years of Experience</u>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-10	11-15	16-30
Low level <sup>f</sup>	5.04	5.00	5.34	5.53	4.94	4.85	4.63	5.30	5.13
Medium level	5.96	5.44	4.90	5.02	5.69	5.10	4.73	5.50	4.00
High level	5.65	5.46	5.49	5.35	5.28	4.94	5.52	5.50	
<u>Source of variance</u>			<u>df</u>			<u>MS</u>			<u>F</u>
Violent crimes (A)			2			2.86			2.80
Years of experience (Y)			8			2.21			2.16 <sup>a</sup>
A x Y			15			1.72			1.68 <sup>ii</sup>
Residual			438			1.02			
Total			463						

<sup>a</sup> p < .05

The consistent results of the analyses with age as a covariate could be attributed to relatively low correlations between age and the experience/activity categories. Thus, age did not add to or subtract from the interactions even in the cases where its effect as a covariate was significant.

#### Academy Cadets

It was hypothesized that the occupational socialization of policemen actually started to take place while the future policeman was still a cadet. Several basic analyses were conducted in order to test this hypothesis.

The academy from which the cadets were sampled offered 12-week courses for police recruits. Two different groups were sampled from the academy--a group that had just begun a course (first day), and a group who had just finished a course. (The beginning new group was interviewed several days after the graduating group. Both groups had attended the same classes, with the same teachers, in the same facilities.) Table 31 presents the means and t-tests comparing the two groups on the attitude scales. Among the eight scales only Police Conservatism showed a significant difference ( $F = 2.79$ ,  $df = 98$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The results therefore suggested that with the exception of police conservatism, the two groups could be combined. T-test comparisons between cadets and patrolmen conducted on seven out of the eight scales yielded significant differences on five scales--Anomie, Cynicism, Overidentification, Regard for the Public, and

Table 31

Means and t-Tests on the Eight Scales as a Function of Beginning  
and End of Academy Training for Cadets

Scale	Mean Scale Scores		<u>t</u>
	Group 1 Beginning ( <u>n</u> =65)	Group 2 End ( <u>n</u> =35)	
Anomie	3.52	3.75	1.09
Cynicism	3.05	3.09	.16
Empathy	3.17	3.09	.35
Overidentification	3.43	3.23	.92
Police Conservatism	4.38	5.02	2.79 <sup>a</sup>
Regard for the Public	4.06	4.20	.77
Social Isolation	3.95	3.89	.24
Solidarity	5.31	5.18	.63

<sup>a</sup>p < .01

Social Isolation, as demonstrated in Table 32. Anomie was significantly higher among patrolmen ( $\underline{t} = 3.77$ ,  $\underline{df} = 566$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as was cynicism ( $\underline{t} = 4.61$ ,  $\underline{df} = 566$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Overidentification was lower among patrolmen ( $\underline{t} = 3.43$ ,  $\underline{df} = 566$ ,  $p < .01$ ) as was regard for the public ( $\underline{t} = 2.36$ ,  $\underline{df} = 566$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Social isolation was greater among patrolmen ( $\underline{t} = 2.09$ ,  $\underline{df} = 566$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Two  $\underline{t}$ -tests were conducted on police conservatism. The comparison between entering cadets and patrolmen showed that police conservatism was significantly higher among patrolmen ( $\underline{t} = 3.59$ ,  $\underline{df} = 533$ ,  $p < .05$ ), but there was no difference between graduating cadets and patrolmen.

These results, in general, suggested that some socialization takes place. However, this interpretation is based on cross-sectional comparisons, and the limitations of this design will be discussed later. Also, the above  $\underline{t}$ -test analyses were merely a preliminary step, and further analysis is needed. The reported results, nonetheless, seem to justify a future project, in which the academy influence will be studied more systematically as well as longitudinally.

Table 32  
Means and t-Tests on the Seven Scales for Patrolmen and Cadets

Scale	Mean Scale Scores		<u>t</u>
	All Cadets ( <u>n</u> =100)	Patrolmen ( <u>n</u> =468)	
Anomie	3.60	4.05	3.77 <sup>b</sup>
Cynicism	3.06	3.63	4.61 <sup>b</sup>
Empathy	3.14	3.15	.01
Overidentification	3.36	2.93	3.43 <sup>b</sup>
Regard for the Public	4.11	3.85	2.36 <sup>a</sup>
Social Isolation	3.92	4.22	2.09 <sup>a</sup>
Solidarity	5.27	5.23	.28

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

Four general limitations of this investigation should be noted prior to interpretations of the results:

(a) Cross-sectional studies are inherently limited as they can only reveal differences and not actual changes; differences could be attributed to generational (cohort) differences, historical era, and other artifacts (Baltes, 1968; Schaie, 1965). In order to increase the validity and the meaningfulness of the present findings, a longitudinal or panel study is necessary. The present study was conducted in a way that enables such a follow-up.

(b) The sample, though representative of the police population from which it was drawn, is not necessarily representative of policemen in other parts of the country (for example, New York City or the deep South), who may differ from policemen in Southern California. Therefore, generalization should be made with some reservations, until other areas in the United States are sampled.

(c) Construct validity of the scales in a study such as the present cannot be assured and, in fact, in a typical study, is seldom examined or mentioned. There are, however, three considerations

pertinent to this issue in the present study. First, items drawn from some of the existing scales have been validated prior to their use in the present study (e.g., Christie and others, 1968; McClosky and Schaar, 1965; Srole, 1956). Secondly, many of the items were derived almost directly from comments made by policemen themselves in interviews (Hadar, Note 1)--this means that they have a certain reality for policemen, though, of course, it still does not guarantee that they actually measure what they purport to measure. Thirdly, there were some validity checks that were internal to the study which provided additional evidence of construct validity. For example, various scales differentiated policemen with different experiences, assignments, number of years of experience, etc., as reported in the results. All the above sources of information and the use of the scales in later follow-up studies can build up a context of related factors that help give scales some validity.

(d) In spite of the fact that the scales with very low homogeneity were excluded from the present report of results, the problem of reliability still exists for the remaining scales, since their levels of reliability were not in the very high range. This means that future attempts to replicate the present results using other samples or in follow-ups of the original samples could be unsuccessful. Valuable information pertinent to this problem could be provided by further checks for reliability, e.g., a split-half analysis and a test-retest comparison. This investigator hopes to examine the reliability question sometime prior to the first follow-up.

The main purpose of the present study was to examine the occupational socialization of policemen, i.e., the relationship between experience on the job and some of their characteristic attitudes, values and role perceptions. The general picture emerging from the findings was that policemen differ on several core attitudinal scales as a function of (a) the duration of exposure to the police environment and roles as measured by the number of years of experience; (b) natural maturation process as measured by age; (c) both years of experience and age; and (d) individual experiences and assigned activities. Thus, as nearly as can be learned from a cross-sectional study, the orientations of policemen change with "on the job" experience. This is evidenced by the fact that the scales were related to the "time variables," i.e., years of experience and age, especially years of experience. Additional evidence was provided by the fact that scales are related directly to the amount of participation in various experiences and activities, especially in the case of experiences, where the likelihood of self-selection is smaller. These findings lend support to Skolnick's (1966) notion of policemen's "working personality" and to the present author's hypothesis of occupational socialization.

The overall pattern of the relationship between years of experience and several scales was curvilinear, suggesting that certain stages in the policeman's career are more sensitive and vulnerable than others. The four scales that were significant (Cynicism, Over-identification, Regard for the Public, and Solidarity) reached their

extreme value at the same time. Cynicism increased while regard for the public decreased; within the same period overidentification ascended, but, curiously, solidarity descended. At a later stage of the career the level of cynicism was reduced a bit and regard for the public gained momentum again, while overidentification decreased and solidarity increased. The initial increase (for cynicism and overidentification) or decrease (for regard for the public and solidarity) seemed to cease after a certain point, then to gradually settle into a neutral or "adaptation level." This type of pattern in policemen's attitudes and values was attributed by Reiser (1974) to the policemen's working environment, which includes not only the job stresses related to the working roles (e.g., danger, violence and authority) but the influence related to the organizational role and pressures (e.g., negative attitude of veteran peers or training officers). In addition to these two aspects of the working environment the author pointed out the partial impact of a "developmental process, which helps protect the young officer against his own emotions as well as outside dangers while he is maturing and being welded by experience" (p. 158). Reiser called the period of cynicism, over-seriousness, emotional withdrawal and coldness, authoritarian attitudes and other related symptoms the "John Wayne Syndrome." The author described the syndrome as "a nonocular condition in which there are only good guys and the bad guys and situations and values become dichotomized into all or nothing" (p. 158). The author claimed that eventually, after the policeman has learned to cope and gained maturity and self confi-

dence the syndrome is no longer predominant in him. In fact, according to Reiser, "The officer who successfully survives the multiplex influences from within himself, from the organization and from his working environment benefits from the process. . . . [H]e is now functioning as a professional" (p. 159).

The age group comparisons showed significant differences on five of the scales: Cynicism, Empathy, Regard for the public, Social isolation, and Solidarity. Of these five scales, cynicism showed a curvilinear pattern similar to its pattern as a function of years of experience. The remainder of the significant scales showed either a monotonic increase (empathy and regard for the public) or monotonic decrease (social isolation and solidarity). The overall age influence thus showed about the same trend as years of experience. The exception was in regard for the public where the impact of age was to produce a steady increase while the effect of experience, in earlier years, reduced that factor. This moderating influence of age is probably related to the increased empathy and decreased social isolation in older patrolmen.

Several important questions emerge from the trends described above. Is the peak and reduction of cynicism and recovery of regard for the public a result of "occupationalization" in the role, a selection or attrition effect, changes occurring in the entering cohort of patrolmen, or something else? The relations of cynicism and regard for the public to negative experiences with courts, superiors, student, union and political demonstrations, family disturbances, etc.,

provided some evidence that these orientations grow out of negatively evaluated experiences with the public and public function; however, the question arises as to why the pattern was reversed later on in the career. Moreover, the evidence was not clear cut--cynicism was actually lower among those with high levels of experiences with violent crimes, for example. The first step in answering these questions is to probe again at each of the scales which revealed intriguing trends.

