The preferred policing styles of police probationers after ten months service as a function of the strength of socialization.

Lynne Lawrie

Institute of Social and Applied Psychology
University of Kent at Canterbury

August 1995

Abstract

The police have received much media attention over recent years over crime rates (British Crime Survey 1994, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 1995) and criticism of procedures (eg Scarman 1986). The research aimed to address the issue of different policing styles adopted by individual officers (eg. Reiner 1978, Brown 1981), and to determine whether it was possible to predict the particular policing style an officer would adopt from background factors such as gender, education and age. In addition, the differential effect on policing style of being a part of the police organization was considered in terms of how strongly or weakly individuals felt that being a police officer was a part of their identity.

Based on the basic tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1978) it was hypothesized that groups of new recruits who were not like the stereotypical group member (recruits who were female, older and/or more highly educated) would not adopt the police identity as strongly as those were like the stereotypical group member (being male, younger and/or less educated). Using the same assumption it was hypothesized that probationers who had adopted the police identity strongly would also adopt the stereotypical policing style. The stereotypical style was considered to be a crime fighting approach (Van Maneen 1975) compared to a more service-offering style.

The findings showed that nearly all probationers had adopted a strong identity as a police officer after 20 weeks service, supporting social identity theory. However, problematically for the theory, the majority of probationers also felt embarrassed to be a police officer. This is discussed in terms of social creativity techniques.

Gender proved to be a significant predictor of strength of identification in the hypothesized direction. However, age and education did not.

Policing styles, in particular the crime fighting style, here referred to as 'thief-taker' was predicted by being male, having up to 1 or 2 'A' levels and being in the Metropolitan police. Service style, referred to as 'service-provider' was associated with Kent police. Policing styles were largely predicted by initial variables on entry to the police service rather than measures taken after 20 weeks service.

Overall, the study offered mixed support for social identity theory. In addition it would seem that degree of identification is not an important variable in predicting policing styles. It was also found that gender, police force and training are important issues in the socialization of probationers.

The implications and limitations of the findings are discussed in relation to the experience of female officers and training.

Dedication

To Emma and Ben Lawrie

Memorandum

The research for this dissertation was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council while the author was a full-time post-graduate student at the University of Kent and Canterbury (October 1991 - September 1994). The thesis was written while the author was a lecturer at Staffordshire University (September 1994 - August 1995).

The theoretical and empirical work herein is the independent work of the author. Intellectual debts are acknowledged in the text. No-one other than the author was involved in the execution of the studies reported.

The author has not been awarded a degree by this or by any other university for the work included in this thesis.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was conducted at the Institute of Social and Applied Psychology. Thanks go to my supervisor, Geoffrey Stephenson, for his help and advice, particularly at the writing up stage. I would also like to thank those people who offered help over the three years, particularly Pam Maras and Diane Houston, Gary Samson for his help when I was trying to print this out and Arija Crux for helping g me over the final hurdle. I would also like to thank Janna Dennis who listened to the same things over and over again.

I would like to acknowledge the help and support I have received from my family. I am grateful for the encouragement that has been offered by my daughter Emma when things got difficult and by my son Ben for helping me to keep a foot on the ground. My thanks also go to my parents for their interest and support.

Of course my gratitude goes to all the police probationers who were kind enough to take part in the study and particularly those who participated in the interviews. I am particularly grateful to Frank Gilland and Nigel McAllister who were especially helpful to me.

CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract		i
Dedication		iii
Memorandum		iv
Acknowledgements		v
List of contents		vi
Introduction to Thesis		1
Chapter 1. Observational study at a London police station		3
Chapter 2. Introduction to the literature on the selection and socialisation of police officers		23
2.1	Initial measures on entry	25
2.2	Socialisation of the probationer	31
2.3	Integrating the two approaches	39
2.4	Policing style	41
2.5	Aims of the study	41
Chapter 3. Introduction to the studies		44
3.1	The pre-study	45
3.2	The longitudinal studies	47
Chapter 4. Initial interview study to determine whether a socialisation effect is present		57
4.1	Introduction	57
4.2	Method	60
4.3	Results	65

		Page
Chapter 4 (continued)		
4.4	Discussion	105
4.4.1.	Socialisation effects	105
4.4.2.	The up to 31 week group	110
Chapter 5. Time 1 - Profile of a sample of new probationers on entry to the police service as the first part of a longitudinal study		115
5.1	Introduction	115
5.2	Questionnaire Study	123
5.2.1	Method	123
5.2.2	Results	128
5.3	The Interviews	143
5.3.1	Method	143
5.3.2	Results	145
5.4	Discussion	151
Chapter 6. Time 2 - Predictors of police identity after twenty weeks service		157
6.1	Introduction	157
6.2	Questionnaire Study	170
6.2.1	Method	170
6.2.2	Results	173
6.3	The Interviews	191
6.3.1	Method	191
6.3.2	Results	193
6.4	Discussion	200
Chapter 7. Time 3 - A study of predictors of preferred policing style after 10 months police service		210
7.1	Introduction	210
7.2	The Questionnaires	220
7.2.1	Method	220

Page

Chapter 7 (continued)

7.2.2 Results 222

7.3 The interviews 241
7.3.1 Method 241
7.3.2 Results 242

7.4 Discussion 260

Chapter 8. Post-hoc analysis of data by police service 271

Chapter 9. Post-hoc analysis of data by sex 302

Chapter 10. Discussion of the main findings 311

10.1 The theoretical base 312

10.2 The research findings 314

10.3 Limitations of the study and future research 323
10.4 Main implications of the study 326

References 329

Appendices

Appendix A Interview Schedule for pre-study 341
Appendix B Questionnaires and Interview Schedule for Time 1 345
Appendix C Descriptions of 16PF Factors 402
Appendix D Questionnaires and Interview Schedule for Time 2 408
Appendix E Questionnaires and Interview Schedule for Time 3 424
Appendix F Table of Means for the 3 longitudinal Studies 435

Page

Appendices (continued)

Appendix G Significant Multiple Regression Tables by Force 437

List of Tables

Page

Chapter 4

Table 4.1 Percentage of total responses to `Which 3 occupations would you see as being most similar to police work?' 66

Table 4.2. Percentage of total response to `What is it that first attracted you to the police?' 68

Table 4.3. Percentage responses from Table 4.2. categorised as social or personal values 69

Table 4.4. Percentage responses to `Does the reality measure up to the expectation?' 70

Table 4.5. Percentage responses to `Have you had any contact with the public as a police officer? If so, were you treated differently as a police officer?' 70

Table 4.6. Percentage responses to `Have you experienced any negative response?' 71

Table 4.7. Percentage responses to `On the whole would you say that your experiences have been positive or negative?' 72

Table 4.8. Percentage responses to `What three characteristics do you think are necessary to be a good police officer?' 73

Table 4.9. Percentage responses to `On the whole what do you think is the public's primary perception of the police?' 74

Table 4.10. Percentage responses to `If there is any negative feeling towards the police, what do you think the reason is?' 76

Table 4.11. Percentage responses to `Do you feel that women perform a different role to men in the police force?' 79

Table 4.12. Percentage responses to `In what way are things different for women?' 79

Table 4.13. percentage responses to `Do women generally have an easier or harder time than men?' 80

Page

Table 4.14 Percentage responses to `How do/will you feel about wearing a uniform?' 84

Table 4.15 percentage responses to `Do/will you feel a different person when wearing a uniform?' 85

Table 4.16 Percentage responses to `Did you know anyone In the police force that you spoke to when considering whether to apply?' 87

Table 4.17 Percentage responses to `Are your family happy with you joining the police force?' 88

Table 4.18 Percentage responses to `Is it important to you how your family feel?' 89

Table 4.19 Percentage responses to ` Do you think your family really understands what it's like to be a police officer?' 90

Table 4.20 Percentage responses to `Do you think that it is possible for any non-police officer to understand what it is really like?' 92

Table 4.21 Percentage responses to `Does/will this make you feel in some ways different to other people?' 93

Table 4.22 Percentage responses to `Do you feel that you are a police officer 24 hours a day or only when on duty?' 95

Table 4.23 Percentage responses to `If you saw an incident when you were off-duty do you think you would intervene?' 97

Table 4.24. Percentage responses to `What percentage of serving officers do you think would intervene if necessary?' 98

Table 4.25 Percentage responses to `How long do you think it takes to become a `real' police officer?' 100

Table 4.26 Percentage responses to `Do you think that some people are naturals for the job?' 101

Table 4.27 Percentage responses to `Which is most important using your common sense or putting your training into practice?' 102

Table 4.28 Responses to 'Is it appropriate for a police officer to use discretion in applying the law?' 103

Page

Table 4.29 Percentage responses to `Is this discretion in the individual or do they learn it from other police officers?' 104

Chapter 5

Table 5.1 Percentages of the last occupation before joining the Police 130

Table 5.2 Principal Components Rotated Factor loadings for Attractions of Policing 132

Table 5.3 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Attitudes to Policing 134

Table 5.4 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Qualities of Police Officers 136

Table 5.5 Percentage low and high responses on 16PF primary factors. 139

Table 5.6 Percentage low and high responses on 16PF second order factors 141

Chapter 6

Table 6.1 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Attitudes to being a police officer 174

Table 6.2 Standard Multiple Regression of demographic Variables on Degree of Identification with the Police 179

Table 6.3 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second order factors on Degree of Identification With the Police 180

Table 6.4 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes to Policing to Identification 181

Table 6.5 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Embarrassment 183

Table 6.6. Standard Multiple Regression of Pscore on Embarrassment 184

Table 6.7 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Attitudes towards Training 185

Page

Table 6.8 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions of policing on Attitudes towards Training 186

Table 6.9 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Attitudes towards Training 187

Table 6.10 Standard Multiple Regression of all sigificant predictors of Identify 188

Table 6.11 Standard Multiple Regresson of Significant Predictors of Attitudes Towards Training 189

Table 6.12. Standard Multiple Regresson of Significant Predictors of embarrassment at being a police officer. 190

Chapter 7

Table 7.1. Apriori scales of Policing Styles 224

Table 7.2. Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style 228

Table 7.3. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Thief-taker Policing Style 230

Table 7.4. Standard Multiple Regression of Time 2 factors on Thief-taker Policing Style 230

Table 7.5 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic variables on Service-provider Policing Style 231

Table 7.6 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style 233

Table 7.7 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order factors on Service-provider Policing Style 234

Table 7.8 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF primary factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style 236

Table 7.9 Standard Regression of significant predictors on Thief-taker Policing Style 239

Page

Table 7.10 Standard Multiple Regression of Significant Predictors of Service-Provider Policing Style 240

Chapter 8

Table 8.1 Mean Responses on Significant Differences by Sex 272

Table 8.2. Results of Discriminant Function Analysis by Sex 274

Table 8.3 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Identification with the Police for male probationers 276

Table 8.4 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Attitudes towards Training for male probationers 277

Table 8.5 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for male probationers 278

Table 8.6 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Embarrassment with being a Police Officer for female probationers 279

Table 8.7. Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions to Policing at Time 1 on Embarrassment with being a Police Officer for female probationers 280

Table 8.8. Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Embarrassment at being a Police Officer for female probationers 281

Table 8.9 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Identification with the Police for female probationers 282

Table 8.10 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Identification with the Police for female probationers 283

Table 8.11 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Identification with the Police for female probationers 284

Table 8.12 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Satisfaction with experience of being in the Police Service for female probationers 285

Table 8.13 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Satisfaction with being a Police Officer for female probationers 286

Page

Table 8.14 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Attitudes towards Training for female probationers 287

Table 8.15 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for female probationers 288

Table 8.16 Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on centurion Policing Style for male probationers 289

Table 8.17 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for male probationers 290

Table 8.18 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Thief-taker Policing Style for male probationers 291

Table 8.19 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for male probationers 292

Table 8.20 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for male probationers 293

Table 8.21 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions on Thief-taker Policing Style for female probationers 294

Table 8.22 Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Thief-taker Policing Style for female probationers 294

Table 8.23 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for female probationers 295

Table 8.24 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for female probationers 296

Table 8.25 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Hired-officer Policing Style for female probationers 297

Table 8.26 Standard Multiple Regression of ASttractions at Time 1 on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for female probationers 298

Chapter 9

Table 9.1 Significant Differences in Mean Responses by Force 303

Table 9.2. Results of Discriminant Function Analysis by Force 305

Appendices

Page

Appendix F. Mean Responses for Whole Sample and by Force and by Sex

Table F.1. Time 1. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex. 435

Table F.2. Time 2. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex. 435

Table F.3. Time 3. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex. 436

Page

Appendix G Regression Tables by Force

Table G.1 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Identification for Police for Kent police 437

Table G.2 Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Identification with the Police for Police for Kent police 438

Table G.3 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Satisfaction with Experience in the Police for Police for Kent police 439

Table G.4 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for Police for Kent police 440

Table G.5 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions of Policing on Embarrassment for the metropolitan police 441

Table G.6 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Identification with the Police for the metropolitan police 442

Table G.7 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions on Attitudes to Training for the metropolitan police 443

Table G.8 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Attitudes towards Training for the metropolitan police 444

Table G.9 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Thief-taker Policing Style for Kent police 445

Table G.10 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for Kent police 446

Table G.11 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Service-provider Policing Style for Kent police 447

Table G.12 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Service-provider Policing Style for Kent police 448

Table G.13 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic variables on Hired-officer Policing Style for Kent police 449

Table G.14 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for Kent police 450

Table G.15 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for Kent police 451

Page

Table G.16 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Thief-taker Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 452

Table G.17 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 453

Table G.18 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 454

Table G.19 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 455

Table G.20 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 456

Table G.21 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 457

Table G.22 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Hired-officer Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 458

Table G.23 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Hired-officer Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 459

Table G.24 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 460

Table G.25 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for the Metropolitan police 461

List of Figures

Chapter 7

Figure 7.1. Path Analysis correlations of Force and Training to Thief-taker Policing Style 237

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

The main aim of this research is to examine the experiences of the first ten months of police probationers. The whole concept of how new police officers undergo the change from 'civilian' to 'real' police officer will be addressed. There are many things for the new probationer to learn; how to wear the uniform; how to address senior officers; the law and how to apply it. In addition to these are the subtle, but no less important skills of becoming a part of the group.

As a new entrant of any organization, it is necessary to become a part of the group by learning the norms, for example specific language. As will be discussed, the police culture is complex with some unspoken rules. The new entrant to the police culture must learn how to operate in a very different environment which is open to public and media scrutiny, and in which mistakes can be serious.

The basic tenet of this research is that some individuals will not assimilate the culture and become as much a part of the group as others. It will be predicted that some demographic variables such as age, gender and education will have an effect on the process of becoming a police officer. In addition, the relative importance of; i) demographic, attitudinal and personality variables; and ii) the degree of identification of a police officer after some weeks in the police service, on the policing style adopted by probationers after ten months service.

In order to obtain some insight into the police experiences and culture a period was spent at a police station observing officers. This is reported in Chapter 1. A literature review is presented in Chapter 2. The structure of the studies is presented in Chapter 3. A pre-study which examined whether there is any evidence of a socialization effect is reported in Chapter 4. The longitudinal studies which took place on entry to the police Force, after 20 weeks service and after ten months service are reported in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively. Post-hoc analyses of data by sex and by Force are reported in Chapters 8 and 9. Chapter 10 consists of a final discussion, the limitations of the study and recommendations.

CHAPTER 1 - OBSERVATIONS AT A LONDON POLICE STATION.

Seven days were spent at a police station in London. This consisted of eight hour duties over a complete shift of seven days. Over this period I accompanied either a single officer in a panda car or two officers in an area car. The area car responds to emergency calls and is more reactive policing compared to the pro-active policing of the panda car, although, inevitably, there is a degree of overlap.

The aim of this week was to gain an insight into the experiences of police officers and their general views and behaviours. This study was very useful in that it allowed some insights into the factors that might contribute to the adoption of the police identity. The culture in which the officer works and the experience of facing offenders and the public is unique. It is therefore impossible to attempt to study the police without placing this is the context of their experience. While we were driving the officers seemed willing to discuss aspects of their job, both positive and negative. Notes were not taken at the time in an attempt to limit any inhibiting effect my presence may have had.

Therefore this chapter serves as an introduction to one `tour of duty' of police officers in a London police station.

Day 1

The first day was spent in the Area Car. This is the car that responds to all emergency calls. The officers both had several years experience. One had returned to work after several months off-duty after an injury received as a police officer. A fair amount of the day was spent looking for, and investigating sightings of, a group of people who were robbing people in the main shopping area. This involved running down to the platforms of underground stations, driving at speed up and down roads, stopping people in the street and stopping a bus to talk to a passenger who resembled the suspect.

An emergency report was received of a woman screaming but on arrival was found to be someone not feeling well.

Next was a call to a fight. On arrival two youths were sitting on a wall. They said they had not seen or heard of a fight, they were fairly abusive. A third man came out and told one to shut up as he `had not even been there'. The officers felt that this indicated that there had been a fight but no-one would cooperate and we left.

This was followed by more searching for the street robbers and two arrests were made. A further call was to a man climbing onto a balcony but no-one was found. Another call was to a damaged wall. Another man was stopped for driving through a red traffic light. He was abusive but no action was taken.

A woman was moved on for parking on a pedestrian crossing.

The two officers did not speak to me about the job and how they felt. With the hindsight of the rest of the week it now seems likely that they were suspicious of me.

Day 2

The second day was spent in a panda car. The panda car does not usually respond to emergency calls unless there is no one else or further assistance is required. Very little happened for the first few hours. Most of the time was spent driving around the officer's beat area looking for a car belonging to a person who had been disqualified from driving. A neighbour had told the officer that the person had been driving. The car was found to be parked outside the owner's house.

The officer was sensitive to people who seemed to `pay too much attention' to the presence of a police officer, and often stopped to check this out. A few people shouted out insults as the car drove by. The officer stopped to talk to a woman who he suspected of being a prostitute; she said that she was and he told her that if she was still there later in the day she would be arrested. We returned later and she had gone.

We were stopped by a man who had found a lost dog. It was a large German Blood-hound. A dog van was not available so we took it to the police station. Forty-five minutes was

then spent trying to coax it into the kennels. The officer was then locked into the kennel building attempting to push it into the kennel. It was becoming more and more agitated and started to bark aggressively. The officer eventually gave up and left the dog loose in the kennel building as he had previously been bitten by a dog while on duty and was nervous of such a large animal.

We were then called to a report of a fight in a social club. The officer was nervous of going into the club on his own. He said that he did not actually go into the room, but as no fight was apparent, called in to ask if anyone had seen anything. He did this as some people were standing by the door and he might have become trapped inside. This officer had previously been injured on duty, requiring a month off-duty, and said that the possibility of violence was always on his mind, although he tried to keep it as far in the back of his mind as possible or he would not be able to carry on. It appeared that, understandably, anyone and everyone, presented a threat.

The officer was called to a house where a woman had reported her 12 year old sister had gone missing. She had run out of the house after a fight with her brother. When we arrived, the runaway girl was standing on the door step. The officer spent a considerable amount of time trying to find out exactly what the problem was and whether there was a more serious one. He then talked to her about the risks of running away and getting her to agree that she would not do it again. Finally he talked to the older woman and paved the way for the younger girl to walk back into the house (she just wanted to sit on the

doorstep). The officer adopted in turn an very friendly, chatty attitude and then a very formal approach. He appeared a lot older than his years.

The next call was to attend a car that had been missing. A man had parked his car, hired another and driven some thirty miles and committed suicide four days previously. No-one had known where the car was until it was reported that day. The officer had to be there to take the keys from the widow when she arrived in order to search the car for a suicide note before allowing her to take it away. When the widow arrived and saw the car she was understandably very distressed. The officer had to search the car while she watched sobbing. He had to search systematically while six people stood and watched (five other relatives who had accompanied the widow). He had to open all envelopes, search through photographs, jackets pockets, a brief case and business boxes. A personal letter written by the dead man to his wife was found, he showed it to the widow, explained what would happen to it and when he could have it. We then left. I later asked him if it had distressed him and he said that it hadn't. He went on to say that police work involves dealing with people at crisis points in their life but being able to walk away and leave it all behind.

The last call of the day was to a house to check whether two people being held at immigration at Heathrow Airport were known at the address. They were using passports registered to that address. The two people named on the passports were actually at the address.

This officer said that at the police training school they had emphasised the fact that as police officers they could make a difference to society, they could change it. He said that he no longer believed this. He was particularly unhappy about the number of times criminals (suspects) are found not guilty in court. He recounted many times he had actually witnessed a crime, but in court the lawyers accused him of lying, and the jury presumably believed this. He found this very distressing.

This officer was young, early twenties and was only just out of his probationary period. Compared to older and more experienced officers that I spoke to he had a more optimistic view of people and believed that his attitude would affect how they treated him. More experienced officers appeared to be more negative and have a slightly jaundiced, or world weary view of people. However, during my short exposure to police work I saw officers treat people well. From the public, on the whole, their politeness was returned, but from a sizeable proportion of the public they received hostility.

The young officer spoke of the difficulties of his age, particularly when dealing with domestic disputes. He felt that it might have been better if he had done another job and joined the police when he was older.

Day 3

On the third day I was sent out in a panda car with an officer with more than ten years experience. This officer was known in this station to have a negative view of policing. This officer spoke of the difficulty of so many conflicting responses required of police officers. We saw a police car without blue lights or siren drive down an no entry road. He said that members of the public would be annoyed to see this and officers driving over the speed limit when not responding to an emergency, assuming it to be arrogance on the part of police officers. However he said that it was more likely to be a result of simply having too many, and too varied stresses and not being able to come down from the high level of arousal needed when dealing with incidents. This officer also felt that the police are not understood by the public and not supported by either the police themselves, the government or the courts.

We were on our way to a car accident but were flagged down by a man saying that there was a fight going on in the next street. One man had run away, but two others were still there. The protracted story was told, and the officer felt that there were many inaccuracies in the story. We returned to the police station, to find the man who had run away was there. He told a different story. At this point an emergency call came, of a scenes of crime officer in danger. All officers respond immediately to calls of this nature. So we ran out to the car and went to the house where the suspect was believed to be. The panda car has no siren. This requires the driver to get to the scene as fast as possible but without the advantage of a siren. When we arrived confusion reigned with many officers believing that different events had occurred. We looked for the suspect who had by now run away, but

had no clear idea of what he looked like, or where he had headed. We then returned to the police station. The officer spoke again to he man who had been involved in the fight, but in the face of two contradictory stories, no progress could be made. Situations of this type appear to occur frequently presumably leading to feelings of jadedness and cynicism.

On the same day I was then sent out with two officers in the area car. One of the officers was very suspicious of me, asking if I had a concealed tape recorder.

We responded to a report of a robbery with stabbing. The victim was being carried into the ambulance when we arrived. One officer briefly questioned him and got a description of the offenders. We then drove to the hospital to question the victim further. On the way we saw a man who fitted the description of the offender. The officers stopped and asked to search him. The suspect allowed this but was aggressive and said that he was only being searched as he was black. The two officers remained calm, explaining the situation to him as fully as possible. They did not find anything and apologised.

The next call was to a disorderly man at a psychiatric hospital. The information given was that he was very large, strong and fit and that he had a bottle in his pocket that he would not hesitate to use. He had been a patient but had been discharged, however he did not want to leave. Three cars and six officers arrived. Four officers equipped themselves with shields while two others approached him without shields in an attempt to diffuse the situation. After much discussion with the man shouting and swearing at the officers, they

managed to walk him off the hospital grounds. At several points he stopped and kept pushing the officers. They remained calm and he eventually left.

This one situation involved the adrenaline of the drive, calmness to address the situation, facing a violent and unpredictable man and patience in dealing with his abuse and assaults. The back to driving around waiting for the next call.

The next call was to a fight. The car was driving at speed with lights and siren, when a woman pulled out into the road in front of us. The driver managed to avoid driving into her but hit the kerb heavily, puncturing the tyre and damaging the wheel. The woman was at fault, but although it was outside a busy supermarket only one person agreed to be a witness. After a police accident, the car cannot be moved until it has been inspected by a traffic officer. Consequently the car and its drivers had to wait for two hours. Members of the public thought it was very funny, and many made comments.

I was then assigned to go out with another officer in a panda car. This officer was a few months out of his probationary period. He was a very amiable person who had a good manner with people and went out of his way to speak to people, especially children talking about football and school with them. We went to a call of a break-in to a car. When we got there the owner, complained that he had had to wait several hours since his call. He then said that the break-in had occurred three days before. The officer went through the procedure (although it was only for the insurance claim) but afterwards admitted to feeling

used by the public as the man had waited until it was convenient for him to call and then expecting the police to come immediately.

Day 4

The officer I was assigned to on the forth day had over ten years experience, and was driving the panda car. Most of the day was spent going to calls which did not really require police assistance. These included neighbours arguing and fly tipping. We were called to the flat of an elderly woman whose son had been unable to get a reply from her on the telephone. Even though he lived only two miles away he called saying that he thought she had collapsed. When we arrived an ambulance was already there. We ran up the stairs to her flat as he came out the next flat after visiting her neighbour. Despite the frustration, the officer spent time with her talking. She apologised for wasting his time but he assured her and said it was all part of his job.

We went to a call to a pizza restaurant where a young man was being held by the staff for using a stolen credit card. It appeared that he had had a meal with some friends, who had given him the card to pay with. They had then left. Several officers attended and they had seen it all before.

This officer said that he enjoys his work, he treated people well and still had some faith in human nature but is unhappy about the lack of support from the police organisation which made him feel disillusioned.

Day 5

On this day I went with two officers in the area car. We went to a call from a woman who had an injunction which prohibited her husband from coming within 100 yards of her. Her husband had arrived at her home and would not leave, although he was not in her flat. The husband was still there when we arrived. Apparently he had left, but the wife had called him back so that he would still be there when the officers arrived, and be arrested. The officers talked to him for a while, during which he put his side of the story and told of the unfairness of the situation. The officers were not there to mediate but to enforce the injunction. However they listened and talked to him. They persuaded him that it would be in every-one's interest if he left. He then left, with the officers following to check. The woman later phoned to complain that he was not arrested. Again, it seemed as though the police were being used.

A high speed call to a fight followed but on arrival no-one was there.

We were then called to a report of a suspicious man knocking on doors. We drove up and down and then a man started running away. The officers got out of the car and chased him. He was found hiding in a garden. However, he did not appear to be the suspect. The officer told me that people often run away, `just to wind us up'.

Later we went to a further call to a fight in a house but the address was a derelict house. The next call was to a man who had set his dog onto children, but it appeared more likely that the dog had run out of the house when he opened the door to tell the children to move away.

The next call was to a child who had stopped breathing. We arrived and had to jump over a high wall to get to the flat as the normal way round would have taken too long. When we arrived the child was alright but the mother was very shaken and frightened. The officers calmed her, dressed the child and looked after her while the mother got dressed. We then took them to the hospital. By the time we had arrived, the mother was considerably calmer, with the officer looking after the child in the back of the car.

The officers expressed the view that they are there to make up for the short-comings of the social services and emergency services. An ambulance should have arrived but it didn't. They feel that they have to deal with anything, whether they are trained and equipped to deal with it or not. But if they get it wrong, then they will be in trouble, not the system.

The next call was to a house where a drunken man was breaking up the house. When we arrived it turned out that the man was the grandson of the owners. The man had been released from the police cell some hours earlier and given back his bottle of whisky. An amount of damage had been done and the grandparents wanted him to be taken away. By now the drunken man was sobbing and hanging onto his cousin. The cousin was also

sobbing. The drunken man was handcuffed and taken to a police van. The cousin begged the officers not to beat him up. On the way to the van the man tripped, pulling down the officer with him. He was placed in the van and the officer sat opposite him. Then the man started crying and throwing his head back against the wall of the van. Several officers ran to the van to restrain him. In the turmoil he fell to the floor. The door was then closed and he was taken to the police station.

One of the officers made the point that it is difficult to come down from a state of high arousal, several times. He talked of the high speed drive, not knowing what to expect on arrival and so having to be prepared for anything, combined with the more frequent occurrence of either finding nothing there or something very trivial. This can create a high level of frustration.

The other officer said that he felt very cynical. He was particularly concerned about the number of offenders (suspects) found not guilty in court. He said that he found this very demoralising and that this meant he couldn't feel any enthusiasm or that anything is worthwhile.

Day 6

The sixth day was spent with an officer in his early twenties with several months service over his probationary period. He said that he liked the job but was not sure he would stay

until retirement. He wanted a job with variety and felt that more black people should join the police (He is black). This officer felt that he was more cynical than he had been when he joined the police and that he had changed and that it was not all for the better. He also spoke of losing something, his identity. He went on to say that he felt unable to be himself; he felt the need to conform, had become suspicious and not able to take people on face value. He also felt that police officers are too critical of others; that even police officers don't believe each other. In addition, that there was a lot of cruelty to new probationers in terms of sapping their confidence with severe criticism to such an extent that they could not do their job properly.

The first call was to a shop which had experienced a robbery. However on the way we received a report that three youths were on a housing estate brandishing a gun. Although this was not really a job for a single officer, we appeared to be the only car available and so we went to the estate. The report said that there were three black youths at the third archway and when we arrived they were there. This was a large estate in which the blocks of flats formed circles within circles. There was only one way out. The officer had expected there to be some back up from other officers by this time but there were none, so he went to search them alone. The officer noticed that one of the three looked more nervous than the others and had his hands in his pockets, so he searched him first. The three were becoming agitated but the officer managed to calm them down. He found that one was carrying a knife but was persuaded it was for laying carpets. By this time back-up

had arrived. The officer concluded that the reported gun was a toy. We left. This situation had placed the officer in a very vulnerable position and he was very nervous.

We then went to the previous call to the robbery. When we arrived we learn that it was the theft of a can of beer. The customer had opened the can and offered a £20 which the shopkeeper said he could not change. The customer said he would get some change from his car but just drove away. The officer felt that this did not actually constitute a robbery. This made the shopkeeper angry; he said that he had seen this officer drive past the shop several times since he had called the police and that the officer was not taking it seriously enough, and if he (the officer) didn't do something he would report it to his superiors. He further said that he was at breaking point and would take the law into his own hands if the police didn't do something. The officer took details and told the shopkeeper who to complain to. The officer was upset by the shopkeepers attitude, especially as we had not driven past the shop before on that day, however he remained calm and polite.

This incident highlights the problems of different perspectives. For the shopkeeper this was a frustrating and frightening experience which is very important to him. He had experienced this before and wanted it stopped. However for the officer it came after responding to call of a gang with a gun. The officer was stressed after the previous call, and we were told that this call was to a robbery; we did not know it was for a can of beer. At this particular point it seemed trivial.

There were few other calls that day which consisted of looking for two people who had been reported on top of a drugs rehabilitation centre and responses to alarm calls which yielded nothing.

Day 7

This day was spent in the area car with two experienced officers that I had spent a previous day with. This was a bank holiday and therefore was expected to be busy. However it turned out to be very quiet. The officers helped with a prisoner, picked up missing persons forms from a local psychiatric hospital and checked whether someone who had been arrested for shop-lifting actually lived at the address given.

The final call was to a report of breaking glass in a block of flats. When we arrived a woman on the first floor said that she had heard a window break and had just seen a man running away. She came in the police car as we looked for the man. However she did not want to be seen in the police car and sat on the floor. Another car recognised him from the description and picked him up. It was then arranged that they would let him go just out of sight of our car (so that the woman would not see him released) and we would drive past to see if she recognised the man she had seen running away. As we drove round the corner she saw the man running away, and said that it was the same man. He was then arrested.

The officers spoke of the problems of not knowing what you will find when responding to a call. They recounted problems faced by colleagues who had arrived at the site of a particularly bad train crash that had recently occurred. They had been told that it was a train de-railment., but on arrival had found it to be a serious crash with many fatalities. It seems that officers believe that officers are deliberately not given all the available information. Often they are told to go to a disturbance, which they felt was a term which meant nothing and did not allow them to prepare for what they might find.

General impressions

It became clear that officers feel under attack on three fronts. Firstly from the public as the police face frequent abuse from many quarters of those that they are trying to serve. It was not unusual to hear people shouting abuse as the police car drove by. In addition, there were often calls to fights, when we arrived there had clearly been a fight but no-one wanted to get involved and give any information. The police officers had treated this as an emergency and driven with the siren and blue lights on, risking their own safety in so doing. It can therefore be frustrating to be met with a wall of silence on arrival. A further example of this frustration is the fact that when a car is driving to an emergency, many cars do not move out of the way, indeed sometimes they move into the way in order to form an obstruction. From the officers point of view, perhaps going to a child who has stopped breathing or a 999 call from a woman who has been cut off, it seems as though the

public are only obstructing when they see themselves as doing their best to help people in need.

The second attack appears to come from the police organisation itself. If a police car becomes involved in an accident, the other driver is never prosecuted, even if s/he is at fault. However this goes down on the officers record. In addition, if an accident occurs while the officer is driving over the speed limit or crosses a red traffic light, s/he may be prosecuted as an individual and face losing his or her license, or worse. In addition, disciplinary action may follow. It seems to officers that society asks them to perform in particular ways but when things go wrong there is no support from either the police organisation or the law. In this way they frequently mentioned that they are treated worse than criminals. However their liability is not confined to accidents, they are responsible for all damage to the car, even stone chippings which leads to considerable resentment. This results in officers feeling that it always looks as though they are to blame, they `simply can't get anything right', they are `always in the wrong'. Clearly this can have a strong effect on overall levels of morale.

The third area that officers feel very negatively about is the legal system. All the officers that I spoke to had experienced some-one that they had arrested for a crime being found not guilty in court. Although this seems an inevitable occurrence, it appeared to them, to happen more frequently than not. Officers felt that the situation was becoming worse and was almost out of control. They had to go to court and face the defense calling them a liar

`which is every time now' and see the person that they had sometimes witnessed committing the crime, walk free from court. They found this particularly difficult to deal with when there had been injuries either to themselves or members of the public. This has led to officers feeling that there is very little they can do to control crime and knowing that when they do arrest some-one there is very little likelihood of a conviction. This is clearly relevant to how effectively officers can or will perform their role.

These perceptions of being under attack and under-valued left officers feeling demoralised. Additionally the current re-organisation of the police service contributed to the often cited feelings of loss of power and self-esteem.

In addition to feeling under attack, officers spoke frequently of the difficulty of facing a wide range of calls which need aggression at times, followed by understanding and sympathy, then may be a few jokes, cannot be underestimated. Obviously driving to a call at high speed, not knowing what to expect is stressful. It requires a high state of arousal, first to deal with the journey there with the problems discussed above, and secondly to be prepared for anything when they get there. The emotional ups and downs are considerable.

A further problem for officer is facing potential violence. The majority of officers that I spoke to during the week had sustained a serious injury on-duty. They all spoke of the constant threat of danger. This seemed particularly worrying as some injuries had been sustained from people they had gone to help, not offenders or suspects. This added to the

unpredictability, and the knowledge that any call, however innocuous it might appear, could result in violence. They all dealt with this by trying to keep it at the back of their mind, yet at the same time being constantly alert to the possibility of violence and injury.

It appeared that there are many sources of frustration and anxiety faced by officers. Some seem an unavoidable part of the job, and to some extent contribute to the attraction of policing. Others are more organisational and are therefore seen as avoidable. It appears that it is these issues that cause the greatest frustration and lead to demoralisation amongst officers.

This thesis addresses the issues of police identification and policing styles. It seems clear that the very nature of police work in terms of unique experiences, demands, difficulties and stress fosters a feeling of separateness for the officer. At the same time, the inability of others to understand what it is like to be a police officer can result in cohesiveness and the much discussed police culture. However it is important to determine whether this is inevitable and what the consequences are for how individuals police.

CHAPTER 2 - INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE ON SELECTION AND SOCIALIZATION OF POLICE OFFICERS

The issue of the relationship between police and public has been the cause of much discussion and debate and presumably will continue to do so. The media and the public have voiced concerns about the nature of policing and recent public order situations have given rise to much debate about the type of police service the public wants. In addition the issue of crime has remained a public issue as a focus of political debate with concerns over rises in violent crime (Home Office Statistical bulletin 1995)

As a result of these many and varied demands on the police, interest has necessarily focused on how to achieve the desired police service. It is clear that the most important resource at the disposal of the police service is the individual officer. Therefore it is necessary to consider the role of the police officer in providing the service desired by society.

The function of the police officer appears to fall into two distinct categories; i) to ensure that the law is upheld, and ii) to provide assistance to the public. It might be said that society wants the first function performed, but at the same time feels threatened by the necessary power which this role demands and is therefore sensitive to any indication that more power is being employed by the police than is necessary. So we can see that at the

same time the police officer might represent help and a threat depending on the situation. This surely fosters an uneasy relationship with an uneven balance of power.

In the face of public unease over the current situation within the police service (eg. Scarman 1986), it seems more necessary than ever to be sure that the police service obtains the police officers it needs to perform its role. This of course highlights the importance of understanding how the end product, that is the type of police officer, is actually arrived at. There appear to be two possibilities; i) we must recruit the police officer with the qualities that we desire, or ii) we must make the police officer that we desire. Officers go through a selection procedure that initially selects on a range of practical criteria such as educational qualifications and practical skills such as the ability to observe accurately and take down dictation. Later in the selection process, candidates are selected on more interpersonal skills such as assertiveness, expression and diplomacy. So it would seem that police services are attempting to select candidates that have a basic core of necessary skills. However in addition to training on the law and procedure, the formal training includes interpersonal skills training. This might suggest that new recruits are not perceived by the police service to be equipped in social terms to perform the role of a police officer on entry. Rather, it appears that they select those who have the greatest potential of becoming a police officer with he desired traits. The issue, therefore appears to be, whether we can predict later performance more accurately from initial measures on entry to the police service (possibility 1), or from how strongly the individual has socialised (possibility 2) as a result of the police experience.