Cynicism. The findings regarding cynicism as a function of years of experience was consistent with Niederhoffer's (1967) data, which showed a steady growth of cynicism until its maximal point between seven to ten years of experience that then leveled off for the last stage of the career. Thus, from both Niederhoffer's and the present findings it can be concluded that cynicism among patrolmen is reduced to an intermediate point toward a later period in the police career, where its level remains higher than during early years but lower than its peak around seven years.

Merton (1957) mentioned the condition of resentment (resentment) as one of the possible adaptations to anomie (the others being conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion). Niederhoffer (1967) likened resentment to cynicism--both consisting of feelings of hate, envy, powerlessness, hostility and sour-grapes pattern. He viewed the relationship between cynicism and anomie in the policeman as more complex than Merton's (1957) conception of it. Niederhoffer stated:

Cynicism may be a by-product of anomie in the social structure; at the same time it may also prepare the way for personal anomie or anomia. Anxious over a personal failure, the individual policeman often disguises his feelings with a cynical attitude, and thus negates the value of the prize he did not attain. Frequently he includes in his cynicism all persons who still seek that prize or have succeeded in winning it, and, occasionally, deprecates the entire social system within which the failure occurred. As the cynic becomes increasingly pessimistic and misanthropic, he finds it easier to reduce his commitment to the social system and its values. If the patrolman remains a "loner," his isolation may lead to psychological anomie and even to suicide.

The interaction effects between years of experience and individual experiences and assignments in relation to cynicism lend support to Niederhoffer's (1967) assertion that years of experience embody not merely passing of time but, more importantly, the impact of particular experiences. Such experiences as encounters with mass demonstrations and disturbances might lead to cynicism by invoking in patrolmen feelings of hate, hostility, powerlessness to express their feelings toward certain social strata, etc. By the same token, experiences such as failing promotional exams or not being promoted could contribute to cynicism if they result in feelings such as envy and powerlessness to express feelings toward certain persons (e.g., supervisors).

Regard for the public. Related to certain aspects of cynicism and resentment is the concept of regard for the public. However, while cynicism encompasses resentment toward police and the world in general, the scale of regard for the public centered exclusively around the orientations toward nonpolice citizens. It was comprised of both statements of negative feelings toward citizens and feelings

of superiority over them. The lowest degree of regard for the public appeared around the fourth year, thus, preceding the peak of cynicism. Perhaps first comes the feeling of "I hate citizens" (see Cumming, Cumming and Edell, 1965), and this sentiment combined with resentment toward police and police superiors later leads to increases in cynicism. Both disdain for the public and the feeling of superiority may well result from the type of experiences with the public that policemen encounter. Westley (1951) noted that the policeman "tends to meet those portions of the public which are acting contrary to the law or using the law to further their own ends. He is exposed to public immorality" (p. ii); and Niederhoffer (1967) asserted that "his constant dealing with crime may encourage him to view policemen as superior to the general race of men" (p. 97).

But contact with the segment of the population which is not the so-called "criminal element" can also lead to loss of regard and trust. Ahern (1972) explained it this way:

The cop soon learns that on the whole the public is not to be trusted. He finds that many people who call police want to manipulate them for their own purposes. . . . The cop learns that many people who have grudges against others want to use the police to take care of them. And after he has been asked to write a number of theft reports, he realizes that many reports that he writes in good faith are phony ones and that people are using him to defraud insurance companies. The cop eventually reaches a point where he trusts no one. (p. 16)

Toch (1965) viewed the decrease in regard for the public as a direct result of negative experiences with the community. He stated:

Strong antipolice sentiments on . . . occasions [of application of sanctions such as a traffic ticket] may . . . constitute defensive reactions against regression to the role of a child. . . . Ultimately, the typical contact between police and public

remains one in which there is essentially one-way communication against a back-drop of latent power. This type of contact is . . . psychologically harmful to the police. The police officer loses his feeling of communality with the public. He exaggerated the prevalence of apathy, and sees hostility even where there is none. He interprets public resentment as an indication of his inevitable separation from the social order. (p. 23)

An interesting insight into the occupational values of policemen as related to the public was provided by Westley (1953) who cited

William Warley's view:

[The policeman] regards the public as his enemy, feels his occupation to be in conflict with the community, and regards himself to be a pariah. The experience and the feeling give rise to a collective emphasis on secrecy, an attempt to coerce respect from the public, and a belief that almost any means are legitimate in completing an important arrest. These are for the policeman basic occupational values. They arise from his experience, take precedence over his legal responsibilities, are central to an understanding of his conduct, and form the occupational contexts within which violence gains its meaning. (p. 35)

The above descriptions by Ahern (1972), Toch (1965) and Westley (1953) are compatible with the results of this study which showed a marked drop of regard for the public in patrolmen during the early years, although the impact of age acted against the effect.

Some other findings concerning the early years warrant discussion although their pattern was essentially different than the original expectations.

Overidentification. On the whole, overidentification was low for all patrolmen and did not show any clear changes in early years-- apparently it is less of an issue with police on the whole than originally expected. However, there was an interesting difference between overidentification in the first few years and in later years,

when it reached a very low level. One way to interpret these results is in terms of attrition due to promotions. Both Ahern (1972) and Niederhoffer (1967) discussed the "five years man," a term referring to the fact that after approximately five years, the patrolman has either achieved or not achieved his promotion. Perhaps these patrolmen who overidentify with the role eventually go on to work in other roles, such as detectives, vice or narcotics agents, supervisors or administrators. A vivid description of the patrolmen who overidentify with their role was offered by Ahern (1972). He wrote:

[There] are the people who love the crime-fighting aspects of police work. They never stop investigating. They work while they are off duty, running from one end of the city to the other to question witnesses again, to follow up leads, to listen to rumors, to piece evidence together. They work on cases which others have ignored. They develop theories or hunches and pursue them tenaciously. They cannot sit at home while there are nagging questions to be answered or criminals running loose on the streets. They see a game, a puzzle, and they are challenged. They maximize the excitement and the drama of their work. If they are touched or bothered by particularly serious or disturbing crimes, they cannot rest until they are solved. (p. 28)

This description parallels the profile of a patrolman who "eats, sleeps and breathes police." Could it be that these people are the latent detectives? Another possibility is that there are not too many people who overidentify to a great degree--the pattern of results showed that the mean is leveled off.

Solidarity. Solidarity appears to form among patrolmen very early in their career, as shown in the comparison of years of experience. Results indicated that the greatest level of solidarity existed among policemen in the very first year of their career.

Bittner (1970) pointed out the relationship between the esprit de

corps of the police and its quasi-military attributes and compared the circumstances that demand and enhance solidarity in the police to those in the military. Bittner particularly noted the connection between the element of danger in police work and peer support among policemen:

Policing is a dangerous occupation and the availability of unquestioned support and loyalty is not something officers could readily do without. In the heat of action it is not possible to arrange from case to case, for the supply of support, nor can the supply of such support be made dependent on whether the cooperating agents agree about abstract principles. The governing consideration must be that as long as "one of us" is in peril, right or wrong, he deserves help. (p. 63)

A similar comparison between the military and the police was made by Janowitz (1964), who also pointed out the relationship between danger and solidarity. The results of the present study support the notion that the danger in police work is related to solidarity particularly in the significant interaction, in relation to solidarity, between years of experience and frequency of involvement in adult, youth, and family disturbances. The pattern of the interaction showed a gradual increase in solidarity in the sixth and seventh years and between 11 and 15 years as the level of encounters with adult disturbances increased. "Disturbance Calls" constitute a very dangerous situation for a policeman; indeed they are one of the situations in which policemen are most likely to be killed (Uniform Crime Reports, 1973). Dealing with violent crimes of course also involves a great deal of danger (Skolnick, 1966) and the significant interaction between solidarity, years of experience, and assignments involving violent crimes adds additional support to the notion that danger and solidarity are

related.

It is worth pointing out that several negative aspects of police solidarity have been expressed in the literature. For example, solidarity can be associated with the informal "code" of police deviancy. Petersen (1974) noted that one of the "code's" practices demands that fellow officers lie to provide an alibi for fellow officers apprehended in unlawful activity covered by the "code" (p. 262). Thus, an excessive degree of solidarity implies a code of sticking to each other, right or wrong, even in cases when policemen's acts should be exposed. This particular negative effect of police solidarity was also observed by Ahern (1972), a former police chief of New Haven, Connecticut. He stated:

But the cop who is brutal--or even the cop who is blatantly corrupt--is never exposed by his fellows. He is protected, although perhaps uneasily, by the group. The sanctity of the group becomes more important to the cop than the often hypocritical view of outsiders. (p. 24)

Interestingly, solidarity was at one of its lower points in the sixth and seventh year, when cynicism was at its peak. Are the two patterns related? Possibly. Cynicism, as is pointed out later in this discussion, was related to negative experiences with superiors and fellow patrolmen. Perhaps the feeling of total support, "right or wrong," weakens at this stage of the career under the influence of greater cynicism about fellow officers.

Empathy. Somewhat surprising was the failure of empathy to show significant relationship with years of experience. A possible explanation can be the fact that age appeared to have a substantial

moderating influence in this case.

Social isolation. It is quite puzzling that social isolation did not show any relationships with years of experience, only a relationship to age. This result is in contradiction with the claims of the literature (e.g., Ahern, 1972; Emmons, 1973; Skolnick, 1966). However, social isolation in the academy recruits was significantly lower than in patrolmen, suggesting an early development of isolation. This was corroborated by several police officials and patrolmen interviewed by Emmons (1973). Reiser (see Emmons, 1973) described the withdrawal from civilian life as being "in all respects, a minority group" (p. 1). Perhaps there is an attrition effect of those who cannot take the pressures of being in an out-group. There was probably also a moderating effect of age--the results showed a gradual decrease in social isolation throughout the age groups.

On the whole, it could be concluded that exposure to the police career has a distinct impact on certain personal characteristics of policemen. Certain periods in the policemen's service time can perhaps be termed the "critical years," i.e., the years when some of their characteristic orientations peak and others reach their lowest level. Also interesting is the fact that the order in which the high and low levels of orientations occur are not just a mere coincidence. First comes the decline in regard for the public and the increase in cynicism and the decrease in solidarity follow. (The effect of over-identification, although statistically significant, is not clear.) The effect of age also shows a certain chronological order--there is

an increase in empathy that is accompanied by an increase in cynicism, while in later years empathy increases while cynicism levels off. With the increase of empathy there is a decrease in social isolation and an increase in regard for the public.

#### Specific Experiences and Assigned Activities

Niederhoffer (1967), in his discussion of the relationship between the police experience and cynicism, emphasized the notion that years of experience represent more than just length of experience. He wrote:

The true variable is not length of service. This is only an index of some correlation. More important is the nature of the impact of the occupation upon the policeman at each stage of his career, and this accounts for the change in orientation. Naturally, both length of service and age increase as he serves his twenty years, but his cynicism score fluctuates as a result of factors associated with the peculiar nature of police work. (p. 238)

This interpretation of occupational impact applies not only to cynicism, but also to overidentification, regard for the public, and solidarity. Indeed, the findings concerning the relationship between the particular experiences that the individual patrolman underwent and the scales corroborated Niederhoffer's point of view.

This is the point to examine the mass of data on the specific experiences and activities in an attempt to establish the major themes. Which categories of experiences and assigned activities showed relations with the scales most regularly? What are the possible reasons for these relations? What can be inferred from these relationships concerning the occupational socialization of policemen?

Prior to addressing these questions, two findings should be mentioned as especially interesting. First, it was observed that the frequency of various personal experiences showed many significant relations with the scales (as can be seen again in Table 16), but only a few interactions with years of experience; on the other hand, assigned activities worked just the other way around. Perhaps this is an indication that experiences have a direct and immediate impact on the policeman's outlook (as measured by the various scales) while the effects of assigned activities must cumulate through the years in order to influence that outlook. Secondly, it is striking that of all the experiences and activities that showed relations with the scales, all (except for promotions, Note 2) were of negative nature. It seems that very negative experiences have an impact on the policeman's working personality while positive experiences and assignments that involve helping roles do not influence his orientation one way or another.

#### Experiences

Among the individual experiences, three particular categories revealed recurring relations with the scales: (a) political, union, and student disturbances; (b) negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers; and (c) promotional exams and promotions. The question arises as to why, from all the experiences, these particular three appear to be the most powerful and pervasive. A careful examination of the literature indicated that some major problems of the policeman's "working personality" and the police role

in general were related to these particular experiences.

Political, union and student disturbances. The scales of police conservatism, regard for the public, and social isolation showed a main effect of this experience category. Interactions with years of experience were found in anomie, cynicism, regard for the public, and solidarity. Especially strong were the relationship of these experiences with the scale of regard for the public.

Skolnick (1975) wrote that policemen share the doctrine that crime and disorder are primarily due to the "rotten apple" individual rather than social conditions. According to Skolnick, "the 'rotten apple' view of human nature puts the policeman at odds with the goals and aspirations of many of the groups he is called upon to police" (p. 204), e.g., groups that advocate social reforms. Skolnick asserted that "nonconformity comes to be viewed [by policemen] with nearly as much suspicion as actual law violation" (p. 205). For example, "organized protest tends to be viewed as the conspiratorial product of authoritarian agitators--usually 'communists'--who mislead otherwise contented people" (p. 205). Skolnick maintained that this kind of attitude toward dissent creates hostility among policemen toward any group or individual that fits into their "agitational" theory. He attributed the hostility toward student protest to the policemen's unfamiliarity with the student culture, which leads them to fall back on sinister theories such as conspiracy, communist plot, etc. Skolnick observed that this point of view dominates the most influential police literature, and quoted the following example from

The Police Chief, April, 1965 (Note 3):

One of the more alarming aspects of these student demonstrations is the ever-present evidence that the guiding hand of the communists and extreme leftists was involved. (p. 206)

Thus, it appears that both officially and unofficially the police are suspicious, resentful, and hostile toward groups that represent movement for dissent, innovation, or social change.

Negative experiences with the court, superiors, and fellow officers. Among the scales that were found related to this category of experiences, regard for the public showed the strongest relationship. In addition to the main effect of the negative experiences, there was a clear pattern of interaction effect in the fourth and fifth years, where regard for the public decreased with the increase of level of negative experiences. Also substantial were the relations with cynicism, police conservatism, and solidarity, which showed the main effect of these negative experiences. All these three orientations increased as the level of the negative experiences with courts, etc. increased.

McNamara (1967) made the observation that with the "proliferation of substantive laws there has also been an accompanying growth in procedural laws aimed at supporting the values potentially threatened by the enforcement of substantive laws" (p. 163). This development, according to McNamara, had produced an uncertainty in the police. McNamara noted, however, that

What has been characterized . . . as uncertainty is more likely to be described by law enforcement officials as incomprehensible, unpredictable, and inconsistent restrictions placed on police by legislatures and courts that are seen at best as

lacking in understanding and at worst as financially, politically, or ideologically corrupt. (p. 184)

Niederhoffer (1967) discussed the relationship between police cynicism and the various Supreme Court decisions protecting the suspect, e.g., the cases of Gideon vs. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963), Miranda vs. Arizona, 384 U.S. 436 (1966), and Escobedo vs. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964) to which the police have reacted bitterly. The general feeling of the police is that their hands are tied and their efficiency impaired by the restrictions imposed on them by such decisions. But as Niederhoffer (1967) pointed out, ". . . the real threat is not the shackling of law enforcement, but the probable reinforcement of cynicism among policemen" (pp. 173-174).

Another aspect of the court as related to the police orientation was discussed by Westley (1970). He suggested that due to the interrogations by the defense attorneys, policemen often feel that they are the ones on trial rather than the persons they arrested. This results in the loss of faith in the courts, frustration, feelings of helplessness, and anxieties about the outcomes of court actions. Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell (1974) reported that constant "grilling" by lawyers was named by policemen as one of the main reasons for their discomfort on the job. Ahern (1972) described the effect of negative experiences with the courts. He wrote:

The frustrations of the cop in the squad car are multiplied by his dealings with the courts. Here, the effects of neglect destroy whatever pride he may have in his job. For if he has managed to retain his honesty, he often finds that the courts have not managed to retain theirs. It is quite common for a

policeman arresting a bookmaker or a narcotics pusher to be told by the suspect that there is no point to the arrest because the case will only be "bagged" in court. When he finds that cases for which he has built what he considers (often correctly) solid evidence are repeatedly thrown out by prosecutors or dismissed by judges, he begins to wonder why he makes arrests at all. At best, he will keep making the arrests, feeling that he has done his job and that prosecutors and judges have nothing to do with him. Too often, however, he simply gives up on arresting people he knows to have court connections. (p. 21)

By and large, it appears that the results of the present study concur with the literature that points out the constant frustrating experiences with the courts as one of the variables responsible for affecting some of the policeman's characteristics and attitudes.

With regard to experiences with supervisors and fellow officers, Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell (1974) found that police administration was the second major source (trailing only after courts) of stress among policemen. When policemen were asked to recall the last time they felt uncomfortable on the job, administration was the most frequently mentioned response. Kroes, et al. noted that responses regarding administration fell into two categories: (a) policy concerning assignments, procedures, and personal conduct; and (b) the lack of backing and support of patrolmen and problems with rapport between patrolmen and administrators. Niederhoffer (1967), incidentally, noted that the current trend of reducing the social distance between superiors and subordinates does not seem to have reduced the distrust policemen feel toward their superiors. This source of threat, and the feeling of distrust probably contribute to the development of cynicism in patrolmen, and the present findings supported this notion.

Promotional exams and promotions. According to Niederhoffer

(1967), "the lower ranks tend to believe that special assignments depend on 'whom you know,' and not on merit" (p. 77). Niederhoffer found that this view was shared by forty percent of the patrolmen "in the face of strong protestations to the contrary by top officials of the department" (p. 77). However, Ahern (1972), a former police chief himself, claimed that the promotions from foot patrol to squad car patrol depend on the policeman's political "hook," i.e., his political connections. Ahern also noted that "a cop trapped in police work . . . finds that advancement is excruciatingly slow" (p. 26), and this goes for all patrolmen, not just those on the "walking beat."

Promotion for a patrolman means not only monetary and prestige rewards but, more important, change to easier or more pleasant assignments. As Ahern (1972) put it:

If the cop in the squad car does not want to become a detective, he is likely to be left with one ambition: to get a steady day job indoors. He does not care where it is. It may be in the Training Division, or it may be in some supervisory or clerical job that places him at a desk. At this point he wants little more than to survive. (pp. 28-29)

Niederhoffer (1967) maintained a similar view regarding policemen's eagerness to move upward in their profession. He stated that most policemen will accept any assignment as long as they can get "out of the bag," i.e., "they want to remove the uniform that publicly identifies them as policemen" (p. 77). The importance and impact of promotional exams and promotions as described by both Ahern and Niederhoffer was reflected in the results of the present study. There was a main effect of these experiences for anomie, cynicism,

empathy, police conservatism, regard for the public, and solidarity. Interactions with years of experience appeared on regard for the public. The strongest main effect was for cynicism and regard for the public (p. 2.001). Niederhoffer (1967) introduced an explanation of the relationship between promotions and cynicism. Accordingly,

A high arrest record reinforces the cynicism that inspired it in the first place, while often establishing a policeman's reputation for initiative and efficiency. His superiors recommend him for assignment to the detective division. This route to promotion appeals to many young policemen who have little hope of passing a written competitive test for promotion, and impels many of them to adopt cynicism as a rational and functional way to advancement. (pp. 76-77)

Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) observed that there was an area of ambiguity in the Central State Police (Nebraska) as to what exactly led to promotions, and this ambiguity, in turn, caused frequent anxiety among policemen as to whether they were "guessing" their commander's criteria (of evaluation) accurately and whether their behavior was in line with his expectations. The authors maintained that "in the eyes of the new policemen, the whole evaluation system appeared as 'a jungle with a few landmarks'" (p. 30). This ambiguity and uncertainty perhaps enhances the anomie and cynicism in patrolmen who take promotional exams. Reiser (1974) gave a similar account about the anxiety and stress involved in the policeman's questions as to how he is rated, will he be rated objectively, etc. The author pointed out the tendency of policemen to be highly competitive; consequently, the failure to be promoted is related to various emotional symptoms. In Reiser's words:

Policemen tend to be very competitive, and failure of promotion

at an anticipated time results in feelings of alienation from the group, depression and low self-esteem. . . . There are usually no post-examination sessions scheduled to cope with these reactions. (p. 157)

Reiser's description could be the possible explanation for the decrease in solidarity as a function of promotional experiences.