The purpose of this review is to consider the literature that addresses the issue of how we can predict the type of police officer we might end up with. The review is divided into two main sections; i) the literature on the link between measures taken on entry to the police and later performance; and ii) the literature that suggests that officers are socialized into the police organization, and change as a result of this experience. If socialization changes individuals it seems likely that this will have an influence on later performance rather than those characteristics that the individual possessed when s/he joined the police. In addition, this chapter will consider the difficulty of actually measuring performance and the need for some clear idea of what we consider a 'desirable' police officer to be. Finally, the issue of whether the socialization process is a blanket process or has a differential effect will be discussed.

2.1 Initial measures on entry

The first issue that must be addressed is the evidence of whether the 'desirable' officer is arrived at as a result of the selection process or as a result of socialization. Socialisation is used in this context as the adoption of the behavioural and attitudinal norms of the organisation by the individual. The selection approach on the other hand proposes that traits that differentiate and predict later outcomes are already present in the new group member rather than a result of the police experience. Much discussion has focused on the conservative and authoritarian nature of police officers (eg. Balch 1972, Brown and

Willis 1985) However police scores on authoritarianism and dogmatism have been found to be similar to those of comparable education (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969). Neidderhoffer (1967) found a mean F-score of 4.15 for police recruits and a mean F-score of 4.19 for a working class sample. This suggests that any difference in conservatism found between police officers and the public may be accounted for in terms of the individuals background rather than as a result of being a part of the police organisation.

Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) found that the age of the police officer is not related to political orientation, concluding that it is initial selection rather than socialisation after recruitment that explains police conservatism.

It has been hypothesised that the police have value systems that are different to other groups in society (an American study)and that the differences are greater between police and blacks than police and whites; that police value systems should be highly similar to those who come from comparable social backgrounds; that police values are also a function of personality predispositions; that is, police are recruited from those whose value systems predispose them towards a career in law enforcement (Rokeach and Snyder 1971). For example, police are traditionally recruited from a less educated group and those who place less emphasis on freedom, equality, independence and a world of beauty, and higher emphasis on obedience, self control, a comfortable life and pleasure, are more likely to be recruited. Therefore Rokeach and Snyder propose that both social background and personality are selective determinants of police recruitment.

Neiderhoffer (1973) found that police applicants are often attracted to police work by the opportunity to perform a role which is important to society, wanting to work 'out of doors' (p.409) rather than in a routine job and adventure. Using predominantly male police applicants, Carpenter and Raza (1987) found candidates to be less depressed and anxious and to present a good image of themselves, and to seek more social contacts than comparison groups of security guards, nuclear submariners and air force trainees. In addition Carpenter and Raza found that police applicants were a more homogenous group compared to the normative population. Coleman and Gorman (1982) suggest that those who are attracted to the police are more conservative and authoritarian than those who are not attracted to the police.

The selection procedure seeks to identify recruits who have the potential to become officers with the skills and behaviours that the police service requires, that is who will be able to perform in a predictable manner according to the set down police procedure. If it is the case that we recruit the type of officer that we end up with, we should be able to predict police performance at the point of selection. Malouff and Schutte (1986) found that the predictors of officers who were later fired were a greater number of vehicle violations, a greater number of convictions for more serious offenses, shorter stays in previous jobs, having been fired from previous jobs and having been married more than once. Cohen and Chaiken (1972) found that the number of disciplinary actions while in the military was associated with the number of police departmental complaints, civilian complaints

involving the unnecessary use of force and of harassment and the total number of complaints upheld by departmental trial.

Education appears to present conflicting evidence in relation to later performance. Results of some studies (Cascio 1977, Cohen and Chaiken 1972) have found it to be associated with good later performance, while other studies have found it to be associated with poor later performance (Vogel and Adams 1983, Levy 1974). These findings both appear to be plausible, each in their own right. On the one hand, education might be thought to improve performance due to heightened understanding and flexible thinking patterns, while on the other, associated with poor performance when routine police work is found to be unchallenging. Indeed Cohen and Chaiken found performance on written tests in the police academy did not correlate with on the job performance as measured by termination, disciplinary problems and civil complaints. The only correlations were found to be related to promotion to sergeant and lieutenant and other positions selected on the basis of written papers. This highlights an important distinction between performance on training tests of ability and performance on the job. This finding throws up the question of whether training evaluations are useful, or indeed meaningful as a measure of how well the individual is being prepared for his or her role as a police officer. However, Hargrave and Hiatt (1987) found that intelligence was important and that intelligent officers were more predictable than less intelligent ones. They state that the ability to transfer knowledge learnt in the training period to the job is very important. In addition they found that conforming officers are more willing to adopt course learnings in the job setting.

Therefore it seems likely that for this group it is possible to predict job performance from training scores.

Much research has been devoted to the investigation of personality tests as a useful predictor of police performance. Shusman, Inwald and Knatz (1987) found that with the Inwald Personality Inventory (IPI) eleven times as many officers were identified as having a poor absenteeism record than without it, although a number of false positives and negatives was a cause for concern. Hargrave and Hiatt (1989) found results obtained with the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) were in line with assessments made by cadets' training officers. In addition, Hargrave and Hiatt found that those recruits thought to be psychologically healthy by the training officers were high on qualities such as social confidence, independence and poise, seeing oneself as similar to others, and comfort and persistence in structured settings. Results obtained by Ronan, Talbert and Mullet (1977) suggest that officers who score high on job skills and knowledge on their measures are also those with low accident, absenteeism and other 'undesirable' work history records. Ronan et.al. also found that although cognitive tests and supervisory ratings can be predictive at substantial levels, the correlation between supervisory and peer ratings was only 0.12.

The foregoing research using measures such as personality tests to predict later performance suggests that there should be a link between variables such as personality and biographical details, and later performance on a range of measures. However these

performance measures are limited in their usefulness in relation to the complex nature of police work. The officer might be called on to provide emotional support to a bereaved relative and become involved in a car pursuit in the same day. The varied demands made on police officers make up difficult to predict later performance across all tasks.

The issue of whether we can predict later performance at the point of selection is only meaningful if we know the type of police officer that we desire. Given the above point that officers must perform a range of disparate task it might be difficult to select individuals who can actually perform all of the tasks required. The difficulty of measuring police performance casts doubt over the ability of selection procedures to predict an ill-defined concept of the desired police officer. Horton and Smith (1988) suggest that police performance measures fail to encapsulate the real nature of policing. They cite areas such as public reassurance, school liaison work and domestic disputes which constitute an important part of policing but are not included in measures of performance. In addition Horton and Smith say that officers believe that the quality of the service they provide is as important as the more tangible, but quantitative results. However, the issue arises of whether there is a consensus about what constitutes the desirable police officer. Cascio (1977) suggests that there is indeed little agreement on this point, also citing the difficulties of measuring data relevant to individual officers and their performance. The measures of performance that are correlated with variables present on entry to the police tend to be rather crude measurements such as numbers of days sick and complaints (eg. Cohen and Chaiken 1972). Although these are undoubtedly important in terms of police

performance they fail to address the issue of what constitutes a 'good' police officer. That is, even if an individual officer receives no complaints and takes not days off work through sickness, is his or her performance when actually doing the job, desirable? Ronan, Talbert and Mullet (1977) conducted a job analysis of police work. This included relationship with peers, an interest in helping others and public relations (courteousness and sensitivity in dealing with the public). However the other job dimensions consisted of practical knowledge skills necessary to perform the task. Although, again, these are undoubtedly important, the interpersonal skills make up a relatively small proportion of the cited skills, considering the amount of time devoted to this activity by officers (eg. Burkhart 1980). It seems that the difficulty of obtaining a meaningful measure of police performance cannot be over-estimated either in methodological terms or in terms of any consensual beliefs about what constitutes the 'desirable' police officer. This has clear implications for the whole issue of the selection of police officers.

2.2 Socialisation of the probationer

The premise that the police officer is socialised into the police proposes that new recruits come to adopt the prevailing social norms of the police culture, that is, they become socialised into a 'police officer'. Organisational socialisation might be described as 'the complex process by which an organisational participant learns the required behaviours and supportive attitudes necessary to organisational membership' (Fielding 1986, p.319).

Ellison, Fornelius, Giblin and Kirk (1985) suggest that early experience of the police service and poor training can 'ruin even those with the greatest potential' (p.70). In the same way, experience of police work which does not match with expectation can result in problems. Van Maanen (1975) states that the traditional view of the police officer is that of a crime fighter. However, much police time is actually spent visiting the scene of a crime to take details from victims. Indeed Burkhart (1980) points out that much of the police officers time is taken up in activities of a 'social service nature, which frequently involve social conflict situations' (p 123). The latter points here imply that the initial expectations of recruits and the nature of the experiences and demands of the job may mediate between initial measures and later performance, and we must therefore consider the effect of the occupational experience. If the police experience changes the individual in terms of attitudes, values and/or behaviours, then this has important implications for both the selection and training procedures and particularly the policing style that might later be adopted.

Neiderhoffer (1967) found that police cynicism increased with service, reaching its maximum between 5 and 10 years service, and leveling off thereafter. Neiderhoffer's results show a clear movement in the levels of cynicism from the control point of new recruits entering the police service over the twenty years of service. However, the findings all demonstrate that level of cynicism is related to the particular nature of the police role being performed by the individual. It seems that the level of cynicism is not related to age, which is also experienced by non-police, but directly to the police experience. This

provides some support for the socialisation argument. The reason that the individual socialises, or become more like existing officers seems important. It may be that convergence of attitudes and behaviours occurs simply as a result of commonality of experience. On the other hand, individuals may be motivated to deliberately make themselves more like other officers, becoming part of the group. So, if socialisation, or becoming more like existing officers is apparent, what factors are involved? Burkhart (1980) states that there are five major factors which contribute to group solidarity and 'empower the peer group with the ability to control peer behaviour; a) because police have to defend each other in times of danger, compatibility is essential, resulting in a great deal of pressure to accept group norms; b) due to the limited tangible rewards (promotion only occurs when there are vacancies, rewards are only for crime fighting although this activity represents only a minority of the officer's time), persistence in police work becomes the result of dedication and group identification; c) police officers, because of their social authority, are isolated from contact with the civilian community; d) as a result of contact with the negative elements of society, police officers develop a cynical view of society that is seen as sordid and hypocritical; and e) the common experience of being the recipient of hostility from the public and the perception of a lack of respect by society at large serve to enhance police solidarity' (p 125). This research suggests powerful factors that contribute to the socialisation of the police recruit to the police culture.

Bahn (1984) states that conformity to departmental rules are seen in the actions of the individual. Bearing in mind the fact that police officers often work alone and unsupervised

with few of the obvious reinforcers of conformity to hand, a high level of officer socialisation may be required. This is linked to the notion that the officer has duty responsibilities twenty-four hours a day. In addition, Bahn refers to the long and arduous nature of the selection process which contributes to the perceived value of the police service in the eyes of the recruits. Indeed, he suggests that the recruits view the notification of acceptance as an extraordinary achievement in itself and are ready and willing to accept the organisations values and norms. This may be likened to the effect of unpleasant experiences on entry to a group serving to heighten group liking. Brown (1988) cites the explanation of Aronson and Mills (1959) who suggest that undergoing an unpleasant initiation process enhances liking for the group based on cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1957). Brown sums this up as 'if I went through all that to become a member of this group, it must be really attractive for me' (p. 25). In this way, the long (typically one year) and arduous selection process may have an affect on the willingness of the new recruit to adopt the occupational identity.

The immersion in police identity at the training school is absolute. The language used and discipline required are quite unlike anything the recruit is likely to have experienced before in terms of limitations on movement, discipline, a hierarchical authority structure, simply being in a uniform and holding a warrant card that carries such power. This must surely convey to the recruit that s/he has entered a different world. In the same way it would seem reasonable to assume that the recruit will realise that success in this very closed environment means becoming as much like a 'real' police officer, that is existing

police officer as possible. Indeed, at this point after success in the selection procedure, it would be natural for the recruit to have a very positive attitude to becoming a police officer, and therefore, be strongly motivated to take on the police identity.

It is suggested that police training schools are still 'psychological crucibles in which occupational identities are formed' (Bahn, 1984 p 392). This can be seen in the adoption of the uniform, the stress on uniformity of behaviour and language, the 'us and them' mentality in the lecture room and social isolation. Van Maanen (1973) describes the hurdles that must be negotiated by the new recruit in the process of becoming a police officer. These encompass the emotional ups and downs experienced by the new probationer on entry to the police service. Having arrived at the training school, the probationer is given a uniform and warrant card and so feels that s/he is a 'real' police officer. However s/he is made aware that s/he can be dismissed at any time during the first two years. The formal training period involves ' discipline, absolute obedience, rigorous physical training and a ritualistic concern for detail' (Van Maanen p 410). However when sent to the police station, the officer meets a more relaxed approach with an emphasis on common-sense which is in stark contrast to the training school. In addition, Neiderhoffer suggests that there is a general disenchantment with the police role which has two edges. The first is with the general public while the second is with the police organisation. Indeed, the adjustment of the new recruit in the police service is one that follows the 'line of least resistance. By becoming similar in sentiment and behaviour to his (*or her*) peers, the recruit avoids censureship by the department, his (*or her*) supervisor and most

importantly, his (*or her*) brother (*and sister*) officers' (Van Maanen 1973 p.415, my italics).

New members of a pre-existing group are naturally anxious about their own role and status. Therefore they must become familiar with procedures, group norms, communicational and reward systems (Ashforth 1985) and build a situational identity (Katz 1980). It is the unfamiliarity and uncertainty that makes the new group member more likely to adopt the group social identity (Wootton 1991, Ashforth 1985). The new recruit is subjected to a high degree of uncertainty in that s/he is isolated from the familiar, dressed in a uniform and presented with an array of behavioural rules (such as addressing different ranks and procedural formalities). The new group member has a strong desire to reduce their high degree of anxiety and also to feel accepted by the group (Schachter 1967). The result of this is an uncritical acceptance of the group or organisation and a tendency to behave in an overly accommodating manner (Ashforth 1985).

The language of the training school and police station fosters a 'them and us' attitude. In fact a whole new language is developed. New recruits quickly begin using the new terminologies of being 'in the job', 'on station' and 'tucked up'. In addition, the use of the 'TLA' (three letter abbreviation) further distinguishes between those who are 'in' and those who are 'out'.

In addition the very nature of the work contributes to the adoption of the occupational identity. Janowitz (1964) states that a profession, such as the police service, which performs a life and death task, is a 'style of life' (p 175), more than an occupation. Skolnick (1967) discusses the constant potential for danger that all police officers have to cope with. In this way s/he identifies with a colleague who has been beaten up even though s/he has not experienced it him/herself. Skolnick goes on to point out that police rank relations with the public as the highest problem for the police, which involves low prestige and feelings that the public do not understand police work. This in turn leads to feelings that others are against the police, even when off-duty, resulting in isolation and officers mixing much more with other police officers. In addition Skolnick suggests that the public want the police to maintain order for them so they don't have to get involved but that the responsibility of the police alienates them from the public. However 'the police fail to realise the extent to which they are tainted by the character of their work. The danger draws police officers together but separates them from the rest of the population'(Skolnick p 54).

The result of this would seem inevitable. The recruit comes to see her/himself as 'different' to the public. S/he considers that s/he is a police officer twenty-four hours a day. The occupations is not what s/he does but what s/he is.

It could be argued that in order to perform the role effectively it is necessary for the police officer to take on the identity completely. The police man or woman works on patrol alone

for much of the time. To this extent there is little direct control over his/her behaviour. Therefore effective socialisation, that is adoption of the police identity leading to convergence of behaviour, might be necessary if the organisation is to be confident that s/he will present the police service in the desired manner.

On the other hand the police service has made moves to present a new image of the police officer. The change from the term, 'police force' to 'police service' is indicative of the new desired image. The new PC is required to exhibit tact, diplomacy and discretion. Training courses have been devised to ensure that the probationer develops the interpersonal skills necessary to increase public confidence in the police (Bull and Horncastle 1988). In this respect the organisation wants the new police officer to be more of an individual and to feel able to use his/her initiative. Training schools emphasise the officer's use of discretion. In short, to be less socialised.

However, it seems unlikely that this 'new' police officer can develop in the present system. In the past community policing meant that the officer had an identity as an integral member of that community. The officer spent more time on a particular beat, patrolled the area on foot and talked to local people. However, now police resources are stretched and the average police officer spends less time actually in contact with the public and more time driving in a car from one call to the next (Holdaway 1983). In this way the individual officer's identity as a member of the community s/he polices is reduced and the police identity is strengthened.

2.3 Integrating the two approaches

The discussion so far has outlined two potentially conflicting premises. Firstly that police recruits are attracted to and selected into the police service because they already possess the attitudes and values of the police service. That is they do not change after joining the police service, they are already like existing police officers and in this way the police are not different to the public they serve as a result of the experience of police work but are a product of the particular segment of society from which they are drawn. Working on this premise it therefore should be possible to predict later performance from initial measures.

The seemingly contradictory argument suggests that new probationers undergo a series of changes after joining the police service, and that, as a result of this, they become more like existing police officers in their attitudes, values and behaviours than they were when they joined. This is consistent with Social Identity Theory in that new members of the group (police service) should categorise themselves as group members, taking on the group identity, and so become more like existing members, that is, self-stereotype themselves.

However, it may be the case that the two premises do not conflict but actually work together. If socialisation processes appear to be operating it seems appropriate to consider whether it is a blanket process affecting all new recruits in the same way, or whether it has a differential effect on different categories of people. Indeed Fielding (1986) suggests that the socialisation process may be resisted by some groups of people due to factors such as

previous education, experience similar to police work and the conscious design of the trainers. If we can establish whether the socialization process operates in a uniform way, or whether it interacts with existing factors, it seems important to know what the consequences are for policing. It may be the case that those who are socialized strongly may be more likely to adopt a particular policing style, while those that socialize weakly may adopt another.

2.4 Policing Style

If it is possible to establish the effects of initial measures and any socialisation effect, the usefulness of this information may lie in its effect on the policing style adopted by groups of probationers. Widespread variation among police officers and their working attitudes have been reported by Cook (1977) and Fielding (1988). Reiner (1985) developed a typology of four different policing styles; The Centurion who is very crime oriented in his or her approach to policing, The Bobby, who has a more service oriented approach and a strong sense of right and wrong. In addition this type of officer feels under threat from, and misunderstood by, those outside of the police organisation; The Unifor carrier who has lost his or her motivation and only stays in the police force due to the money or lack of another job. S/he shirks work and is not a crime fighter; and The Professional who is a career police officer. This officer has no ideological reason for joining the police but wants to do his or her job well. He suggested that his four groups are comparable to those described by a number of other authors (e.g. Reiner 1978, Broderick 1973, Muir 1977, Brown 1981). If different policing styles exist, it seems fruitful to determine which factors might predict which style.

2.5 Aims of the study

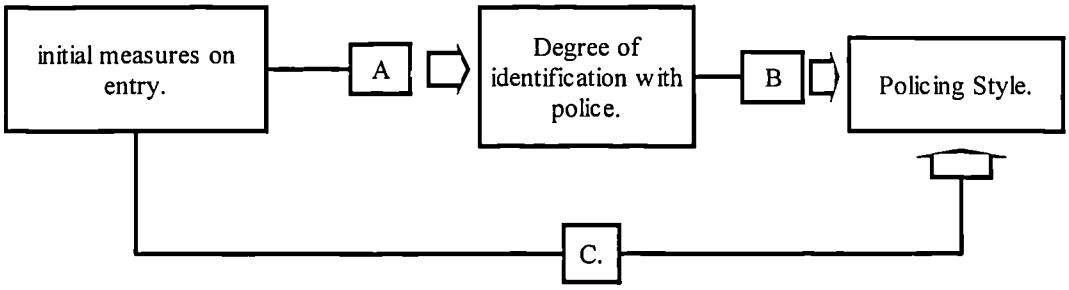
The first part of this study addresses the issue of socialisation and whether this is a blanket process or whether some groups may resist this process more than others. Indeed

Stradling, Crowe and Tuohy (1993) found that a group of probationers with 24-26 months service 'better resembled the profile of the entry group, suggesting that they had not modified their self-identity in the same way and/or to the same extent as the other members of their cohort' (p. 140). Therefore the study is designed to determine whether it is possible to predict which probationers will become socialised and which will not from initial measures such as age, gender, education and personality. Identity as a police officer will be used as a measure of socialisation. It seems reasonable to assume that those who have socialised, that is become more like other officers are also likely to feel that being a police officer is a part of their identity. Identity in this context is defined as individuals who think they are like other officers, who feel part of the organisation and that being a police officer is part of their self concept.

The second part of the study is to predict later policing style. The research is designed to consider the effects of initial factors (demographic, attitudinal and personality measured on entry to the police service) on the preferred policing style at the end of ten months service. Indeed commentators have suggested that new probationers bring with them their earlier experiences and that these are used as the framework for developing an individualistic policing style (Stradling and Harper 1988). Alternatively policing style may be predicted from measures of how strongly the individual has adopted the occupational identity. It might be the case that those officers who take on the occupational identity less strongly, and therefore feel less of a distinction between themselves and the public, will be more likely to exhibit attitudes and policing styles which are quite distinct from those who

do not adopt the police identity as strongly. For example it may be the case that officers who feel a part of the community will adopt a more service oriented style, and see their role in terms of dealing with the general public (non-criminals). On the other hand, officers who adopt the occupational identity strongly may view themselves as set apart from the public may view their role solely as one of crime-fighting.

Therefore relationships will be investigated as below;



It can be seen that if there is a relationship through lines 'A' and 'B' this would suggest that there is an interaction between those initial factors and the experience of individuals through the probationary period. On the other hand, if there is a direct relationship along line 'C', it would seem that selection is the most important process in obtaining the most suitable police officer.

CHAPTER 3. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDIES

In the light of the literature review in chapter 2, the main aim of the study is to consider different policing styles and whether these can be predicted from either initial measures or through socialization. Policing style was selected as the dependent variable as there seems to be no reliable, and agreed measure of what is the 'desirable' police officer. On the other hand, there appears to be sufficient literature to distinguish different styles of policing (eg. Reiner 1985). Therefore policing style was selected as a predictive measure in that this thesis would not seek to evaluate different styles, but to address the issue of whether it is possible to predict at all, and from what.

The hypotheses were based on the principles of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1978, Turner 1982, Hogg and Abrams 1988); that members of the group would adopt a social identity as a police officer; and that those who were more like the prototypical group members (that is those who perceive themselves to be close to the typical group member) would adopt a stronger social identity than those who were not. In this way, it would be predicted that those who perceived themselves to be more like the prototypical group member, would socialize more strongly. Degree of identification would be used as a measure of socialization.

3.1 THE PRE-STUDY

Skolnick (1967) discussed the social isolation felt by police officers. He described this as a feeling of not being understood by the public and feeling that the public were against the police. This perception was felt even when the officer was off-duty. Skolnick suggested that social rejection was one reason why police solidarity is so high, and why there the police officer 'find(s) his *or her* identity within his *or her* occupational milieu' (Skolnick 1967 p.52, my italics). This sentiment is echoed by Reiner (1985) who suggests that police officers develop a distrust of the public and experience difficulty mixing with civilians. Fielding (1987) states that police officers show a shift from social to personal values after one years service in the police and that this represents a socialization into the police culture.

Much literature (eg. Van Maanen 1975, Butler and Cochrane 1977, Fielding 1987) supports the concept of the socialization of the individual into the police organization. The main study in this research is based on this premise of a socialization effect. It seemed fruitful to consider whether any support for some movement in attitudes and perceptions could be found. Therefore a prestudy was conducted to examine this point.

Overall design

A cross-sectional interview study was carried out. As this was a pre-study, time was limited and so a longitudinal study was not possible. The overall aim was to consider how attitudes to policing and perceptions of the police role might change over a period of time. Thirty-six interviews were carried out involving three groups; i) police applicants at the final selection stage; ii) probationers who had completed less than 31 weeks service; and probationers who had completed more than 31 weeks service. Respondents were used from Kent police only.

Respondents were volunteers. Each interview was tape recorded, and took place in a private room. Data collection took the form of interviews as the aim was to collect as much information as possible, which could be used as the basis of the later studies. It was anticipated that the main studies would rely heavily on the outcome of the interview pre-study in terms of gaining an insight into the police culture, likely problems, and questionnaire items.

3.2 THE LONGITUDINAL STUDIES

Overall Design

This was a longitudinal design over three stages of police probationers' first year of service; i) at entry; ii) after 20 weeks of service and; iii) after ten months of service. These points were chosen as to provide measurements as close as possible to no experience of the police environment, at the end of the formal training period and after 6 months operational service respectively. A longitudinal study was conducted in an attempt to eliminate the effects of individual differences. In addition, it was felt that the interviews would be more meaningful if the same people were interviewed at the three points. Fielding and Fielding (1991) state that 'Formal socialization concerns planned organizational efforts to transform recruits into members, while informal socialization occurs in contacts with existing members. The prime source of informal socialization is in the training school and the prime source of informal socialization is the occupational culture' (p.41). It seemed fruitful to distinguish between these two different forms of socialization as far as possible in order to be able to establish the relative effects of the two environments on measures taken at these points. The aim was to i) identify variables on entry that would predict measures of degree of identification after formal training (20 weeks) and/or preferred policing style after six months operational service and ; ii) predict preferred policing style from degree of identification.

Data collection methods

It was decided to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires were administered at the three points in order to collect data from a large sample. This would allow the hypotheses to be tested in the form of a regression and in so doing identify predictors of the dependent variables. In addition, interviews were carried out with a subset of the participants in the main sample. The interviews were semi-structured and were based on the issues measured in the questionnaires. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain more detailed responses that would assist in the interpretation of the qualitative data.

The main issues to be addressed at each data collection were as follows;

On entry; demographic variables, personality and level of moral reasoning data, attitudes towards policing. This last item consisted of measures of attractions of policing, perceptions of the police role and that of the officer and how much they expected to change to be like other officers. These would be used to obtain a profile of new recruits and as predictors of measures at Times 2 and 3.

At 20 weeks; measures of how strongly the probationer had identified as a police officer. Other items included assessments of how satisfied the probationer felt with his or her experience of policing so far, satisfaction with the training process and how s/he felt about being a police officer.

At 10 months; measures of preferred policing style.

The sample

Two police services were included in the sample; Kent police and the Metropolitan police. It was intended to treat the sample as one, homogenous group, and so this would provide a cross section of police officers. In addition, it was anticipated that further analysis might be useful in terms of differences between the two services.

At the time of the data collection few police services were taking in new recruits. The two services were chosen as they were recruiting in sufficient numbers to make a reasonable sample. However it was still not possible to obtain a large enough sample at one time. Enough respondents were obtained from one intake of the Metropolitan police but three intakes were required from Kent police. The final proportion of respondents from each police service was roughly equal (100 and 102).

It was anticipated that all respondents from these intakes would participate in the study. However several did not return their questionnaires. They were not followed to see whether the questionnaires had been completed prior to entry. if they were not they did not take part in the study as their perceptions may have changed by this point.

The interview sample were a subset of the participants in the questionnaire study. They were volunteers. It was not possible to select or randomly allocate a sample. The sample consisted of 5 officers from Kent police and 6 from the Metropolitan police.

The respondents were followed up either at the training schools or at their station for data collection at Times 2 and 3.

Difficulties with data collection in Metropolitan police on entry

Collecting the data has been a long drawn-out procedure, requiring repeated visits to both police services training schools to collect the questionnaires but also to negotiate access and co-operation.

The initial data (Time 1) collected from Kent police involved five visits to administer the questionnaires and two to conduct interviews.

The data collection from the Metropolitan police was more problematic. The first administration of questionnaires was in December 1992. This involved 160 probationers. My liaison officer made the arrangements for me to see the whole intake together at the end of their day (4.30 pm.). Unfortunately there appeared to be a break-down in communication resulting in a good deal of confusion and suspicion.

I explained the purpose and nature of the study and asked if anyone had any questions. It took forty minutes to get through these. I would say that the majority of the questions were related to worries over confidentiality. The probationers seemed unwilling or unable to believe that the police would not have access to their individual responses. Indeed one person was convinced that a law would be passed forcing me to hand over the questionnaires. Despite my best efforts to assure them, many left without filling in the questionnaires saying that it was `too much of a risk'. This seemed surprising as a Chief Superintendent (the liaison officer) had introduced me to the group, saying that the police

service were very interested in the research and would like the probationers to participate as it would benefit the police force.

However this did not appear to convince some who asked if completing the questionnaires was compulsory. When they learnt that it was not they left immediately.

Of those who did complete the questionnaires, several said that they considered each question in two ways; firstly how they would honestly feel and secondly how the (police) organisation would like it to be answered. When questioned they said that they had completed the questionnaires in the second way. Some, gave me completed questionnaires but later returned and asked for them back saying that they did not want to take any chances.

A number of the probationer came back to speak to me and threw some light on what had happened. A number of factors appear to have contributed to this situation. One class had been told by their trainer to ask if participation was compulsory and if it was not to leave immediately. When I said that it was not, eleven got up and walked out. At this point several others (not from this class) also left. One class was told that it was a meeting about a Diploma course that they could take. When they discovered that it was not they felt that they had been deceived. The timing was also a problem as they would normally have had their meal at this time. Although plans had been made for them to have it later they had not been informed of this. It appeared that none of them had actually been given any

accurate information about the study or what to expect. They had just completed a long day and were then unhappy to be asked to fill in three questionnaires, taking about an hour and twenty minutes without prior warning. Under the circumstances this seems reasonable. However both I and the liaison person were under the impression that probationers would be given all available information by their trainers.

A number of recruits seemed unhappy at the event and comments made included ' don't you wonder about an organization that stirs this much distrust?', ' there is so much hostility here' and 'I simply don't believe that the force (police) wont force you to show them our answers".

When I returned to the training school later to conduct some interviews the class captain of one group gave me a sheet of paper with some reasons why the whole of her class did not fill in the questionnaires. This is reproduced below (my italics).

1. Fear it would affect job if put wrong answers.

2. *Should be* told more about it. Tired, hungry, thought *it was* a pension talk.

3. Anonymous/NOT! - send out to station?

4. Letters to people who didn't fill it in thanking them for help. *[This was referring to a follow up letter that I sent to all of the intake thanking them and attempting to persuade them to carry on with the study. This clearly made them feel suspicious*].

5. Patronizing - what is the point of it? Would trainee doctors have been treated this way? [*I had spent a long time explaining the study and answering questions but they were obviously not convinced. In addition, their feeling of being patronized may have been a result of their perception of being deceived into participating.*]

6. Questions on second part very contentious and controversial. Some people worried that this would hang around on their records and pop up at a later date in an interview situation.

7. 'Benefits to us?' What benefits. *[I had stated that it might benefit the police service in terms of their attitudes to training.*]

8. Out of 16, 4 would be prepared to do it on a volunteer basis. rest would not.

I asked the probationer if there was anything that I could say or do that would have convinced people that it would be totally confidential, but she said that they would not take the risk. These comments suggested an unexpectedly high level of suspicion from a group of new police officers who had only been in the police service for three days.

It seems reasonable to assume that a relatively small core of probationers were unduly suspicious and would not have completed the questionnaires under any circumstances. However, in the very unfavourable situation described above this suspicion probably spread to other probationers. There were 83 completed questionnaires.

In order to retrieve the situation I sent a letter to each person who had completed the questionnaires, again offering reassurance concerning confidentiality. Two weeks later I interviewed six probationers from this group and from their comments and after discussion with some of their trainers I decided to abandon this intake as part of the longitudinal study.

This inevitably resulted in a setback in terms of time. I could not gain access to a further intake until two months later. In order to avoid any group and situational effects, it was decided that the questionnaires should be sent to the probationer's home two weeks before they arrived at the training school for the first time. They were accompanied by an explanatory letter from me and a covering letter from the intake manager. Probationers were offered the option of returning the questionnaires to me by post or giving them to me at the training school on arrival. I obtained 103 questionnaires from an intake of 114.

The first intake from Kent police was due to take place several weeks after due to different intake dates. Therefore the revised system of data collection was used and all 100 new recruits completed the questionnaires.

The process of collecting both interview and questionnaire data at time one has proved to be very time consuming.

CHAPTER 4 - INITIAL INTERVIEWS TO DETERMINE WHETHER A SOCIALISATION EFFECT IS PRESENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The research (ie. Bennett 1984, Fielding 1986, Fielding and Fielding 1991) discussed in Chapter two describes how the officer enters and becomes socialized into the police culture. Socialisation was described as the adoption of the behavioural and attitudinal norms of the organisation by the individual. This may be seen in adoption of departmental rules (Bahn 1984), and a desire to be accepted by the group (Schachter 1967). The research also suggests a movement in attitudes and behaviours as a result of being a member of the group (ie. Neiderhoffer 1967, Katz 1980, Fielding 1986). Overall the research suggests that individuals change after becoming police officers. The main aim of this thesis focuses on the effects on the probationer of the police experience. However it seemed logical that before going down this road it would be fruitful to examine this issue. Therefore, this pre-study was carried out in an attempt to determine whether there was any evidence for a change in perceptions or attitudes amongst police officers during their probationary period.

The study was carried out using only recruits and probationers in Kent police. This was due to the fact that the decision to include another police service was taken later. The recruitment process used by Kent police involves four stages; a paper sift; the Police

Intake recruitment Test; a screening interview; and a 3-day assessment. The process from initial application to entry might typically take one year. Applicants are screened out at the first, paper stage on nationality (must be British), age (minimum 18.5 years), educational requirements (5 GCSE's), not having a driving license and medical problems. The second stage involves a series of tests. This is a nationally used test and was constructed by an external agency (NFER-Nelson) to measure skills relevant to policing (for example observation and comprehension). In addition Kent applicants take a dictation test. If applicants are successful on these tests they will be asked to attend a screening interview at a later date. This is usually conducted by two sergeants. The skills that are assessed include expression, tact and diplomacy, interpersonal skill, teamwork, common sense and logic, initiative, and open-mindedness. The sergeants have a grid to complete for each applicant and gives a score for each of the seven criteria on a five point scale (1-5). A candidate must obtain a score of 24 to pass. The final stage of the selection procedure is the 3-day assessment. This involves a medical, a series of physical fitness tests and group discussion sessions. Recruits are allocated to groups of approximately six people (often allocated on the basis of age). These sessions are also assessed by two sergeants, using a grid to assess candidates. Tasks include discussion topics such as 'should police officers be armed' and problem solving (deciding who should go for help when stranded on an island). There is also now a typing test, although this was not in operation for the respondents in this study. If these sessions are passed, candidates must undergo a final interview with a senior police officer. Again, the interviewers mark each candidate on a range of skills using a grid to assess eight skills (scores from 1-5). The skills are;

expression; interpersonal skills (listens to others, relates well to people); self confidence; assertiveness (projects own views in a confident manner); motivation (genuine reason for wanting to join the police and shows commitment); enthusiasm (a willingness to learn); awareness (well-informed and open-minded in relation to the role of a police officer); and honesty (displays truthfulness and sincerity). The candidate will be told whether or not they have passed before they leave at the end of the assessment. This process appears to bear out Bahn's (1984) description of the selection procedure as long and arduous, and a contributor to the perceived value the new recruit places on the police service.

The probationary period for police officers lasts for two years. This time is spent undertaking periods of formal training at training schools; informal training on police stations under the supervision of a tutor constable; and finally patrolling alone. The interview schedule was designed to assess whether officers' perceptions of the role of a police officer and becoming a police officer were the same after some police experience as those of new recruits. These were considered important as they might give some indication of the changes that might occur and would be relevant to the development of a social identity and later of a particular policing style. The aims of this study are three fold; i) to establish whether there is any evidence of changes in perceptions of the police role, and being a police officer; ii) to obtain a descriptive picture of the perceptions of police officers with differing periods of police experience; iii) to obtain knowledge about the 'workings' of a police service, that is some understanding of the organizational process and problems which would facilitate both the later studies and interpretation of results.

4.2 METHOD

Design of the study

The interviews were designed to assess the perceptions of probationers and of the police force in general, the nature of the role of the police officer, and the extent to which being a police officer would both change the individual and separate him/her from non-police personnel. A series of 36 interviews were carried out amongst a sample of recruits and probationers of the Kent police force. The interviews were divided into three categories; Selection (measuring initial perceptions); Up to 31 weeks service (the time of most formal training); Over 31 weeks service (when the probationer can usually patrol alone).

Subjects

At selection

Interviewees in this category were made up of a sample of 12 people (9 male 3 female) who were undergoing a three-day assessment procedure. They had already passed a screening interview carried out some weeks beforehand. One problem associated with conducting interviews during this time is the possibility that interviewees would be guarded in their responses, due to an environment in which they are constantly under scrutiny. However, they were assured that the interviews were totally unconnected with

the selection process and were confidential. In addition, it was emphasised that all interviews were voluntary and so the respondents were self-selecting. It was not possible to select at all. Although, as might be expected, the responses were relatively positive, they did not appear to be contrived.

This category would provide a starting point of views before any exposure to the police culture. However they cannot be considered to be a control group as it can be assumed that they would have a very positive view of both the police organisation and role.

Mean age of respondents = 26.08 years (range = 21-35 years).

Up to 31 weeks service

The second interview category included 12 probationers (male 10, female 2) with up to 31 weeks service. Respondents were all volunteers. This point was chosen as it is after this stage that probationers can go out on patrol alone. Up to this point they spend a total of approximately sixteen weeks at either Force Headquarters at Maidstone or the District Training Centre at Ashford. For the majority of the remaining weeks, probationers are paired with a Tutor Constable, who oversees all police work.

Interviewees in this category can be seen as those undergoing the most intensive period of training, both theoretical and practical. They are under constant supervision during this time. This group therefore represent the perceptions of probationers in the first period of integration into the police force.

Mean age of respondents = 27.75 years (range =21-38 years)

Over 31 weeks service

The third category of interviews included 12 probationers (male 8, female 4) who had completed twenty-one months of service. They should represent the views of officers approaching the end of the probationary period, who now have considerable experience of working alone. Respondents were all volunteers.

Mean age of respondents = 26.83 years (20-32 years)

The interviews

The interview was designed to assess how probationers at different points in their probationary period viewed their role as a police officer. The interview questions were divided into three sections (interview schedule in Appendix A):

Section 1

This group of questions is concerned with perceptions of the police role, the function of police work and the personal attraction for the individual. In addition this section deals with perceptions concerning the relationship between the police and the public.