All things considered, the recurrent relationship between the scales and certain specific experiences provide evidence that some aspects of the policeman's occupational socialization are likely to be a product of more than just the "time" aspect of years of experience. Additional evidence in support of this supposition was found in the analysis of the assigned activities (as can be seen again in Table 17).

#### Assigned Activities

Among the assigned activities several were found to show regular interactions with years of experience and various scales, namely: (a) patrol; (b) adult, youth, and family disturbances; (c) theft, robbery, larceny, etc., crimes; and (d) violent crimes.

Patrol. Patrol is a relatively general category that could involve many of the more specific assignments and various experiences. Some of these experiences and activities were vividly described by Ahern (1972):

As his years in the squad car wear on, the endless cycle of shifts takes its toll, and the cop's frustration increases as he sees that he is running hard but getting nowhere. He arrests drunks and sees them thrown into jail, where the causes of their alcoholism are compounded. He knows he will arrest them again. He refers juveniles to juvenile courts and sees them on the streets again with the same lack of support and direction that led to their delinquency. He knows he will arrest them

again too, when they have grown, through neglect, into full-fledged criminals. He sees everyone on the take and no one giving. He tires of being trapped between his superiors and the courts, between prosecutors and the public. He tires of making instantaneous judgements on the street that are meticulously analyzed ex post facto by people who have no idea what the street as he sees it is like. He becomes exhausted with climbing endless flights of stairs and knocking on the same doors, with finding himself in the middle of fights and brawls, with treating endless problems for which there is--for him--no solution. (p. 25)

The effect of experiences such as described above was reflected in the present data. Patrol assignments were found to be related to anomie, cynicism, overidentification, police conservatism, social isolation, and solidarity. The development of cynicism as a function of patrolling activities is reflected in Ahern's (1972) descriptions. According to Ahern, the patrolman also "soon finds that pettiness and sensitivity pervade most agencies that are supposed to serve the public" (p. 20). Following the account of a true story about a policeman who tried to save a dying baby only to see him die after a doctor refused to give it his immediate attention, Ahern stated:

Occurrences like this are not the rule. But the policeman who sees various degrees of neglect all around him can hardly help becoming callous and bitter, and eventually he feels his own sensitivity being destroyed. (p. 21)

In light of these types of experiences involved in patrol assignments, the impact of patrol activities is not at all surprising.

Adult, youth, and family disturbances. The effect of adult, youth, and family disturbances was reflected in the relationships between these assignments and anomie, cynicism, overidentification, and solidarity. The amount of danger involved in police work can be seen in the statistics provided by the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime

Reports (1973). Accordingly, in the period between 1962 to 1971, responding to disturbance calls was the second most frequent reason for policemen being killed (the same circumstance of death ranked second in the years 1963-1967 and 1964-1968, according to the same report). In addition, the greatest number of assaults on officers (26%) in 1973, for example, was while they were responding to disturbance calls. As described in the F.B.I. (1973) report, "any officer who has answered disturbance calls remembers the situation when he became a substitute target in a husband and wife quarrel or an arbitrator in a customer-proprietor argument" (p. 47).

When called upon to settle disputes, the policeman faces a most serious and direct danger to his life. Especially dangerous and difficult is a family dispute. Ahern (1972) states:

Of the assignments given to the cop in the squad car, one of the most common and typical is the call to intervene in a domestic dispute. To many police officers, these are the most unpleasant and the least satisfying of jobs. A cop cannot win in a family fight . . . the cop has no idea what awaits him. A disproportionate percentage of police injuries come in handling domestic disputes. A husband often feels that he is being challenged in his own house. . . . If there are children around, they add to the noise and confusion, and at times they themselves may turn on the policeman. In this kind of situation anything in the house becomes a weapon--a kitchen knife, a hammer, a chair, a vase. Good cops never consider using their guns, but rely on experience, wit, perseverance, and if necessary their night sticks, to control such situations. In fact, some policemen, while they feel that the gun is a necessary protection as a last resort, know how completely its use is blocked from their minds and at times fail to use it when they are in mortal danger. . . . It is a cliché of police work that nothing unites warring parties, temporarily at least, more effectively than a common enemy, and the policeman is nearly always seen as that enemy. (pp. 18-19)

This probably accounts for the development of cynicism among patrol-

men, and the present data supported this notion. Not only researchers but policemen themselves view adult disputes as a stressful situation. The danger element in a family dispute was perceived by policemen to be one of the main sources of job stress, as reported by Kroes, et al. (1974). When asked what was a particularly uncomfortable situation, policemen named "line of duty" (i.e., resembling "crisis situations") as one of the major stressors and within this category family crisis was a frequent example named as a "tight situation."

Skolnick (1966) pointed out the danger element as one of the major contributors to the development of solidarity among policemen. This was reflected in the present data--solidarity increased with the level of adult, youth, and family disputes.

Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes. While crisis situations appeared to have an impact because of the threat of danger, assignments such as theft, robbery, larceny, burglary, etc., may be contributing to the occupationalization more through frustration (Ahern, 1972). The main difference between these two categories of assignments is that in the case of the former, the officer arrives at the scene of the problem while it is happening, while with the latter, his arrival is usually after the crime has occurred. Ahern (1972) explained how the policeman's role in such situations leads to frustration:

The patrolman's function in the vast majority of situations is to write a report. He becomes a clerk in a squad car. Since he responds to calls about something that has already happened--a purse has been snatched, an apartment has been burglarized--there is little for him to do but listen to and record the

victim's story. He knows that most cases of theft, robbery, and burglary will never be solved, and this is frustrating to him. He may feel that if he did not have to spend 90 percent of his time waiting, cruising, writing reports, and appearing in court in connection with relatively petty cases, he might be able to solve some of the more important ones. Instead he turns them into paperwork that will be filed and forgotten. (p. 23)

This could possibly explain the relationship between theft, robbery, etc., and the scales of anomie and cynicism. Regard for the public, and solidarity, which were also found to be related to this category of activities, are possibly a result of the contact with the citizens when taking the report, etc., rather than contact with the criminals, except for cases when the robbery and burglary occur. In this case the element of danger works again as a source of stress.

Violent crimes. The same frustrations described above apply to violent crimes. The policeman usually arrives at the scenes of violent crimes, such as rapes and homicides, after the offenders have fled. His role, again, involves relatively little, mainly guarding the scene of the crime until the detectives arrive, and it is the detective who gets the credit if any is due. Ahern (1972) depicted the patrolman's problems this way:

In most cases, his task is to guard the crime scene so that all evidence will still be there when detectives arrive to investigate.

Very rarely, if at all, will the patrolman himself follow up on the investigation of such cases. When the detectives arrive, he fills them in on what he knows of the situation; perhaps writes a report, and then is sent back out on the street again.

The patrolman comes to see the Detective Division as a ceiling to his work. Detectives are people who take him away from the "real police work" and throw him back out on the street to deal with drunks and derelicts. It often galls him that although he is the first to arrive on the scene of the vast majority of

crimes, he rarely gets credit for the role he plays. If he sees a newspaper story about one of his cases, he will almost always read the names of detectives and high-ranking officers in the department rather than his own. (p. 20)

It should be noted that when dealing with some crimes within the last two categories of activities, e.g., robbery and burglary, it is not rare for a policeman to happen upon the scene of the crime while it is still in progress. In such cases, as in the case of calls about disturbances, the officer faces a great degree of danger. According to the Uniform Crime Reports (1973), the most frequent circumstance of death of a policeman in the line of duty was robbery in progress or pursuing a robbery suspect in the years 1969-1973; it was the second most frequent cause of death for policemen between 1968 and 1972 (Note 4). Thus, in addition to the frustration element, the danger aspect could possibly be an additional influencing factor in these types of assignments. In the present study, the influence of frustration and/or danger was reflected in the relationships found between assignments involving violent crimes and the scales of anomie, cynicism, empathy, overidentification, police conservatism, regard for the public, social isolation, and solidarity; in other words, violent crimes showed relationship with all the scales.

Overall, in considering the fact that the orientation scales were found to be directly related to the extent of participation in various experiences and activities, one can see that the attitudes and orientations of policemen change with "on the job" experiences.

One quite surprising finding is the lack of relationship between crime level, city size, and the various scales. Apparently

the sheer fact of being exposed to the police subculture and undergoing specific individual experiences and activities have a substantially greater impact on the nature and level of changes in orientations than the more contextual factors of city/station size and crime rate. This finding was compatible with Gray's (1974) statement:

The subculture of police is remarkably constant despite variations in size and organization of police departments. As an indicator of this constancy, one need only pursue magazines of the trade, such as Police Chief and Law And Order. (p. 49)

Another explanation to be considered is the possibility that the differences between large and small cities as interpreted in the present study are not quite like the differences between a small city and a really large city, e.g., Los Angeles or New York. In a future study, it may prove valuable to compare between a small city and a very large city, where the conditions of policing are pronounceably different than any of the cities sampled in this investigation. If this finding, although contrary to the original expectations, holds up in future studies, it is potentially useful in the examination of the dynamics of occupational socialization. It would imply that the working environment constitutes values and experiences shared by all peers regardless of the physical aspects of the environment, and regardless of personalities other than the "working personalities."