Section 2

This section focuses on the process of becoming a police officer. This includes such topics as the impact of wearing a uniform, family relations and the separation of the police officer from others.

Section 3

Section 3 is concerned with how quickly a `real' police officer emerges. Underlying this section is the issue of whether police work is the natural application of traits such as common sense, or a role which is dependent on training.

Procedure

The interviews were semi-structured and were tape recorded with the consent of participants. Each interview took an average of twenty minutes to complete. A schedule of questions was followed but issues raised by respondents was followed up. Interviews were conducted in a private room at either Force headquarters or the District Training Centre.

4.3 RESULTS

The data will be analyzed to provide descriptive statistics of the perceptions and attitudes of probationers. In addition where the expected frequencies allow, Chi Squared test will be used in order to determine whether any differences in reporting are significantly associated with the stage of the probationary period. Yates correction for continuity has not been used (see Howell 1987)

Section 1 - Perceptions of the police role

Table 4.1 Percentage of total responses to 'Which 3 occupations would you see as being most similar to police work?'

Occupations	Selection	Up to 31 weeks	Over 31 weeks	Total No. Responses
Social work/nursing	17.1% (6)	29.7% (11)	25% (9)	26
Ambulance/ fire	24.2% (8)	22.2% (8)	36.1% (13)	29
Lawyer	0	8.3% (3)	0	3
Armed services	25% (9)	11.1% (4)	11.1% (4)	17
Teaching	2.8% (1)	8.3% (3)	0	4
Traffic warden/ security guard	13.9% (5)	8.3% (3)	8.3% (3)	11
Shop work	8.3% (3)	2.8% (1)	2.8% (1)	5
Customs	2.8% (1)	2.8% (1)	5.6% (2)	4
Tax inspector	0	2.8% (1)	0	1
Prison/ probation work	8.3% (3)	2.8% (1)	11.1% (4)	8
MOD police	2.8% (1)	0	0	1
Total No. Responses	36	36	36	108

Percentages given are calculated from the total number of responses for each group (36). Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

This question was designed to determine how probationers saw their role as a police officer and whether perceptions of the job of a police officer actually changes as the

person progresses through the probationary period. Each probationer was asked to provide three occupations which s/he felt were similar to police work, which resulted in 36 responses for each group. In terms of similarity of the police officer's role to other occupations, the ambulance and fire services seem to be popular perceptions across the three groups. At the selection stage, this category is the most frequently mentioned occupation jointly with the armed services. Amongst officers with up to 31 weeks service, social work and nursing is the most frequently mentioned occupations, with the ambulance and fire services having the next highest percentage. This pattern is reversed amongst officers with more than 31 weeks service with ambulance and fire being most popular. Despite being the joint most frequently mentioned occupation at selection, the armed services account for only 11.1% of responses in both of the two other service categories.

The armed services, traffic warden/security guard, prison/probation work, customs and MOD police, which might be thought of in terms of the mechanistic or enforcement nature of the work, account for 52.8% of the choices at selection, whereas for those up to 31 weeks and those over, the percentages are 27.8% and 36.1% respectively. The remaining occupations might be seen as those involving helping people and are higher amongst respondents with some service, indicating a changed perception from the selection period, although the statistical significance of the effect is marginal (Chi-squared = 4.41, P= .11, df=2) It appears to indicate that with service police officers come to view their job as less of an enforcement role.

Table 4.2. Percentage of total response to 'What is it that first attracted you to the police?'

Factors	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Variety	30% (6)	47.6% (10)	23.8% (5)	21
Helping people	20% (4)	0	9.5% (2)	6
Meeting People	15% (3)	4.8% (1)	4.8% (1)	5
Challenge	0	9.5% (2)	0	2
Security	0	9.5% (2)	9.5% (2)	4
Career opportunities	10% (2)	4.8% (1)	14.3% (3)	6
Excitement	0	4.8% (1)	9.5% (2)	3
Working in a group	0	4.8% (1)	14.3% (3)	4
Pay	0	9.5% (2)	9.5% (2)	4
Reduce crime	5% (1)	0	0	1
Worthwhile job	20% (4)	4.8% (1)	4.8% (1)	6
Total	20	21	21	62

Table 4.3. Percentage responses from Table 4.2. categorised as social or personal values

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Social values	45% (9)	4.8% (1)	14.3% (3)	13
Personal values	55% (11)	95.2% (20)	85.7% (18)	49
Total No. Responses	20	21	21	62

Chi-squared = 10.86, P=.00, df=2

The responses shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 clearly indicate that the most common attraction of the job is variety, a finding across all three groups. However if we consider reducing crime, a worthwhile job and helping people to represent social attractions of the role and the rest to represent personal attractions we can see in Table 4.3 a movement from social values on this dimension. It is surprising that even at the selection stage, the majority of attractions mentioned personal attractions compared to social ones. Table 4.3 shows that this trend is stronger amongst those who have some service. This fits in with the suggestion that police officers move from idealistic to instrumental values as their period of service increases.

Table 4.4. Percentage responses to 'Does the reality measure up to the expectation?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
As expected	n/a	50% (6)	50% (6)	12
Better	n/a	41.7% (5)	50% (6)	11
Worse	n/a	8.3% (1)	0	1
Total No. Responses		12	12	24

The responses to this question are very similar across the two relevant groups with both seemingly happy, stating that the job has come up to expectations or is actually better.

Table 4.5. Percentage responses to 'Have you had any contact with the public as a police officer? If so, were you treated differently as a police officer?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	n/a	91.7% (11)	100% (12)	23
No	n/a	8.3% (1)	0	1
Total No. Responses		12	12	24

Table 4.6. Percentage responses to `Have you experienced any negative response?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Some	n/a	83.3% (10)	91.7% (11)	21
None	n/a	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	3
Total No. Responses	0	12	12	24

Table 4.7. Percentage responses to `On the whole would you say that your experiences have been positive or negative?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Positive	n/a	75% (9)	100% (12)	21
Negative	n/a	25% (3)	0	3
Total No. Responses		12	12	24

The previous three Tables show that, not surprisingly, as service increases, so does the likelihood of feelings of being treated differently and experiencing negative responses from the public. More surprisingly, however, is the finding that with longer service a greater number of officers felt that on the whole their experiences had been positive. This could be due to a more realistic picture obtained over a greater period of time and the ability to put any negative response into perspective. A second possibility is that, again, in order to maintain self-esteem, officers project their job in a positive light.

People interviewed in the 'Up to 31 Weeks' category appeared to have a fairly positive view of their experiences with the public. However, a general feeling of carrying a heavy responsibility seems apparent in responses such as *`they expect a lot of you'*.

There appears to be a feeling of isolation in the 'Over 31 Weeks group'; *`They listen to what you're saying.' `Friends reacted differently, turned against you.' `Totally different. I was in a pub with my wife and a friend came up and asked "what does your husband do for a living?". She said "He's a policeman." They say "Oh well I'd better be quiet then and sit in a corner and not do anything." At times they don't treat you as a human being.' `Seem to think you know everything, you should be able to deal with everything.'*

Table 4.8. Percentage responses to `What three characteristics do you think are necessary to be a good police officer?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total**
Personal skills	50% (18)	44.4% (16)	63.9% (23)	57
Social skills	50% (18)	55.6% (20)	36.1% (13)	51
Total	36	36	36	108

These categories are collapsed from 26 traits given in free response. Personal skills consist of items; being able to think quickly, being confident, persistent, reliable, having common

sense, having courage, being professional, being strong, honest, mature, having knowledge, having authority and knowing right from wrong. Social skills include tolerance, patience, the ability to talk to people, having a sense of humour, being able to listen, being understanding, being approachable, being diplomatic and being friendly.

It can be seen that at selection, respondents saw both types of skills as being equally important. The up to 31 weeks group perceived social skills to be more important. This may reflect the fact that they are still in their training period when this is likely to be emphasized. However, in the over 31 week group, this is reversed with more respondents reporting that personal skills are more important for a police officer. This suggests some movement in perception of the police role over the period.

Table 4.9. Percentage responses to `On the whole what do you think is the public's primary perception of the police?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Positive	58.3% (7)	58.3% (7)	100% (12)	26
Negative	16.7% (2)	41.7% (5)	0	7
Mixed	16.7% (2)	0	0	2
Don't Know	8.3% (1)	0	0	1
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

There is a difference in the response pattern across the three categories. The majority of the selection group felt that overall the public's perception of the police was positive. This

majority is maintained for the `up to 31 weeks' group however the percentage who thought that the public were more negative rises considerably from the selection stage, presumably in the light of personal exposure to negative response from the public. However in the `over 31 weeks' group, despite the higher incidence of experience of negative feelings from the public, 100% felt that the public's primary perception is positive. Of course, the negative response experienced may be a small proportion of the total experience of each officer. In these terms, the two findings are quite consistent. However the sharp difference in the response of the two groups of serving officers suggests that this may not be the case. Whatever the reason, again we are seeing a much more positive impression from officers with longer service.

Table 4.10. Percentage responses to 'If there is any negative feeling towards the police, what do you think the reason is?'

Response	Selection	Up to 31 weeks	Over 31 weeks	Total No. Responses
The media	26.7% (4)	31.6% (6)	26.7% (4)	14
Bad past training	0	15.8% (3)	0	3
The way the police deal with people	0	10.6% (2)	33.3% (5)	7
Age of the member of the public	6.7% (1)	10.6% (2)	0	3
Fashionable to dislike the police	0	5.3% (1)	0	1
Past experience of the police	13.3% (2)	10.6% (2)	33.3% (5)	9
Fear of the law through ignorance	0	5.3% (1)	0	1
Bad police	6.7% (1)	5.3% (1)	6.7% (1)	3
Background of public	40% (6)	5.3% (1)	0	3
Falling moral standards of public	6.7% (1)	0	0	1
Total No. Responses	15	19	15	45

Respondents could provide more than one answer. Percentages are calculated from the total number of responses for each group.

In contrast to the previous Table, this question relating to the reasons for any negative feeling that may exist, shows a more pessimistic view in the `over 31 weeks' group. The most frequent response for the selection group and the `up to 31 weeks' group was the media; an external factor to the police. In contrast, the most frequent response in the `over 31 weeks' group was *`past experience of the police'* and `the way the police deal with people' suggesting accountability of the police themselves. Indeed if we group together factors external to the police such as the media, age of the member of the public, fashionable to dislike the police, fear of the law through ignorance, falling moral standards of the public and background of the public, we find that external factors in the selection, up to 31 weeks and over 31 weeks groups accounted for by 80.1%, 57.9% and 26.7% respectively. At the same time factors that might be considered internal to the police account for 20%, 42.1% and 73.3% for the selection, up to 31 weeks and over 31 weeks groups respectively. This breakdown produces a chi-squared of 8.72 and is significant at the .03 level. This suggests the development of a more negative view of the police over time.

The most frequent response to this question in the 'At selection' group indicated that people at the selection stage perceived the media to be the largest factor in contributing to a negative public perception of the police. *`People are taken in, minority situations are blown out of proportion.' `Situations may have been exaggerated.' `The situation may have been exaggerated and therefore not a totally true impression.'*

The media was also seen as the most influential factor in the 'Up to 31 Weeks' group. *`Even law abiding people believe what's in the papers.' `It's the negative things that get into the papers.'* In addition there seemed to be a feeling that the police were the scapegoats for any failure; *`The Guildford 4, Birmingham 6, it all falls back on the police not the Criminal Justice System.'*

Many of the comments in the 'Over 31 Weeks' group relate to the way the police are manipulated by external forces; *`The police force in general get dragged into political issues, mocked in some way as right wing.' `The TV and media don't treat us kindly at all.' `Politics come into it.'* However as we can see in Table 4.10 this group appeared to consider the police force themselves to be largely responsible for any negative feeling on the part of the police. *`Bad dealings with police officers or bad outcomes.' `If you don't set a good enough example...driving down the road in a safe fashion...they think if he can do it, I can do it.' `been disappointed in the past.' `Certain police officers' attitudes towards members of the public.'*

Table 4.11. Percentage responses to 'Do you feel that women perform a different role to men in the police force?'

Response	Selection	Up to 31 weeks	Over 31 weeks	Total No. Responses
Different role	83.3% (10)	41.7% (5)	66.7% (8)	23
Same role	16.7% (2)	25% (3)	16.7% (2)	7
Same role but in a different way	0	33.3% (4)	16.7% (2)	6
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

Table 4.12. Percentage responses to 'In what way are things different for women?'

Response	Selection	Up to 31 weeks	Over 31 weeks	Total No. Responses
Weaker (physically)	38.9% (7)	33.3% (7)	36.8% (7)	21
Must prove themselves	11.1% (2)	19.1% (4)	5.3% (1)	8
Think differently	0	5.6% (1)	0	1
More emotional	0	5.6% (1)	0	1
Organisational bias	38.9% (7)	28.6% (6)	36.8% (7)	20
Communicate better	11.1% (2)	9.6% (2)	21.1 (4)	8
Total No. Responses	18	21	19	59

Table 4.13. percentage responses to `Do women generally have an easier or harder time than men?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Easier	0	8.3% (1)	25% (3)	4
Harder	75% (9)	75% (9)	58.3% (7)	25
Same	25% (3)	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	7
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

The responses to the issue of women in the police are mixed. All groups see women performing a different role to men, as physically weaker, being subject to organisational bias and having a harder time than men. The proportion of officers believing women to perform the same role as men is higher in the `up to 31 weeks' group. This may be accounted for by the greater periods spent at training schools during this time, when the differences between men and women police officers is not salient. However this perception may change when officers take on a more operational role, and the differences

are again heightened. The proportion of officers who thought that women have an easier time gradually increases with service while the number who think that women have a harder time decreases in the over 31 weeks group. However it is still the case that the majority of all three groups believe that women have a harder time than men. Table 4.12 shows an increase in the perception of those with over 31 weeks service of women being able to communicate better than men.

In the 'At Selection' group, women talked about the difficulties facing female police officers; *`Must be one of the lads, an uphill struggle.' `More difficult for a woman, must prove yourself as a police officer and as a woman. It's a sexist organisation.'* Men spoke more generally about the role of women in the police force; *`women are essential for dealing with female criminals', `difficulties on the physical side, women cannot perform the same function'.* Although some men did seem aware of the different situation for women; *`I think they look down on women in the police force...if you expected a police officer to turn up, a majority of people would expect a man'.* The general comments reflect a recognition of the difficulties experienced by women.

In the 'Up to 31 Weeks' group, men seemed to be aware of the difficulties for women in the police; *`A male dominated job...male bravado in jokes.' `Can do what any man can do, almost. Would be concerned in a public order situation, feel more confident with a fellow than a woman.' `A woman must prove herself, if she shows she is 100% then she will be*

accepted.' `A weak link from size point of view.' `Pushed into sexual stereotypes.' `Women are looked after, on the station they get more mickey-taking because they are girls.' ` Harder time proving themselves to less enlightened people.' Women felt that the difficulties are to do with attitude; *`It's demoralising when you hear they've sent two women'.*

In the 'Over 31 Weeks' group women seemed to regard the attitudes of the police to be the greatest problem; *`The men were going out to arrest some-one who was a bit troublesome and said "you stay here it's a bit too dangerous". I said " no, why, you're the ones who shout I'm getting the same pay as you..oh alright I'll stay here and put the kettle on". The same night they called on me to take a lone female up an alley way to collect her car. I just joke about it but they do say you shouldn't have women in the police force.' `We've got a front office and I've been specifically trained up to do that, none of the blokes, just me because I'm a woman. There are a lot of jokes, most of it's harmless, I mind it sometimes.' `You sometimes have to prove yourself more to a chap. Because you're a woman you can't do this or because you're a woman you can deal with this.' `It balances out. Sometimes you get labeled a dopey tart, by the police themselves. It's a joke but you do sometimes think you're fighting against it. On the other hand there are advantages as policemen treat you better than some other police officers.' Men also talked about some misgivings about women in the police; `What men talk about and what women talk about are two different things. WPCs might not like what's being said, but it's a general sort of male conversation.' `I sometimes feel ill at ease if I'm crewed with a woman, if I need backup, if*

I get into a scrape, I don't think that a woman would be able to help in such a way that man would.' 'There was a WPC, a young girl junior in service to me, there were men being double-crewed at night and a young girl was sent out walking on her own. Yes deliberately, she's since resigned. I think it was a way to force her into situations that she probably wouldn't have done on her own.' 'Harder. More is expected of them.'

Section 2 - The process of becoming a police officer

Table 4.14 Percentage responses to 'How do/will you feel about wearing a uniform?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Happy	75% (9)	41.7% (5)	75% (9)	23
Unhappy	8.3% (1)	0	0	1
Indifferent	16.7% (1)	58.3% (7)	25% (3)	12
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

There appears to be, as would be expected, a stronger positive feeling about wearing a police uniform among those at selection than among those in the intermediate period. However this positive feeling returns amongst those approaching the end of their probationary period.

Not surprisingly, the people at the selection stage viewed wearing a uniform in a very positive way. They were obviously well disposed to joining the police force and the

uniform would be the realisation of their goal. Their comments reflect this; *`thrilled, proud of the police force...it identifies me'. `No problem, the uniform puts across a message, the uniform's respected, that's the way it ought to be.'*

Table 4.15 percentage responses to `Do/will you feel a different person when wearing a uniform?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	58.3% (7)	66.7% (8)	50% (6)	21
No	41.7% (5)	33.3% (4)	41.7% (5)	14
Don't know	0	0	8.3% (1)	1
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

At least half of all groups reported that they did or would feel different when wearing a uniform. However the comments indicate distinctions between feeling different in a positive way and a negative way.

Responses to this question amongst respondents at the selection stage appear to reflect a feeling that the new police officer would feel different and the uniform would be a signifier of that. *`Will make me feel different, the career will make me feel I am doing an important job.'*

The comments of respondents with up to 31 weeks service suggest a slightly more negative aspect, a feeling of no escape. *`Have noticed that people don't look me in the eye and then realise that I'm wearing a uniform.' `You stand out and people look at you.' `The individual is inhibited in some ways. You are expected to act as a diplomat-cop police officer, must remember that you are in the public eye, must set standards.' `Like a shield, gives me something, says I've got something.' `The first time you go out you are aware people are looking at you.'*

In the 'Over 31 Weeks' group the negative perception of wearing a uniform is repeated in this group. *`People see you if they want help..a bit more respect. It makes you feel conspicuous to the public, you think people are looking at you.' `Feel very exposed, you're the one every-one looks to for help, you're there to be looked at.' `Very conscious, stand out, people looking at you, watching you.' `Feel good about it, gives me some identity, gives you a big boost in confidence.' `I'm proud to wear my uniform, does have a little bit of a barrier.' `Because you are wearing a uniform people are looking at you, just stick out*

more.' 'Walking down the street in uniform, there's a sense of authority about you, every-one moving out of the way like a funnel opening. Every-one looks away like a sense of guilt about them even though they might not have done anything at all.'

Table 4.16 Percentage responses to 'Did you know anyone in the police force that you spoke to when considering whether to apply?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	75% (9)	66.7% (8)	66.7% (8)	25
No	25% (3)	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	11
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

This question indicates that the majority of police officers knew some-one in the police service when they decided to apply. This suggests that probationers had some idea of the role they were to take on before they joined.

Table 4.17 Percentage responses to `Are your family happy with you joining the police force?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Happy	58.3% (7)	58.3% (7)	58.3% (7)	21
Happy but with reservations	41.7% (5)	41.7% (5)	41.7% (5)	15
Unhappy	0	0	0	0
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

Table 4.18 Percentage responses to 'Is it important to you how your family feel?'

Response	Selection	Up to 31 weeks	Over 31 weeks	Total No. Responses
Yes	100% (12)	75% (9)	91.7% (11)	32
No	0	25% (3)	8.3% (1)	4
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

The response to these two questions begins to highlight some problems faced by police officers. The pattern of response is similar across all categories with just over half falling into the happy and happy but with reservations responses. Intuitively, one might expect there to be less unhappiness from families as service increased, on the basis that as time goes on and nothing unpleasant occurs, worries might diminish. However this does not appear to be the case. The majority of respondents stated that how their family feel about their job is important to them. Therefore, if approximately half of officers feel that their family are not totally happy about them being a police officer, this might provide a source of conflict, and an added strain of the job.

Table 4.19 Percentage responses to ` Do you think your family really understands what it's like to be a police officer?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	25% (3)	33.3% (4)	0	7
No	58.3% (7)	66.7% (8)	100% (12)	27
Don't Know	16.7% (2)	0	0	2
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

Table 4.19 shows a steady increase in the percentage of people reporting that their family would not be able to understand what their job is like for them.

A surprisingly large number of people at selection anticipated that their families would not understand what it would be like to be a police officer. *`They can't understand how deeply it went, how deeply it affects people.' `No. I will tell them at some stage "I'll get upset and that I'll get over it", develop a hard skin, detachment.' `Cannot fully understand what the police experience is, the stress.'*

In the 'Up to 31 Weeks' group respondents made comments such as *`Can't really explain.' `Can tell them but they cannot ever really understand what it's like.'*

The majority of probationers in the 'Over 31 Weeks' group made comments suggesting that people outside of the police organization, and even their family cannot understand what it is like to be a police officer. The following quote sums up many of the comments made; *' It's like with a girlfriend, things might get on top of you and unless you thrash it out straightaway, you have an argument and it's not until the argument is over that you sit down and explain it all. It's because I'm there every day and they're not. You should think that they understand but you don't. They're not there and they don't understand because they don't really know what it's like.' `It's how you feel, not so much them understanding what you have to cope with, but understanding how you actually feel.' You have to talk about it and there are times you don't want to. Something that's troubling you, you do think about it at home and it's nice to talk to some-one about it, but I don't think they can appreciate some of the pressure you're under and the way you deal with things. Some of the things you see, I don't think they fully understand.' `Not really, do sometimes feel that I bottle it up, the top comes off and I explode and that's the end of it.' `I don't think any-body really knows what we go through, what goes through our minds.' `Any bad experiences are kept in-house, not in the home and any good experiences go back to the family.' Something dramatic at work, it's easier to talk to some-one in the job rather than some-one who doesn't know anything about it, what you're going through.'*

Table 4.20 Percentage responses to 'Do you think that it is possible for any non-police officer to understand what it is really like?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	0	3
No	75% (9)	83.3% (10)	100% (12)	31
Don't Know	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)	0	2
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

As with the question in the previous Table, we see that although the effect is not significant, there is a movement over the period of service, of the belief that it is not possible for any-one to understand what it is like to be a police officer. This is clearly very strong with 100% of officers indicating that even their family cannot really understand in the over 31 weeks category.

Table 4.21 Percentage responses to `Does/will this make you feel in some ways different to other people?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	50% (6)	58.3% (7)	66.7% (8)	21
No	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	25% (3)	11
Don't know	16.7% (2)	8.3% (1)	8.3% (1)	4
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

The pattern of response to questions reported in Table 4.21 reflects those of questions in Tables 4.20 and 4.19. It is interesting to note in all three questions that a large majority of those at selection anticipate that those around them will not understand their experiences and half expect to feel different to other people. This perception is reinforced a larger number of respondents when they have some experience of being a police officer showing a steady increase in those who report feeling different to other people.

Respondents in the 'At Selection' group made comments such as *`Possibly, yes, I notice some of them become very insular, all their friends do tend to be policemen.' `Out look might change slightly, harder, tougher.'*

Many respondents in the 'Up to 31 Weeks' felt that being a police officer *`Makes us different.' `It's difficult to talk to people who aren't [police officers]. If you've felt fear or elation when you did something right, you feel a bit different.' `Rely on colleagues, that's why the job's so insular...friends in the police.' `The new experiences change you somehow.' `I feel I have a wider capability, responsibility.' `Feel a little frustrated when others can't understand.' `Must be careful who to and where you mention it..feel under threat.'*

In the 'Over 31 Weeks' group one person said that *'In some ways yes I do feel separate. My circle of friends are non-police officers. I feel that I'm under a dome and they're on the outside. Though they're my friends I'm somewhat segregated. When I see a policeman we're all in the same room together.' `It makes me feel that if I want to talk to some-one, job-related, who isn't in the job, then apart from the very exciting things, I can't talk to any-one about something that's bugging me or is personally related to a situation that I've dealt with because there is no way they can fully understand how I felt.' Another said `Yes you do feel different because people are looking at you all the time.'*

The following two questions are designed to examine whether respondents see the role of a police officer as being a job which they leave behind when they go home or an identity which remains a part of them at all times.

Table 4.22 Percentage responses to 'Do you feel that you are a police officer 24 hours a day or only when on duty?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
24 hours	58.3% (7)	83.3% (10)	58.3% (7)	24
24 hours depending on the situation	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	16.7% (2)	5
When on duty	33.3% (4)	0	25% (3)	7
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

This Table clearly indicates that the majority of all groups would feel a police officer in some circumstances. The responses of the intermediate group show that they are the most

committed on this dimension with the highest proportion who unreservedly stated that they are a police officer 24 hours a day, and having 100% of respondents agreeing that they are a police officer longer than just when on duty. The other two groups appear to take a more reserved view. One third of the selection group, and one quarter of the over 31 weeks group said that they were only a police officer while on duty. It may be that the initial enthusiasm has begun to wane in the last group.

In the 'At Selection' group, comments made included *`You're a person people look to for help and support, can't expect to say "sorry, not on duty today", adapt to that.' `Twenty-four hours in one way, if something occurs while you're off-duty you have to face up to it, you have to keep the peace, uphold the law.'*

In the 'Up to 31 Weeks most people felt that they were on duty 24 hours a day; *`Already have (felt on duty 24 hours a day).' `Always a police officer. Will not look for crime, but if it occurs, will have a job to do.' `Whenever needed.' `Feel obliged to do so.'*

The story was similar in the 'Over 31 Weeks' group; *`Twenty-four hours, you don't miss a thing when you're out.' `Even when you're out of uniform people expect you to act accordingly, you've got to act that role 24 hours a day.' `I'm a police officer 24 hours a day, will do my duty.' `They give you a warrant card that says "this is you, you are now a police officer, keep it in your pocket".' `Where you live people know that you're a policeman and you can't avoid that anyway. If something is going on then they would expect you, even though you're not in uniform, to help out or be able to deal with it'.*

Table 4.23 Percentage responses to 'If you saw an incident when you were off-duty do you think you would intervene?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	50% (6)	66.7% (8)	33.3% (4)	18
Yes depending on the situation	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	66.7% (8)	16
No	16.7% (2)	0	0	2
Don't know	0	0	0	0
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

As with the previous question, there is an overall increase in the percentage who would definitely intervene in an incident when off-duty from selection to the end of probation, with the highest percentage at the up to 31 weeks period, with 100% stating that they would intervene in some circumstances. Clearly the majority of all groups could foresee that they would be prepared to perform their role as a police officer when off-duty.

However, although 100% of those with service felt this only 75% of those at selection responded in this way.

Table 4.24. Percentage responses to `What percentage of serving officers do you think would intervene if necessary?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
70%+	58.3% (7)	66.7% (8)	66.7% (8)	23
50-69%	16.7% (2)	25% (3)	16.7% (2)	7
less than 50%	25% (3)	8.3% (1)	16.7% (2)	6
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

This question is interesting in that it appears to indicate that most respondents saw other police officers as likely to behave in the same way that they would, especially at the selection stage. In addition we can see that at selection a quarter of respondents thought

that less than half of serving police officers would intervene if necessary, a proportion that is considerably reduced in the next two groups. It can be assumed that those officer with some service are responding in the light of their experience. It demonstrates however, that for a large majority of respondents, at whatever stage, it is the norm to intervene, rather than to not intervene. This suggests that for the majority, you continue to be a police officer even when you are not on duty.

Section 3. - The speed of socialisation

Table 4.25 Percentage responses to `How long do you think it takes to become a `real' police officer?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
More than 2 years	83.3% (10)	16.7% (2)	25% (3)	15
Less than 2 years and don't know	16.7% (2)	83.3% (10)	75% (9)	21
Total No. responses	12	12	12	36

Chi-squared = 13.03, P=.00, df=2

Not surprisingly, the selection group think that it takes a longer period to become a `real' police officer than the other two groups. A half of the intermediate group thought that it took less than a year; a perception not shared by either of the other two groups. The over 31 weeks group suggest a much longer period is required however, this does indicate that

the intermediate group feel a part of the police force in a very short period of time. In combination with the responses to the previous questions in relation to feeling a police officer at all times, this indicates that the 'occupational identity' is apparent for this group very quickly.

Table 4.26 Percentage responses to 'Do you think that some people are naturals for the job?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	41.7% (5)	75% (9)	91.7% (11)	25
No	0	25% (3)	8.3% (1)	4
Don't know	58.3% (7)	0	0	7
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

The responses to this question demonstrate an increasingly held belief that some people are 'naturals' for the job. This suggests that officers see personality or personal

KENT

characteristics and skills as being more important than training. Clearly this has important implications for the effectiveness of training programmes. If probationers believe that police officers are `born' and not `made' their belief in the value of training must surely be diminished.

Table 4.27 Percentage responses to `Which is most important using your common sense or putting your training into practice?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Mostly common sense	41.7% (5)	58.3% (7)	83.3% (10)	22
Mostly training	0	8.3% (1)	0	1
Equally both	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	16.7% (2)	10
Don't know	25% (3)	0	0	3
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

The pattern shown here suggests a strengthening across time of the belief that common sense is more important in the police role in line with the police culture of pragmatism.

Table 4.28 Responses to 'Is it appropriate for a police officer to use discretion in applying the law?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
Yes	100% (12)	100% (12)	100% (12)	36
No	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

This question indicates that respondents consider discretion to be very important. This is not surprising as this is an element that is emphasised not just in the training period, but also at selection interviews.

Table 4.29 Percentage responses to 'Is this discretion in the individual or do they learn it from other police officers?'

Response	**Selection**	**Up to 31 weeks**	**Over 31 weeks**	**Total No. Responses**
In the individual	8.3% (1)	66.7% (8)	66.7% (8)	17
From other police officers	33.3% (4)	0	8.3% (1)	5
Half and half	41.7% (5)	33.3% (4)	25% (1)	12
Don't know	16.7% (2)	0	0	2
Total No. Responses	12	12	12	36

This question again demonstrates an increase, from the selection period to the probationary period, in the number of respondents who feel that discretion is something within the individual rather than learnt from some-one else. This finding suggests that probationers feel that they do not have to wait for the end of their training period to become 'real' police officers as they use their own skills to decide on their actions rather than those taught by the police force.

4.4 DISCUSSION

There are two major trends that emerge from the interviews. The first, and the one directly relevant to the purpose of the study indicates a progressive change in perception on related issues from the selection stage to the over 31 week group. The second trend is the distinctive nature of the responses to some questions in the up to 31 week group. Each of these is discussed below.

4.4.1. Socialisation effects.

A consistent change in responses from selection, to the `up to 31 weeks' group to the `over 31 weeks' group, in either direction, would appear to suggest a socialisation process. In addition, a change from the `up to 31 weeks' to the `over 31 weeks' period would also indicate this process. This effect is found on 13 of the 28 questions.

We can see that the choice of occupations indicates a steady move towards a more person-oriented perception of the job in contrast to the more enforcement nature favoured by those at selection. This might suggest that when new police officers are recruited they do not have a very accurate impression of police work.

The results of the question concerning the initial attraction of police work is interesting. In a number of discussions with trainers at Ashford and Maidstone, a clear picture of the police recruit was offered; that of an idealistic person wanting to help and protect others. However the results of the interviews demonstrate that even at the recruitment stage personal values (that is those that benefit/satisfy the police officer rather than society) constitute the majority of responses. The percentage who gave attractions suggesting personal values rises considerably in the intermediate group, and although slightly lower in the over 31 week group, is still much higher than at selection.

Theoretically, the first attraction should not change according to period of service. The fact that it does, suggests that responses reflect present attractions rather than those at selection. This again, indicates that perceptions change over time, and that those at selection do not have a good picture of police work.

The questions relating to probationers' personal experience with the public show a consistent trend. Generally, the responses indicate an increasing feeling of being treated differently by the public, of increasing experience of negative response from the public, but also an increasing view that overall, their experiences have been positive.

The first two findings suggest a picture of increasing isolation for the police officer. Therefore the last finding appears surprising and contradictory. One explanation might be that although the isolation exists, it forms a small part of the total experience.

Alternatively, it might be the case that the first two findings are contributing to the development of the social identity of the probationer as a police officer. The final finding therefore might be a reflection of the desire to present a positive image of the police role in line with Social Identity Theory (Turner 1984).

One hundred percent of the over 31 weeks group also feel that the public perception of the police in general is positive. This is an increase on the 58.3% of both the other two groups who gave the same response. This could also be due to a strong social identity influencing responses. It is interesting that the up to 31 week group have the strongest negative feeling which may indicate the training experience to be a negative event (Van Maanen 1975). It may be due to some lowering of self esteem at this point which is later restored (Stradling, Crowe and Tuohy 1991). This is also supported by the finding that this group, although positive, report less positive feelings about the reality of the job than the over 31 weeks group. In addition, a greater proportion of this group reported that they feel different when wearing a police uniform and are less happy wearing it than the over 31 weeks group.

All groups feel that they are badly treated by the media. However, it appears that the over 31 weeks group see any negative feelings that the public have towards the police to be caused largely by the police themselves. In contrast, this viewpoint is held by a small minority of those at selection and a larger minority by those with less than 31 weeks of service. This indicates a much more negative view of the police held by the over 31 weeks group, contradicting the more positive viewpoint held by this group, discussed above.

Responses to the two questions concerning the ability of others to understand what it is like to be a police officer, give a strong impression of feelings isolation. One hundred percent of the over 31 weeks group felt that neither their family nor anyone else who is not a police officer can understand what it is like to be a police officer, supporting the work of Skolnick (1967). The majority of both other groups agree with this, but less strongly in the up to 31 weeks group and least strongly at selection. It seems reasonable to assume that feelings that other people cannot understand your role, combined with feelings of being badly portrayed by the media might further reinforce the feelings of isolation discussed above. This is supported by an increasing proportion from selection to over 31 weeks who reported feeling different to other people as a result of not feeling understood. These perceptions of external hostility and isolation might foster feelings of police solidarity. Strong police solidarity seems at odds with the concept of the police as part of the community. It seems likely that police view the public as the outgroup along with all that is implied in research in this area (Brewer 1979).

There appears to be a changing perception concerning how the role of the police officer is developed. Not surprisingly the majority at selection did not know whether some people are naturals for the job or not. However at this stage 41.7% felt that some were which increased to 75% and 91.7% at the two later stages of probation respectively. In a similar vein, the proportion of people who thought that the job is mostly common sense increased from 41.7% at selection, progressively to 83.3% at over 31 weeks. These findings support the conception of policing as a very practical, common sense role (Fielding 1987). This

perception would seem to undermine the role of training and thus its ultimate effectiveness. Fielding suggests that this perception is nurtured by trainers even within the formal training environment. My own observations confirm this when hearing a police sergeant (operational) speaking to successful recruits at the three-day assessment, distinguishing between officers who are `office wallers' and `operational police officers'. This presents a clear message to those just entering the police organisation, that real police work only occurs on the street, possibly helping to invalidate the formal training process.

A change in perception relating to how police know how or when to use discretion is also demonstrated between those at selection and probationers with some service. Only 8.3% (1 person) at selection thought that this discretion is already in the individual, compared to 66.7% in both of the other groups. This indicates a movement to the more pragmatic policing demonstrated above.

4.4.2. The up to 31 week group

The 'up to 31 week' group represent the perceptions and views of probationers who have spent the largest part of their police experience in formal training. This group shows the highest percentage of personal values in relation to the initial attraction of the job at 95.2%. This could be a reflection of the fact that this group has spent a larger period at training schools than the later probationary group. This finding might therefore suggest that formal training has an inward-looking effect, that is the focus of attention is on the individual, rather than the group to be policed, the public. To some extent this is not surprising as most training involves emphasis on developing personal skills etc. and most of their time in a training school environment. However, at the same time it seem surprising that the fall in social values is from 45% at selection to 4.8% in this group.

Although, the majority of this group believe that the public's primary perception of the police is positive, 41.7% believe that it is negative. This is a much higher percentage than either of the other two groups with 16.7% and 0% at selection and over 31 weeks respectively. This may be due to the novel unpleasant experience of negative response from the public. This may result in an overly negative view of police-public relations that is re-evaluated in a more positive way later in the probationary period (Stradling et.al. 1991).

The up to 31 week group give the lowest percentage who believe that women perform a different role to men, but the highest percentage who believe that women perform the same role but in a different way. In addition in this group a lower proportion believe that women are subjected to organisational bias than either of the other two groups. The pattern shows an initial lowering from a high proportion at selection who believe that women perform a different role, followed by a rise nearer to the initial point at over 31 weeks. This might be viewed as a move from the initial perception influenced by the formal training environment, to a view which is more in line with the initial perception, but modified by greater experience `on the street'.

In response to `How will/do you feel about wearing a uniform?', the up to 31 week group show the lowest proportion of people who are happy and the highest who are indifferent compared to both of the other two stages. It might be the case that this group is in a period of uncertainty. It is not surprising that the selection group felt very positive about wearing a uniform, as this could be seen to be synonymous with their goal of getting into the police force. The later probationary stage, might feel more confident in their role having had a large amount of practical experience. The intermediate group, however, might feel unsure of their role, with relatively little experience. In addition, in light of the previously discussed finding that this group shows the highest proportion of people who believe that the public's view of the police is negative, less enthusiasm about wearing the uniform is not surprising. In support of this is the fact that this group also has the highest percentage

of respondents who feel a different person when wearing a uniform. Clearly this group does not feel at ease in this respect.

The `U-shaped' pattern of response (see Stradling et.al. 1991) is also observed in relation to how important the family is to the individual. Although all groups show a high proportion reporting that the family is important, the intermediate group show the lowest proportion. This might suggest a direct result of the formal training period when immersion in the police culture is greatest.

An inverted U-shape pattern is demonstrated on a number of items concerning commitment to the job, indicating greater enthusiasm from this group. Compared to 58.3% of the other two groups, 83.3% of this group reported unconditionally that they are a police officer for 24 hours a day (regardless of the situation). In addition, of those who said that they are a police officer 24 hours a day depending on the circumstances (conditional), are added to the first group, this accounts for 100% of the intermediate group, compared to 66.6% and 75% of the selection and over 31 week groups respectively. Similarly, a much higher proportion of this group unconditionally said that they would intervene in an incident when off duty than either of the other groups. In addition, 91.7% of this group, compared to 75% of those at selection and 83.4% of those with over 31 weeks of service thought that 50% or more of serving officers would intervene. It is clear that this group sees the police officer as a full time role rather than just a job.

A final result that indicates that this group feels a part of the police organisation very quickly is that a higher percentage of this group believe that it takes less than a year to become a `real' police officer than either of the other two groups who believe it takes longer.

Conclusion

The main findings of this study indicate that officers' perceptions of the job change over a period of time, presumably as a result of experience. These changes take the form of what the job entails, relationships with the public and what they want to get out of it themselves. In addition the findings suggest that officers feel more isolated from others as they go through their period of service.

The pattern of responses also suggest that the group who are roughly in the middle of their probationary period felt differently to the other two groups. This may reflect an effect of the formal training period as this group have spent most of their time at the training school. Consistent with the reported U-shape pattern of Stradling et.al. (1991) this group indicated that they saw the police-public relationship as the most negative, and were the group who felt least happy to wear a uniform. However, this group also appeared to show the strongest identification with the police.

The aim of this study was to determine whether any support could be found for the proposition that probationers show a movement in attitudes and perceptions as they gain experience in the police service. Later studies will be based on the premise that probationers undergo a socialization process, which is interpreted here as the adoption of attitudes towards and perceptions of the role of a police officer. In this way, changes that occur may be seen to reflect a socialization process. This study appears to have demonstrated that on a number of issues, probationers' perceptions and attitudes change as a result of their police experience, thereby offering support for the concept of a socialization process.

CHAPTER 5. TIME 1 - PROFILE A SAMPLE OF NEW PROBATIONERS ON ENTRY TO THE POLICE SERVICE AS THE FIRST PART OF A LONGITUDINAL STUDY.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As previously discussed, the overall aim of the longitudinal study is to determine whether it is possible to predict the type of officer a probationer becomes. It might be the case that this policing style can be determined from initial measures (ie. Malouff and Schutte 1986, Cohen and Chaiken 1972, Hargrave and Hiatt 1989), or that the experience of the police environment changes the individual into that officer (ie. Neiderhoffer 1967, Ellison, Fornelius, Giblin and Kirk 1985). Alternatively, there may be a combination of, or an interaction between the two. The following review of the literature will focus on studies that consider issues such as; i) the occupational culture and; ii) personality as a predictor of later police performance and how both or either of these may affect the new probationer and his or her adoption of the police role (which will be addressed in Chapter 6). The occupational culture is discussed here as it seems important to outline the type of environment that new probationers are entering, and the pressures that this may entail in terms of behaviour. In attempting to understand the experiences of the probationers in this study some picture of the culture is necessary. The second part of the literature will look at

personality as a useful measure in the recruitment of police officers. Therefore the aim of this first study, taking place on probationers' first day in their respective police services, is to obtain an overall profile of new entrants before their police experience begins.

Occupational Culture

The literature has suggested that the police have a working personality of conservatism which is manifest in dislike of the disorderly or unusual (Skolnick 1967), and that officers have the potential for brutality (Sterling 1969), the 'machismo syndrome' (Reiner 1978, p.161) and that recruits are socialised into the police culture (Fielding 1986). Therefore it seems fruitful to establish what this occupational culture actually means to the operational police officer.

The following literature will include American and British sources. There are some problems in treating 'the police' as one homogenous group. Clearly there are significant differences in the roles performed by American and British officers, not least due to the nature of the communities they police and that American officers carry guns. However, it is also true that large differences may be expected between officers in rural communities and large metropolitan ones within Britain. It is likely that there will be similarities between American and British officers such as in the isolation from the community as a result of; i) differing levels of power between police and public, and; ii) the effects of the experiences of a police officer in terms of dealing with violence on the one hand and grief

from victims and relatives on the other. The similarities between the British and American police experience are probably sufficient to make the inclusion of the American literature useful, while at the same time acknowledging the very real differences that do exist.

Rokeach and Snyder (1971) suggest that given the role of control, service and order maintaining functions that the police perform we may expect them to stress the desirability of preserving the status quo and values concerning obedience and conformity to the laws and norms of society. Holdaway (1989) suggests that the police view the world as one on the verge of chaos. Holdaway's description suggests a concept of the thin blue line in which it is only the presence of the police preventing total anarchy.

The masculine image of the police culture is well documented. Fielding (1987) describes the image of the police man as one of crime control by tough men, while on the other hand the image of the police woman is of weakness, emotionality and service oriented. Martin (1989) suggests that the perceived level of danger involved in police work is over-emphasised if it compared to other occupations such as mining and working on the railways but that the feeling of danger serves to heighten solidarity. However the presence of women threatens this image and so in turn solidarity (Martin (1989).

Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) reported police to be generally homogenous in their attitudes and beliefs on topics such as law enforcement as a worthwhile occupation, the courts and the law, youth and minorities and the public. Many studies have suggested that

there is a shift from social to personal values, and an increasingly pragmatic (as opposed to idealistic) approach to police work (Fielding 1986, Fielding 1987, Fielding 1991, Tuohy, Wrennell, McQueen and Stradling 1992). Sterling (1972) found that after eighteen months experience as a police officer, probationers showed much higher levels of pragmatic realism and conservatism and lower levels of conformity to authority. In addition, probationers saw common sense as being more important than being well trained, having job knowledge or being intelligent. This is consistent with the perception of policing as being `on the street', involving personal skills of tact and `getting along' which officers most do not think can really be taught.

Van Maanen (1975) suggests that socialisation (when the officer becomes more like existing officers) occurs as a gradual process with the development of an `in the same boat, don't make waves' (p.220) occupational philosophy. He goes on to describe a four-stage process comprising i) Entry, involving the long screening procedure including encouragement and support which provide social attractions which bind the potential recruit to the occupational culture before s/he actually enters; ii) Introduction, when the recruit learns the first real contact with the occupational environment, a relatively unpleasant experience with the only rewards being provided by other recruits, which in turn fosters strong bonds amongst this group; iii) Encounter, when the probationer learns what attitudes and behaviours are appropriate and expected within the social setting. Interestingly, Van Maanen found that during this period it was the recruits who were least inclined to work who were ranked as better patrolmen, while zealousness had to be altered

if the recruit was to succeed; and iv) Metamorphosis, occurring by 6 months, when the job related attitudes of the recruits begin to resemble those of their more experienced colleagues. Other studies have found the police occupational culture to be typified by the development of bitterness, a distrust of the public, cynicism, disillusionment, difficulty in mixing with civilians, a `them and us' outlook and prejudice (Skolnick 1967, Reiner 1985, Bull and Horncastle, 1988, Ellis 1991).

The research seems to suggest that officers develop a sense of isolation and come to view themselves as being quite separate and alienated from the public which they are there to serve. In addition strong feelings of group solidarity develop (Skolnick 1967). If the individual officer feels that s/he can only identify with other police officers this suggests the development of a feeling of being part of, and identifying with the police group and with it the implicit concept of ingroups and outgroups with the public presumably being the outgroup.

Personality

Much literature has considered the issue of personality and police performance (this will be discussed fully in Chapter 7), but at this stage of the study the salient issue is the profile of the new police officer. Carpenter and Raza (1987) looked at police applicants and administered the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) to police applicants. They found that the police applicants differed from the normal population in

that they were more psychologically healthy, less depressed and anxious, more assertive and are more interested in social contacts. Using a purely female sample, Manuel et. al. (1993) used the Jackson Personality Inventory to study the personality of police women. They found that the officers were higher than normal in terms of energy level, organisation, responsibility, self-esteem and value orthodoxy. The policewomen scored lower than the norm on anxiety, complexity, conformity, interpersonal affect, social participation and tolerance. Cattell, Eber and Tatsuoka (1970) cite police officers to be emotionally stable, tough minded, conservative and practical and down to earth measured on the 16PF. Also using the 16PF test, Topp and Kardash (1986) found six significant differences in the scores of academy graduates and drop-outs. They found that graduates were more outgoing, emotionally stable, more venturesome, had a strong sense of obligation, were more controlled and more relaxed than the drop-outs. However the sample sizes were small (66 and 28 respectively). In addition Topp and Kardash conducted multiple regressions to predict academy scores from 16PF scores and found that training achievement was positively related to conscientiousness and 'brightness'.

Kunce and Anderson (1988) have reviewed the literature on attributes believed to be necessary for successful performance as a police officer and identify five. They cite emotional restraint, in terms of the ability to control anger (for example Gibson 1982); emotional expressiveness in terms of the ability to talk to people (for example Muir 1977); group cohesiveness, in terms of adhering to group norms and depend on group members (for example Adlam 1982); independent style, indicating that the officer should be

persistent and self-sufficient (for example Lawrence 1984); and realistic orientation, indicative of a logical, organised style rather than a creative, aesthetic style (for example Pugh 1986). In their own study using the Personal Styles Inventory Kunce and Anderson found that police officers scored high on being patient/considerate, affiliating/teamworker, regulating/cautious, amicable/agreeable and empirical/experimenting. In addition, ratings of the importance of the attribute was obtained from supervisory officers. This formed a measure of the ideal police officer and included enthusiastic/zestful, reserved/quiet, affiliating/teamworker. autonomous/independent and realistic/practical. In another study Gudjonsson and Adlam (1983) used the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire to test for differences in scores between new recruits on entry to the police and more experienced officers. They found more experienced officers to be more extroverted than both new recruits and officers at the end of their training, both of whom were introverted.

It can be seen that these studies have found new police probationers to have largely favourable personality characteristics, such as being more interested in social contacts, less depressed and higher in self esteem than are the general population. Indeed these characteristics are close to those considered to be necessary for a police officer (for example Kunce and Anderson 1988). However the attributes considered important appear to relate to the service giving nature of the work rather than the crime fighting aspect. If both of these roles are to accomplished by police officers it seems important to obtain as clear a picture as possible the traits and attributes that the new probationer possesses and what effect they might have on his or her performance.

Aim of the study

The overall aim of the study is to determine the relative roles of initial factors and/or experience of the occupational culture have an effect on later policing style. The data collected at Time 1 (on entry to the police service) will be used to look at the profile of the new recruit in terms of background, attitudes and perceptions, personality and moral reasoning. In addition it will be used to determine whether these factors are associated with the degree of occupational identification at Time 2 (after 20 weeks service) and the adopted policing style at Time 3 (after 10 months police service).

5.2 QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

5.2.1 METHOD

Research Design

The study at Time 1 incorporated three separate questionnaires into its design. The overall aim was to collect biographical information, initial perceptions, attitudes and personality data that might be significant in predicting i) which officers would socialise either strongly or weakly at Time 2 and/or ii) preferred policing style at Time 3. Questionnaires can be seen in Appendix B.

The Instruments

Questionnaire 1 was designed to measure variables at Time 1 that might affect later identification and/or preferred policing style. Respondents were first asked for biographical information such as age, sex, marital status, presence of children, educational qualifications and occupational history. The subsequent attitudinal part of the questionnaire included 51 items. A seven point scale was used for all items indicating the degree of agreement with the statement.

Six main areas were assessed;

1. The attractions of the job
2. Expectations of personal change/level of commitment to the job
3. Perceptions of how typical the officer felt
4. Perceptions of individuality
5. Motivations for the use of discretion
6. Perceptions of the police role

Twelve of the questions measuring attractions of the job were taken from Hatting, Engels and Russo (1983). The remaining items were based on interviews from the initial interviews in terms of what they thought were important issues to them personally and to policing generally. The main aim was to collect data that might be relevant to how likely probationers would be to identify as a police officer (numbers 2,3 and 4 above) and later policing style (numbers 1,5 and 6 above).

Questionnaire 2 was the Defining Issues Test (Rest, Cooper, Coder, Masanz and Anderson 1974). This test is based on Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning and assesses what issues respondents consider important in moral dilemmas. Moral judgement stages are described as 'successive transformations in the way people view co-operative social arrangements' (Rest et.al. 1974 p. 492). Kohlberg's theory suggests that there are three levels of moral reasoning with two stages. In addition it is proposed that approximately 50% of adults do not attain the highest stage of Universal-Ethical Principle Orientation (Kohlberg 1975). Much of the literature on police socialization points to the move from initially idealistic

perceptions of probationers to a much more pragmatic approach (ie. Fielding 1986, Fielding and Fielding 1991). The use of this test was based on the assumption that those probationers who start at a higher level of moral reasoning will experience more difficulty in making the move to the more pragmatic viewpoint. Indeed Fielding and Fielding (1991) suggest that 'practical experience can pose a challenge to principled positions' (p.51).If this is the case then it seems reasonable to assume that these individuals will have more difficulty in adopting the occupational identity.

The test presents respondents with six descriptions of moral dilemmas. For each one they had to indicate which course of action they thought the person involved should take and rate twelve issues relevant to the topic according to how important they considered them to be in the decision. Finally subjects had to rank four issues that they considered to be most influential. This provides a final score (P score) which would be an overall measure of level of moral reasoning.

Questionnaire 3 was the Industrial 16PF test which consisted of 102 items. This identifies 16 traits on a bipolar scale and subsequently 6 second order factors. This test was used to examine whether personality is an existing factor which influences either adoption of the occupational identity or eventual preferred policing style, or both.

The questionnaires can be found in Appendix B.

Respondents

All entrants of the Metropolitan Police intake of February 1993 were included in the study. 102 completed all questionnaires from a total intake of 114 (the remaining 12 probationers did not return their questionnaires).

All entrants from three intakes to the Kent Police took part in the study. These consisted of 21 (December 1992), 40 (January 1993) and 39 (February 1993) participants with a total of 100.

The sample was made up of 202 participants (149 males and 53 females, ranging in age from 18 to 45 years). In the Metropolitan Police there were 102 participants (25 female, 77 male); in Kent Police there were 100 participants (28 female, 72 male).

All participants were informed that they were taking part in the study on a voluntary basis but also that the police service would like them to take part as it would be useful to the police themselves (see procedure section).

Procedure

Two weeks prior to entry the 3 questionnaires were posted to all probationers at their home address. Included was a letter outlining the study and asking the probationer to

complete the questionnaires and return them to the University in an enclosed stamped, addressed envelope. This was an attempt to forestall two problems; 1) by completing them at home there could be no contact with other probationers and any fears held by one probationer could not be transferred to another and; 2) a probationer who was concerned that the police would see his or her questionnaires might feel happier sending them directly to the University rather then completing them at the Police training school. The letter also stated that the researcher would be at the training school on the day of their arrival to collect the questionnaires that had not previously been sent to the researcher. It was hoped that this would help to persuade them to complete the questionnaires.

In addition a letter was included from the intake manager stating that this study had been approved by the Commissioner/Chief Constable and asking the probationer to complete the questionnaires as the results of the study would be useful to the police.

This proved to be a more successful procedure as questionnaires were collected from nearly all new entrants.

5.2.2 RESULTS

Questionnaire 1

Demographic Variables

The first section of the questionnaire was analysed in order to provide an overview of the sample. It was found that just under half (42.6%) of new recruits were married. Ellis (1991) found amongst new and trained (10 weeks) recruits in an American sample that 24% percent were married. The mean age of this sample was 25.96 years which is older than a sample used by Pugh (1985) who had a mean age of 23.25 years and Butler and Cochrane (1977) who found a mean age amongst recruits of 20.7 years. However a sample of recruits used by Fielding and Fielding (1991) had a mean age of 25 years. It was also found that 24.3% of new probationers have children and 14.9% have two or more.

In terms of education, The mean number of GCSEs (or 'O' Levels) is 6.025 with 92.6% having one GCSEs and 70.8% having 5 or more. This is considerably higher than Fielding and Fielding's (1991) study of recruits of whom, nearly half had less than one O level pass. In addition 59.4% of this study had no A Levels with 12.9% having one (mean .901). The mean here may be high because 8 people reported having 4 A levels and one person reported having 5. This is higher than the level found by Fielding and

Fielding who found 8% of their sample to have one A level. The Ellis study found that 12% of new recruits had been educated to grade 13 which is equivalent to sixth form study in Britain. The percentage of 40.6% in this study suggests that educational levels are considerably higher although a direct comparison may not be valid. However this pattern can be seen with 6% of new recruits having completed one year of college in the Ellis et.al. study compared with 25.7% having some further education in this. This study found that 13.9% had some higher education compared to 24% having a degree in the Ellis et.al. study. However it should be noted that in the Ellis et.al. study recruits having a degree makes up the largest proportion. In this country graduate entrants to the police are in the minority.

Ninety-seven percent have some previous work experience with a mode of 2 years (15.4%). However the range is 29 years and 30.3% have more than 10 years work experience. Therefore although the modal number of years of previous work experience is only 2 years, a considerable number of the sample have a lot of work experience.

Table 5.1 Percentages of the last occupation before joining the Police

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
None	17	8.4
Military	14	6.9
Prison Officer	1	.5
Police	1	.5
Teaching/Nursing	7	3.5
Manual/Shop work	62	30.7
Clerical	41	20.3
Technical/ Supervisory	51	25.2
Unemployed	1	.5
Traffic Warden/police clerical	7	3.5
Total	202	100

Table 5.1 shows that the most common last occupation for new recruits was the generally white collar occupations of clerical and technical/supervisory with 45.5% of respondents falling into this category . This category included occupations such as shop manager, and occupations requiring some specific expertise, for example motor mechanic. In addition 30.7% of recruits fall into the category of manual or shopworker occupations. It can also be seen that 8.4% had no work experience and 6.9 had come from one of the armed services. This suggests a fairly working class picture of the recruits.

Attitudinal Section

The attitudinal section of the questionnaire at Time 1 consisted of 3 sections;

1. Attractions of policing for the probationer

2. Attitudes towards policing of the probationer

3. Personal qualities considered necessary by the probationer

This part of the questionnaire incorporated several items designed to measure each of the three issues above. It was believed that responses would fall into distinct categories of responses. For example attractions of policing might group into self benefits and wanting to help others. Therefore a Principal Components Analysis was performed on the data in each of the three sections of Questionnaire 1 to identify the sub factors within each section. An orthogonal rotation was used as the issues assessed were believed to be independent. The Scree test was used to determine the number of factors used.

Attractions

It was decided to measure what the attractions of policing were for probationers. This seems to give an indication of how they see policing and whether they policing in very

idealistic or pragmatic terms (ie. Fielding 1986). The first may be reflected in attractions such as wanting to help society and the second by being attracted by the money. The initial attraction may be related to the type of policing style adopted.

Table 5.2 Principal Components Rotated Factor loadings for Attractions of Policing

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Service Community Helping Public-interest Reduce crime Worthwhile job People	.754 .735 .721 .588 .575 .535 .516			
Job-security Benefits Work-conditions Public-prestige		.743 .633 .512 .388		
Skills Qualified-people Indepen-dence			.761 .683 .583	
Variety Challenge				.828 .688

Factor 1, termed 'Service', has an eigenvalue of 4.24 and accounts for 21.2% of the variance. It indicates attractions associated with being of service and doing a worthwhile job for the Community. A Cronbach's Alpha of .78 was obtained.

Factor 2, termed 'Self', has an eigenvalue of 2.24 and accounts for 11.2% of the variance. This factor appears to represent personal benefits of being a police officer. A Cronbach's Alpha of .63 was obtained.

Factor 3, termed 'Professionalism', has an eigenvalue of 1.54 and accounts for 7.7% of the variance. This factor is concerned with the professional nature of police work. A Cronbach's Alpha of .58 was obtained. This alpha is a little low but the factor was retained as it seemed to be consistent in terms of its items. Nevertheless it should be treated with some caution.

Factor 4, termed 'Interest', has an eigenvalue of 1.27 and accounts for 6.4% of the variance. It indicates attractions to policing related to the varied nature of the work. A Cronbach's Alpha of .61 was obtained.

The seven point scale used was collapsed down to agree (eg. scores of 1-3) and disagree (eg. scores of 5-7) and it was found that ninety-six percent of respondents indicated that Interest, comprising excitement and variety was perceived to be an important attraction, followed by service (helping the community and being of service to others) which ninety-three percent felt was important. Self, indicating personal benefits such as fringe benefits and salary (judged to be important by just 6.5% of respondents) and professionalism (rated as important by 1% of respondents), which

represents working with qualified people and having personal independence appear to be of little importance.

Attitudes to policing

Items measuring attitudes to policing were designed to assess how much the individual saw him or herself in relation to 'the job' in terms of how much they expected to change and whether that would be a good thing, what they thought about the police role and attitudes to criminal justice and offenders.

Table 5.3 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Attitudes to Policing

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Good to change	.732		
Expect to change	.699		
Share view of other officers	.651		
Attitude of offenders		.733	
Hostility of offenders		.731	
Motivation of offense		.719	
Time spent with victim			.668
Protect liberties			.594
Tough sentences			.530

Factor 1, termed 'Commit', has an eigenvalue of 2.78 and accounts for 13.9% of the variance. It indicates the individuals degree of commitment to the Police in terms of how much they expect to change and become like other officers. A Cronbach's Alpha of .63 was obtained.

Factor 2, termed 'Discretion', has an eigenvalue of 2.11 and accounts for 10.5% of the variance. It is a measure of the probationers attitude to the use of discretion and what factors might influence its use. a Cronbach's Alpha of .66 was obtained.

Factor 3, termed 'Authority', has an eigenvalue of 1.66 and accounts for 8.3% of the variance. This factor indicates authoritarian attitudes towards the law as measured by attitudes towards offenders and where police time should be deployed. A Cronbach's Alpha of .44 was obtained. Although the alpha was low, it was retained as it appears to represent a characteristic which has been widely debated in the literature (ie. Colman and Gorman 1982, Brown and Willis 1985).

Mean responses on all three attitudes to policing factors were close to the midpoint. The use of discretion was perceived to be important by 43.1% of respondents (mean 3.56) although the standard deviation of 1.4 suggests that there was a fair amount of variance in the responses. An attitude that might be thought of as authoritarian, that is wanting tougher sentences for offenders, spending less time with victims, was indicated by 35.9% (mean 3.54, SD 1.0). A fairly non-committal response was obtained on

measures of how likely the respondent felt s/he was to change as a result of being in the police service (Commit), and how like other officers s/he felt with 3.5% feeling that they did not expect to change and 7.0% feeling that they did (mean 3.97, SD 0.54).

Qualities

This section of the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate which personal qualities they felt were important for a police officer to do his or her job properly. These items were included in order to obtain further indications of the type of job the probationer felt policing was in terms of the emphasis on service versus control.

Table 5.4 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Qualities of Police Officers

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Talk to people Tolerance Compassion Honesty	.790 .735 .655 .531		
Authority Persistence Knowledge		.774 .712 .457	
Self-confidence Physical-strength Common sense			.828 .640 .595

Factor 1, termed 'Talk', has an eigenvalue of 3.03 and accounts for 30.3% of the variance. It indicates the ability to relate and interact with other people and honesty. a Cronbach's Alpha of .67 was obtained.

Factor 2, termed 'Persist', has an eigenvalue of 1.38 and accounts for 13.8% of the variance. It suggests `diplomat-cop' qualities related to competence and skills important to policing. a Cronbach's Alpha of .56 was obtained.

Factor 3, termed 'Canteen', has an eigenvalue of 1.20 and accounts for 12.0% of the variance. This factor appears to reflect the `canteen culture' of the police suggesting a practical and physical approach to policing, emphasising a pragmatic, common sense approach. A Cronbach's Alpha of .48 was obtained. This factor appears to resemble descriptions in the literature of the very masculine police culture (ie. Southgate 1982, Holdaway 1983) and so was retained despite its low alpha level.

All three qualities are viewed as important to policing, with Talk (the ability to talk to and be tolerant of others) rated as being important by 99.5% of respondents (mean 1.60, SD .48), Canteen (having common sense, self confidence and physical strength) was rated as important by 94.0 percent of respondents (mean 2.02, SD .60) and Persist (having authority, persistence and knowledge) was rated as important by 77.7% of respondents (mean 2.60, SD 1.04).

Questionnaire 2

16PF

The 16PF questionnaire measures 16 factors on a bipolar scale and subsequently a further 6 second order factors. Ranks on 16PF are considered to be normally distributed with approximately 15.9 percent of adults obtaining ranks of 1 to 3 and 7 to 9. Therefore ranks of between 4 and 6 are considered to be `average'. Ranks of 1 to 3 and 7 to 9 are considered to be `low' and `high' respectively. In this context the average scores are of less interest than the high and low scores in that they do not differentiate officers from the average population. It is the scores which are outside of the average distribution that are particularly relevant in terms of the police profile. Therefore the collapsed low and high scores are presented (Table 5.6) to provide an average profile of new recruits.

16PF PRIMARY FACTORS

Table 5.5 Percentage low and high responses on 16PF primary factors.

Factor	Trait (1-3)	Per-cent	Trait (7-9)	Per-cent	Mean	SD
A	Reserved	16.8	Particip-ating	44.6	5.84	2.11
B	Less bright	22.3	Intelligent	16.4	4.81	1.71
C	Easily upset	22.8	Mature	26.8	5.14	1.98
E	Submissive	5	Assertive	61.9	6.98	1.42
F	Silent	12.4	Lively	40.1	5.91	2.00
G	Expedient	23.8	Conscien - tious	23.3	4.98	1.70
H	Shy	53.5	Adventurous	9.9	3.66	1.88
I	Sensitive	9.9	Tough-minded	47.5	6.04	1.63
L	Suspecting	10.9	Trustful	19.3	5.12	1.61
M	Imagin-ative	19.8	Practical	25.3	5.08	1.67
N	Forth-right	10.4	Shrewd	24.3	5.45	1.62
O	Apprehen-sive	56.9	Self-assured	5	3.49	1.55
Q1	Conserv-ative	29.9	Liberal	10.4	4.49	1.60
Q2	Dependent	39.6	Self sufficient	12.9	4.24	1.75
Q3	Undisc-iplined	22.8	Controlled	6.9	4.52	1.48
Q4	Tense	19.8	Relaxed	28.3	5.24	1.92

Cumulative scores of 1-3 and 7-9 are obtained by approximately 15.9% of adults.

The average profile shown in Table 5.5 indicates that the new probationer is more than usually participating with 44.6% scoring between 7 and 9. However, although the percentage of 1 to 3 responses for reserved is much lower, it is higher than those found in the normative tables. Factor B indicates that a higher proportion of probationers are marginally less bright. This is defined in terms of concrete (low scores) versus abstract thinking (high scores). As would be expected, probationers were found to be lively (Factor F), conservative (Factor Q1), group dependent (Factor Q2), assertive (Factor E), tough-minded (Factor I), practical (Factor M) and shrewd (Factor N). They appear to roughly conform to the norm in terms of being suspicious and trustful (Factor L), but are slightly more relaxed than the norm (Factor Q4) while also more apprehensive (Factor O). Surprisingly they do not appear to score highly on adventurousness (Factor H) and being controlled (Factor Q3) but do score highly on being Shy (Factor H).

Second Order Factors

The 16PF test includes second order factors which are based on the 16 first order factors and are a result of factor analysis. In this study these factors were obtained using the calculations of the Industrial 16PF test. The factors are bipolar with opposite traits at each pole.

Table 5.6 Percentage low and high responses on 16PF second order factors

Factor	Percent 1-3	Percent 7-9	Mean	SD
Extroversion	14.4	19.3	5.17	1.41
Stability	5.4	17.3	5.23	1.22
Anxiety	26.2	9.4	4.50	1.39
Leadership	18.8	7.9	4.66	1.28
Research/ Creativity	28.3	5.4	4.37	1.24
Initiative/ Drive	2.0	23.8	5.86	0.99

Extroversion:	A high rank indicates an extroverted personality
Stability:	A high rank indicates a non-neurotic personality
Anxiety:	A high rank indicates few anxiety symptoms
Leadership:	A high rank indicates a leadership type of personality
Research-creativity:	A high rank indicates a personality that tends towards research and creativity
Initiative-drive:	A high rank indicates initiative and drive

It can be seen from Table 5.6 that probationers appear to be more anxious than usual. In addition, probationers score lower on leadership, research and creativity but higher on initiative and drive than is normally found in the general population.

QUESTIONNAIRE 3

DEFINING ISSUES TEST

The Defining Issues Test was marked in order to obtain an overall score of moral reasoning, the P score. Rest (1974) suggests that this is the score which should be used for predictive measures.

The variance of scores on this measure was great with a range of 35 (minimum 2, maximum 37) and a standard deviation of 6.82. A mean of 16.82 was obtained with a mode of 16 (albeit only obtained by 8.4% of respondents).

5.3 THE INTERVIEWS

5.3.1 METHOD

Research design

A small sample of respondents were interviewed in order to obtain a more detailed account of attitudes, beliefs and expectations. This entailed in-depth discussion and allowed respondents to elaborate on topics, which was not possible with the questionnaire study. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain some qualitative data that would assist with interpretation of the questionnaire responses.

The interviews at this stage were designed to examine 4 main issues;

1. Attitudes towards Policing in terms of what they thought they would like/dislike and how they felt personally about joining the organisation.
2. How much they appeared to view themselves as being typical in relation to other new recruits and what effect being a police officer might have on their personal life.
3. Their perceptions of the Police role in society and different types of policing.
4. Their view on the relative importance of the formal training they were about to receive.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a series of set questions that were put to all respondents. Further discussion was dependent on the responses given. The interview schedule can be found in Appendix B.

Respondents

Interviewees consisted of 11 probationers. In the Metropolitan Police there were 4 males and 2 females and in the Kent Police 3 males and 2 females. These were a self selecting sample as I was dependent on volunteers. They were participants in the questionnaire study.

Procedure

The interviews were carried out individually in the first week of training and were tape-recorded in a private room at the probationers' respective training centre. Each interview took between 20 and 30 minutes. The interviewees appeared to be happy to answer the questions honestly. The questions were generally related to the probationers general perceptions and expectations of policing. The questions were designed to tap similar concepts to those in Questionnaire 1 of Time 1 but allowed for fuller and freer responses. Interviewees were questioned more closely if they appeared not to answer questions and further if they wished to develop a point. The interview schedule is in Appendix B.

5.3.2 RESULTS

Perceptions of being a police officer

All respondents mentioned variety as one of the major attractions of the job with eight of eleven stating it first. *"Variety...Comradeship and probably for the moments that are quite exciting within the job". "One of the main aspects would be the variety and the challenge".* Working with or offering a service to people was also mentioned frequently. Other attractions included liking a challenge, commanding respect and money. Most people cited paperwork as the area of policing that they expected to dislike most, two people mentioned fear of being hurt, "*I dislike being hurt. I don't like the thought of being assaulted".* One spoke of having to inform people of the death of a relative.

Several respondents expressed concerns over recent cases in the media of malpractice by individual officers, or the Police in general. A smaller number suggested that the media presented a negative view of the Police that was unjustified. Other worries included the police not being armed, "*Because number one it is a dangerous world out there*", and that the Police was recruiting too many women . One respondent was concerned that the Police is changing too much; "*We try to be too nice. I don't like the way...we are just a service. I've gone with the opinion that we are a force as well and we have to do nasty jobs and people need us to be strong sometimes".*

All respondents said that they felt that they were very group oriented people and that this was a part of the attraction of the Police for them. "*The idea of the group is support and team spirit, isn't it. You know there's people behind you need that. It's very important". "It's nice to belong to something, isn't it?"*

Perceptions of typicality and effects on their personal life

Six respondents reported that they felt very typical of other recruits. They viewed this in a very positive way as perceiving other people to share their attitudes and values. These appeared to encompass issues such as being very "s*mart and approachable*" or being concerned about society and crime. "*There are similar outlooks...I think it is values, as to what we expect or how we expect people to behave".* Of those who didn't feel typical, reasons included being more highly educated, feeling very much an individual and being female. On the last point one female respondent stated that she was "*a scared, worried WPC. I don't know what's out there... It makes me feel a bit more vulnerable*", while another said that "I've *always worked in a job where I've been a `chappette'. I've never been a woman. Not that I'm not feminine but I've always been treated as one of the chaps as opposed to them saying `I've got to treat you differently'".*

Approximately half of respondents felt that they would change over the next year as a result of being in the Police. *"Like it or not people get indoctrinated into a system and people who don't are running and hiding sometimes". "I think that's because they channel*

you to be like that to a certain extent". Of those, half felt that it would be a good thing, and that they would be "*more tolerant, self confident"* and "*more mature".* While the other half felt that it would be negative and that "*RTA's (Road Traffic Accidents) might taint you a bit",* and "*my faith in human nature may change*". Of those who felt that they would not change, being older was the most common reason given. "*I think people do change and people I know have changed in the Police force but they tend to do that at a younger age. I think the older you become, you have formed your own ideas and views and providing they are coherent with the Police Service, which they should be anyway, I don't think you change a great deal to be honest".*

Most respondents felt that being a police officer would not affect the relationships that they have with friends. Four people said that they expected to lose acquaintances but not friends and that they were not bothered at all. One said that all his friends would be police officers.

Only three respondents felt that their families could really understand what it would really be like to be a police officer. However just under half of respondents felt that their immediate family would be affected by their job in terms of worry about injury and communication difficulties after the respondent had dealt with difficult or distressing incidents. "*As a police officer you will one day have to cut someone down or pull somebody out of a car crash. How do you tell members of the general public what it's like and the after effects?" " I have tried to explain to my husband that I will come home*

sometimes totally stressed out, hacked off because I have seen something that has totally blown my mind. I wont want to speak to him. I will want to lock myself away for a couple of hours; leave me alone. I said `Could you cope with that?' and he said, `I don't know it's just something we have to work out as time goes by'. I think it will be hard for them." "I can see why the divorce rate amongst police officers is so high". "A lot of people never realise how bad some of the people you deal with are. You will never be able to get that through to them unless they see it, but then again I probably wouldn't want them to see it anyway. I'm willing to put up with that". "Yes it is a problem. Again it is down to the individual how they cope with it. When asked what the best way to cope with this problem would be many said that seeking help from other officers would help. "*You discuss it amongst yourselves. The camaraderie is very strong because of that reason...The camaraderie, because of what they have been through".*

Perceptions of the role of Police in Society and use of discretion

In response to a question asking what they saw a the main role of the Police, most people stated that it was to protect, keep the peace and maintain the law. "*To maintain law and order. To make sure that every-one has the freedom to do whatever they wish within the confines of the laws". "I'm basically putting myself on the line so that other people can walk out safe at night". "Society should be able to set its standards in what it believes is acceptable behaviour and the police's role is to ensure that those who do not accept those standards don't get away with it and don't disrupt society".* When asked whether they

expected to spend more time dealing with criminals or members of society only one person said fighting crime, with the remainder saying that they would be spending time "*dealing with victims*", "*mostly talking to people*" or "*90% the public, I don't like dealing with criminals*". However when asked whether they thought that more people would commit crimes if there was no Police Service, only one respondent said no. It appears that most respondents believe that it is the fear of being caught that keeps most people away from crime rather than a belief in right or wrong. "*I don't honestly think people's moral standards are that high*". "*They need some kind of chaperoning if you like. That's the job of the officer to say `Don't do that or else'*". In addition they see the Police Service as providing a law enforcement role but do not see themselves personally doing it.

Discretion was believed to be constructive by all respondents. However the reasons given differed by Service. All respondents in the Metropolitan Police reported it to be useful as a public relations exercise, that is it "*regains public confidence*", "*I mean there are so many laws that if you went out and you enforced them all the time, you would make enemies of the public*" and "*We have a huge PR problem and sometimes it's better to say `on your way'*". This view was shared by one respondent in the Kent Police but more cited resourcing problems and the attitude of the person stopped as reasons for the use of discretion. "*In this day and age with the amount of crime there is, and with the amount of resources the Police have and the CPS have, and the manpower and the overtime, then discretion has to be and is very important. Maybe you'll have to give the person a slap on the wrists and say `I've got your number. If you do that again there wont be another time...At the moment nine times out of ten if I use discretion it will definitely depend on the*

reaction I get. If they are very apologetic and polite, `Okay, on your bike.' But if they're like `sod you, who do you think you are?' and they're drunk, then of course you have to take them in". "The `ways and means act', the attitude test".

Experience as a police officer was perceived to be the major factor in how discretion was applied. But for many, being "that bit older" and previous experience of life is important, "*I think it comes with experience and for the older probationers who have seen a bit more of life...I think perhaps if you had an eighteen year old, an immature person who is a probationer, he might jump in a certain situation whereas a person who has seen a bit more of life would know, as a civilian, that you don't jump in that sort of situation, you just take it nice and calm".*

Training

All respondents saw their formal training period as gaining the basic procedures and law. Several respondents viewed the period as being very false (even though they had only been in the police for a few days) "*learn by the book...In role play I'm a lot nicer than I usually am...Fantasy Island here".* Many of them talked about learning how to do things properly when they go to their police station. "*Then it is only when you have been shown the correct way and when you have become an experienced officer that you will be able to know, not necessarily to take short cuts but you will know how you can make better use of*

the time that you have to compete the job", "*This is the textbook way, however this is not what is done on the ground as it takes too long*".

It also seemed that several people expected to change as a result of training, positive personal changes such as becoming more mature, tolerant etc. are frequently mentioned. "*I am going to learn a lot more about myself as a person, whether I can control some traits of mine that aren't very nice, for example my temper*". This seems a little surprising as one might expect these to be criteria for selection rather than training objectives.

5.4 DISCUSSION

The stereotype of the new probationer is young, male, unmarried and not particularly well educated. From the results it can be seen that two thirds of new probationers are indeed male, but they are on average nearly 26 years old and almost as likely to be married as not. In addition, the majority have five or more GCSE's, almost half have some A Levels and nearly a sixth have some higher education. So the picture obtained in this study largely does not conform with the stereotype or even findings of a number of past studies (ie. Pugh 1985 and Cochrane 1977) .