#### Summary and Conclusions

Through the administration of questionnaires to 670 patrolmen and 100 cadets, this study has identified several attitudes, values, and

role perception clusters which reflect changes in policemen throughout their career, especially during the first several years. The first several years, including the period of the academy, are of major interest. In these years, the increase in cynicism is particularly striking both in the first few years of the patrol career and also when comparing patrolmen to cadets in the academy. Moreover, the influence of age is in the same direction. Correspondingly, regard for the public showed a marked drop during those early years in patrolmen and in cadets, although in this case the impact of age acts against the effect. Shifts on other scales in both the academy and the first few years can be looked at in a similar vein; anomie, police conservatism, and social isolation show some increase. The composite picture thus resembles the original expectations. New recruits undergo a number of changes, e.g., interpersonal disengagement from nonpolice, development of cynical, resentful and negative views of the society.

Also identified were categories of specific experiences and assigned activities which on their own or in interaction with number of years on the job influence the direction and magnitude of the changes in the "working personality." Whether these changes are negative in nature and how they affect the policeman's physical health, mental health, efficiency, and homelife have been discussed in the literature and need to be further explored. However, from the point of view of this study, there are clearly differences between the characteristics of policemen who have been on the job for longer

or shorter periods and those who have experienced more or less of the various events and situations the job entails.



The Pool of Stations Stratified into Quadrants According to  
the Size of the City and the Part I Crime Rate

	High rate of part I crime <sup>b</sup>	Low rate of part I crime
large city <sup>a</sup>	Anaheim Buena Park Costa Mesa El Monte Garden Grove Huntington Beach La Puente Newport Beach Ontario Pomona Rialto Riverside San Bernardino Santa Ana Westminster	Corona Cypress Fountain Valley Fullerton La Habra Orange Redlands Upland
small city	Colton Fontana Irvine Laguna Beach Montclair Needles Stanton Tustin	Adelanto Barstow Brea Chino Claremont La Palma La Verne Los Alamitos Placentia San Clemente Seal Beach Yorba Linda

<sup>a</sup>The median population (28,137.50) was used to distinguish between the large and small cities. Those cities with populations above the median were considered large cities and those below the median were considered small cities. The populations ranged from 2,403 to 186,200 residents.

<sup>b</sup>The median for the part I crime rate per 100,000 persons (2,729.9) was used to distinguish between the cities with high and low rates of part I crime. The part I crime rates ranged from 1,044 to 5,320.4 crimes per 100,000 persons.

Table A2

Total Sworn Officers Sampled in Each Station According to the  
Size of the City and the Part I Crime Rate

		High rate of part I crime	Low rate of part I crime
		Station	No. of officers
large city		El Monte P. D.	67
		Pomona P. D.	91
		Riverside P. D.	120
		San Bernardino P. D.	95
		—	—
	Total no. of officers	373	
small city		Cypress P. D.	33
		Fountain Valley P.D.	37
		Upland P. D.	22
		—	—
		Total no. of officers	92
	Colton P. D.	30	
	Fontana P. D.	26	
	Montclair P. D.	29	
	—	—	
	Total no. of officers	85	
		Barstow P. D.	23
		Brea P. D.	38
		Chino P. D.	30
		Placentia P. D.	29
		—	—
	Total no. of officers		120

Note: The total number of subjects in each station is not necessarily representative of their manpower for various reasons. For example: some stations have female officers, some employ more reserve officers, and some employ non-sworn personnel for the same assignments designated to sworn officers in other stations.

## Scale Items and Their Source

Scale and item number	Source
<u>Anomie scale</u>	
1	McClosky, H., & Schaar, J. H. Psychological dimensions of anomie. <u>American Sociological Review</u> , 1965, 30, 14-40. <sup>a</sup>
2	Srole, L. Social integration and certain correlates. <u>American Sociological Review</u> , 1956, 21, 709-716. <sup>a</sup>
3	Srole, L., <u>op. cit.</u>
4	Hynan, H., Wright, C., & Hopkins, T. <u>Applications of methods of evaluation</u> . Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1962. <sup>a</sup>
5	McClosky, H., & Schaar, J. H. Psychological dimensions of anomie. <u>American Sociological Review</u> , 1965, 30, 14-40. <sup>a</sup>
<u>Regard for the Public scale</u>	
1	Paraphrased from: Niederhoffer, A. <u>Behind the shield: The police in urban society</u> . Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1967.
2	Paraphrased from: Machiavellianism scale. Christie, R., et al. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Social Psychology, Columbia University, 1968. <sup>a</sup>
3	Investigator's observations and published descriptions.
4	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
5	Paraphrased from: Sullivan, P., & Addison, J. Ethnocentrism and misanthropy. <u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u> , 1954, 49, 246-250. <sup>a</sup>
<u>Conservatism scale</u>	
1	Comrey, A., & Newmeyer, J. Measurement of radicalism-conservatism. <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u> , 1965, 67, 357-369. <sup>a</sup>
2	Comrey, A., & Newmeyer, J., <u>op. cit.</u>
3	Comrey, A., & Newmeyer, J., <u>op. cit.</u>
4	Comrey, A., & Newmeyer, J., <u>op. cit.</u>

Table B1 (Continued)

## Scale Items and Their Source

Scale and item number	Source
<u>Cynicism scale</u>	
1	Paraphrased from: Niederhoffer, A. <u>Behind the shield: The police in urban society</u> . Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1967.
2	Paraphrased from: Machiavellianism scale. Christie, R., et al. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Social Psychology, Columbia University, 1968. <sup>a</sup>
3	Paraphrased from: Niederhoffer, A. <u>Behind the shield: The police in urban society</u> . Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1967.
<u>Empathy scale</u>	
1	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
2	Investigator's observations and published descriptions.
3	Investigator's observations and published descriptions.
<u>Idealism scale</u>	
1	Paraphrased from: Niederhoffer, 1967.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Paraphrased from: Niederhoffer, 1967.
4	Paraphrased from: Banta, T. People in general scale. In Banta, T. Social attitudes and response styles. <u>Educational and Psychological Measurement</u> , 1961, <u>21</u> , 543-557. <sup>a</sup>

## Scale Items and Their Source

	<u>Source</u>
<u>Overidentification scale</u>	
1	Paraphrased from: Preiss, J. J., & Ehrlich, H. J. <u>An examination of role theory: The case of the state police.</u> Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
4	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
<u>Police Conservatism scale</u>	
1	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Comrey, A., & Newmeyer, J. Measurement of radicalism-conservatism. <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u> , 1965, <u>67</u> , 357-369. <sup>a</sup>
<u>Realism scale</u>	
1	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
<u>Role Conflict scale</u>	
1	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interview with policemen.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Paraphrased from: Preiss & Ehrlich, 1966.

## Scale Items and Their Source

Scale and item number	Source
<u>Social Isolation scale</u>	
1	Investigator's observations and published descriptions.
2	Investigator's observations and published descriptions
3	Paraphrased from: Preiss & Ehrlich, 1966.
4	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
5	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
<u>Solidarity scale</u>	
1	Investigator's observations and published descriptions.
2	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
3	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.
4	Paraphrases and composites of statements from personal interviews with policemen.

<sup>a</sup>Also in: Robinson, J. P. & Shaver, P. K. Measures of social psychological attitudes. Ann Arbor: ISR, The University of Michigan, 1969.

Table C1

Correlation of Items with Their Scale Total  
(minus the item)

Scale	Items				
	1	2	3	4	5
Anomie	r= .31	.41	.46	.27	.40
Attitudes toward the public	r= .33	.30	.32	.23	.38
Conservatism	r= .14	.08	.07	.09	
Cynicism	r= .40	.22	.36		
Empathy	r= .21	.26	.24		
Idealism	r= .15	.11	.14	.01	
Overidentification with the role	r= .30	.39	.51	.53	
Police Conservatism	r= .24	.24	.23		
Realism	r= .04	.07	.04		
Role Conflict	r= .04	.24	.14		
Social Isolation	r= .66	.60	.57	.55	.21
Solidarity	r= .30	.29	.48	.45	