When the data was collected the two police services used for the study had no difficulty recruiting due to a current high level of unemployment. Personnel staff suggested that the profile of applicants had changed considerably over the last two to three years as a

result of unemployment, resulting in more highly qualified people applying. This may be in part explain the demographic profile above. However, in terms of last employment, less than ten percent were unemployed. In addition over a third had more than ten years of previous employment.

The primary attractions of policing for probationers were found to be variety and excitement and to be of service to others. This is consistent with the findings of Hunt (1971) and Reiner (1979). However in both of these studies pay was also an important attraction whereas in this study personal benefits were only considered important by 6% of respondents. These differences may be accounted for by different points of measurement in terms of service. Alternatively the perception of the police role may have changed over the period between those studies and this one; for example the emphasis on the use of discretion and changed focus as a result of the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence bill may have had an affect on probationers' attitudes, or at least on their responses. The initially idealistic aspirations of the probationer (Fielding and Fielding 1991) appears to be borne out by the high emphasis on service and low emphasis on self benefits. This is supported by the interviews in which probationers stated that they wanted to protect the public and expected to spend most of their time dealing with members of the public rather than chasing criminals. In addition independence is considered important by only 1% of respondents which is interesting as it was considered to be one of the most important attributes of the ideal police officer in Kunce and Anderson's study (1988) and also that it might be thought of as one of the

more favourable aspects of the job. This could, of course be explained in terms of socially desirable answering, however if this was true, such high scores on interest, including attractions such as variety and excitement might not have been obtained.

Perceptions of the qualities needed to become a police officer are fairly diverse. There appears to be a general view that a range of skills is necessary. While the social skills of being able to get on with others is considered important by nearly all respondents (99.5%), the more physical and pragmatic approach is also considered important. Indeed this is congruent with the findings that emotional expressiveness (Muir 1977) including the ability to talk to people, and a realistic orientation (Pugh 1986) are important qualities of the successful police officer. This indicates that new probationers view the role of a police officer to encompass a range of activities and situations. Clearly this is consistent with their reported attraction to policing of variety.

Respondents did not report strongly a feeling that they might change as a result of being a police officer. This measure consisted of perceptions of typicality in relation to other officers. This is surprising considering the lengthy process of selection that each had undertaken. Probationers reported feeling very positive about joining the police and expected to experience a wide range of situations that others would not be able to understand, but did not appear to think that this might change them at all. However in the interviews, although interviewees played down the prospect of change they did

acknowledge that it was likely. *"I think you cannot say that joining or having a career like this would not change you as an individual".*

Interviewees also expressed some unease about joining the police, which was not apparent from the questionnaires. Many talked about the poor relationship between the police and the public and the media presentation of the police. In addition, many felt that they might be isolated from some friends (mostly acquaintances), and also experience family difficulties, as a result of becoming a police officer.

It seems that most probationers felt that they were going to experience some difficulties in the future while at the same time feeling very excited and positive. This may be the real attraction of policing. These individuals know that they are entering a world that will present them with problems that they can foresee as discussed above in addition to those that they cannot. Even the attraction of service is double edged in the light of the poor relationship with the public, in that even those sections of the public who are not offenders may have a negative view of the police. Therefore, the socially approved of motivation for joining the police of service (that is wanting to help other people), is likely to be a challenge in that even those people that the officer seeks to help may have a negative perception of him or her, in the same way as the less socially approved of motivation of excitement. Therefore unpredictability appears to be common to both attractions.

Some surprising findings were obtained from the 16PF questionnaire. Despite a higher level of education than might be expected from stereotypes of the average police officer, probationers were found to be slightly less bright. However this may be due to the appropriateness of the normative scales. Not particularly surprising is the finding that the probationer is more likely to be participating, assertive, lively, suspecting, shrewd, self-assured, conservative, tough minded and group dependent. These results conform closely to those found by Cattell et. al. (1970), also using the 16PF test. In addition, this generally fits in with the general image of the active macho officer and is congruent with descriptions of Fielding (1985), Reiner (1985), Brown (1981). Of particular interest is the high percentage indicated to be group dependent which is not only considered to be an attribute of the ideal police officer (Kunce and Anderson) but salient to the issue of occupational identity. However quite contrary to expectation is that probationers are more likely to be shy, sensitive, undisciplined and less adventurous. The findings did not support those of Cattell et. al. (1970) and Topp and Kardash (1986) who both found officers scored highly on emotional stability. However these are the only two traits that Cattell et. al and Topp and Kardash both found and there appears to be considerable variation in the literature on the personality traits found amongst police officers. In addition, the two mentioned studies were conducted in America and the differences found may be due to factors such as selection criteria and perceptions of the role. In interviews, probationers expressed their expectations about personal growth through the training period such as an increase in confidence, learning tolerance, learning to control bad traits such as temper. It may be that individuals are

attracted to the police as a career in part for what they want to be in personal terms. They may view this as one way to achieve it rather than simply viewing themselves as suitable for the role. Indeed several interviewees mentioned getting respect as one of the attractions of the job. Probationers scored higher on 'tense' than the norm, however this may be due to the beginning of their training period and associated stresses. However it is consistent with Van Maanen's (1975) period of entry which he describes as an unpleasant experience.

The second order factors indicate that the probationer is more likely to be relatively stable and extroverted which is consistent with the findings of Gudjonsson and Adlam (1983). In addition they are slightly anxious, with lower than midpoint leadership. It is surprising that they do not score higher on leadership skills as this is a part of the selection procedure. The police officer is viewed as taking control of situations, in fact being the leader for a short period. However, this may be explained in terms of the foregoing discussion on expected development. Probationers also scored lower than the midpoint on research/creativity which is counter to Kunce and Anderson's finding that officers were high in empirical/experimenting attributes. However probationers were higher than usual scores on initiative/drive which may fit in with their profile of the ideal police officer. Comparing findings with other studies may not, however, be meaningful as any differences may be due to different selection procedures or policies occurring over time, combined with the inevitable difficulties of cultural differences in British and American samples.

CHAPTER 6 - TIME 2. PREDICTORS OF POLICE IDENTITY AFTER 20 WEEKS SERVICE.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

A second set of data was collected when probationers had completed twenty weeks service. Most of this time would have been spent at force training schools, although the probationer would have been assigned to a police station for 2 or 3 weeks during this period. As discussed in Chapter 2, the formal training period is one in which individuals appear to be under pressure to conform and become like other police officers and adopt behaviours and attitudes like those of other officers (ie. Fielding 1986). That is, they become socialised into the police organisation. A part of this socialisation process is the development of the police identity; feeling that being a police officer is not just a job but a part of who the individual is. Therefore degree of identity was used as an indicator of the socialisation process. It was decided to take measures of identity after the intensive nature of formal training in order to determine whether the strength of identification as a police officer could be predicted from measures taken on entry. The measure of degree of identification would also be used to examine whether it was a predictor of policing style after six months of police duty.

Social Identity

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1978, Turner 1982, Hogg and Abrams 1988) would seem to be relevant in examining the adoption by new officers of the occupational identity. Social Identity Theory suggests that as soon as the individual categorizes him or her self as a group member, his or her attitudes will change as s/he adopts the attributes of the group as his or her own. (Wootton 1991, Tajfel 1978, Hogg and Abrams 1988). The Individual makes comparisons between the self and prototypical group members; that is s/he has a stereotypical perception not only of other group members but also of him or herself. Having internalized the group category membership, this becomes part of the self concept which constitutes social identity (Wootton 1991). One result of this is that group members are attracted to each other as group members rather than as individuals. In police terms this is clearly a factor in explaining the high levels of solidarity which seems to occur early in the probationary period. Indeed the process of social identification as a member of a particular group appears to be immediate once categorisation occurs (Hinkle, Taylor and Fox-Cardimone 1989).

Social identity also appears to fulfil a basic need for positive self esteem. Indeed in the Minimal Group paradigm (involving allocation of membership to a non-existent group) it has been found that those who had the opportunity to discriminate had higher levels of self esteem (Oaks and Turner 1980). It seems then that individuals seek a positive social identity through positive group membership (Turner and Giles 1984). Therefore, to

achieve this, they seek to make a positive distinction between their group and others and at times may discriminate or compete against an outgroup, not as a result of conflict, but simply to differentiate themselves and maintain a positive social identity (Tajfel 1974, Turner 1981).

Hogg and Abrams (1988) suggest that subordinate groups utilize social creativity strategies, that is they positively evaluate the areas that distinguish them from other groups. In the police context, officers often emphasise their greater experience and lack of understanding on the part of the public. They talk about being `in the job' not `doing the job'. This suggests being part of something rather than simply performing an occupation. It is possible that police accentuate their own `police-ness' in order to maintain intergroup differentiation, to maintain their own particular social identity. Therefore in social creativity terms it is the perceived inability of (non-police) others to understand, that differentiates police officers from others. In this way, criticisms of the police can be disarmed, or invalidated, as they are perceived to be based on a lack of understanding of the work.

The result of self categorization as a member of the group, and so a social identity as a group member, is a change in behaviour. The individual has a self concept which is broken down into various categories (according to different group memberships). One part of the self concept is the personal identity (Hogg and Abrams 1988). This is defined in

terms of relationships with individuals rather than on a group basis. Running parallel to this are the social identities described above. Therefore we might expect particular behaviours when personal identity is salient and different behaviours when social identity is. As discussed earlier, social identity might be characterised by intergroup differentiation, ingroup favouritism, perceptions of the superiority of the ingroup over the outgroup, stereotypical perceptions of the ingroup, the outgroup and the self, perceptions of the self and ingroup members as being stereotypically identical and conformity to group norms (Hogg and Abrams 1988). This is relevant to the later policing styles of police officers. Stereotyping can result in depersonalisation of the outgroup. The way we perceive others will influence indirectly how we act towards them. Individuals do not simply conform to the norms but compete with each other to enact the norms, each claiming they are closer to the normative ideal than other group members (Turner 1982).

The important issue is who the outgroup is. It may be the case that it is actually perceived by the police officer to be the public. If so, this does not bode well. However, the relationship between the personal and social identities is not totally clear. Social Identity Theory proposes that these two different identities may be contradictory (Tajfel and Turner 1979, Wootton 1991). If this is so how can we predict behaviour, when the individual might behave according to either his or her personal or social identity? Turner (1982) proposes that social identity will be particularly salient (and so influence behaviour more) at times of conflict or threat. This is clearly a situation that occurs frequently for police officers. Other criteria for social categorisation and interpersonal attraction include

common fate, shared threat and physical proximity (Sole 1975). One study found that police probationers cited other police officers as their three closest friends increasingly frequently as they progressed through the first eighteen months (Sterling 1972). If the proportion of the closest friends of probationers who are police officers increases over a relatively short period, through such factor as proximity, attraction through same group membership and a feeling of safety, it follows that the number of non-police close friends is probably also diminishing. In turn this might lead to more insular viewpoints, secrecy and isolation from the public (Sterling 1972).

A police officer must deal with individuals but from the perspective of his or her police group membership. Whether this interaction is on an individual to individual basis or an intergroup (police and public or police and offender) basis is an important issue. It has been suggested that social identity may at times over-rule personal identity. This is demonstrated by the finding that individuals favour ingroup members who are dissimilar to them over outgroup members who are actually similar to them. We can see that the individual might like particular people as group members while at the same time dislike them as individuals and vice versa (Turner 1984, Hogg and Abrams 1988).

Sterling suggests that the new recruit comes into the police service with some degree of contradictory feelings. The period through the selection process and consequent success may result in a favourable attitude towards taking on the role of a police officer. However, the individual may also be left with some negative feelings towards the police from his or

her civilian role. In order to overcome this the individual must become convinced of the goodness and rightness of the police. Sterling (1972) states that `effective socialisation depends on a rejection of the past and a commitment to the present' (p.20). This points to the officer behaving according to their social identity not just on duty, but also when their shift ends. For example in interviews with me officers have talked about the need to keep their occupation secret from those who live near them (in order to prevent becoming involved in problems, but also to reduce the likelihood of attack). In addition officers say they feel they are a police officer even when socialising with non-police people as there are often remarks about the officer snooping on them, and officers avoid going to some places where they may feel obliged to `carry out their duty' even though they are off-duty.

On the other hand, police officers are also members of non-police groups. They are members of the public, husbands and wives, mothers and fathers and it has been suggested that personal and social identities can be mutually salient (Stephenson 1982) and indeed that crossed category membership may result in a neutralisation of differentiation (Deschamps 1984). Therefore it would seem important to be able to predict to what extent this distinction between group membership identity and personal identity is salient to individual officers.

Social Identity Theory indicates that police officers will wish to evaluate themselves as a group in a positive way and to this extent will seek to distinguish their group from others. Clearly, the isolation and conflict described by Skolnick (1967), combined with increasing

public criticism of the police would seem likely to foster a stronger police identity for the individual involved.

Turner et.al. (1987, p.53) suggests that `under conditions of high personal responsibility ingroup identifications would be enhanced more by costs than by rewards associated with group membership'. In terms of the police officer, s/he has a high level of personal responsibility. Wearing a uniform ensures that s/he is never anonymous and personal responsibility can extend to criminal prosecution for actions taken. It can also be argued that the police officer has undertaken high costs in terms of; a) the arduous selection process (which can take a year to complete); b) a lengthy training period which is both demanding and unpleasant for most recruits; and c) being constantly faced with a negative public perception of the police. In Turner's terms this would presumably result in high ingroup identification.

In Turner's Self categorisation theory, it is suggested that `self categories tend to be evaluated positively and that there are motivational pressures to maintain this state of affairs' (p.59). Again, in police terms the uniform means that the public will usually not discriminate between one individual and the police in general. Therefore to protect individual self esteem or a positive self image the officer must evaluate the police group as a whole positively.

If a strong police identity is developed, this may have an affect on the style that the individual police officer uses in interactions with the public and offenders. Struch and Schwartz (1989) found that perceived intergroup conflict (between religious groups) was related more strongly to aggression amongst those who identified highly with the ingroup. This suggests that the strength of identification can be an important variable when considering how any individual might interact in his/her role as a police officer. Following this through it might be the case that if a police officer adopts the police identity strongly, then s/he is more likely to view the public as the outgroup.

The socialisation premise suggests that probationers undergo a series of changes after joining the police service, and that, as a result of this, they become more like existing police officers in their attitudes, values and behaviours. This is consistent with Social Identity Theory in that new members of the group (police service) should categorise themselves as group members and so become more like existing members, that is, self-stereotype themselves.

If socialisation processes appear to be operating it seems appropriate to consider whether socialisation is a blanket process affecting all new recruits in the same way, or whether it has a differential effect on different categories of people. That is, can we predict from initial measures who will adopt the occupational identity strongly and who weakly?

In relation to the earlier discussion of Social Identity Theory the issue of self stereotyping could be important in understanding why some categories of probationers might not adopt the occupational culture as strongly as others. `Our idea of who we are is in part determined by our perceived resemblance to the prototypical members of our social categories which are important to us' (Tuohy, Wrennell, McQueen and Stradling (1991 p 169). In this way we might surmise that those new officers who feel themselves to be different to prototypical members might not take on the police identity as strongly as those who more closely resemble the stereotype. Factors that might make the individual probationer feel less like the typical police officer might include gender, age and education, and I will now discuss each of these factors.

Age

In most police services in this country, candidates can apply to join when they are eighteen years old. Bearing in mind the age of the recruits it might seem reasonable to assume that these officers are most likely to take on the police identity. Indeed Sears (1986) suggests that late adolescents (approximately 17-19 years) have a less fully formulated sense of self, have identity confusion, have a stronger need for peer approval manifested in dependency, conformity and over identification with peers, and weaker established social and political attitudes. In addition Jennings and Markus (1984) found that there is greater movement in party political affiliation among people in their late teens/early twenties than their parents, stating that young adults are especially prone to attitudinal change. This suggests that young probationers may be more easily influenced

and ready to take on the police identity than those who are older. Stradling and Harper (1988) suggest that young recruits who do not have any previous work experience may have little sympathy for the circumstances of the offender. Clearly this would be an important factor in policing style, particularly in terms of the use of discretion.

At the other end of the scale some recruits are much older and have accumulated a considerable amount of work experience before entering the police service. A significant issue is whether this has any relevance to performance. Cohen and Chaiken (1972) found that `men who are over thirty at the time of appointment are less likely to incur complaints based on their interaction with civilian members of the community' (p 52). Cohen and Chaiken also found that older men were less likely to be absent due to sickness than younger officers. In addition Levy (1967) found that police failures (those who leave early or are dismissed) tend to be younger at appointment.

An additional but related factor to age is marital status. Older recruits are more likely to be married than younger recruits. This may be viewed as membership of a social group and therefore entails a group identity of its own which may inhibit or interfere with the adoption of a further identity as part of the police group. Under these conditions where the recruit has much stronger conceptions of his/her own identity and group memberships, it might be the case that these recruits are more resistant to the socialisation effect or that due to cross-group membership, discrimination is neutralized (Deschamps 1984). Reming (1988) found that of `supercops' (classified according to the number of prosecutions

initiated) 48% were married, while of average `cops' (fewer initiated prosecutions), 76% were married. This suggests a greater degree of commitment on the part of the unmarried officers. In the light of this it seems reasonable to assume that the married officers have taken on the occupational identity less strongly than those who are unmarried.

Education

More recently the police service is attracting recruits who are educated to a higher level. However this does not fit in with the prevailing stereotype of the police officer. Therefore it might be the case that those recruits who are better educated than the typical officer would find it more difficult to adopt the police identity. Reming (1988) found that `supercops' (defined by their arrest record) had an average of 13 years of education while the average cop had 14 years of education. In terms of performance, Cohen and Chaiken (1972) suggest that education is the most powerful predictor of civil complaints. Indeed they found that of officers who had some college education, 12% had at least one complaint of using un-necessary force, while of officers with only school education, 17.7% had similar complaints. However Levy (1967) found more education to be linked to police failure, in terms of early resignation or dismissal. This implies a degree of dissatisfaction on the part of those with higher levels of education with the police system, again suggesting that this group might not socialise as strongly (Vogel and Adams 1983).

Gender

Clearly the most common term used for a police officer is policeman. It seems that women simply do not fit the stereotype of the police officer (or policeman). Brown and Campbell (1994) suggest that the police role is associated with 'danger and physicality' (p.82) which fits in with the very masculine image of the police. Jacobs (1987) suggests that most women do not want to be `one of the boys' but prefer to maintain their femininity. Indeed that as well as being perceived differently by the public and male officers they also perceive themselves to be different. Male police officers, on the other hand see women as a threat to the masculine image of the job. Jacobs goes on to state that women play traditionally female roles rather than attempting to infiltrate male ones; they are not part of the ingroup. Berg and Budnick (1986) point out the difficulties faced by women in the police service. They state that if women assume the traditionally female roles in police work (caring role dealing with women and children), they are not seen as a threat to men, but virtually rule out any career advancement. On the other hand women who seek to be more like their male counterparts do pose a threat and are subject to abuse and ridicule from male officers. Indeed Coffey, Brown and Savage (1992) found that police men are very negative about the performance of police women.

In terms of simply performing their job women police officers appear to face more difficulties than men (Balkin 1988, Young 1991). Brown, Maidment and Bull (1992) suggest that women officers more frequently find themselves in traditional roles such as

looking after children and women. In addition, they found that women had a higher rate of job turnover than male officers, which, they suggest, hinders their promotion prospects as they have less opportunity to build up experience. A study by Brown and Campbell (1993) found that women were over represented in car and foot patrols, while on the other hand were under represented in specialist posts. In the same study it was found that ninety percent of female officers had experienced some form of sexual harassment (including sexually explicit comments or suggestive jokes about women).

In these circumstances it seems reasonable to assume that women police officers will not be able to self-stereotype themselves as prototypical members and so will be less likely to adopt the police identity than a comparable male officer.

Aims of the study

In the light of the above discussion it seems likely that initial factors will affect how strongly the individual will adopt the occupational identity. However, based on the literature, particular variables such as age, gender and education, are believed to be especially salient and it is these that the hypotheses are based upon. However all variables will be included in the analysis. Therefore this study is designed to determine predictors of strength of identification as a police officer from initial factors measured at Time 1 (on entry).

Hypotheses:

1. Younger probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than will older probationers.

2. Less educated probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than will more highly educated probationers.

3. Male probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than will female probationers.

6.2 QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

6.2.1 METHOD

Research design

The main aim of this study is to measure the degree to which individual officers have identified with the police service. The term `identified' is interpreted in this context to mean the degree to which the officer feels a part of the organisation and that it is a part of his or her identity. In addition a measure of general satisfaction with the police in general

and training specifically is assumed to indicate that the officer feels happy being a part of the service.

All participants had completed 20 weeks in the police service at this point. The period had been mainly spent in formal training schools but all probationers had also spent several weeks at their allocated police station.

The Instrument

This study involved the completion of one questionnaire with 35 items. Five main areas were being measured in this study;

1. Degree of satisfaction
2. Evaluation of training
3. Feelings of separateness
4. Perceptions of individuality
5. Feelings of identification

Ten items measuring feelings of identification were taken from the Group Identification scale (IDENTIFY) in Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade and Williams (1986). The remaining items were developed from the initial interviews. The questionnaires can be found in Appendix D.

Respondents

Participants were the same as in Study 1, with a total of 202 respondents.

Procedure

The study was completed at training schools. Each wave completed the questionnaires at the same time. The researcher administered the questionnaires and no police officers other than those taking part were present. They were again assured of confidentiality and told that the questionnaires were measuring how they felt about being a police officer at this stage of their probationary period.

6.2.2 Results

The questionnaire at Time 2 consisted of 35 items and measured personal attitudes towards being a police officer. Several items were believed to measure the same issue and so a Principal Components Analysis was carried out using an orthogonal rotation in order to reduce the number of variables included in regressions. A Scree test was used to determine the number of factors used.

Table 6.1 Principal Components Rotated Factor Loadings for Attitudes to being a police officer

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Identify with police				
Feel I Belong	.801			
Police service important to society	.757			
Feel strong ties to police	.753			
Police is important to me personally	.703			
I fit in	.672			
Glad to belong	.629			
	.619			
As expected		.627		
Satisfied		.570		
Feel positive		.536		
Own skills used		.495		
Instructors			.724	
Not relevant			.678	
Common sense			.677	
Good Training			.652	
Hide being in police				
Annoyed				.802
Feel held back				.555
Don't want neighbours to know				.533
				.509

Factor 1, termed 'Identity', has an eigenvalue of 6.43 and accounts for 18.4% of the variance. This factor appears to indicates strength of feeling of identification with the police organisation. A Cronbach's Alpha of .86 was obtained.

Factor 2, termed 'Satisfaction', has an eigenvalue of 2.36 and accounts for 6.7% of the variance. It appears to represent general feelings of satisfaction with respondent's experiences within the police service. A Cronbach's Alpha of .51 was obtained.

Factor 3, termed 'Training', has an eigenvalue of 2.10 and accounts for 6.0% of the variance. This factor suggests an attitude to training generally and its usefulness. a Cronbach's Alpha of .65 was obtained.

Factor 4, termed 'Embarrass', has an eigenvalue of 1.75 and accounts for 5.0% of the variance. It indicates how critical the probationer feels in relation to the police organisation and whether s/he feels generally happy as a part of the police. a Cronbach's Alpha of .49 was obtained. The alpha for this factor is low. However the factor was retained as it seemed consistent in terms of its constituent items and had fairly high factor loadings.

Frequencies were calculated in order to obtain a picture of the response patterns on these four factors. By using all scores not on the mid point (1-3 and 5-7) the results suggest strong agreement (89.6% of respondents, mean 2.16, SD .76)) with statements indicating a

feeling of belonging to and identifying with the police service (Identify) on measures such as `being a police officer is a part of my identity now' and `I feel strong ties with the police'. However at the same time it was found that respondents *also reported feeling* embarrassed about being a police officer (99.5% of respondents, mean 5.87, SD .62). They indicated that they did not want their neighbours to know that they are a police officer, tries to hide being a police officer and feels held back and annoyed to be a police officer. Responses on satisfaction and training were clustered around the mid point but a sizeable proportion of responses were fairly negative with 52.3% responding that they did not feel the training was useful (mean 3.93, SD .68), and 45.5% (mean 3.88, SD .60) of probationers responding that things were not as they had expected and that it had not been a positive experience for them personally.

Treatment of results

The data were checked for skewness in the distribution and as a result a number of transformations were used to obtain a normal distribution. Square root transformations were used on Persist, Canteen, Discretion, Attraction, Attitude, Pscore and Embarrass. Reflect and square root was used for Self. Logarithmic transformations were used on Interest, Qualities, Service and Identify. Inverse transformations were used on measures of Talk and Satisfy.

Mahalanobis Distance was used with a criterion of $p < .001$ to check for outliers. No outliers were found.

Where one variable is nominal and the other is at least ordinal, point bi-serial correlations are reported. In all other correlations, Pearson's Product Moment has been used.

Standard multiple regressions have been performed (in preference to hierarchical or Stepwise) for the following reasons; i) there was no theoretical basis for entering variables in a set order ; ii) a cross validation with a second sample was not possible (see Fiddell and Tabachnick 1989).

Multiple regressions were conducted in order to investigate predictors of; i) probationers' strength of identification with the police organisation; ii) satisfaction with the police experience; iii) perceptions of training received; and iv) degree of embarrassment with being a police officer, from initial measures at entry. Multiple regressions were carried out with initial measures grouped into demographic variables, personality factors and attitudinal factors measured on entry.

Regression tables show the ; i)correlation of the dependent variable with each independent variable; ii) B; iii) Beta; and iv) sr^2 which indicates the unique varaince accounted for by each variable. The R^2 showing the whole variance for the equation is also reported.

In order to test the three hypotheses multiple regressions were carried out on Identify. It was found that age and education were not predictive of degree of identification as a police officer. A series of t-tests were performed and confirmed that there were no differences by age and education. In addition t-tests were performed by years of previous employment and marital status on the basis that they may be related to age and the likelihood of the adoption of the police identity but were found to be non-significant at the 5 per cent level. However sex significantly predicted degree of identification (Table 6.3) and a t-test was significant at <.05, with a mean for men of 1.14 (SD .14) and of 1.19 for women (SD .17). Therefore hypothesis 1; that younger probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than older probationers, and hypothesis 2; that less educated probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than more highly educated probationers are rejected. Sex does appear to predict degree of identification in the expected direction and so hypothesis 3; that male probationers will adopt an identity as a police officer more strongly than female officers, is supported. Multiple regressions of all variables that significantly predict identification will now be reported.

Identify

Table 6.2 Standard Multiple Regression of demographic Variables on Degree of Identification with the Police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employ	.11	.04	.34	.02
Force	-.01	.00	.01	.00
Sex	.14*	. 05	.15	.02
College education	.04	.02	.05	.00
University education	.06	.03	.08	.00
GCSE	.06	.00	.07	.00
Children	.05	.00	.0 1	.00
Married	-.02	-.03	-.11	.01
A level	.08	.03	.14	.01
Ages	-.11	.67	.03	.0 00

* $p < 0.05$

As can be seen from Table 6.2, there is a significant association between sex and Identify. This indicates that men are more likely to identify strongly than women, which is the expected finding. Sex accounts for 2% of the variance. It can be seen that sex is the only significant predictor of all the demographic varibles. In addition, approaching significance is a positive association with employment. This suggests that the longer the probationer

has been employed before joining the police service the less likely s/he is to identify with the police. R^2 for this equation is .08.

Table 6.3 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second order factors on Degree of Identification With the Police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.15*	-.03	-.27	.03
Initiative	-. 07	-.01	-.09	.00
Creativity	.02	.01	.06	.00
Stability	-.05	.01	.0 7	.00
Introversion	-.11	-.01	-.07	.00
Leadership	-.04	.02	.17	.0 1

* $p < 0.05$

It can be see (Table 6.3) that there is a negative association between Anxiety and Identify. A low score on anxiety indicates an anxious personality, therefore it would appear that those who are more anxious are less likely to take on the occupational identity. The mean score for Anxiety is 4.51 (on a 9 point scale) with a SD of 1.39. Anxiety accounts for 3% of the variance. R^2 for this equation is .04.

Table 6.4 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes to Policing to Identification as a police officer

	Correlation	B	Beta	Sr^2
Commit	-.13*	-.01	-.14	.02
Authority	.09	.00	.09	.01
Discretion	.06	.02	.07	.00

*p,0.05

It can be seen from that there is a negative association between degree of commitment to the police on entry and degree of identification after 20 weeks service. It shows that those who are willing to change, and see change as a result of being a police officer as a good thing, identify strongly as a police officer. Commitment accounts for 2% of the variance and the R^2 for the equation is .03.

Regressions were run on median splits of Identify as nearly all probationers had scored that they felt being a police officer was a part of their identity, but yielded no further significant results.

Embarrassment

Multiple regressions of all variables measured at Time 1 were carried out in an attempt to identify predictors of the measure embarrassment. Only regressions showing significant results are reported.

Table 6.5 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Embarrassment

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.14*	.02	.09	.01
B	.03	-.00	-.00	.00
C	.08	.00	.01	.00
E	-.03	-.00	-.01	.00
F	.03	-.01	-.03	.00
G	.09	.02	.06	.00
H	.15*	.04	.12	.01
I	-.13	-.04	-.11	.01
L	.08	.02	.06	.00
M	-.04	-.02	-.0 7	.00
N	.02	.02	.05	.00
O	-.02	-.01	-.02	.00
Q1	.17*	.06	.16	.02
Q2	.08	.03	.09	.00
Q3	-.08	-.05	-.13	.02
Q4	.10	.03	.11	.01

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that a high score on Q1, that is, having radical tendencies, being open to new ideas and an analytical thinker is associated with feeling embarrassed to be a police officer. The mean score for Q1 is 4.49 (on a 9 point scale) with a SD of 1.60. Q1 accounts for 2% of the variance. R^2 for this equation is .13.

Table 6.6. Standard Multiple Regression of Pscore on Embarrassment

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Pscore	.14*	.09	.14	.02

* $p < 0.05$

Obtaining a high Pscore (indicating a high level of moral reasoning) as measured by the defining Issues Test (Rest 1974) predicts a high score on embarrassment at being a police officer. The Pscore is an overall measure of moral reasoning, and is based on Kohlberg's Levels of Moral reasoning. The mean for Pscore is 16.82, with a SD of 6.82. Pscore accounts for 2% of the variance. R^2 for this equation is .02.

Satisfaction

Multiple regressions were conducted but there were no significant predictors of satisfaction at Time 2.

Training

Multiple regressions were carried out in an attempt to identify predictors of how probationers felt about the training they had received. Only regressions with at least one significant finding are reported.

Table 6.7 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Attitudes towards Training

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employ	.07	-.27	-.12	.00
Force	.30***	1.56	.2 9	.08
Sex	.07	.30	.05	.00
College education	-.07	-.82	-.13	.02
University education	-.09	-.81	-.10	.00
GCSE	.03	.11	.13	.01
Children	.13	.69	.11	.01
Married	-.02	-.60	-.11	.01
A level	-.14	-.41	-.11	.01
Ages	-.04	-87.42	-.24	.01

*** $p < 0.001$

It can be seen (Table 6.7) that Force is associated with attitudes to training. Probationers in Kent Police had a more negative attitude to training than probationers in the Metropolitan Police. The mean response for probationers in the Metropolitan Police is 3.73 (SD .68) and for Kent Police is 4.14 (SD .61) and was found to be significant at <.0000 in a t-test. Force accounts for 8% of the variance. Approaching significance is a negative association between the probationer having some further education and having a positive attitude to training. R^2 for this equation is .15.

Table 6.8 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions of policing on Attitudes towards Training

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	.05	1.05	.06	.00
Self-benefits	.06	.33	.08	.00
Indepen-dence	-.12	-1.00	-.14	.02
Interest	.04	.90	.06	.00

Table 6.8 shows that, although not significant, there is a negative association between Independence and Training. This indicates that those who value working independently

evaluate training positively. Independence accounts for 2% of the variance. R^2 for this equation is .03.

Table 6.9 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Attitudes towards Training

	Correlation	B	Beta	r^2
A	-.12	-.10	-.08	.00
B	-.06	-.06	-.04	.00
C	-.04	-.02	-.02	.00
E	.04	.05	.03	.00
F	.00	.06	.04	.00
G	-.16*	-.2 4	-.15	.02
H	-.09	-.06	-.04	.00
I	-.00	-.08	-.05	.00
L	-.03	-.04	- .02	.00
M	.12*	.25	.16	.02
N	.11	.17	.10	.01
O	.02	.14	.08	.00
Q 1	-.02	-.06	-.04	.00
Q2	.08	.11	.07	.00
Q3	-.04	-.06	-.03	.00
Q4	- .00	.04	.03	.00

* $p < 0.05$

Table 6.9 shows a positive association between factor M and Training. A high score on M indicates a practical person while a high score on Training suggests a negative attitude

towards training. The mean for M is 5.08 (on a 9 point scale) with a SD of 1.67. M accounts for 2% of the variance. While not significant there is a negative association between G and Training. A high score on G, which would be a person who likes things to be done properly and observes rules and agreements, is associated with a positive view of training. The mean for G is 4.98 with a SD of 1.70. Factor G accounts for 2% of the variance. R^2 for this equation is .08.

Interactions were computed of; i) age by sex; and ii) age by sex by level of education (see Cohen and Cohen 1975). These were regressed against factors at time 2 with demographic variables but were not found to be significant predictors.

The regressions up to now have been performed with the predictors divided into relevant categories (demographic variables, personality factors, qualities, attractions and attitudes). In order to examine the relative influence of different significant predictors, regressions were carried out using only these variables. Variables approaching significance were also included (P=<.07).

Table 6.10 Standard Multiple Regression of all significant predictors of Identify

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Commit	-.13	-.01	-.12	.01
Sex	.14*	.04	.15	.02
Anxiety	-.15*	-.01	-.11	.01
Employ	.11	.02	.13	.02

*p < 0.05

It can be seen in Table 6.10 that in this regression only sex is significant at the 5% level. An attempt was made to identify predictor variables but none could be found. Of the other variables in the demographic group, sex is significantly correlated with age, children, married and gcse. It may be that these variables contributed to the results obtained when the regression was run with only demographic variables. However it can be seen that sex appears to be the most important predictor of identification. The R^2 for this regression was .07.

Table 6.11 Standard Multiple Regression of Significant Predictors of Attitudes Towards Training

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
M	.12*	.21	.13	.02
Force	.30***	1.7	.31	.09
Independence	-.12	.12	.05	.00
College Education	-.07	-.69	-.11	.01
G	-.16*	-.25	-.16	.02

* $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6.11 shows that Force is the most important predictor of attitudes towards training, suggesting that the training programme being offered by each force is different. Force accounts for 9% of the variance. The R^2 was .14.

Table 6.12. Standard Multiple Regression of Significant Predictors of embarrassment at being a police officer.

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Pscore	.15*	.08	.12	.01
Q1	.17*	.05	.16	.02

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen in Table 6.12 that the most influential predictor of degree of embarrassment at being a police officer is having radical tendencies and being a free thinker (Q1). R^2 was .04.

6.3 THE INTERVIEWS

6.3.1 METHOD

Research Design

The interviews at Time 2 were carried out to establish how respondents felt about the police and policing at the end of their formal training period (although some time had been spent on station). Questions addressed issues such as how their experience had compared to their expectations, how they had found working with experienced officers and whether this had changed their perceptions, how much a part of the police organisation they felt and whether this had any effect on their relationships with their family and friends and whether they felt that they had changed as a result of the previous 20 weeks. A semi-structured format was used and were conducted in a private room at either the Metropolitan Police Training School at Hendon, or the District Training School at Ashford (Kent Police). All interviews were tape recorded with the consent of participants.

Respondents

Respondents were the same as those at Time 1 and consisted of 11 people.

The instrument

The interviews were semi-structured and designed to examine three main issues;

1. How they felt about their experiences in the police and whether they now felt a part of the Police Service; how they felt they had changed over the period.

2. Their experiences on station

3. Perceptions of training

The interview schedule can be found in Appendix D.

Procedure

Follow up interviews were carried out while respondents were at their respective training centres. Respondents had completed approximately 20 weeks in the Police Service. Each interview lasted for approximately 30 minutes and was tape recorded with the permission of the respondents.

6.3.2 RESULTS

1. Experiences in the police service

Ten respondents reported enthusiastically feeling that they were pleased that they had joined the Police and that things were as they had expected, if not better, "*It's all I expected it to be and much, much more. You meet new people, challenging job, fulfilling some of my potential and the opportunity to do other things within the job that I wanted to do when I applied to join*". Eight of the eleven respondents felt that they were now a real part of the Police Service. Of those, the most frequent reason offered for what had contributed to this feeling was that they now felt able to contribute, to pay an active role. In addition respondents also cited the reaction of other officers. If they thought that others accepted them then they felt a part of the Police Service. Of those who reported not feeling part of the Police Service, two cited lack of experience and knowledge as reasons and one stated that he did not want to be.

When asked if they felt that being a police officer was now a part of their identity, only one respondent said no. Of those, all felt that this was a good thing and felt happy about it, "*The camaraderie is very important really isn't it. I feel it is anyway because you could be out there on independent patrol, and the reaction of your colleagues could determine your own life in many ways*", "*I think it is instilled here*", "*Camaraderie is very important*", "*As you grow with the job, as you grow you get more involved. Your identity becomes more*

developed and eventually you are 100% a police officer", "My persona would be a police officer", "Anybody in uniform you tend to treat as part of the `big family". However some expressed some reservations about the dangers of becoming too immersed in the police world; "*If you can carry on in that kind of environment all the time then that's when you can become very cynical and become alienated as such because you're in a big clique. You are alienated from other people and you look at society from a police point of view only, whereas if you're a policeman and you have other fiends who do a lot of different kinds of jobs, then you can sometimes step out and look in*". The respondent who did not report feeling a part of the Police Service said that it was a bad thing as "*they all stick together...cowboy type people".*

The female officers interviewed spoke of having an identity as a police officer in the same way as the male officers. They did, however also mention their desire to maintain 'old friendships'. They also spoke more frequently of family members, and talked less about camaraderie.