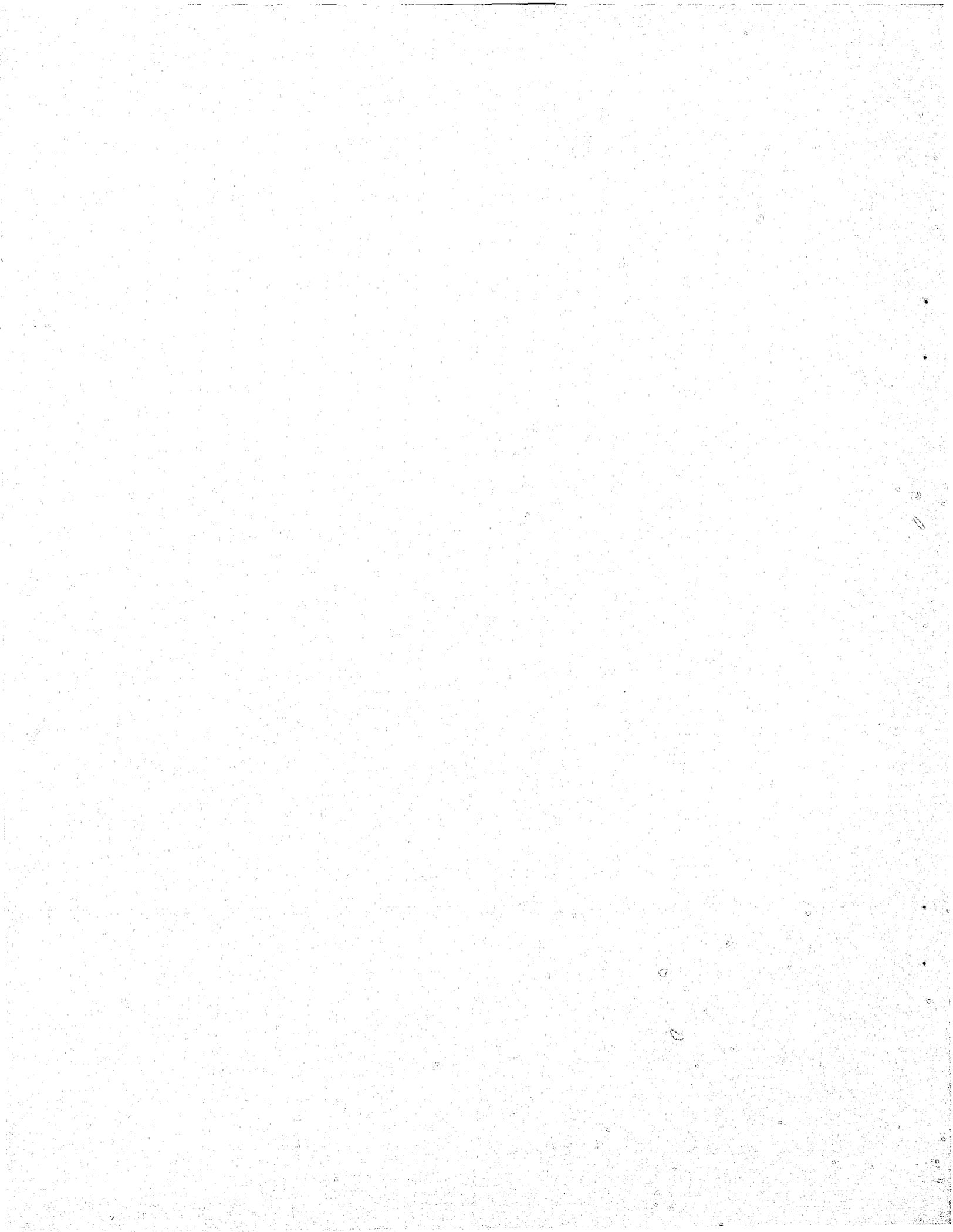


Table C2

Scales Inter-Item Correlational Analyses

Anomie

Item	1	2	3	4	5
1	1.00	.25	.32	.07	.22
2	.25	1.00	.31	.20	.36
3	.32	.31	1.00	.30	.30
4	.07	.20	.30	1.00	.22
5	.22	.36	.30	.22	1.00

Attitudes toward the Public

Item	1	2	3	4	5
1	1.00	.22	.16	.30	.20
2	.22	1.00	.20	.15	.20
3	.16	.20	1.00	.21	.24
4	.30	.15	.21	1.00	.30
5	.20	.20	.24	.30	1.00

Conservatism

Item	1	2	3	4
1	1.00	.06	.13	.03
2	.06	1.00	-.02	.12
3	.13	-.02	1.00	-.01
4	.03	.12	-.01	1.00

Cynicism

Item	1	2	3
1	1.00	.20	.36
2	.20	1.00	.15
3	.36	.15	1.00

Table C2 (Continued)

Empathy

Item	1	2	3
1	1.00	.24	.24
2	.24	1.00	.48
3	.24	.48	1.00

Idealism

Item	1	2	3	4
1	1.00	.09	.10	.09
2	.09	1.00	.25	-.09
3	.10	.25	1.00	-.05
4	.09	-.09	-.03	1.00

Overidentification

Item	1	2	3	4
1	1.00	.19	.25	.27
2	.19	1.00	.33	.38
3	.25	.33	1.00	.51
4	.27	.38	.51	1.00

Police Conservatism

Item	1	2	3
1	1.00	.21	.18
2	.21	1.00	.19
3	.18	.19	1.00

Table C2 (Continued)

Realism

Item	1	2	3
1	1.00	.07	.00
2	.07	1.00	.02
3	.00	.02	1.00

Role Conflict

Item	1	2	3
1	1.00	.07	-.01
2	.07	1.00	.25
3	-.01	.25	1.00

Social Isolation

Item	1	2	3	4	5
1	1.00	.60	.56	.48	.17
2	.60	1.00	.54	.42	.09
3	.56	.54	1.00	.38	.12
4	.48	.42	.38	1.00	.29
5	.17	.09	.12	.29	1.00

Solidarity

Item	1	2	3	4
1	1.00	.10	.23	.33
2	.10	1.00	.34	.18
3	.23	.34	1.00	.41
4	.33	.19	.41	1.00

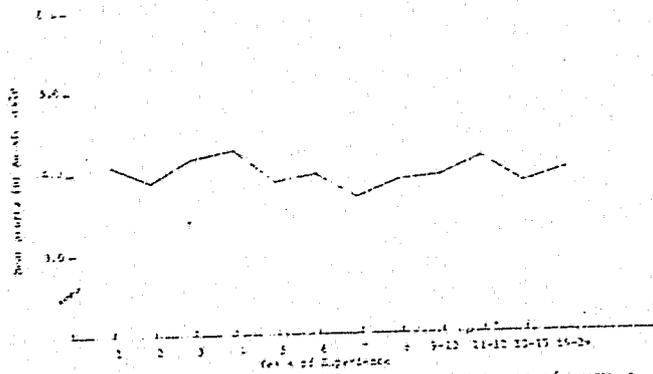


Figure 21. Analysis pattern for petroleum as a function of their years of experience.

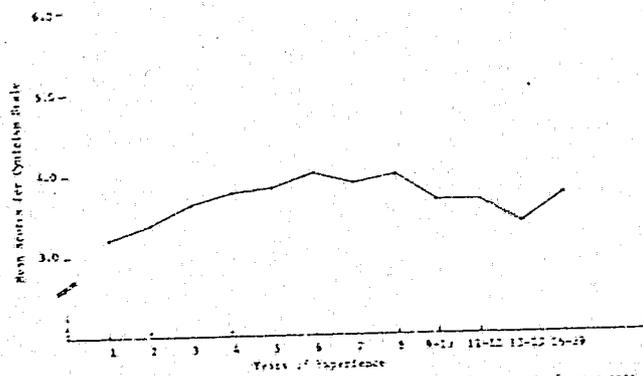


Figure 22. Cyclotron pattern for petroleum as a function of their years of experience.

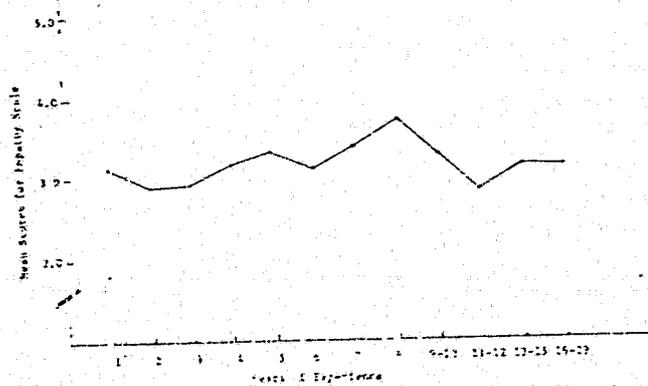


Figure 23. Isopatty pattern for petroleum as a function of their years of experience.

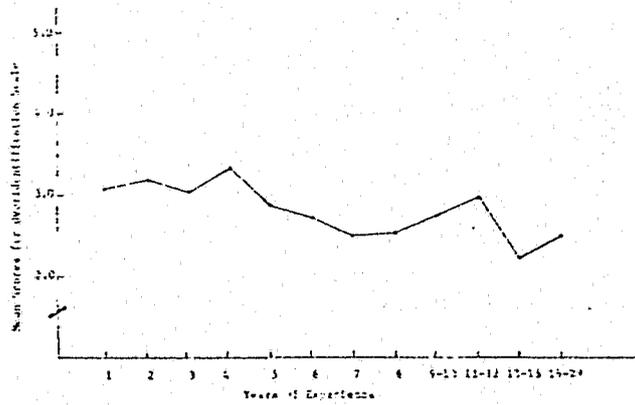


Figure 2a. World identification pattern for patrolmen as a function of their years of experience.

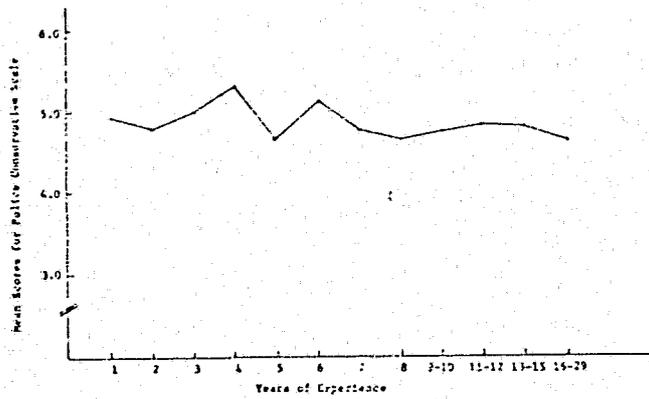


Figure 3. Police unconcern pattern for patrolmen as a function of their years of experience.

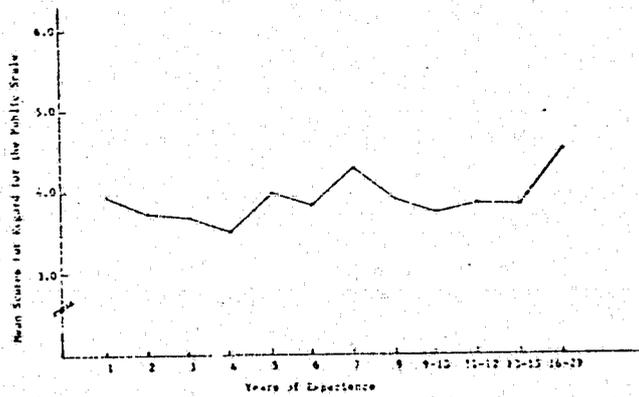


Figure 4b. Regard for the public pattern for patrolmen as a function of their years of experience.

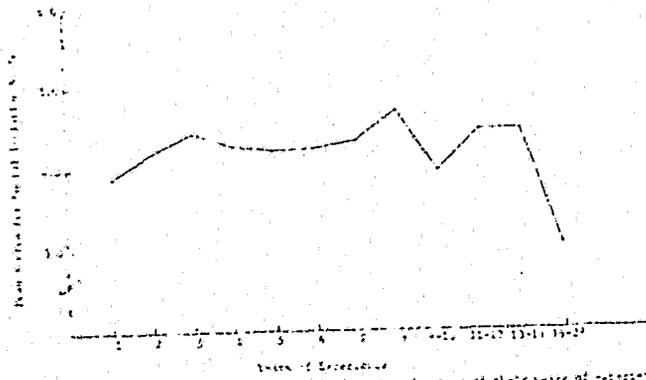


Figure 22. Subjective pattern for population as a function of their years of experience.

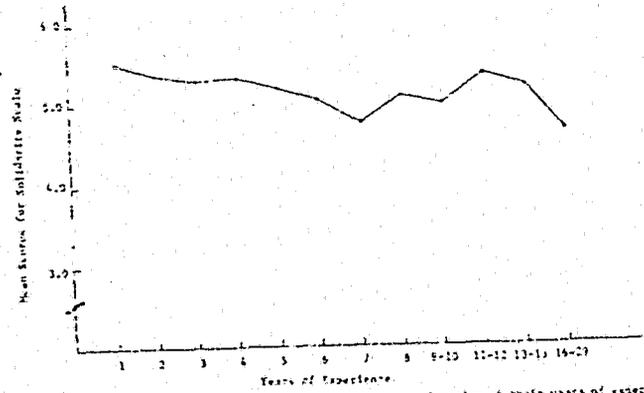


Figure 24. Subjective pattern for population as a function of their years of experience.

APPENDIX E

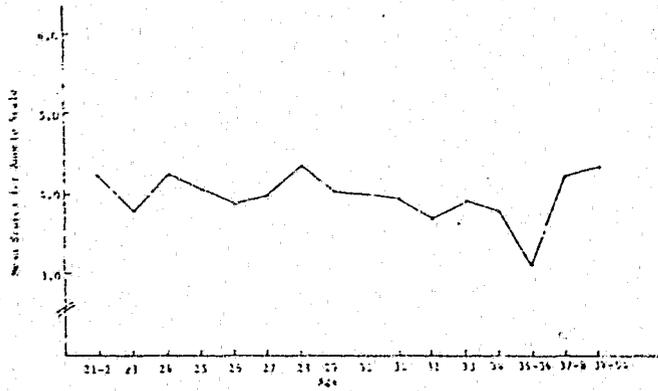


Figure E1. Anomie pattern for patrolmen as a function of their age.

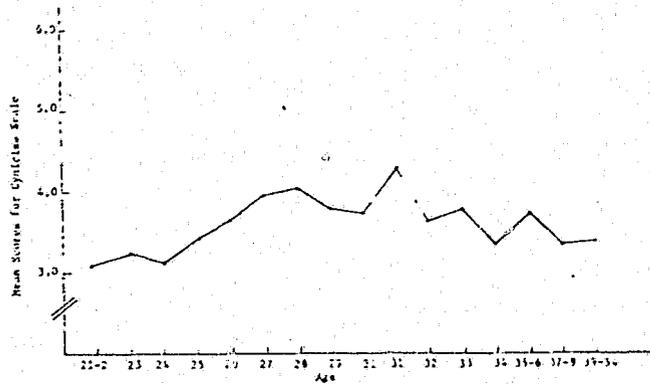


Figure E2. Cynicism pattern for patrolmen as a function of their age.

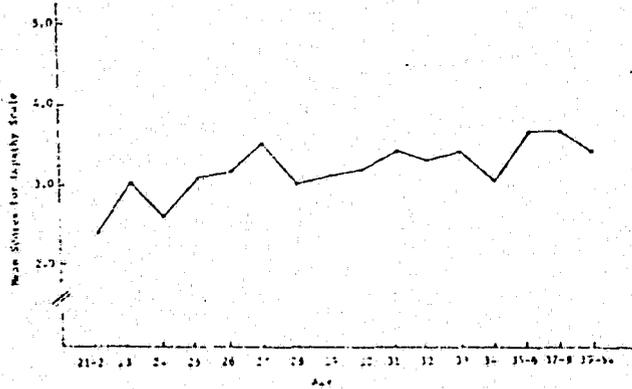


Figure E3. Inequality pattern for patrolmen as a function of their age.

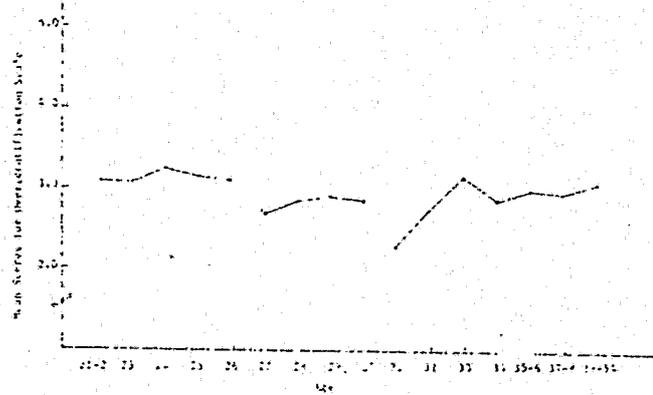


Figure E4. Perseid utilization pattern for peresid as a function of their age.

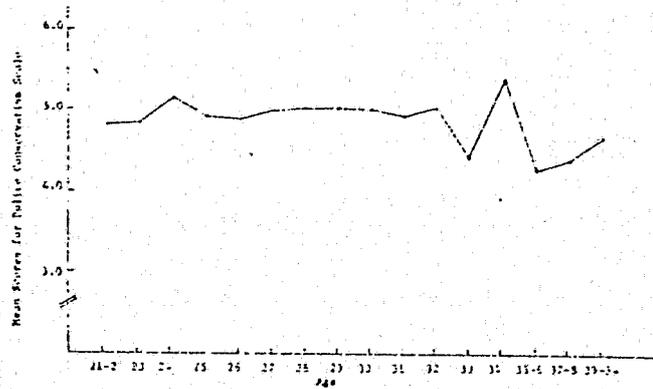


Figure E5. Police conservation pattern for peresid as a function of their age.

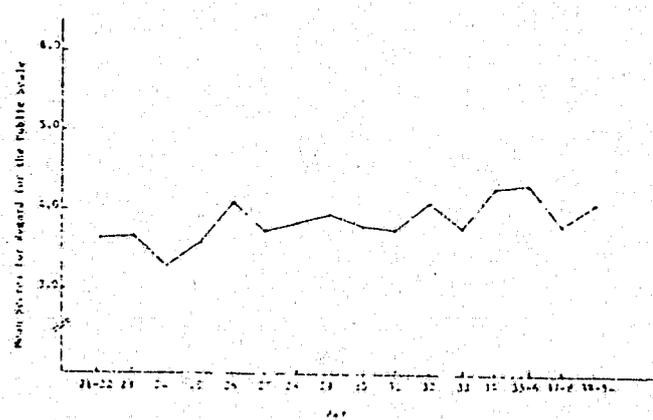


Figure E6. Demand for the public pattern for peresid as a function of their age.

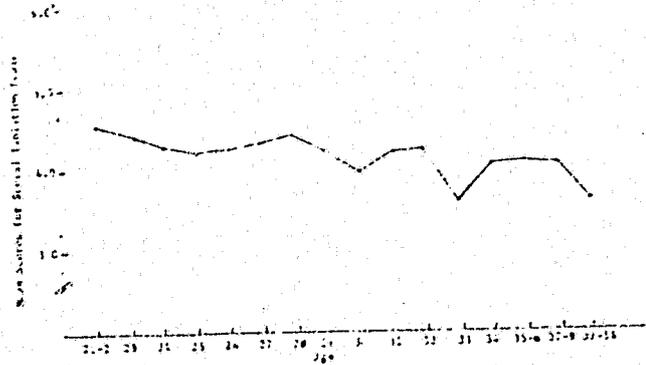


Figure 17. Social isolation pattern for petroliers as a function of their age.

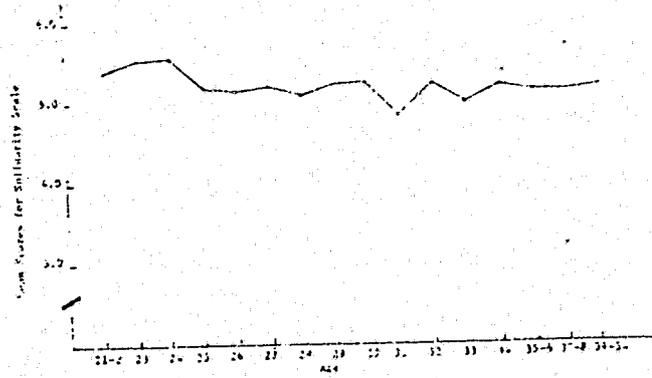


Figure 18. Solitariness pattern for petroliers as a function of their age.