Only two respondents felt that they had not changed at all since they had joined the police, "*At the end of the day you are still who you are when you first arrive here. For those who are fairly young when they arrived, maybe they have developed and they've become more of an adult, whatever the expression might be. But for those who have arrived who are a little bit older, I don't think it has changed them at all*". Of those who felt they had changed four felt that they had changed in a positive way; "*Probably*

improved, you treat them with respect, you feel you have a great responsibility wearing a uniform, to be more civil", "Also because of the uniform. It is quite a big thing that you are in the uniform and it does stand you out from other people", "More independent, outgoing, confident, assertive, I've got the uniform, I've got the power", "A little more tolerant, it's been pointed out, to work on". The remaining respondents felt that their change had been for the worse; "*A lot more aggressive, short-tempered*" and "*I'm far more aware of things going on around me, I'm more suspicious", "I'm forever walking along the road, when off-duty, looking at vehicle excise licenses and tax discs, states of cars and looking at a particular car in front of me and I think `I wonder if that's worth stopping to have a quick check on that'", "I think I would be a lot more trusting before, I'm not as trusting now because I think that is the nature of the job".*

When asked if they thought that they received adequate support from the public, seven respondents felt that they did not; "*No, they don't want to get involved, too scared*", "*They wont help you, bothers me. They want us to do their dirty work...not enough support", "I don't think there's enough support for the service-provider on the street, I don't think the public cares" and "I don't think we've got any right to expect it. It's an unwinnable task to keep the public happy".* The remaining respondents felt generally happy about the level of support received *"Yes, pleasantly surprised*".

Four respondents reported feeling that they had become more cynical over the period; "*Disillusioned with the organisation definitely, now I don't care", "The job is getting a lot*

harder and your going to get a lot more stick", "It's the system that lets you down, I'm more suspicious, self protection" and *"Not suspicious but I watch people a little more*", *"You are constantly looking for, if you hear a noise, is it suspicious or is it just a noise? Yes I think I have changed in that respect*".

2. Experiences on station

One person did not like their time on station and found it "*a culture shock...all I am to anyone is a number".* However the remaining respondents were enthusiastic about their experiences; *"Good fun", "Exciting, a lot of help from everyone", "Smashing", "Brilliant, putting law into practice*" and "*Excellent".*

For most people it was as they expected although several mentioned things that they hadn't thought that they would see; "*One or two individuals (police officers) who were out of order, too long on the job", "Some PC's who have served their time and should be out", "The way a few people (police officers) acted and I thought `that's not the way I would do it".*

Ten respondents felt that they were a part of a team when they were on *station "They did accept me from the beginning which was nice", "You've only got two weeks, but you're in. you've come to join*". However one respondent felt that "*You're not really liked because you're a probationer"*

However although most reported getting a good impression of policing from the serving officers, "*Very positive, very keen, knowledgeable*", "*Majority enthusiastic*", some were suspicious "*They were very, very carefully selected, only positive people. You turn into cynics in this job".* All but two felt that these officers were not as positive as the respondents; "*Some of them were cynical*", "*Some officers (were) demoralised. after arrest...knows the person is going to get off*", "*My tutor was disillusioned*" and "*They said it had changed a lot, morale was low, lack of resources", "Enthusiasm does wane because they get very disillusioned with it, especially the justice side of it all. They are very positive in the way they deal with the offenders but when it comes to the paperwork and the justice at the end of it , that's when they get disillusioned and that is when they start thinking `is it worth it?'", You come across an officer who is demoralised because he knows that if he carries this particular case forward, let's say he's made an arrest for a particular minor offense, that he knows that person is going to get off with a slapped wrist...and that I think can be very frustrating for officers", "There was a lot of scepticism, like it's all very well doing it but we're only taking them off the streets for a few years...Where they've seen the system basically break down on them, where they've done the work, got the bodies, that's job talk, and it's backfired on them".*

Respondents were asked whether they thought that family and/or friends could really understand the experiences that they had as a police officer. Three people said that they could understand although one of these said that it is important to choose carefully who to talk to "*I try not to talk to my mum a she worries but I have two friends who I can talk to*

and who understand". However the remaining respondents felt that other people could not understand; *"I don't think anybody knows what it's really like", "If you talk about some of the things that go on...they cannot believe it", "People are very interested but they don't really understand*" and "*It's very important to talk through things but until you go out with a police officer on duty, it really is an eye-opener", "For instance, this is the sort of thing people can't understand, we went to the Burger King one night and this guy just bought his burger and went round spitting on all the women calling them a name I don't want to mention...and some people just don't appreciate that there are people out there like that. We got called to a guy who's HIV and Hepatitis B wielding an axe in the middle of the street who needed to be arrested. That sort of thing they don't understand. I think I've understood why the police's bad name comes along, it must be from when people see half of it, the end result, which unfortunately sometimes ends in violence. I now know there is a huge build up to it and once someone is having a go at you you've got to go in a little harder than them to sort it out so it looks like police brutality, when in fact it isn't. It is a necessary evil unfortunately.*"

Respondents were asked if they felt anxious about going to work on a station permanently which they would be doing within the next week. Two respondents said that they didn't feel anxious at all "*Can't wait*", but the remaining respondents reported feeling *"A bit anxious, it would be a problem if you were too blasé about it", "Like going to an exam" and "We're going to be junior, worried about fitting in".*

3. Training

Respondents were asked whether their training had been as they expected. The majority of people were unhappy about the training they had received; "*Too psychological, mess up your brain too much*", "*They want to analyze all the time*", "*Sitting in circles discussing, but people are picked up on certain things and they clam up*", "*A waste of time, haven't learnt anything, sit around being bored*", "*This place has got to be the worst place I've ever been in my life...It's so childish, the way you're treated*", "*Infinitely easier, disappointed at the lack of a challenge. A fifteen week course stretched out to twenty. It's too easy to pass, they keep moving the goal posts...no real pride in passing out*", "*They should take away the kid gloves...a good example is that we went to do the obstacle course the other day*". " *We can't do the big one in case people hurt themselves*", "*And you think it doesn't really run true somehow. I find that with the role plays we do as well, that they stop where in normal life they would either go well or they'd fall apart. Half the reason for that is that they don't want people getting injured and being back-coursed, but I do wonder if that is counter-productive*", "I *think they need to be a lot more open about the possibility of violence...There are still quite a few people who I know from our group who the violence worries and they don't know how they will cope with it. I don't think it is fair to them that they will have been allowed to come through thinking that it will be the way it is here*".

6.4 DISCUSSION

The hypotheses in this study related to predictors of how strongly probationers adopted an identity as a police officer at 20 weeks service. Age and education proved not to be predictors of degree of identification. The sample was older than might have been anticipated and so might have expected to show low levels of identification based on research findings that older people are less dependent and are less likely to identify with peers (Sears 1986). However, age was not found to be a significant predictor even using median splits to divide responses on Identify to high and low. Sex was significantly associated with degree of identification in the predicted direction, in that male officers were found to be more likely to identify than were female officers.

Interview data confirmed the findings of the questionnaire study with all but one respondent indicating that they felt that being a police officer was a strong part of their identity. Many felt that being a police officer was a part of their 'persona' and that they were '100 percent a police officer' .

The findings are consistent with Social Identity Theory (ie. Tajfel 1978). The theory proposes that the individual will categorise him or herself as a group member and that s/he will adopt the attributes of the group. As discussed earlier there appear to be many reasons why a new probationer might take on the police identity. These include issues such as common fate, shared threat (Sole 1975), development of friendships within the police

group and the rejection of the past in order to commit to the present (Sterling 1972) and increasing isolation and experience of conflict (Skolnick 1967). The respondents in this study had spent most of a twenty week period living and working in a force training school. This physical and emotional isolation would presumably increase the necessity to fit in with the group, and so become as much like them as possible (or required).

The finding that being male is positively associated with the adoption of the police identity is as predicted. The hypothesis that male probationers would take on the police identity more strongly than would female probationers was based on the concept of the prototypical group member. That is, that the individual would have stereotypical perceptions of the ingroup and of him or herself (Hogg and Abrams 1988). If female officers could not see themselves as being stereotypically identical they might, therefore, have difficulty conforming to group norms and in turn be less likely to adopt the police identity. Indeed Jacobs (1987) stated that women police officers do not want to be 'one of the boys' suggesting that these women were rejecting the concept of simply adopting the existing culture, but rather wanted to make their own. Berg and Budnick (1986) suggested that women officers face a dilemma in terms of how they behave as police officers. On the one hand they might adopt the traditional role of carers of women and children which afforded them acceptance from male officers who consequently did not see them as a threat. However these women had largely blocked their career path. On the other hand female officers could reject this role but face hostility from male officers who now do see them as a threat, but a career path would left open. In a study by Ostrove (1984) it was

found that female officers reported higher levels of distress on measures such as low self esteem and isolation. During the interviews several male probationers mentioned the difficulties that they had observed faced by female probationers. The picture drawn here suggests the greater difficulty that women have as police probationers compared to men. The male already physically resembles the stereotype of the police 'man' and so would experience less difficulty than would female probationers in perceiving him or herself as a prototypical group member.

The finding that those probationers who had more work experience were less likely to adopt the police identity (although not significant) fits with the general theory. This is that those who have a stronger personal identity are less likely to adopt the police identity which is consistent with the concept that personal and social identities may be equally salient (Stephenson 1982). For those probationers who have already developed personal identities based on their greater work experience, the adoption of the police identity may be lessened.

A further predictor of strength of identification was Anxiety (16PF second order factor) indicating that those who are anxious are less likely to take on the police identity. This contradicts the concept that becoming a new group member is a very anxiety making experience and that members have a strong desire to reduce this anxiety by attempting to feel accepted by the group (Schachter 1967). Indeed Ashforth (1985) suggests that the anxiety results in the new group member uncritically accepting the organisation and

behaving an overly accommodating manner. On this basis it might be expected that the direction of the association would be in the opposite direction. However it may be that anxiety actually inhibits the adoption of the police identity on the same lines as the Yerkes-Dodson law; in that arousal above the optimum level can inhibit performance, or in this case the adoption of the police identity.

A surprising finding is that 99.5% of respondents felt embarrassed by being a police officer. This included feeling held back by, and annoyed to be a police officer, that they wanted to hide this fact and did not want their neighbours to know. This appears to contradict the basic tenet of Social Identity Theory suggesting that group members will seek to evaluate the group positively in order to maintain their own personal self esteem (Hogg and Abrams 1988). It might be the case that due to public and media criticisms of the police and highly publicised cases of miscarriage of justice the police feel themselves to be in a subordinate or negatively perceived group.

However Social Identity Theory suggests that group members in this position employ social creativity strategies to positively evaluate those areas in which they are distinct from other groups. Indeed in the interview studies it appeared that probationers were indeed presenting police work as being very different to any other type of work. They emphasised the nature of the work in terms of emotional demands in facing violence and dealing with distressed people at crisis points in their lives. They believed that they saw in a few years as much suffering as most people would in a life time. In addition, the

majority of probationers stressed that the public simply did not understand this and judged the police too harshly. This might appear to be a social creativity exercise but a positive evaluation of the group is not reflected in the measure of embarrassment. Several probationers stated that they felt being a police officer was a part of their identity but did add a note of caution suggesting that there are dangers in becoming too immersed in the police culture in that it may result in alienation from society and the development of cynicism. Further respondents felt that they had changed since joining the police but that had been for the worse in that they were now more aggressive, short-tempered and suspicious. In addition many probationers spoke of their unhappiness about the lack of support from the public. The many negative comments about feeling that they wanted to hide being a police officer, or that they experienced problems if people knew, made by probationers in the interviews appear to reflect the high response rates on embarrassment at being a police officer from the questionnaire study.

Considering how little time this group of people had actually spent in a police station or undertaking police work, their attitude about the consequences of being too much a part of the police group is surprising. One explanation is that this attitude is actually part of the group norm which the new probationers have adopted in the process of becoming more like other officers. The emphasis is on how difficult the job is, that it is impossible for anyone outside the police to understand what the job is like and that you must feel negative about being a police officer. The latter point may simply be consistent with the first two.

The findings indicate that level of moral reasoning (Pscore) is positively related to embarrassment. This measure was used on the premise that probationers move from initially idealistic motivations to more pragmatic ones (Fielding 1986), and that those who had a higher level of moral reasoning would find it more difficult to make that shift. If the measure embarrassment really does assess how much the probationer feels unhappy to admit to being a police officer, this would appear to be consistent with this assumption. That is that those who had high levels of moral reasoning on entry are more embarrassed than those who had lower levels.

Factor Q1 (16PF primary factor) was also found to be positively related to embarrassment. This indicates that those probationers who have radical tendencies, are open to new ideas and are analytical thinkers are likely to score higher on embarrassment. This appears to be consistent with the finding for level of moral reasoning in that the 'free thinkers' and those with higher levels of moral reasoning may be less prepared to adopt the procedures and ethos of the police.

Attitudes to training reflected generally how positively or negatively probationers viewed the formal training period at the force training school. In general terms the overall perception of training was fairly non-committal (mean 3.93 with a standard deviation of .68). Only 9.5 percent of respondents scoring their view of training on the positive side of the scale. In interviews there were no positive comments; those who felt this way presumably did not feel sufficiently motivated to mention it in detail. On the other hand

many comments were made suggesting that the training was 'too psychological'. Many probationers felt that they were being analyzed and having their 'brain(s) messed up' which would be consistent with the finding that those people who are practical (16PF factor M) had evaluated training negatively. In addition there were many criticisms of the trainers who were felt to treat people partially with some probationers being picked on constantly and humiliated. On the other hand several said that they had spent their time being totally bored, with too little challenge and too little realism.

The findings indicate that probationers in the Metropolitan police felt more positively about their training period than those in the Kent police. The formal training period for Kent probationers is 30 weeks compared to 20 weeks (reduced to 18 weeks after this study) for probationers in the Metropolitan police. All probationers spoken to expressed their unhappiness about the period of residence at the training school. Not surprisingly they did not enjoy having to live in a hostel block and the discipline. Indeed Van Maneen (1973) suggests that the training period involves 'arbitrary discipline' combined with the difficulties of facing a ritualistic concern for detail, enforced uniformity and absolute obedience. Bahn (1984) describes police training schools as psychological crucibles. The period at a police station might make a welcome change where the emphasis is more pragmatic with more weight given to common sense. In interviews all probationers reported having enjoyed their period on station and felt that the time at the force training school was a waiting period before they would be able to do what they had joined to do. Of the 30 weeks training in Kent police (with an additional 1 week leave period), 12

weeks are spent at a station, 3 at the force headquarters (just Kent officers), and 15 at a district training school (officers from all of the country). Eighteen of the 20 weeks in the Metropolitan police are spent at the force training college (just Metropolitan police officers) and 2 weeks are spend at a station. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that if probationers dislike the formal training period then the group with a shorter training period would view their training in a more positive light. Although Kent probationers actually spend the same period (18 weeks) at training schools as those in the Metropolitan police, the milestone of the 30 week period may have an important effect on probationers. In addition, the fact that Kent probationers spend time at 2 different training centres may have an effect on their satisfaction with the training period.

Human Awareness Training (HAT) was a programme that was operated in the Metropolitan police (see Bull and Horncastle 1988) which addressed issues such as interpersonal skills, self-awareness and community relations. This programme constituted approximately 25% of the formal training programme. It was not run in the same form for this intake of probationers but the training now offered still relies heavily on the content of the HAT programme. On the other hand, Kent police have never operated the HAT programme and their training lays more emphasis on procedural or legal training, in terms of definitions of theft etc. Bull and Horncastle (1988) found that those probationers who had experienced HAT had more positive attitudes to training than those who had not. If this is the case, this may also be one explanation why probationers in the Metropolitan police felt more positively about the training they had received than those in Kent police.

In interviews in both Kent and the Metropolitan police, many comments were made about it being a waste of time and there being no point. It appeared that even when officers first arrived at the training school they felt that this would only teach the basics, not really how to do it. It seems likely that any training programme is doomed to failure if the recipients have no faith in it before it has even begun.

This has important implications for the whole concept of training police officers. It seems that the probationers viewed the formal training period as a waiting period "one to be got through before you learn how to do it properly" on the station.

Although not significant at the 5 percent level, three variables were approaching significance. The presence of college education was found to predict a positive view of training. It is difficult to say why college education would be a predictor when presence of degree level education is not but this may reflect the familiarity of the training environment to this group, and so their greater satisfaction with it. It would be interesting to know how well this group performed in the formal training period. It may also be the case that the expected differences between higher and less educated people may occur at this point. In addition, a high score on wanting independence, and liking things to be done properly (Factor G) was found to predict a poor attitude to training. However both indicate a general dissatisfaction which would be consistent with the above discussion in that the training, as offered, appears not to be what the majority of probationers either

expected or wanted. It seem logical then, that people who highly value independence and want things done properly are likely to least happy with the training provided.

The measure of satisfaction reflects how positively the individual feels about his or her experience so far. It is not related to training specifically but to the whole police experience. As with training, the response to these measures was fairly non-committal with the mean response just on the positive side of the midpoint (mean 3.88 and SD of .60) and only 8.4 percent reporting that they felt satisfied with their experience so far. No measures taken on entry were found to be predictors of satisfaction after twenty weeks service.

Factor Q2, measuring group dependency, might have logically been predicted to be related to degree of identification, but was not found to be significant predictor. In addition, Q2 and 'identify' were not significantly correlated. In addition degree of commitment on entry did not predict later identification or satisfaction as might have been expected. Commit was correlated with satisfaction and identify in the expected direction but not at a significant level. Generally, it can be seen that attitudes on entry did not affect measures taken after 20 weeks. However this time period may have been too short to obtain a clear measure of identification. If, as seems to be the case from interviews, many probationers do not view the formal training as real policing, the training period may not have had the impact that was expected.

CHAPTER 7. TIME 3 - A STUDY OF PREDICTORS OF PREFERRED POLICING STYLE AFTER 10 MONTHS POLICE SERVICE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Policing Styles

Pugh (1986) describes the roles performed by the police officer as being; i) a law enforcer, in terms of taking action against those who have committed an offence; ii) a public servant involving such tasks as giving first aid, directions, escorting ambulances; and iii) maintaining the social order such as dealing with noisy neighbours, drunks etc. It can be seen that these roles are fairly diverse, and as discussed in earlier chapters, may entail many different approaches in one day. Pugh also suggests that the concepts held by any individual police officer may influence how s/he selects or performs a particular role.

Of interest to this study is the particular style, or policing role that any individual officer may adopt more frequently than another, that is his or her preferred policing style. Brown (1981) described policing style (termed operational style) as 'how a patrolman (sic) will go about working the street and how he adapts to the contradictory requirements of behaving as a diplomat-cop' and that this style 'derives from the choices a patrolman (sic) must make about how to work the street' (p.223). This suggests that police officers adopt

different policing styles. Indeed a number of studies have looked at this topic and relatively few policing styles appear to have been found.

The first style appears to reflect a true crime fighter in the style of The Sweeny. This type of officer is less interested in ordinary members of the public and does not want to waste time dealing with them or victims. Broderick (1977) described the enforcer style as having low emphasis on the due process of law but high emphasis on the need for social order. This type of officer was likely to have a lower level of education than other groups. Broderick quotes a respondent with this style citing pride, integrity and guts as the three most important qualities that a police officer should have (which he compares to the most common answers of other officers of honesty, common sense and fairness). This policing style appears to represent individuals who believe in authority, keep society safe, predominantly join the police to catch criminals and would like to 'make people good' (p. 27). A similar style is reported by Muir (1977) who also terms this the enforcer. Muir interviewed 28 officers who had a maximum of three years service. Muir stated that 18% of his sample could be classified as enforcers who were more likely to believe in the utility of using force and were fairly cynical about human nature; indeed when the situation became dificult this type of officer might decide to use coercion first in anticipation of attack. Walsh (1977) described the 'Action Seeker' policing style as typical of officers who had 'knocked about a bit' (p. 150) before joining the police and were more likely to be single on entry to the police. The main attraction for this type of officer is excitement, and they wanted to do 'real' (p.151) police work and felt that this sometimes

necessitated putting work before their families. In their spare time this type of officer is likely to spend time with other officers, and their style of policing involves an emphasis on detection rather than prevention and a 'tougher role in street behaviour'. Reiner (1978) describes officers who see their prime, if not only, function as police officers to continue the unrelenting fight against crime and disorder, emphasising the role of detection in the fight. Reiner terms this policing style the 'new centurion'. Hochstedler (1981) cites a similar policing style which he describes as the 'supercop'. This type of officer is prepared to use force and is more interested in 'real' crimes such as rape and robbery and wants to protect society from crime. This style is similar to that termed 'crime fighter' by Brown (1981). Brown distinguishes two crime fighters; old style and clean beat, who are differentiated by the use of selectivity when using aggression. However both are high in aggressiveness, and sufficiently similar to the style described above. Both types have 'street sense' (p. 225) and are preoccupied with controlling crime but dislike order-maintenance and service calls. The difference between the two styles is that the old style crime fighter is only interested in serious crime while the clean beat fighter believes that it is important to eradicate all crime. Coercion is viewed by both types to be one of the tools of the trade. For this study, this style of policing, which reflects a crime-fighting approach, will be termed the 'thief-taker'.

The second style of policing is a more balanced, objective view of policing as a job, or career, rather than a crusade, or having a personal agenda. This style is described by Broderick as the idealist. This type of policing typical of officers who are younger and

likely to have a higher level of education. This officer places high emphasis on the due process of law and also the need for social order. S/he believes the most important characteristics that a police officer should have are honesty, patience and understanding. Unlike the enforcer, s/he is more interested in the preservation of justice than making people good, and believes in 'individual liberty and responsibility' (p. 38). Muir (1977) describes officers who take a wider perspective on human nature and the role of a police service. This officer is a sophisticated observer of human nature and feels the need to balance the power of coercion with his or her personal belief structures. Muir terms this policing styles the reciprocator and classified 36% of the sample to fall into this category. Walsh's (1977) middle class mobiles are typified by officers who joined the police service for a career which 'they considered to be professional without requiring a university education' (p. 151). The priorities of this type of officer is promotion and fulfilling their family responsibilities, with the first achieving the second. This type of officer was more likely to be married or engaged on entry to the police and also to spend his or her spare time in the company of non-police officers. Reiner (1978) also terms one of his policing styles as the professional. Like Walsh's middle class mobile, this officer's emphasis is on career and takes a balanced view of policing in terms of its function, in contrast to the totally crime oriented perspective of the new centurion. Hochstedler (1981) also uses the term professional to describe officers who view their task as a complex one which needs to address issues that are difficult and complex, requiring a range of sophisticated skills. This more sophisticated and balanced approach to policing was found by Brown (1981), who also described this style as professional. Brown suggests that this type of officer has

an understanding of human nature, presumes innocence until proven guilty and is not obsessed with control and order. This style of policing will be termed the 'diplomat-cop' for this study to reflect the balanced and circumspect approach of this type of officer, who also has his or her eye on personal benefits, while still acknowledging the emphasis on catching criminals.

A third style of policing described in the literature is one which is less concerned with fighting crime and more with offering a service to, and building up a rapport with, the public. This type of officer might come closest to the Dixon of Dock Green image of the police officer. Broderick (1977) describes this officer as the optimist. He suggests that this officer has the lowest level of resentment and is most likely to have a higher level of education. S/he prefers working with people to fighting crime and prefers to use discretion than police power. Muir (1977) terms this type of officer as the professional and stated that 21% conformed to this description. S/he believes in the necessity of personal skills, leniency where it has some value and a balance of power between parties. The main aim of this officer is to serve others. Walsh (1977) describes the street cop style as one who is the 'tourist's dream, for they relish street corner chats' (p. 157). They develop relationships with shopkeepers and feel a loyalty to the areas they patrol. They are not interested in developing arrest records. Reiner's (1978) description of the Community-officer closely approximates this officer, as does Hochstedler's service oriented officer who is described as being more akin to a social worker than a crime fighter. Brown (1981) typifies the (second) service style as one which is selective in the enforcement of the law and lacks

aggression. This type of officer believes that it is the role of the police to help people with their problems and in the utility of the use of discretion, and wants to address community problems. Finally, Hatting, Engel and Russo (1983) describe the 'true blues' police officer as an idealist. This officer sees him or herself as a servant of the community and is more likely to be young and more highly educated. The term, 'service-provider' will be used in this study to represent the core characteristics of this style.

The final category of policing style is the officer who has become disillusioned with police work and is still a police officer only for the money, or lack of an alternative. Broderick describes this officer as the realist. S/he has become cynical and does not believe that the police are performing a useful function, or can have any impact on the problems of the world. In Muir's (1977) terms this officer is the avoider. This type of officer accounted for 25% of Muir's sample and was typified by officers who were cynical, suspicious and did not appreciate the subtleties of human nature. Reiner (1978) terms this category of police officer as the uniform carrier. He describes this officer as being totally cynical, disillusioned and one who takes great pains to avoid doing any more work than can be avoided. This description is very similar to the one given by Hochstedler (1981) to the avoider, who does as little as possible, although not always due to laziness but also as a result of fear or burn-out. Brown (1981) distinguishes two service styles, the first of which is similar to he above descriptions and is Brown's first service style. He says that these officers 'neither worked very hard to enforce the law nor paid much attention to people's problems; their actions were calculated to keep the sergeant happy and do the

minimal amount of work to get by' (p.235). Hatting, Engel and Russo (1983) describe a category of officers who are non-achievers and have soured on the system. They term this group the jaded blues. This style of policing is termed *'hired-officer' for this* study. This represents the fact that the officer simply comes in to perform his or her job and no more. S/he is not labelled a 'cop' as the term appears to suggest more involvement in crime than this style would warrant.

Predicting policing style

If there do appear to be some different policing styles it seems fruitful to establish who will adopt which style. That is, if some styles are considered more desirable than others, either in general, or in specific situations, it would be useful to be able to find factors which predict each style. Shernock (1988) suggested that secrecy was a part of the police culture and that it contributed to solidarity amongst officers. Indeed he stated that secrecy 'maintains group identity and supports solidarity since it gives something in common'(p. 185) to members of the group. In his study Shernock (1988) found that those officers who scored high on a measure of police solidarity to score low on a measure of the service function of the police officer. In relation to this study, it seems reasonable that those officers who identify strongly might also be less likely to adopt a service oriented policing style.

Struch and Schwartz (1989) found that perceived intergroup conflict (between religious groups) was related more strongly to aggression amongst those who identified highly with the ingroup. This suggests that the strength of identification can be an important variable when considering how any individual might interact in his/her role as a police officer. Following this through it might be the case that if a police officer adopts the police identity strongly, then s/he is more likely to view the public as the outgroup and feel more isolated from that group. This in turn might also suggest that those individuals who identify weakly with the police, and so feel less isolated from the public, might adopt a more service oriented style.

Studies of the police culture have suggested a locker room culture (Holdaway 1983). This culture is masculine (Reiner 1979) and involves physical and risk-taking behaviour and an emphasis on danger (Holdaway 1983, Jermier et.al. 1989). This suggests that the police role of danger and risk-taking is one of crime fighting. However, as mentioned above, police officers must perform a variety of roles, and it may be difficult for individuals to perform all of them. In the same way, which officers are more likely to adopt this crime oriented style described here? On the basis of social identity theory we might expect those who are most like the prototypical group members, in this instance, young and male, to be more likely to adopt the stereotypical police style, that is the crime fighter style.

Aims of the Study

The aim of this study is to identify factors which predict preferred policing style after 10 months service. The independent factors related to the hypotheses are the demographic, attitudinal and personality measures taken on entry to the police service (Time 1) and measures of identification taken after 20 weeks service (Time 2). In addition measures of satisfaction, embarrassment and attitudes to training, taken at Time 2 will also be used. Probationers will have completed 6 months on-station service at Time 3. Of interest will be whether degree of identification is more useful in predicting preferred policing style than measures taken on entry to the police service.

Hypotheses

1. Probationers who identify strongly as a police officer are more likely to adopt a crime-fighting policing style than are those probationers who adopt the identity weakly.

2. Probationers who identify weakly as a police officer are more likely to adopt a service-oriented policing style than are those probationers who adopt the identity strongly

3. Probationers who are young will be more likely to adopt crime-fighting policing style than are older probationers.

4. Probationers who are older will be more likely to adopt the service oriented policing style than are younger probationers.

5. Probationers who are male will be more likely to adopt crime-fighting policing style than are female probationers.

6. Probationers who are female will be more likely to adopt the service oriented policing style than are male probationers.

7. Probationers who are less educated will be more likely to adopt a crime-fighting policing style than are more highly educated probationers.

8. Probationers who are more highly educated will be more likely to adopt a service oriented policing style than are less educated probationers.

7.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRES

7.2.1 METHOD

Research design

The main aim of this study was to identify policing styles of probationers. It would then be possible to examine whether there was a relationship between; a) initial measures taken on entry to the police and preferred policing style and/or; b) degree of identification as a police officer and preferred policing style.

All participants had completed 10 months in the police service at this point. The majority of the first twenty weeks of this time had been spent in a formal training school

environment. The remaining six months (between measures at times 2 and 3) had been spent at a police station on operational duties.

The instrument

A composite list of descriptions of police officer behaviours was compiled based on the work of Reiner 1978, Muir 1977, Broderick 1977, Walsh 1977 and Brown 1981. A questionnaire comprising this list was constructed and presented with a general description of each of the four policing styles. An initial study was conducted using 15 experienced officers of the rank of sergeant and above in order to obtain the items for the third questionnaire for the main study. Respondents were asked to state what percentage of officers they thought were represented by each style. All respondents stated that they recognised each style. The mean percentages of officers perceived to conform to each style by the senior officers was 22% for the Thief-taker, 24% for The Service-provider, 11.37% for the Hired-officer and 21.57% for the Diplomat-cop. In addition, respondents were asked to list the ten statements which they thought most closely typified each policing style. Statements describing policing behaviours were included in the questionnaire for the main study at Time 3 if they were listed by 30% or more of the respondents in the initial study as being most characteristic of each of the policing styles.

The final questionnaire consisted of 52 items (13 items representing each policing style). The statements were randomly ordered and respondents were asked to indicate on a seven-

point scale how much they thought each statement was true of them. The questionnaire can be seen in Appendix E.

Respondents

Participants were the same as in Studies 1 and 2 and consisted of 202 probationers.

Procedure

The study at Time 3 was carried out when the probationers had completed approximately 6 months duty on a station. One questionnaire was administered. The questionnaires were completed at area and force training centres. No police officers other than participants were present. The questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher and then collected in.

7.2.2 RESULTS

The apriori policing styles (see The Instrument above) were used as dependent variables at Time 3. Cronbach's Alphas were calculated for each policing style; an alpha of .70 was obtained for Thief-taker style which represents a crime-fighting approach to police work; of .67 for Service-provider which emphasises the service nature of policing and is closer

the 'Dixon of Dock Green' service-provider; of .66 for Hired-officer which is an officer who no longer has an interest in police work and does the minimum necessary; and .70 was obtained for Diplomat-cop style which reflects a more career-motivated approach to policing. This officer also believes in offering a service but views this as the implementation of policy and as a good public relations exercise for the police service.

The measures for each policing style were correlated with one another. The correlations were in the expected direction with Service-provider and Hired-officer being negatively correlated with Thief-taker, and Diplomat-cop being negatively correlated with Hired-officer. All other correlations were positive. Only one correlation was found to be significant; Diplomat-cop style had a correlation of .48 with Thief-taker style at the 1 percent level. However due to the distinct theoretical base of these separate policing styles, it was decided to keep them as two styles.

Table 7.1. Apriori scales of Policing Styles

Thief-taker	**Service-provider**	**Hired-officer**	**Diplomat-cop**
Knows loopholes	Knows residents	Keeps out of trouble	Policing is to keep the peace
Prefers arrest to prevention	Uses discretionary common sense	Believes society is a shambles	Believes honesty and patience are important
Makes own decisions	Believes relationship with public important	Does just enough work	Takes a long-term view
Works long hours	Works with people	Used to want promotion	Identifies with the police
Prefers detection to prevention	Exercises discretion	Avoids problems	believes in individual rights
Wants to `show red'	Likes a home beat	Wants a civilised niche	Uses a balanced response
Works `on the streets'	Builds rapport with community	Avoids answering the telephone	Fulfils personal responsibilities through promotion
Has stringent standards	Not interested in transfer	Policing has ceased to be a vocation	Believes exam success is a sign of a good officer
Believes in crusade against crime	accepts human foibles	Is cynical	Promotion through the ranks is important
Is a `real policeman'	happy in uniform	Is disillusioned	Believes image of police important
Known as a `good cop'	Like to be a village service-provider	Policing just a job	Only role is to implement police policy
A `thief-taker'	Believes in a flexible law	Only does it for money	Feels personally responsible for own actions

More probationers saw their behaviour as the diplomat-cop style with 64.3% (respondents who chose 1-3 on the scale) indicating that they felt that this was true of them and none that it was unlike them (Mean 2.9, SD .58). Diplomat-cop policing style is indicated by attitudes such as wanting to feel responsible for one's own actions, a belief in individual rights, taking a long-term view and wanting promotion. There was also a high degree of agreement (53.8 felt it was true of them with .5 feeling that it was not) with statements indicating a Thief-taker style (mean 2.95, SD .62). Thief-taker style is typified by preferring arrest to prevention, wanting to be known as a thief-taker, believing that real police work is done on the street and believing in a crusade against crime. Less than a third (31.6%) of respondents saw themselves as a Service-provider but with no respondents feeling that this style was unlike them (mean 3.3, SD .62). This is the more traditional village service-provider characterised by wanting to get to know residents and developing community links, be flexible with the law and understand human foibles. Not surprisingly no-one (0%) saw themselves as in the Hired-officer style with 53.6% reporting that it was untrue of them (mean 5.0, SD .69). This is an officer who does the least amount of work, is cynical and only does the job for the money. However it is surprising that 46.4% of probationers responded on the mid-point of 4 on this policing style. It might be expected that after just ten months service most probationers would respond negatively to the style as described above.

Treatment of results

The data was checked and found to be normally distributed and therefore no transformations were carried out. A $p<.001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance was used to check for outliers. No cases were found.

Multiple regressions were conducted in order to investigate predictors of preferred policing style from; i) measures of identification taken at Time 2; ii) age on entry to the police service; iii) gender; and iv) education.

In addition, multiple regressions were carried out using other factors measured at Time 1 (initial measures were grouped into demographic variables, personality factors and attitudinal factors), and measures taken at Time 2 (satisfaction with the police experience, perceptions of training and embarrassment at being a police officer).

All predictor groups were regressed but only significant results are reported.

It was predicted that those probationers who identified strongly as a police officer would be more likely to adopt a crime fighting policing style, and those who identified weakly would adopt a service oriented style. However identification with the police at Time 2 did not significantly predict either policing style measured by thief-taker and service-provider styles respectively. Therefore hypotheses 1 and 2 are rejected.

The hypotheses predicted that probationers who were younger and/or male would be more likely to adopt a crime oriented style and that probationers who were younger and/or female would be more likely to adopt a service oriented style. The thief-taker style is considered here to be the crime oriented style, and the service-provider style is the service oriented style. The results show that age was not a significant predictor of either types of policing style measured by thief-taker and service-provider styles respectively. Therefore hypotheses 3 and 4 are rejected.

However sex did predict thief-taker style in the direction predicted. It was found that being male was associated with the thief-taker style. Therefore hypothesis 5 is accepted.

The findings show that being less educated predicts thief-taker style. Therefore hypothesis 7 is accepted.

Table 7.2. Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Previous employment	-.06	-.45	-.07	.00
Force	.33***	5.24	.35	.11
Sex	.17*	3.11	.18	.03
College education	.05	.95	.06	.00
University education	.01	.21	.01	.00
GCSE	-.02*	-.44	-.18	.02
Children	.07	1.79	.10	.00
Married	.05	1.36	.09	.00
A levels	.12*	2.49	.25	.03
Age	.04	34.85	.03	.00

* $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.001$

It can be seen from Table 7.2 that being a Metropolitan Police officer is associated with the thief-taker style. This was not anticipated but may be explained as the Metropolitan police is a city police service and has higher levels of crime than would be found in a provincial service such as Kent. Therefore it seems reasonable that officers might be more crime oriented in this type of environment. Force accounts for 11% of the variance. As discussed above, being male is also associated with this style. Sex accounts for 3% of the variance. The thief-taker style is

a more crime-fighting and masculine style and conforms to the hypothesis that female officers would be less likely to adopt this style as they do not fit the stereotype.

The findings show that having more GCSE's (2% of the variance) and fewer A levels (3% of the variance) is associated with thief-taker policing style. This may suggest that the cut-off point for 'highly educated' and 'less educated' may occur with numbers of A levels. The finding that college and university education does not predict this policing style, (in fact the correlation suggests that higher education is associated with low scores on thief-taker policing style) appears to confirm this. The R^2 for this regression was .20.

Factor I was approaching significance (P =.058, Beta -.15) as a predictor of thief-taker style. This suggests that probationers who are tough-minded score high on thief-taker policing style. Factor I accounts for 2% of the variance with R^2 of .07. Although not significant the remainder of the variance appears to be accounted for by trustfulness (Factor L, 1%) and assertiveness (Factor E, 1%).

Table 7.3. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Thief-taker Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	Sr^2
Anxiety	-.02	.04	.01	.00
Initiative	-.00	-.05	-.01	.00
Creativity	.08	1.17	.19	.02
Stability	-.10*	-1.15	-.19	.02
Introversion	.00	.67	.12	.01
Leadership	-.02	.22	.04	.00

*p <0.05

It can be seen from Table 7.3. that probationers who score high on Stability, that is show no signs of neuroticism, also score high on thief-taker policing style. Stability accounts for 2% of the variance. Approaching significance is the finding that those who are less creative also score high on this style. Creativity accounts for 2% of the variance. The R^2 for this regression is .03. The Sr^2 figures have been rounded up to provide 2 decimal places, and the R^2 has been rounded down.

Table 7.4. Standard Multiple Regression of Time 2 factors on Thief-taker Policing Style

	Correlation n	B	Beta	sr^2
Train	.19**	.60	.21	.04
Embarrass	.02	.41	.03	.00
Satisfy	-.04	-38.45	-.05	.00
Identify	-.04	-5.38	-.11	.01

* p < 0.05

It can be seen that the relationship between identification and thief-taker style is not in the direction predicted. Although the association is not significant it shows that those who have identified weakly are more likely to score highly on thief-taker style. In addition it can be seen that those who have a positive attitude towards training are likely to adopt a Thief-taker policing style. The mean response for Training is 5.87 which indicates a fairly negative view of training (SD .76). The R^2 for this regression was .05.

Table 7.5 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic variables on Service-provider Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.02	.47	.07	.00
Force	-.17*	-2.72	-.17	.03
Sex	.01	.41	.02	.00
College education	-.11	-1.59	-.09	.01
University education	.06	1.02	.04	.00
GCSE	-.01	.02	.01	.00
Children	.06	1.57	.08	.00
Married	.02	.10	.01	.00
A level	.02	-.08	-.01	.00
Age	-.03	91.55	.09	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that force predicts service-provider style in a negative direction. Force accounts for 3% of the variance and the R^2 for this regression is .04. This finding suggests that being in the Kent police predicts service-provider policing style. This is not surprising as service-provider style reflects the traditional policing of the home beat officer, getting to know the local residents and preferring to talk to people than fighting crime, which might be more associated with a provincial force. In addition, it might be expected that people who were attracted to this type of policing would apply to a police service which had lower crime rates such as a provincial rather than a city police service.

Table 7.6 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style

	Service-provider	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.08*	.62	.16	.02
B	.06	.41	.09	.01
C	-.01	.12	.03	.00
E	.07	.47	.08	.01
F	-.04	-.13	-.03	.00
G	-.08	-.38	-.08	.00
H	-.17**	-.93	-.22	.04
I	.08	.46	.09	.01
L	-.02	-.02	-.01	.00
M	-.05	-.09	-.02	.00
N	.06	.20	.04	.00
O	.00	-.16	-.02	.00
Q1	-.00	.11	.02	.00
Q2	-.00	-.09	-.02	.00
Q3	.11*	.82	.15	.02
Q4	.05	.09	.02	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

Table 7.6 shows that those who score high on Factor A and who are reserved and like working alone are also likely to score highly on Service-provider policing style. Factor A accounts for 2% of the variance. The association between Service-provider policing style and Factor H indicates that those who adventurous, are sociable, enjoys negotiating and is easily

able to make social contacts are likely to score high on Service-provider style. Factor H accounts for 4% of the variance. There is a positive association between Factor Q3 (those who are spontaneous and uninhibited and who are not always considerate to other people) and service-provider style. Factor Q3 accounts for 2% of the variance. The R^2 for this equation is .10.

Table 7.7 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order factors on Service-provider Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2	P
Anxiety	.06*	1.46	.26	.02	.03*
Initiative	-.02	.34	.04	.00	.59
Creativity	-.04*	-1.52	-.24	.03	.02*
Stability	.01	.03	.01	.00	.96
Introversion	-.07	-1.07	-.19	.02	.05
Leadership	-.05	-1.14	-.18	.01	.09

* $p < 0.05$

The results show that those who are more anxious are more likely to score high on Service-provider policing style. It may be the case that the anxiety is related to the crime-fighting aspect of policing and so this results in probationers adopting this style in order to avoid that type of policing. Anxiety accounts for 2% of the variance. It can also be seen that respondents who are high on creativity and research are also high on Service-provider style. Creativity/research accounts for 3% of the variance. Approaching significance is the finding that those who are more extroverted are more likely to adopt the Service-provider style. Extroversion may be interpreted here to mean a more outgoing personality type and therefore the link with service-provider style may reflect a desire to spend time talking to people. Introversion accounts for 2% of the variance. The R^2 for this regression was .05.

Table 7.8 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF primary factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.01	-.09	-.02	.00
B	-.04	-.00	-.00	.00
C	-.10	-.39	-.10	.01
E	-.22***	-1.12	-.21	.04
F	-.02	-.03	-.01	.00
G	.10	.49	.11	.01
H	-.11	-.43	-.11	.01
I	-.04	-.16	-.03	.00
L	.09	.52	.11	.01
M	-.01	.02	.00	.00
N	.10	.33	.07	.00
O	.08	.40	.08	.00
Q1	.01	.03	.01	.00
Q2	-.05	-.14	-.03	.00
Q3	.06	.34	.07	.00
Q4	-.04	.09	.02	.00

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 7.8 indicates that probationers who obtain a high score on factor E are likely to score high on diplomat-cop policing style. A high score on E suggests someone who is ready to engage in discussion, is independent minded and often seeks leadership. Diplomat-cop style is characterised by a belief in individual rights, an emphasis on responsibility and a belief in

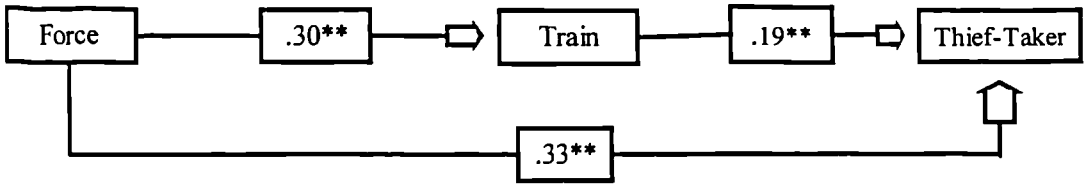
implementing police policy not having any input into it. It would appear that diplomat-cop style reflects a more by the book, solid delivery of policing which would not be consistent with the description of people who score high on E. Factor E accounts for 4% of the variance. The R^2 for this regression was .12.

Median splits of Identify were calculated and then regressed against the four policing styles. No significant results were found.

In addition 2 interactions were computed; i) age by sex; and ii) age by sex by level of education (see Cohen and Cohen 1975). These were regressed against the four policing styles with other demographic variables but did not prove to significantly predict any of the policing styles.

The data were analysed as a path analysis in order to obtain a clear idea of whether policing style could be better predicted by variables at Time 1 or Time 2. Only one policing style, 'Thief-taker' was significantly predicted by items at both Times and is shown below.

Figure 7.1. Path Analysis correlations of Force and Training to Thief-taker Policing Style



** $p < 0.01$

It can be seen that both Force and attitudes to training are positively correlated to thief-taker policing style. This indicates that Metropolitan probationers score training more positively and also score high on thief-taker policing style. In addition, probationers who have a positive attitude to training, scored high on thief-taker style. Simple regressions for force and training were run to thief-taker style; it was found that alone, force was significant at .0000 (R^2 .11), and training was significant at .01 (R^2 .04). When regressed together, it was found that force was significant at .0000 (Sr^2 .08), while training was not significant with a p of .14 (Sr^2 .04). The R^2 for this equation was .12. This suggests that force is a more powerful predictor of thief-taker policing style than attitudes to training.

The regressions performed so far divided the variables into categories (demographic variables, personality factors, attitudes, attractions, qualities, degree of identification, satisfaction, attitudes towards training and embarrassment). In order to examine which of the significant predictors is most influential, regressions were carried out using only these. Factors approaching significance (P= .07) were included.

Table 7.9 Standard Regression of significant predictors on Thief-taker Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Training	.19**	.34	.12	.01
Stability	-.10	-.19	-.03	.00
GCSE	-.02*	-.46	-.19	.03
Sex	.17**	2.6	.15	.03
Force	.33***	4.9	.33	.08
A levels	.12***	2.6	.25	.05
Creativ	.07	.66	.11	.01

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

It can be seen that Force is the most important predictor of thief-taker policing style and accounts for 8% of the variance. Number of A levels, sex and number of GCSE's were also strong predictors, accounting for 5%, 3% and 3% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for this equation was .20.

Table 7.10 Standard Multiple Regression of Significant Predictors of Service-Provider Policing Style

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Creativity	-.04	-.11	-.02	.00
Q3	.06	.67	.12	.01
Force	-.17*	-2.55	-.16	.02
H	-.17*	-.96	-.23	.02
Anxiety	.06	.19	.03	.00
A	.08	.32	.08	.00
Introversion	-.07	-.39	-.07	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that force is the strongest predictor of thief-taker policing style followed by H (enjoying taking risks negatively associated with this style). Force accounts for 2% of the variance and Factor H also accounts for 2% of the variance. The R^2 for this equation was .09.

7.3 THE INTERVIEWS

7.3.1 METHOD

Research design

Interviews at Time 3 were conducted to collect more detailed information about styles of policing and whether these were the same as those used as the basis for the questionnaire study. The main topics addressed were; i) whether probationers felt that different officers exhibited different policing styles, and what they were and ii) to describe their own policing style. In addition the interviews were designed to consider probationers' perceptions of being a police officer and the training period in the light of their operational experience (interview schedule in Appendix E).

Respondents

Respondents were the same as those at Times 1 and 2. Eleven people were interviewed.

Procedure

Interviews were carried out at the probationers' respective police stations and area training centres. All interviews were carried out in private rooms and were tape recorded.

7.3.2 RESULTS

Policing style

Respondents were asked whether they thought that there are distinct types of officers and if so, to describe them. They did not describe them as such but have been grouped together under the headings used in the questionnaire study as seemed appropriate.

Hired-officer Carrier

"There are those just doing it for the pay cheque"

"A complete waste of space...thinking `I'm not going to do that' and shying away from it", "The one's who can't be bothered, They're just people in uniform, they're not producing anything, just a number on a sheet", "The people who do absolutely nothing and a lot of that is due to fear, I would say, but you will never get anybody owning up to that", "There are a couple of people on our team who have been noted for their absence when it's gone a bit haywire"

"Do the work the best you can but not really bursting blood vessels to do anything spectacular, then going home", "Who bumble along doing crime sheets and looking after

victims...bumble along, probably walk past six offenses and wait for the call (a crime reported)"

"Adopt a less results-generated approach to the police, which is a lot more discretion but they don't turn in as much work".

"They're just there and not really that bothered. They come in, get paid and go home again."

"Your 'old sweat' - that's another expression. I'm not sure whether it's television imitating the police or the other way round. You've got the people who've been there for years and they have a law unto themselves, largely. I think probably or possibly because so much has changed that they really don't know what the law is any more. That is one possible explanation. The other is that they do know but they're not really bothered about that anyway".

"There are people who are just doing it for the pay cheque, I suppose, who just do the minimum required but then they're probably very good at what the do. If they do enough to get by, then they're doing enough to get by. If it's paid by performance they would still only do enough to get paid the right amount or what they were happy with. There are people who are a complete waste of space".

Service-provider

"You've got the lot who bumble along doing crime sheets and looking after victims, which is another part of the job."

Asked if crime fighting was the most important part of policing one respondent said *"Not necessarily because you've got the victim also. Although they would like to see the criminal caught, you're not always able to do so".*

"There are some who are a bit more sensible and use their discretion".

Thief-taker

"There are people who are just completely pissed on being a copper as well. That is a good way of describing it I think. They think it is the be-all and end-all and they're just so hyper-straight, some of them are bent as nine-bob notes and think it's brilliant", "Some who are very picky and if there's an offense they'll pick up on it straight away", "`Gun-ho' mentality", "All they want to do is either nick criminals or drive cars", "People who just give everything they've got for it. They just sacrifice their lives to the police", "Still turns in the figures but does it perhaps in the wrong way...Although they get things done, it is not perhaps totally ethical in some respects"

"I have noticed as a result of the way the justice system works some police officers don't seem to enforce the law but they make judgements before they even do that. For example, they picture what is going to happen if they do take a particular type of action, so they don't do it. They take the decision out of the CPS's hands and make the decision themselves which they shouldn't really do".

"They think, 'Yes, that's what I'm going to do. I'm not going to have sand kicked in my face because I'm a copper now. Alright you might be six foot bouncer at a night-club who throws me out but now I'm a copper I'm going to have you' - that sort of attitude. I suppose it does cross your mind now and again; you think, 'You toe-rag' but that's not the reason why I joined. I can see it is the reason why some people joined - or that's the way people have become".

"Like the old proverbial CID blokes, who swan around in their suits with their hands in their pockets. I know it sounds terrible stereotyping but it's just - I've seen them. I've been insulted by them and so has my wife been insulted by one".

"There's the very, very active, extremely good officers and I would say at this station 50% are excellent; they're very active, they arrest a lot of people, they know everybody. You can normally tell by when you throw a name at them (of an offender) and they say, "Right, yes." and they know it".

"One now would be out looking for drug dealers - out for people who are dealing to get somebody arrested and get them off the streets...out there actively looking now and he's checking everybody out; he knows who to look for, who to question and he'll probably be back in shortly with a prisoner".

"'We're just a police force and we're just there to nick criminals and everything else goes by the board'. You see that in other PCs who it doesn't interest at all. All they want to do is either nick criminals or drive cars".

Diplomat-cop

"I think it is very important (communication) because first impressions count. Say, for instance, you pick up the phone and you go, "Yeah, what do you want?" That's one way of answering the phone. That's the way a lot of people answer the phone. You pick up the phone and say, 'Good afternoon, X Police, PC P speaking' or whatever way you want to do it - there are two different ways. First impressions always count. So communication with people is very, very important. One of the things I have really enjoyed is going solo, going out on my own, because then I can deal with the situation how I think it should be dealt with. I can communicate with people how I think they should be communicated with. Sometimes I've been out with other officers and attended an incident and I've looked at it and thought, 'Yes, I'll do it this way'. But the other officer has chosen to do it a different way. For him or her, that's the way they wanted to do it and the way they communicated with that person they've done it their way as well. Consequently sometimes - only sometimes -the incident has

gone from a low-ish level to a higher level, or the attitude of the person being spoken to has changed. He has got aggressive which has only resulted in a more strenuous arrest and that, I feel in some of the incidents, they should not have got blown out. In that respect the police are not seen in a good light, especially if it is in a public area. I went to an arrest with another officer just recently. We stopped a guy for a minor traffic offense, and we were just going to give him a severe talking to. The other officer was dealing with it and it just went from a low level to a real high level. There was quite a violent struggle to arrest him in the end in the High Street -lots of shopper around - for a very, very petty thing. It was unfortunate that it went that way."

"There are some middle-aged people who have already formed their opinions of police and you'll never change them, but of course the general public don't really have much dealings with the police so the way you treat them is going to have a lasting effect. Of course, if you can influence kids at a young age, hopefully they will carry that through when they get older and their kids etcetera. It is important that you portray a diplomat-cop image to people all the time. Whether it is possible to do that all the time is another matter because you are only human beings".

Own style

When asked to describe their personal policing style respondents generally described a very philosophical approach emphasising the use of social skills and discretion; *"Be fair to people, use your discretion", "Primarily out there to help people", "Flexibility".*

"My belief is that I am primarily out there to help people. Whether that is which way to go to get a bus, to somebody has collapsed behind a door to stopping them from becoming victims, that is what my job is. It is hard to say. It's so varied. I would like to feel that when people come across me they think, 'Alright, maybe they're not such a bunch of bastards as I thought they were'. That is what I would like to be thought of as, whether I am or not I don't know".

"Just to be fair to people really. I think you're got to use your discretion to prioritize a lot really. Some days it is busy and you've really got to decide what needs doing and doesn't need doing. Similarly in interpreting the law, there's a lot of things where it is entirely up to you which way it goes. From literally arresting somebody and going to court or just giving them a warning - or just ignoring it. That's where you've got to use your discretion.

Some people are very aggressive - not physically aggressive, but the way they speak to people. To some people it's just a job. The way I like to think is that you care what is

happening, no matter what it is. You go in and you find out what is happening before you make a judgement.

Some others described a style that seemed to approximate the diplomat-cop style where personal skill is emphasised.

"I joined the police rather than the armed forces because you get to use your brain, or I thought you did. Not so much academically but a lot of common sense, when something has cropped up in the past and people have said it. You do get to. I was of the opinion that you wouldn't be ordered around - you wouldn't be told what to do it - you know, something else wouldn't do your thinking for you; you're out there on your own and if you decide to stop a car, you decide to process somebody for an offense, you can decide to go to a shoplifter, that's why I chose it. That's why I mostly try and do the things the way I do. I try and get out on my own as much as I can. I don't like being paired up with other people."

"I definitely wouldn't want to be in traffic. I just cannot see myself sitting in a car driving up and down roads and stopping motorists. It is not something I'm interested in because it doesn't use your brain. I don't mean that in a derogatory way to a traffic officer. For me it would not use my brain to any form of capacity. However, if I then look at investigation where you have to sift out, think perhaps like the criminal, see how they're going - that interests me, so CID would interest me. Equally, I am considering, possibly, an attachment to the SIU (if it was available to me). That is Special Investigation Unit which is directed

towards sex oriented crimes, crimes against children, crimes against adults. Because of that I am now involved in a counseling course at the local education college. I understand the police will, if the courses you enrol in can be related to police work, may support you i.e. pay fees and give you time off to attend. I see that as having a beneficial effect for me. Counseling will not only help me to listen to people - listening skills, questioning and things like this - it will help me in my job. Then if the opportunity was to arise for an SIU post I would be better equipped to obtain that post if it was done on interview. I think there are 33 officers in this force on SIU training or in the teams and only 3 of those are male."

One respondent said that his philosophy was "*tread lightly and leave no footprints*". This approach seemed to be associated with a more crime fighting style as described below.

One probationer stated that he thought that a high arrest rate was a sign of a good officer. *"I think it is but a lot of people would disagree with that. The people who disagree with that are the people who don't nick anybody. It's only a small part of the job. The rest of it is dealing with everyone else. It's a very important part of the job, but that's not what I enjoy..it's a huge part of the job. It's not my forte. I'm not very good at it. I openly put my hands up to say I'm not very good at being sympathetic towards victims who have asked for it. I don't like dealing with victims per se. I don't feel sympathy with any of them - apart from the people who have been mugged or received violence. I find it very hard to feel sympathetic towards, just as an example, somebody who has been beaten up for the fifth time by her husband and gets arrested and then they're both alcoholics and she changes her mind and they let him go. It's a*

violent assault which normally I would feel a lot of sympathy for the person but at the time I can't. I always relate things to what I would do, and I wouldn't put up with it. If somebody beat on me once, that would be enough. I'd be gone. I know life's not that simple". When asked where he would expect the victim to go, the probationer responded "I don't know. At the end of the day I would put my hands up and say I don't enjoy dealing with the victims and I'm not very good at it. Nobody has ever got that impression off me and I've never had a victim who was dissatisfied with the way I deal with them but inside .. Old people are the worst. They're a nightmare. When they've been burgled, they've seen somebody. In the back of my mind it's, "Tell me what they look like. I want to go and arrest them." and when they're going back through their war history and stuff... I put my hands up. I'm not very good; it's not my forte".

"I've had some excellent results. I've stayed clear of any complaints. The biggest example of all is that you get taught all the way through training that you must stereotype. There's only one thing that works in this job, stereotyping. If you see somebody who looks suspicious, he will be". Asked if that is always the case, he responded "*No, but until you've looked you don't know. You go in with an open mind but you've stereotyped; you've got to. If you're looking for a robbery suspect, there's no good looking for a middle aged white guy in a pin-striped suit. Very nice thought but the average age of the robberies at the moment, the victims are 70 years of age. We are talking about people who deserve, who need to be put away. It's no good rushing around looking at any possible suspect. You've got to ... You know who you're looking for".*

Respondents were asked what they thought had influenced the type of police officer that they had become. There seemed to be little consensus with responses including, training, previous experience, personality. However in the provincial service several mentioned the tutor constable; "*To begin with, he is the most important person you work with possibly for the rest of your career because he's the one who has showed you the ropes. I suppose you take a lot of his tips and model yourself on his style. My tutor was very laid back, very polite to people and as a result he didn't get much grief as such. He's a good talker and he can calm people down. I found that a good approach and that's the approach I tend to use*".

"Very friendly, very - I'm not as confident as him because obviously I don't know as much as him - but he's very friendly and he doesn't get aggravated or annoyed and if they do annoy him the look will shut them up basically".

Performance indicators

Respondents were asked about the effect of performance indicators on policing style. They were all very negative about performance indicators and the proposition that they might be linked to pay. "*I would feel forced into it (a particular style of policing). Things like verbal warnings which I give out now; if I can go in one month and show an increase in work of*

30% just because I've stopped verbally warning people, I mean I could show an increase probably of 70% in not verbally warning people, but then I wouldn't be doing my job as well because I'm not using my discretion and there will be a lot of people going away very unhappy with having met me, because I'm just 'letter of the law, black and white' - that's it".

"It causes worry because I think, 'Christ if I haven't go to so many prisoners in a month, that is going to go on my PDP'. It's good to have a goal, set yourself a goal and say, 'Right, I'm going to get five drink/drivers' - set yourself a goal, or maybe your Inspector saying, 'I want you to get this' but to have to record how many arrests you are getting".

"If you had a similar sort of system, I for one would not spend as much time with a victim because that, to me, is unproductive time. That is just being brutally honest because at the end of the day I will need to prove I've got the amount of work done".

It would seem that the majority of probationers see themselves as service offerers, although crime fighting is obviously a necessary part of their role. A minority (probably 4 of the eleven probationers interviewed) saw themselves much more in a crime-fighting role and disliked the service element of the job. The distinction between diplomat-cop and Service-provider styles appears to be the emphasis on status, or professionalism, in the former.

Perceptions of Policing

Four respondents reported feeling as enthusiastic at this point as they had when interviewed on entry (on entry typical responses had been "*I love it it's a great job", Excellent*"). However now the majority expressed more reserved opinions than they had previously; *"I don't know, it's alright, it's a job", "Enjoying it at the moment", "Fed up and pissed off. I didn't think it would interfere with my social life so much".*

When asked what they like best about the job, responses varied. At the beginning of the study the most frequently mentioned attraction was variety. Now this was mentioned by only two people, with one person reporting excitement in the form of car chases. Two respondents cited working on crime as the best part of the job; "*bringing people to justice, the arresting" and "pull a few vehicles and get some good results".* One respondent said the main attraction was money. The remaining five respondents stated that the best part for them was working with and helping people; "*Being out and about, talking to people", "doing something for society".*

The least liked part of being a police officer appeared to divide roughly equally between doing paperwork and "*not knowing what's expected of you*".

Four respondents reported that being a police officer was not a large part of their life, *"Hopefully it will be a decreasing part", "I keep social life outside work, I don't want the two to mix*" and *"I can see some people are totally involved, that's not my philosophy*". The

remaining respondents felt that being a police officer is a large part of their life; "*On-duty 24 hours...not shut off*", "*It's my job which is the most important part of your life*" and "*It does come home with you to a certain extent*".

All respondents, but one, said that being a police officer was a part of their identity, "*It must be, it's necessary, if you did not take part you wouldn't feel a part of the whole thing*".

Respondents were asked about the experience of policing for women. One man said "*He who joins a section is a member of the section straightaway and the girls have got to prove themselves first*". Women were more circumspect about experiencing any problems but one female probationer described a particular incident that she felt was typical; "*A funny incident when I first went solo, I was walking round the town by myself, no problem. Then about four or five nights later I was in a car and my crew member was doing some paperwork so I said `Alright I'll take the car out, keep the car on the road' and I was told not to get out the car. Yet I was walking round the town centre where I'm by myself, I've got no car to lock myself in and I was told `Just get on with it, you'll be alright', whereas I'm not allowed to get out the car*". A male officer spoke of the difficulties of women trying to cope when they are not physically strong enough; "*In our team no (no women), and we're all quite pleased about that. It's because of the nature of the job. This is just my opinion, that they don't cope. They find other things to do which is fine...and you ask any male PC what their biggest gripe is sometimes and it will be when quotas are filled...that gets people's goats up when they look around and when senior management think...we haven't got a woman driver. `We had better get one*

otherwise we look like we're discriminating'. And they pluck one out from somewhere. That builds up resentment".

Three respondent reported feeling less optimistic about society since joining the police, "*Utterly depressed about society. People just don't care", "People just don't want to get involved. Whether it's through fear or lack of interest...They see something and you say to them `will you be a witness?' `Oh I'm sorry'", Yes the first time I did find it very depressing, quite a serious offense occurred and there were forty or fifty witnesses and not one of them came forward", "I'm a little more cynical perhaps because again you tend to deal with those types of people on a regular basis. Your average Jo Bloggs you don't because he's doing his lawful bits and pieces and he's fine. You tend to deal with the lower echelons*". However many stated that they already had pessimistic views to start with; *"Disastrous before", "about the same, (I) treat every-one I meet as an idiot".*

When asked if they expected to be in the Police in ten years time their replies were less than enthusiastic; "I *hope so I've got a mortgage to pay", "Don't know", "Say yes for now", "We'll see", "I expect so".* This response seems a little muted after the *`brilliants', `excellents'* and *`love it'* responses at earlier stages.

Four of the probationers become distressed during the interviews. One talked of feeling totally *"disgusted with this organisation*". He discussed incidents in which he felt totally let down by the behaviour of both individual police officers and the police organisation. He said that he

felt totally isolated from the police and non-police. Another probationer talked of the difficulties he had experienced and felt that he had to protect himself from the police organisation; that officers are dispensable and the police organisation looks after itself. He also spoke of being asked to perform a role that was impossible to do unless the rules were broken. He did this, and his superior officers knew he broke the rule, but felt unhappy at the hypocrisy that if anything went wrong it would be his head on the chopping block. The other two probationers appeared to become distressed as a result of talking about how they felt about policing. They both talked about the need to cover up how they felt, and experienced distress now that it was coming to the surface as a result of the interviews. One probationer felt very let down by other officers who had deserted him when trouble arose. He said that as a result of these experiences, when he was assigned to go out with one of these officers, he felt *"terrified from the moment (he) left the station"*. He described his feelings about these officers, an a system that allows it to go on as *"sickening"*.

Overall I was left with an impression that the majority of those interviewed had come to have a very negative view of policing, and one that was very different to the view held on entry to the police. Indeed one probationer went out of his way to prolong the interview and did not want a lift back to his police station as he wanted to be away as long as possible. In fact he had got off the train, on the way to the interview, a stop early, and walked the three miles to take up as much time as possible.

Probationers were asked how they viewed the level of morale amongst police officers. The majority of respondents (8) felt that morale was low in the Police, *"definitely getting worse", I think they're always demoralised", "Even from your sergeant, everybody is looking after their own back in this job, which is a great shame*". Respondents felt that different things contributed to this; "*The longer (you are) at a station, the lower morale", "some older (low morale) ones but newer ones, no*" *and "It may make them angry that people get off with it", "You do feel `what's the point?'.* Respondents were asked whether their perception of the public has changed since they had been in the police service. The majority felt that it had; *"I am more wary - not wary of the public but I know now certain trademarks of certain people to look for, whereas I would have totally ignored them before. Just little things maybe that could say, yes, he's done something, she's done something. I'm taking a lot more notice of the public now."*

Training

Most respondents felt that policing is not as it is presented at the training centres. They reported that it was alright for teaching the basics but it did not give an adequate idea of what to expect; "*Certain things do not go the way they should", "They teach you the right way but it's never done the right way", "Have to present a rosy picture, you're given an ideal world", "A superficial attempt", "You have to know the `whiter than white' correct `by the book' way but I've also done enough in my short years to know that what actually happens is normally, you have to do it practically, but this is not practical. If you did it the way (training centre)*

did it, you would never get anything done. You would be completely ineffectual, crime rates would go through the roof, but it looks nice to the politically correct that they are being trained that way", "They can't recreate it...emotional feelings". One respondent reported that the instructors interpreted it, *`this is what it says and this is what happens'", I think if they taught you ..the way it actually is on the streets and the way that officers conduct themselves, and how they go about their work, there would be a public outcry. You don't call people who are just shit, `Sir' but...they insist you call them `Sir'...I certainly, and most of the people I work with, don't talk like that".*

7.4 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to establish predictors of policing style after ten months service from measures taken on entry to the police and after 20 weeks service. It was hypothesised that degree of identification as a police officer after 20 weeks service would predict particular styles. In addition it was predicted that age, education and gender would also be associated with particular policing styles.

The results of the study indicate that officers do recognise (and identify with) different policing styles which supports the literature (ie. Reiner 1978, Brown 1981). None of the probationer identified themselves with the hired-officer style. It would be surprising to find many probationers identifying themselves with hired-officer style after ten months service as it is typified by a cynical and disillusioned officer. However the fact that more probationers did not score on the negative side of the scale (53.6% felt it was not like them while 46.4% scored on the mid, neither like or dislike me) is surprising. The interview studies confirmed the existence of this style, with many probationers describing officers who behaved in this way; 'there are those just doing it for the pay' and 'they're just people in uniform, they're not producing anything'.

Of the other three styles, 64.3 percent responded positively to statements describing the diplomat-cop style. This style reflects a more diplomat-cop, career approach to policing. Interviewees appeared to be describing this style when making comments such as how

officers should answer the telephone 'Good afternoon, X police, PC P speaking' and being concerned with presentation; 'First impressions always count, 'it's important that you portray a diplomat-cop image to people all the time'.

Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated that descriptions of thief-taker style were true of them. This style is typified by a very thief-catching, wanting to 'show red' (get arrests or prosecutions). Officers who adopt this policing style prefer to leave dealing with victims or members of the public to other officers and do not consider that this is their area of interest or expertise. In interviews probationers described officers who 'give everything they've got for it. They just sacrifice their lives to the police', 'if there's an offense they'll pick up on it straight away' and always out looking for 'people dealing, to get somebody arrested and get them off the streets'. These descriptions appear to conform to thief-taker style.

It was found that 31.6 percent of respondents felt that statements reflecting service-provider style was true of them. This style, which represents a more service oriented-style, is identified with by less than a third of probationers, and less than the two other styles. However it was a style recognised by probationers who were interviewed and described as 'doing crime sheets and looking after victims'.

It seems likely that there is some overlap amongst these styles. There was a significant correlation between thief-taker and diplomat-cop styles, although theoretically they appeared to be sufficiently dissimilar to warrant keeping them as different styles. It may be the case that

the emphasis in both these styles is on the career of the officer. There is much emphasis on performance indicators, which in turn puts pressure on officers to perform in a particular way; to police in a way that shows up in the performance indicators. The hired-officer style is not correlated with any other style and is identified with by none of the probationers. The other style that is not correlated with the other styles, is service-provider style.

The effects on policing styles of performance indicators was mentioned by several probationers in interviews. They said that they felt pressured to conform to this more result-oriented approach to policing. This reflects a sentiment expressed by Horton and Smith (1988, citing Jones and Silverman 1984) who suggest that the police service is now 'to be judged by numbers' (p.41) and that it diminishes the social, human value attached to policing' (p.46). Both the diplomat-cop and thief-taker styles are most likely to contribute to data collected for performance indicators. Therefore the overlap in policing style may be in thief-taker and diplomat-cop styles as indicated by the correlation between the two. The similarity in the styles may, therefore, be in the emphasis on crime-fighting which is a measure that can contribute to promotion. Berg and Budnick (1986) state that women who adopt the traditional female service role can rule out further advancement of their career. It may be that the same would be true for men who prefer the service side of policing. In order to be promoted in the police service, an officer would need to have a recommendation from his or her senior officer to be successful. If an officer spent more time in a service role and produced less 'paper-work', s/he may be perceived by that senior officer to be a less successful than one who contributes more to successful performance indicators. This alone may explain why these two styles are

identified with by more probationers. The percentages found in the questionnaire study does not follow the pattern of estimates given by senior officers in the development of the questionnaire. From those results it was found that senior officers estimated service-provider to the most frequent style with a mean of 24%, followed by thief-taker style with a mean of 22%, diplomat-cop style with a mean of 21.57% and Hired-officer with a mean of 11.37%. The different pattern may be accounted for by the perceptions held by new probationers, again as a result of performance indicators, compared to existing officers who developed their styles at a different time.

The main purpose of this study was to determine whether policing style was predicted by strength of identification as a police officer after 20 weeks service. Identification did not significantly predict any of the policing styles. This hypothesis was based on the premise that those who had identified strongly, would perceive themselves to be like the prototypical group member and also behave in a prototypical manner. As the stereotype of the police officer is of a crime catcher (Van Maneen 1973), then those who had identified as a police officer strongly would be more likely to adopt this stereotypical role. One problem may be the effects of the high level of identification. However although median splits were regressed they did not yield any further results.

The thief-taker style is active and involves the 'fight against crime'. This might be seen as being very masculine and appears to conform more closely to the image of the 'The sweeny'. This perception of the police role as one of crime fighter is consistent with the stereotype of

the policeman. Brown and Campbell (1994) describe the image of policing as one of danger and physicality, and Martin (1989) suggests that the perception of policing as a dangerous job is important for the maintenance of solidarity. In addition Fielding (1987) describes the image of the policeman as tough men controlling crime, while the image of the police woman is of weakness, emotionality and service orientation. Therefore it is not surprising that the thief-taker style is predicted by being male rather than female as predicted. Indeed Jacobs (1987) found that women did not want to be one of the boys, and so have not conformed to what might be viewed as the 'boys' role'. So it seems likely that in the same way that females were less likely to adopt the occupational identity, as they were not like the prototypical group member, so females have not adopted the traditional masculine crime fighting style of policing.

However, the findings did not suggest that being female was a predictor of the more service-oriented, service-provider style. The correlations were checked and being female was not associated, even non-significantly, with any of the policing styles. That is that women did not score highly on any of the styles. Reiner (1985) suggests, based on the findings of Bloch and Anderson (1974) and Sichel (1978), that there are no gender differences in policing styles. However the findings of this study suggest that this is not the case, at least for thief-taker style. Indeed Balkin (1988) reviewed a number of studies of the performance of male and female officers and concluded that there were few differences. Differences that did appear to exist included being less aggressive, making fewer arrests and deferring to men in decision-making situations. Jacobs (1987) states that the police culture serves to accentuate the

male/female differences and that women are not part of the ingroup. Indeed Jacobs suggests that women see themselves in feminine terms as counselors and do not attempt to conform to the male roles. Weisheit (1987) found that the most frequently cited reason for joining the police for men was job security, but for women was to provide a needed service. If this is the case it would not be surprising if men and women adopted different styles. However, it may be the case that female officers do have a particular style but one that has not been measured here. The studies that were used as the basis for scales in this study were carried out between the late 1970's and early 1980's (ie. Broderick 1977, Muir 1977, Reiner 1978, Brown 1981). Most of these studies refer only to policemen. In addition the proportion of women entering the police has changed considerably. In their study of 125 recruits to a police service from 1979 to 1980 Fielding and Fielding (1987) sample included 10 women. In this study, female recruits represented approximately a quarter of the sample. Therefore the absence of an association between a particular policing style and being female may be due to a shortcoming of measures used in this study.

The hypothesis was supported in relation to education and thief-taker style. The finding that having more GCSE's and fewer A levels is associated with thief-taker policing style appears to suggest that two processes may be occurring. It may be that probationers educated to a certain level (maybe five or more GCSE's and one or two A levels) are attracted to the thief-taker style, either because it fits in naturally with their individual outlook or style, or alternatively because they view it as a better route to promotion. Indeed the finding that having some college or university education is not associated with this style might suggest

that having a higher level of education brings about a different policing style. Indeed although some form of further or higher education is not a significant predictor of thief-taker policing style, the correlation suggests that this is associated with a low score on this policing style. This is consistent with Reming's (1988) finding that less education is associated with a higher arrest record (ie. in this study those with GCSE's and few A levels. that is less educated. exhibit a more crime-fighting approach to policing). It might have been expected that more educated probationers would not view themselves as stereotypical officers and so would be less likely to adopt the stereotypical policing style. It seems intuitively to make sense that those who are less educated (and so more like the stereotypical officer) are more likely to adopt this style.

Meadows (1985) suggests that the emphasis in police training has focused on a reduction in physical force and an increase in public compliance involving more negotiation. Meadows conducted a longitudinal study and found that after six months, human awareness training resulted in officers who were less inclined to a crime-attack orientation, and less towards a strict enforcement role. This might suggest the development of officers who would be less likely to identify with the behaviours associated with the thief-taker style. However this style has been found in this study to be associated with the Metropolitan police, a service which has a training schedule incorporating procedures based on the human awareness training programme. Klein (1986) looked at the role of training in the learning of interpersonal skills amongst cadets and recruits to the Metropolitan police. Her results were mixed but she found that self awareness was reduced during the cadet and recruit training periods. Indeed, Bull and

Horncastle (1988) considered the effects of the Human Awareness Training programme in the Metropolitan police. This programme is designed to address issues such as managing encounters with others, self awareness and community awareness. The programme accounted for a quarter of the 20 week training period. Bull and Horncastle found that probationers' feelings of faith in people declined during the period, and that probationers became more self sufficient, feeling less desire for relationships which provide affection. An additional finding of the study was that the programme had had little effect on attitudes, but rather the institutional effect of training and peer group effects could be observed. Bull and Horncastle concluded that the programme was useful, and indeed probationers who had experienced it had more positive attitudes to training than those who had not. However, the finding in this study, that being a probationer in the Metropolitan police is associated with thief-taker style appears contradictory to the basic premise of the programme. Based on the findings of Meadows (1985) the programme might be expected to produce a less crime-oriented officer, whereas the opposite appears to be true.

The findings that being a probationer in the Metropolitan police is associated with thief-taker style, that is a crime-oriented approach, and being a probationer in Kent police is associated with service-provider style, a service-oriented approach may simply reflect the real or perceived type of crime of the respective environments. It seems to make intuitive sense that each of these styles would be more associated with each particular service, in that crime rates are higher in the metropolitan service area than they are in Kent due to the geographical areas

covered. Therefore, this may have some effect on which service an individual applies to in the first place, and/or how the role is later carried out.

Bull and Horncastle (1991) found that police officers were generally not convinced of the usefulness of the training they had received when they were on the streets. Indeed Bull and Horncastle (1988) found that 36% of probationers were unhappy with the training they had received. This is consistent with comments made during interviews in this study; 'they teach you the right way, but it's never done the right way'; 'a superficial attempt'; 'they have to present a rosy picture, you're given an ideal world'; 'it looks nice to the politically correct'; and 'they can't recreate it, emotional feelings'.