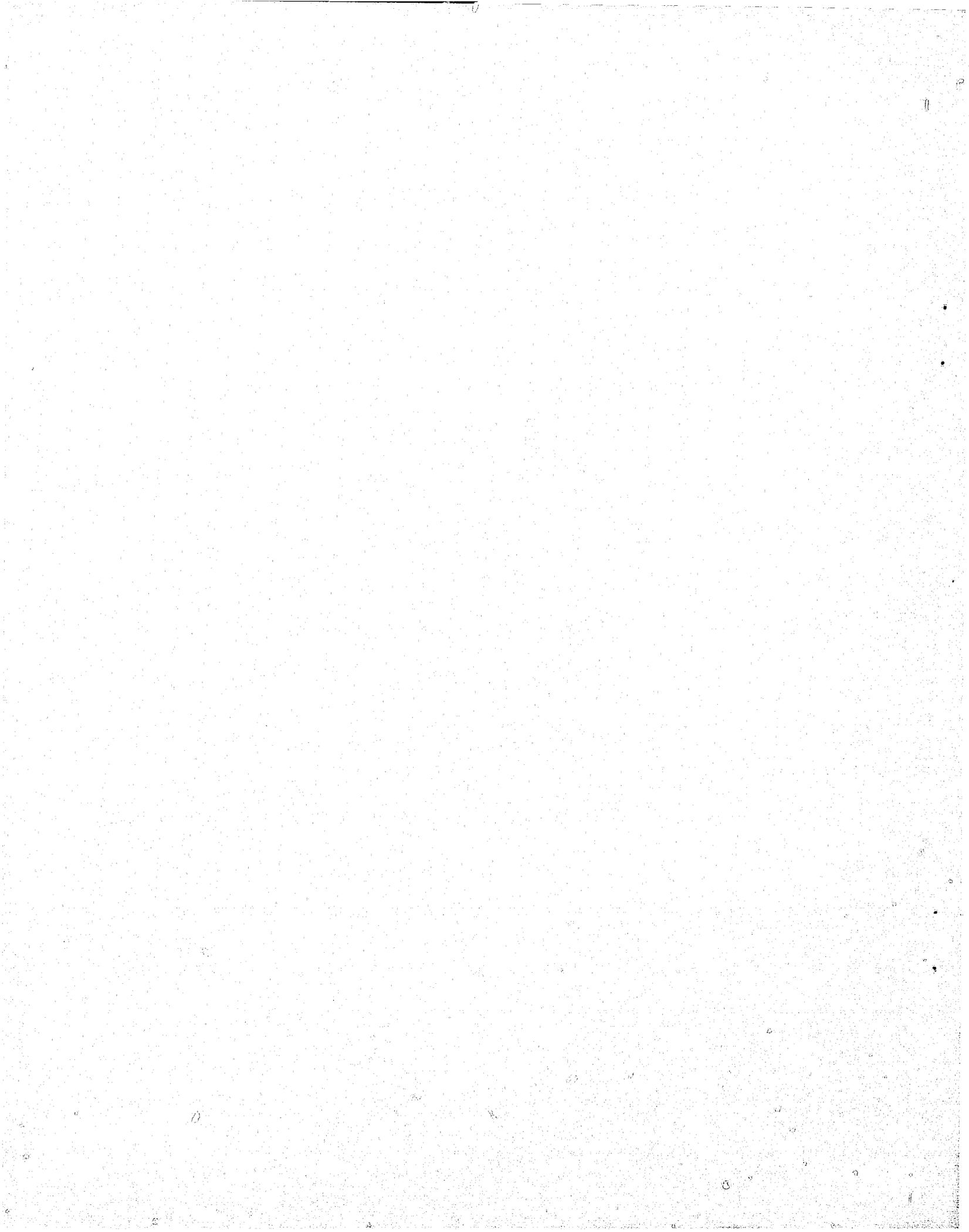


Table F1

## Intercorrelations Among the Specific Experience Categories

Category #	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Verbal abuse	1.00	.56	.34	.03	.34	.27	.14	.28	.18	.53
(2) Physical abuse	.56	1.00	.55	.00	.41	.34	.22	.42	.26	.52
(3) Pursuits and crashing in a police car	.34	.55	1.00	.05	.25	.23	.35	.36	.35	.43
(4) Being held at gun point	.03	.00	.05	1.00	.03	.07	.16	.02	.12	.09
(5) Racial disturbances	.34	.41	.25	.03	1.00	.49	.14	.12	.15	.41
(6) Political, union, and student disturbances	.27	.34	.23	.07	.49	1.00	.16	.14	.21	.38
(7) Shootings and killings by police	.14	.22	.35	.16	.14	.16	1.00	.08	.35	.12
(8) Negative experiences with the court, etc.	.28	.42	.36	.02	.12	.14	.08	1.00	.25	.41
(9) Promotional exams and promotions	.18	.28	.35	.12	.15	.21	.35	.25	1.00	.30
(10) Helping experiences	.53	.53	.43	.08	.41	.38	.12	.41	.30	1.00

Table F2  
Intercorrelations Among the Specific Activities Categories

Category and #	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(1) Patrol	1.00	.24	.25	.16	.26	.26	.26	.23
(2) Traffic	.24	1.00	.38	.29	.25	.33	.30	.42
(3) Adult, youth, and family disturbances	.25	.38	1.00	.73	.67	.67	.32	.61
(4) Theft, robbery, and larceny crimes	.16	.29	.72	1.00	.67	.65	.22	.63
(5) Violent crimes	.25	.25	.67	.67	1.00	.68	.22	.58
(6) Victimless crimes	.26	.33	.67	.65	.68	1.00	.39	.66
(7) Court and jail details	.26	.30	.32	.22	.22	.39	1.00	.34
(8) Desk and public relations	.23	.42	.61	.63	.58	.66	.34	1.00

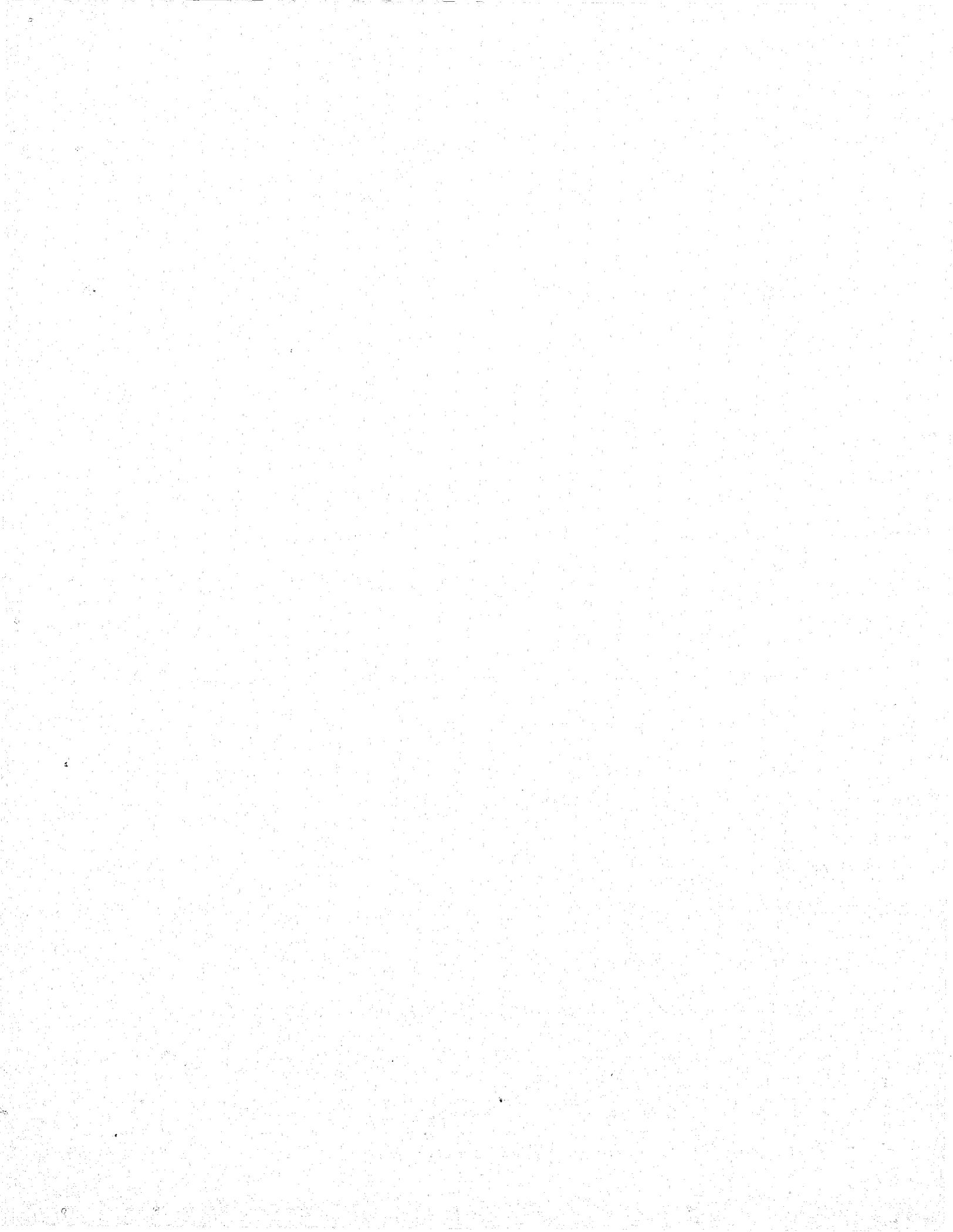
Table F3  
 Intercorrelation Coefficients Between the Specific  
 Experiences and Activities Categories

Activities Categories	Experience Categories									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1)	.10	.17	.09	-.07	.05	.08	.10	.06	.02	.01
(2)	.19	.15	.12	-.01	.03	-.02	.09	.13	.00	.23
(3)	.12	.17	.00	-.16	.19	.11	.00	.10	-.04	.07
(4)	.03	.08	-.01	-.09	.11	.11	.03	.00	-.04	.12
(5)	.12	.17	.05	-.12	.27	.19	.02	.00	-.02	.15
(6)	.08	.15	.06	-.03	.20	.18	.02	.08	-.04	.13
(7)	.14	.14	.11	-.01	.17	.17	.10	.17	.05	.12
(8)	.07	.10	.02	-.12	.15	.04	-.04	.06	-.08	.26

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REFERENCE NOTES

1. Hadar, I. Unpublished interviews with policemen in Southern California, 1974.
2. Promotions, if granted, are positive experiences. This category also included promotional examinations. Exams for promotions can be negative in nature due to anxiety or failure. Thus, even this category was not quite "positive."
3. The official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)--considered to be very influential within police organizations.
4. Robbery and burglary-in-process are thus very closely ranked with disturbance calls as primary reasons for death on duty of policemen.



**END**