The finding that a positive attitude to the training received is associated with the thief-taker style would also be counter to expectation based on the new move to a police service rather than force. It might be assumed that the emphasis on discretion, interpersonal skills and community awareness would foster a more service-oriented style. Instead the opposite has been found; that those who felt that the training had been useful, were more likely to adopt a crime-fighting oriented style. This might suggest two things; i) that training had no impact on probationers' attitudes, which would be consistent with the suggestion of Bull and Horncastle (1988); or ii) that those probationers who felt very positively about the police generally, and who adopted the traditional policing style (of crime-fighter), are less likely to be critical of the training they had received. Either, or both of these explanations could be true but the data collected is not sufficient to determine clearly which.

Results of the 16PF test produced several significant predictors. Some results seem to make intuitive sense; that tough-mindedness is associated with thief-taker style, and that being independent and liking responsibility is associated with diplomat-cop style. However there is some doubt about the interpretation of service-provider style. This policing style is predicted by probationers who are anxious, creative, extroverted and sociable, but also undisciplined and not always considerate, and cool and aloof. It may be that probationers who responded to behaviours measuring this style, are motivated, not by the desire to offer a service, but due to their own individual needs, such as wishing to work alone. People who are undisciplined, reserved and creative may not assimilate fully into the police culture and so see this style of policing as an individualistic route.

Overall the findings of this study suggest that variables that are present on entry to the police are more useful as predictors of policing style after 10 months service than are those taken after 20 weeks service. Although attitudes towards the training received did predict thief-taker style, it was not as powerful a predictor as Force. The hypothesis that degree of identification would influence policing style has not been found to be true. The timing of the studies may have had an effect on the findings. Degree of identification was measured after 20 weeks service as it was believed to be the end of the formal training period. However, due to the different programmes in operation in the two police services, this proved not to be the case. The majority of the 20 weeks was spent in formal training (in a training school) for both the Metropolitan and Kent probationers. Nevertheless, it may be the case that true identification with the police takes place later. Fielding (1988) suggests that it is on operational duty that the

probationer takes on the occupational identity. In addition, ten months may not be long enough to develop a clear operational style. During this time probationers spend time with a tutor constable, therefore this may inhibit the development of an individual policing style. Ten months may therefore be too soon to measure individual policing style.

CHAPTER 8. POST-HOC ANALYSIS OF DATA BY SEX

Sex was an important factor in the design of this study due to its relevance to social identity theory. Research findings have described the masculine culture of the police (Young 1991, Brown and Campbell 1993). It may therefore be important to consider whether the policing experience for women is different to that of men. Indeed in the interviews in the initial study comments made suggested that new probationers were very aware of the different situation for men and women. One woman said that it is `more difficult for a woman, must prove yourself as a police officer and as a woman. It's a sexist organisation.' Men spoke more generally about the role of women in the police force; `women are essential for dealing with female criminals', `difficulties on the physical side, women cannot perform the same function'. Fielding (1987) suggests that policemen are perceived to be tough men controlling crime, while women on the other hand are perceived as weak, emotional and service oriented. It was hypothesised in the longitudinal studies women would be less likely to adopt an identity as a police officer than men, and that women would be more likely to adopt the service-provider policing style, while men would adopt the thief-taker style. Sex was a significant predictor in some multiple regressions carried out for the whole group, and so it seemed fruitful to examine what differences there might be between men and women on responses. A series of t-tests were performed to this end.

The sample was made up of 202 participants (149 males and 53 females, ranging in age from 18 to 45 years). In the Metropolitan Police there were 102 participants (25 female, 77 male); in Kent Police there were 100 participants (28 female, 72 male).

Table 8.1 Significant Differences in Mean Responses by Sex

Variable	Male		Female	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Age*	26.45	5.47	24.60	5.04
GCSE*	5.75	3.14	6.81	2.73
Number children**	0.55	0.98	0.15	0.41
Self-benefits*	4.63	0.72	4.40	0.85
Identify*	2.08	0.66	2.39	0.97
Thief-taker*	2.88	0.62	3.12	0.60
Pscore*	16.21	6.57	18.61	7.25
A**	5.58	2.14	6.57	1.85
E*	7.12	1.40	6.62	1.44
I***	6.48	1.44	4.79	1.49
Q1**	4.68	1.58	3.94	1.54
Introversion*	5.05	1.46	5.51	1.22
Creativity**	4.54	1.24	3.89	1.12
Initiative*	5.95	0.94	5.60	1.08

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

It can be seen from table 8.1 that male probationers are older, have fewer GCSE's, are more likely to have more children compared to female probationers. Male probationers are less likely to join

the police for self-benefiting reasons than female probationers. In addition male probationers have lower levels of moral reasoning and identify as a police officer more strongly than do female probationers.

In terms of scores on the 16PF test, male probationers are less participating, more assertive, more tough-minded, more radical and experimenting, less extroverted, more creative and have more initiative than female probationers.

Finally, male probationers give more responses indicating a thief-taker policing style than do female probationers.

Discriminant Function analysis

In order to determine the relative importance of these variables a discriminant function analysis was performed using variables as predictors of each sex. Employment was removed due to its high correlation with age, and only second order 16PF factors were used (also due to high correlations with the first order factors). Of the original 202 cases 23 were dropped from the analysis because of missing data. This resulted in the inclusion of 179 cases, of which 133 were male and 46 female.

One discriminant function was calculated, with a chi-squared of 67.44, $p<.01$. The discriminant function accounts for 100% of the between groups variability. The Wilks' Lambda of .66 indicates

that differences between the groups account for 34% of the variance in the predicting variables. The Eigenvalue of .52 and the canonical correlation of .59 suggest that the function discriminates well between the groups.

Table 8.2. Results of Discriminant Function Analysis by sex

Variable	Correlations of predictor variables with discriminant function
Creativity	.35
Initiative	.29
Identify	-.26
GCSE	-.25
Children	.25
Age	.24
Self benefits	-.22
Thief-taker	-.22
Married	.21
P score	-.21

Thirty-three predictor variables were entered in the analysis. Table 8.2 shows only variables with a correlation of .2 and above. It can be seen that the best predictors for distinguishing between male

and female respondents are creativity, initiative and identification, indicating that male officers identify as a police officer more strongly than do female officers and are more creative and have more initiative than female officers. All of the 10 variables were found to be significant in t-tests as shown in table 8.1.

The percentage of 'grouped' cases correctly classified was 85.47%. Taking into account the sizes of each group, the expected figure would be 62%. The model has reduced the proportion of errors compared to the proportion that would occur if cases were randomly classified by 62%.

The analysis has correctly classified 95.5% of males and 56.5% of women. The lower figure for women may be caused by the small sample for this group. Although the number of predictors (33) is not greater than the smallest group (46), the small difference may have influenced the outcome.

Multiple Regressions

A series of multiple regressions were performed in order to determine whether different factors would be predictors for each sex. The regressions yielding significant findings can be seen below.

To Time 2

Male respondents

Table 8.3. Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Identification with the Police for male probationers

	Identify	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	-.21*	-.01	-.20	.04
Authority	.16	.01	.15	.02
Discretion	-.04	-.01	-.02	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that for male probationers, having a high score on commitment at Time 1 is associated with high identification at Time 2. Commitment accounts for 4% of the variance and Authority accounts for "%. The R^2 for the equation is .06.

Table 8.4. Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Attitudes towards Training for male probationers

	Train	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	-.16	-.21	-.16	.03
Authority	.01	.00	.00	.00
Discretion	.04	.23	.05	.00

Although not significant, it can bee seen that there is an association between degree of commmitment at Time 1 and attitudes to training at Time 2; the higher the commitment, the more positive the attitude to training. It canbe seen that commitment accounts for 3% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was.03.

Table 8.5. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for male probationers

	Train	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.05	-.07	-.03	.00
Initiative	.18**	.75	.26	.05
Creativity	.08	.20	.09	.00
Stability	.00	.09	.04	.00
Introversion	-.05	-.10	-.05	.00
Leadership	-.05	-.18	-.09	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.05$

It is interesting to find that having low scores on initiative is associated with a positive attitude to training, with initiative accounting for 5% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .06.

Female respondents

Table 8.6. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Embarrassment with being a Police Officer for female probationers

	Embarrass	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.02	.01	.04	.00
B	-.05	-.05	-.20	.02
C	-.02	-.06	-.19	.02
E	.10	.01	.03	.00
F	.05	.01	.04	.00
G	.25	.06	.22	.03
H	.13	.06	.21	.02
I	-.17	-.02	-.05	.00
L	.03	-.02	-.07	.00
M	.06	.00	.01	.00
N	.07	-.02	-.07	.00
O	-.09	.01	.03	.00
Q1	.36**	.10	.28	.06
Q2	.12	.02	.05	.00
Q3	-.25**	-.14	-.44	.13
Q4	.29***	.13	.46	.15

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ **$p < 0.001$

Table 8.6 shows that a high degree of embarassment for female probationers is predicted by being spontaneous and not wanting responsibilities (Q3) and also being relaxed and well balanced (Q4). Q3 and Q4 each account for 13% and 15% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .43.

Table 8.7. Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions to Policing at Time 1 on Embarrassment with being a Police Officer for female probationers

	Embarrass	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	-.15	-.76	-.19	.03
Self-benefits	-.08	-.11	-.15	.02
Profession-alism	.33*	.51	.34	.11
Interest	.04	.22	.07	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen in Table 8.7 that a high degree of embarassment is predicted by a low score on professionalism. Professionalism accounts for 11% of the variance and the R^2 for the equation was .16.

Table 8.8. Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Embarrassment at being a Police Officer for female probationers

	Embarass	B	Beta	sr^2
Talk	-.04	-1.2	-.12	.01
Persistence	-.25	-.34	-.29	.07
Canteen	-.03	.04	.03	.00

Although not significant at the 5% level, there appears to be an association between having a low score on persistence and being embarrassed at being a police officer. Persistence accounts for 7% of the variance and he R^2 for the equation was .08.

Table 8.9. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Identification with the Police for female probationers

	Identify	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.23	-.02	-.20	.03
B	-.07	-.02	-.20	.02
C	-.10	-.02	-.17	.02
E	-.12	-.01	-.08	.00
F	.10	.01	.16	.02
G	.20**	.04	.41	.10
H	-.13	-.02	-.18	.01
I	.10	.01	.05	.00
L	.04	.01	.08	.00
M	-.02	-.01	-.02	.00
N	-.05	-.01	-.06	.00
O	.07	.01	.08	.00
Q1	.03	-.01	.-.07	.00
Q2	-.02	.01	.09	.01
Q3	-.32**	-.05	-.45	.13
Q4	.03	.02	.19	.02

* $p < 0.05$ *$p<0.01$

It can be seen in Table 8.9 that for female probationers, high identification is associated with being expedient and having a disregard for rules (Factor G). In addition, Factor Q3 (being spontaneous and uninhibited) predicts high identification. Q3 accounts for 13% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .36.

Table 8.10. Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Identification with the Police for female probationers

	Identify	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	.03	.01	.03	.00
Authority	-.08	-.01	-.14	.02
Discretion	.29*	.08	.31	.09

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8.10 indicates that female probationers who score highly ondiscretion at Time 1 are more likely to adopt the police identity. Discretion accounts for 9% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .12.

Table 8.11. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Identification with the Police for female probationers

	Identify	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.15*	-.06	-.54	.09
Initiative	-.05	-.02	-.11	.01
Creativity	.08	.03	.22	.03
Stability	-.07	.00	.03	.00
Introversion	-.13	-.02	-.11	.01
Leadership	.07*	.07	.56	.12

* $p < 0.05$

The significant results in Table 8.11 suggest that female probationers who identify strongly as a police officer are more likely to be less anxious but obtain a low score on leadership. Anxiety and leadership account for 9% and 12% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .26.

Table 8.12. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Satisfaction with experience of being in the Police Service for female probationers

	Satisfy	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.07	.00	.05	.00
B	.03	-.00	-.01	.00
C	.10	-.00	-.01	.00
E	.19	.00	.10	.01
F	-.10	-.00	-.06	.00
G	-.31*	-.00	-.47	.12
H	-.00	.00	.08	.00
I	.03	-.00	-.04	.00
L	-.11	-.00	-.10	.01
M	.02	.00	.15	.01
N	-.14	-.00	-.06	.00
O	.08	.00	.28	.05
Q1	-.16	-.00	-.07	.00
Q2	.15	-.00	-.03	.00
Q3	-.04	-.00	-.09	.00
Q4	.17	.00	.22	.03

* $p < 0.05$

The results in Table 8.12 indicate that female probationers who are most satisfied at Time 2 scored highly on Factor G at Time 1; that is, they are conscientious and like things to be done properly. Factor G accounts for 12% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .23.

Table 8.13 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Satisfaction with being a Police Officer for female probationers

	Satisfy	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	.17**	.00	.63	.12
Initiative	-.11	-.00	-.00	.00
Creativity	.11	-.00	-.19	.02
Stability	.16	.00	.10	.01
Introversion	-.09	-.00	-.06	.00
Leadership	-.19***	-.01	-.67	.17

** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

As can be seen above for degree of identification as a police officer, probationers with low leadership scores and low levels of anxiety are more likely to feel satisfied with their police experience at Time 2. Anxiety and leadership each account for 12% and 17% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .33.

Table 8.14. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Attitudes towards Training for female probationers

	Train	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.06	.07	.05	.00
B	-.15	-.26	-.19	.02
C	-.05	-.22	-.15	.02
E	-.14	-.45	-.25	.05
F	-.05	-.07	-.05	.00
G	-.28*	-.56	-.39	.09
H	-.04	.21	.15	.01
I	.05	.19	.11	.01
L	.07	.09	.06	.00
M	.05	.40	.22	.02
N	.06	.30	.20	.02
O	-.03	.29	.20	.02
Q1	-.17	-.27	-.16	.02
Q2	.15	.10	.07	.00
Q3	-.02	-.28	-.18	.02
Q4	.13	.22	.16	.02

* $p < 0.05$

As might be anticipated, the significant predictor of satisfaction with training would be being contientious and liking things to be done properly (Factor G). Factor G accounts for 9% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .32.

Table 8.15. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for female probationers

	Train	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.03	.68	.38	.04
Initiative	-.11	-.08	-.03	.00
Creativity	-.00	-.30	-.13	.01
Stability	-.06	-.12	-.06	.00
Introversion	-.05	.13	.06	.00
Leadership	-.24*	-1.02	-.53	.10

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that female probationers with low leadership scores on the 16PF are more likely to view the training received in a positive light. Leadership accounts for 10% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .15.

To Time 3

Male respondents

Table 8.16. Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on centurion Policing Style for male probationers

	Thief-taker	B	Beta	sr^2
Talk	-.18*	-33.26	-.20	.03
Persistence	-.02	-.56	-.03	.00
Canteen	.00	-.72	-.03	.00

* $p < 0.05$

Table 8.16 shows that male probationers who did not feel that being able to talk to people was a necessary skill for a police officer are more likely to adopt a thief-taker policing style. Talk accounts for 3% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .03.

Table 8.17. Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for male probationers

	Thief-taker	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.02	.04	.01	.00
Force	.36**	6.22	.41	.16
college education	.06	.76	.04	.00
University education	.09	1.64	.08	.00
GCSE	-.09*	-.58	-.24	.04
Children	.13	1.52	.09	.00
Married	.07	.27	.02	.00
Alevel	.14**	2.96	.29	.04

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8.17 indicates that, for male probationers, being in the Metropolitan Police, having fewer GCSE's and more A Levels predicts adopting a Thief-taker policing style. Force accounts for 16% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .24.

Table 8.18. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Thief-taker Policing Style for male probationers

	Thief-taker	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.03	.08	.01	.00
Initiative	.05	.16	.02	.00
Creativity	.16*	1.80	.28	.04
Stability	-.12*	-1.49	-.23	.03
Introversion	-.02	.88	.16	.01
Leadership	-.05	.09	.01	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen in Table 8.18 that Thief-taker policing style is predicted by being less creative and more stable. Creativity and Stability each account for 4% and 3% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .08.

Table 8.19. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for male probationers

	Service-provider	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.12*	.82	.22	.04
B	.04	.33	.07	.00
C	.07	.50	.13	.01
E	.08	.60	.11	.01
F	-.00	-.02	-.01	.00
G	-.08	-.36	-.08	.00
H	-.14*	-1.00	-.24	.04
I	.12	.86	.16	.02
L	.01	.01	.00	.00
M	-.04	-.30	-.07	.00
N	.03	.32	.06	.00
O	-.08	-.74	-.14	.02
Q1	-.01	.25	.05	.00
Q2	.02	.13	.03	.00
Q3	.11	.82	.15	.02
Q4	.05	-.05	-.01	.00

* $p < 0.05$

Table 8.19 shows that service-provider style is predicted by being reserved and preferring to work alone (Factor A), and being fearless and uninhibited (Factor H). These findings may suggest probationers who do not like working with other so that they can feel free to make

thier own decisions. Factors A and H each account for 4% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .16.

Table 8.20. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for male probationers

	Service-provider	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	.06*	1.58	.27	.03
Initiative	-.01	.42	.05	.00
Creativity	-.05*	-1.59	-.25	.03
Stability	.02	.04	.01	.00
Introversion	-.01	-.62	-.12	.01
Leadership	-.08*	-1.66	-.27	.03

* $p < 0.05$

Table 8.20 shows that for male probationers being anxious, having leadership skills and being creative is associated with service-provider style. Anxiety, creativity and leadership each account for 3% of the variance respectively. The R^2 for the equation was .10.

Female respondents respondents

Table 8.21. Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions on Thief-taker Policing Style for female probationers

	Thief-taker	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	-.37***	-26.29	-.46	.18
Self-benefits	.01	-.03	-.00	.00
Independence	.17	4.63	.22	.04
Interest	.09	9.47	.21	.04

*** p<0.001

Table 8.22 Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Thief-taker Policing Style for female probationers

	Thief-taker	B	Beta	sr^2
Talk	.36**	55.21	.37	.13
Persistence	-.17	-.31	-.02	.00
Canteen	-.24	-3.64	-.19	.03

** p <0.01

It can be seen that for women, being able to talk to people is associated with thief-taker policing style. Talk accounts for 13% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .16.

Table 8.23. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for female probationers

	Service-provider	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.04	-.40	-.09	.01
B	.10	1.10	.25	.04
C	-.25	-1.29	-.28	.05
E	.04	.83	.14	.02
F	-.14	.03	-.01	.00
G	-.08	-.83	-.18	.02
H	-.27*	-2.06	-.46	.09
I	.02	-1.40	-.25	.03
L	-.07	.97	.20	.03
M	-.09	1.52	.26	.03
N	.13	.25	.05	.00
O	.17	1.70	.36	.07
Q1	.01	.21	.04	.00
Q2	-.07	-.90	-.19	.03
Q3	.12	1.01	.20	.03
Q4	.05	.57	.12	.01

* $p < 0.05$

Table 8.23 shows that for female probationers enjoying negotiating is associated with service-provider style. Factor H acounts for 9% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .45.

Table 8.24. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for female probationers

	Service-provider	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	.04	.89	.15	.01
Initiative	-.05	.33	.04	.00
Creativity	.01	-1.53	-.20	.02
Stability	-.01	.14	.02	.00
Introversion	-.24*	-3.27	-.47	.11
Leadership	.02	.66	.11	.00

* $p < 0.05$

It can be seen that for women, being extroverted is associated with service-provider style. Introversion accounts for 11% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .14.

Table 8.25. Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Hired-officer Policing Style for female probationers

	Hired-officer	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.26	-2.23	-.38	.05
Initiative	-.27*	-2.41	-.30	.08
Creativity	.12	1.95	.26	.04
Stability	-.16	-.51	-.08	.00
Introversion	-.15	1.62	.23	.03
Leadership	-.22	.11	.02	.00

* $p < 0.05$

Table 8.25 shows that low initiative predicts hired officer policing style for female officers. Initiative accounts for 8% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .20.

Table 8.26. Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions at Time 1 on Diplomat cop policing style for female probationers

	Diplomat cop	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	-.18*	-16.17	-.31	.08
Self-benefits	.09	.93	.09	.01
Independence	.21	3.94	.20	.04
Interest	.19	11.39	.28	.07

* $p < 0.05$

A low emphasis on service can be seen to be associated with Diplomat cop policing style for women. Service accounts for 8% of the variance. The R^2 for the equation was .20.

DISCUSSION

The finding that female probationers are younger and less likely to be married, combined with the finding that they appear to have more self-benefiting reasons for joining the police might suggest that they have more career oriented aspirations than do male probationers.

The two findings suggesting that female probationers have higher levels of moral reasoning and adopt the police identity less strongly than male probationers might offer some support to the initially held hypothesis that these two variables would be associated. This was based on the premise that officers shifted from an initially idealistic perception of policing to a progressively pragmatic one with police experience (Fielding 1986). It was surmised that individuals who had higher levels of moral reasoning would experience more difficulty in making this shift and would therefore adopt the police identity less strongly. However, this association has not been found in the regressions performed.

The significant differences found on the 16PF test appears to conform to general gender stereotypes. Broverman et.al. (1970) suggested that males are perceived to be aggressive, independent, objective and autonomous. This might be seen to be similar to the findings here that males are more assertive, tough-minded, radical and experimenting, creative and have more initiative. The female probationers scored higher on being participating and more extroverted, these might be viewed as being more people oriented. Indeed Golombok and Fivush (1994) suggest that 'females are stereotypically relational; they are concerned with social interaction and emotions' (p. 18).

The finding that male probationers scored higher on thief-taker policing style confirms the regression finding of the main study and supports the general perception of the 'policeman' who fights crime (Fielding 1987).

The multiple regressions show that for female probationers, identifying as a police officer is associated with leadership, being relaxed and believing in the use of discretion, whereas for men it is predicted by a high level of commitment. This might suggest that for women identification is a function of a particular perception of ones self in relation to the police role, while for men it is more related to simply expecting to be a part of the group. Commitment is measured by items such as feeling that other police officers share ones views, expecting to change as a result of being a police officer and perceiving that change to be a good thing. Therefore, adopting the identity as a police officer may be a natural consequent of particular attitudes or styles for women, but be a deliberate aim for men.

Predictors of thief-taker policing style appear to be different for men and women. For women this style is associated with being able to talk to people but not wanting to be of service. For men, being able to talk to people is negatively associated. This difference may highlight the different perceptions, or interpretations each had. It may be that the crime oriented style is perceived completely differently by male and female probationers. However, although there are some differences in predictors of service-provider style the main finding that is common to both men and women is that of enjoying negotiating and being sociable.

The findings of this post-hoc study indicate a number of differences between men and women in their responses in both the t-tests and discriminant function analysis. Jacobs (1987) suggested that women and men saw themselves as being different, and indeed women did not want to be the same as men. The findings here indicate that men and women differ on a number of variables,

including how strongly they identify as a police officer and responses on policing styles. The important point here is why this happens and what the implications might be. If it is the case that women simply want to operate in a different way then that is valid and requires no change. However, it may be that the police culture does not allow, or make it more difficult for women to operate in the same way as men (Balkin 1988). Berg and Budnick (1986) describe the difficulties faced by women in terms of the implications of their choice of the 'male' role of crime fighting versus the 'female' role of carer. They suggest that women face hostility if they choose the former and lack of promotion if they choose the latter. In addition, Brown and Campbell (1993) have found evidence of sexual harassment suffered by women officers.

The finding that women do not adopt the police identity as strongly as men do suggests that women do not feel as strongly a part of the organisation as men. Again, whether this is a good or bad thing is beyond the scope of this thesis, but may be linked to the other differences found here.

Overall, this chapter provides some preliminary findings on the experiences and perceptions of male and female probationers. It seems clear that the police experience for these two groups is different although whether this is due to the police environment or initial differences between the sexes on entry is not apparent. The findings here are descriptive, but combined with the comments made in the interviews, suggest that the issue of the differential experiences of men and women in the police service needs to be addressed more fully in order to examine why these differences occur and what the implications are. In terms of the aims of the thesis to predict different policing style, it is clear that male and female probationers need to be examined separately.

CHAPTER 9. POST-HOC ANALYSIS OF DATA BY POLICE SERVICE

Much research on policing discusses policing as though the police service is one homogenous group. However the literature described in this thesis has covered a wide range of policing environments. Much research has been carried out in America (as previously discussed) and some in Britain. In addition the research has been conducted using built-up areas with a range of socio-economic conditions and high crime rates, and also rural areas with a very different social environment and different levels, and types of crime. It seems reasonable to assume that these differences will have an effect on the policing that is offered, most particularly in relation to policing style. Therefore the two police services used in this study were different on a number of dimensions; size, structure of probationary period, training and environment (city versus provincial). It was hoped that in the main longitudinal study this would provide a better cross-section of policing in Britain, but also to allow an analysis of differences that may exist between the two forces used in this study. In order to conduct meaningful research on policing, it is important to be clear what policing is to different sections of that group.

A series of t-tests were performed on the data in order to establish whether there were any differences in responses in the two different police services.

Table 9.1 Mean Responses on Significant Differences by Force

Variable	Metropolitan Police		Kent Police	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Alevels*	1.07	1.37	0.73	1.16
University education*	0.19	0.39	0.09	0.29
Commitment*	4.06	0.51	3.88	0.55
Training***	3.73	0.68	4.14	0.61
Factor - A**	6.33	1.94	5.33	2.16
Creativity*	4.20	1.19	4.55	1.27
Service-provider*	3.41	0.64	3.20	0.59
Hired-officer*	4.91	0.67	5.10	0.70
Thief-taker**	2.80	0.59	3.10	0.61

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

It can be seen in table 9.1 that probationers in the Metropolitan police are better educated than those in the Kent police. In addition Metropolitan police probationers score lower on levels of commitment to the police service but more positively on attitudes towards training than those in Kent police. Probationers in the Kent police scored higher on Service-provider policing style and lower on Thief-taker style than did those in the Metropolitan police. However Kent probationers also scored lower on Hired-officer style, suggesting a lower proportion of officers who are disillusioned and have no real interest in the job compared to probationers in the Metropolitan police. Scores on the 16PF test indicate that probationers in the Kent police are more reserved, but score higher on creativity than those in the Metropolitan police.

Discriminant Function analysis

In order to determine the relative importance of these variables a discriminant function analysis was performed using variables as predictors of each force. Employment was removed due to its high correlation with age, and only second order 16PF factors were used, also due to high correlations with the first order factors. Of the original 202 cases 23 were dropped from the analysis because of missing data. This resulted in the inclusion of 179 cases, of which 88 were from the Metropolitan Police and 91 from Kent Police.

One discriminant function was calculated, with a chi-squared of 77.19, $p<.00$. The discriminant function accounts for 100% of the between groups variability. The Wilks' Lambda of .62 indicates that differences between the groups account for 38% of the variance in the predicting variables. The Eigenvalue of .62 and the canonical correlation of .62 suggest that the function discriminates well between the groups.

Table 9.2. Results of Discriminant Function Analysis by Force

Variable	Correlations of predictor variables with discriminant function
Thief-taker	-.45
Train	-.41
Commitment	.22
University Education	.22
A levels	.22
Creativity	-.20
Service-provider	.20

Thirty-three predictor variables were entered in the analysis. Table 9.2 shows only variables with a correleation of .2 and above. It can be seen that the best predictors for distinguishing between Metropolitan and Kent Police respondents are Thief-taker (higher in Metropolitan Police), attitude to training (more positive attitudes in Metroplolitan Police) and level of commitment (higher in Kent Police). All of the 7 variables were found to be significant in t-tests as shown in table 9.1.

The percentage of 'grouped' cases correctly classified was 77.09%. Taking into account the sizes of each group, the expected figure would be 50%. The model has reduced the proportion of errors compared to the proportion that would occur if cases were randomly classified by 54%.

The analysis has correctly classified 76.1% of respondents in the Metropolitan Police and 78% of respondents in Kent Police.

Multiple Regressions

As significant differences were found on some items, multiple regressions were performed on one police service at a time in order to establish whether different predictors operated in each service.

The results of the regressions are summarized below. Regression tables can be found in Appendix G.

Regressions to Time 2

Predictors of high levels of identification in Kent police are being participating, intelligent and considerate with need for social approval, persistence (including authority), being stable and having leadership skills.

The only predictor of high identification in the Metropolitan police is being tough-minded and self confident.

The only predictor of satisfaction was in Kent police; being conscientious is associated with high levels of satisfaction.

Predictors of a positive attitude to training received in Kent police was being less stable, and in the Metropolitan police was not having children.

Only one was found to predict feeling embarrassed to be a police officer; being attracted to the police service for self-benefiting reasons was associated with low embarrassment in the Metropolitan police.

Regressions to time 3

Predictors of thief-taker style in Kent police were; having fewer GCSE's and A levels while in the Metropolitan police this style was predicted by being male.

Predictors of service-provider policing style in Kent police were; having fewer GCSE's and enjoying taking risks. The association between GCSE's and thief-taker was stronger in the regression (regression significant at .001) than with service-provider (regression significant at .05). Predictors of service-provider style in the Metropolitan police were; not having children, being

diplomatic and considerate in relationships, enjoying taking risks, wanting to use discretion, and being creative.

The predictor of hired-officer style in Kent police was having children, while in the Metropolitan police it was having been employed for fewer years and having confidence in one's self and abilities.

Having more GCSE's, fewer A levels and being assertive were predictors of diplomat-cop policing style in Kent police, while enjoying taking risks and being committed to becoming a police officer were predictors in the Metropolitan police.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this analysis was to determine whether there are differences between the two forces used in this study. A number of differences have been found although some are difficult to interpret. The most interesting findings of the regressions to Time 2 are the different predictors to degree of identification. This may reflect a difference in the two services of the role of the police officer. It is possible that new entrants to the Metroplitan police are aware of the higher crime rates in the Metropolitan area and view their role as crime fighter. Consistent with this would be the association between being tough-minded and self confident (perhaps necessary to the crime fighter role) and identification. That is, those who have this role perception are more likely to identify strongly. However in Kent police, with a lower crime rate and more rural and provincial areas, the

crime fighting role might be less salient and therefore less associated with identification. On the contrary, identification in Kent Police is associated with more socially-oriented approaches such as being stable, considerate, intelligence, participating and having leadership skills. This might suggest that the police role, and hence identification with that role, in Kent Police is more participative and social.

Number of GCSE's and A levels predicted three of the four policing styles in Kent Police but none for the Metropolitan Police in the regressions to Time 3. It is an interesting finding which is difficult to interpret. However, the t-tests show that probationers in the Metropolitan Police have significantly more A levels and more university education. In addition the standard deviations for both of these is lower for Kent Police. This suggests that Kent probationers are less educated and there is less variation amongst them. The general tenet of the studies was that those who were less educated would adopt the thief-taker policing style. This appears to be true for Kent police, although having few GCSE's also predicts service-provider style which is contrary to expectation. There is a stronger association between fewer GCSE's and thief-taker. On the other hand, having more GCSE's is associated with Diplomat-cop style, which, although not hypothesised, is consistent with the theoretical base. Howwver, why GCSE's is a predictor for Kent Police and not for the Metropolitan Police cannot be explained.

The finding that for the Metropolitan Police, being male predicts Thief-taker style may be due to the different role perceptions discussed above. If crime fighting is more associated with the Metropolitan Police (as shown by both the t-tests and the discriminant function analysis), and

crime fighting is more associated with being male than female, then it follows that for the Metropolitan Police, being male would predict Thief-taker style.

Overall, this analysis demonstrates that there are differences between the responses of probationers in each force. This is important as it clearly shows that the police service is not a homogenous whole, indeed there may be operationally significant differences in how police officers in each force perceive their role. This has clear implications for training and more research needs to address whether these differences are a result of the different environment of stem from the police culture peculiar to each force.

CHAPTER 10. DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

The overall aim of this study was to determine whether it is possible to predict which officers would adopt which policing style. This is clearly important as an issue in recruitment. However due to the intensive nature of the recruitment and training of police probationers it seemed possible that this period might also have an effect on later policing style. In addition, it was surmised that the initial variables might have an effect on how strongly the probationer identified as a police officer.

So the main research question was whether policing style could be predicted from variables that were present on entry to the police, such as age, gender and education, or whether policing style could be predicted from measures taken after exposure to the police culture, such as degree of identification as a police officer.

10.1 The theoretical base

The literature offered evidence that might appear to support both arguments. Cohen and Chaiken (1972) and Malouff and Schutte (1986) found that later performance on measures such as disciplinary offences as a police officer could be predicted by biographical information taken on entry. Education has been found by some authors to be associated with good police performance (eg. Cascio 1977) but with poor later performance by others (eg. Vogel and Adams 1983). However, the associated, but also independent variable of intelligence was found to be associated with good later performance.

Much of the literature has concentrated on personality tests as a predictive tool in the recruitment of police officers. Shusman, Inwald and Knatz (1987) found that the IPI was successful in identifying officers with poor absenteeism records and Hargrave and Hiatt (1989) found that results obtained with the CPI were in line with judgements made by training officers. Other studies, such as Ronan et.al. (1977) and Topp and Kardash (1986) suggest that personality tests can be predictive of later performance.

However a body of research findings points to the effects of the police culture in changing new recruits, that is socializing them. This may be thought of as when the individual learns the behaviours and attitudes that are necessary for organizational membership (Fielding 1986). There is much literature suggesting that probationers make a shift in terms of their attitudes and behaviours as a result of the police experience (eg. Neiderhoffer 1967, Van Maneen 1975,

Burkhart 1980, Bahn 1984 and Fielding and Fielding 1991). The strength of the occupational culture may be one reason for this movement. The culture is described as brutal (Sterling 1969), preserving the status quo (Rokeach and Snyder 1971), dangerous (Martin 1989) and masculine (Reiner 1978, Fielding 1987). Indeed Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) describe the police as a homogenous group while other authors suggest that police officers become isolated from those around them who are not a part of the police organization (eg. Skolnick 1967, Ellis 1991).

Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1978) seemed to be relevant in considering the adoption of the police identity. The theory proposes that individuals categorize themselves as group members and as a result his or her attitudes will change as s/he adopts the attributes of the group as his or her own (Hogg and Abrams 1988). In addition the new member will make comparisons between him or herself and the stereotypical group member; that is s/he will stereotype not only other group members but also him or herself. When group membership is internalised it becomes a part of the self concept which constitutes social identity (Wootten 1991). In this way it was predicted that those who are less like the prototypical group members would be less likely to adopt the group identity.

The final stage of the research considered policing style. A number of authors have distinguished between different policing styles (Brown 1981, Broderick 1977, Muir 1977, Walsh 1977, Reiner 1978, Brown 1981 and Hochstedler 1981). The main distinction for the purposes of this was that between the emphasis on crime fighting and service giving. The main independent variables in the study (age, gender, education and degree of identification) were predicted to be associated with

one of these two styles based on stereotypes of each style and existing officers exhibiting this style, and of the individual concerned. It was further predicted that the crime fighting style would be adopted by those who had strongly adopted an identity as a police officer as this style is closer to the stereotype of the police role.

10.2 The research findings

The research findings will be summarized in relation to the main research questions addressed.

1. Is there any evidence of a shift in attitudes over the probationary period?

The findings of the prestudy suggest a systematic movement in perceptions over the probationary period on a number of factors.

Overall these findings present a picture of officers whose perception of what the job involves changes during their probationary period. It indicates that officers are performing a job largely for the personal satisfaction it gives them, rather than the more idealistic reasons of those at selection. In general they believe the public has a positive image of the police but as period of service increases feel that the police themselves are mainly responsible for any negative feelings.

In addition, there is a growing perception of being treated differently as a police officer and feeling different to other people, combined with the belief that no-one can understand what they do as a

police officer (including their family). This supports the literature which emphasises the isolation experienced by police (Skolnick 1967, Ellis 1991).

The final main issue raised by these findings demonstrates that probationers increasingly come to see the success of the police officer to be dependent on the personal skills s/he already possesses, rather than those learnt during training. This underlines the concept of policing as common sense, and clearly has serious implications for the effectiveness of training.

These findings suggest that there is evidence to support the concept of a socialization process whereby probationers are learning the behaviours and attitudes of other officers.

However, in addition to a progressive movement in perceptions, a pattern emerged which suggested that the group who were more or less in the middle of their probationary period had responded differently to the other two groups.

The distinctive nature of some responses in the up to 31 weeks group suggests an effect of the formal training period. This appears to be demonstrated in the findings that this group perceives the role of female police officers to be less different to men than other groups. In addition the fact that this group report their family to be less important (albeit slightly) and show the highest proportion of personal attractions of the job, indicates the inward-looking nature of this period.

The u-shape pattern reported by Stadling et.al. (1991) is demonstrated here by the finding that this group, who are undergoing the period of most formal training, show the most negative view of the public towards the police, and least happiness in relation to wearing a police uniform.

Despite the above, this group indicate that they are the most enthusiastic in terms of their role. They report the highest level of: feeling unconditionally (regardless of the circumstances) a police officer 24 hours a day; the highest total of conditionally (depending on the circumstances) feeling a police officer 24 hours a day; and the highest proportion who would unconditionally (regardless of the circumstances) intervene in a situation when off-duty. In addition this group has the highest percentage who believe that over half of serving police officers would intervene. Finally, people in this group believe it takes less time to become a `real' police officer than either of the other two groups.

2. Who joins the police?

The new probationers in this study were predominantly male (three quarters). This is as would be expected from previous studies although the proportion of women has increased (eg. Fielding and Fielding 1991). In addition probationers are older and better educated (the majority have 5 or more GCSE's, almost a half have a least one A level and nearly a sixth some higher education) than previous studies would suggest (Pugh 1985).

The primary attractions of policing for this group of probationers were variety and excitement and wanting to be of service to others, which is as has been found in previous studies (Hunt 1971, Reiner 1979). Also confirming previous literature is the idealistic aspiration of probationers who emphasize service rather than self benefits (Fielding and Fielding 1991). This theme was continued with probationers who felt that being able to get on with others was an important quality for a police officer. On the whole probationers did not expect to change as a result of becoming a police officer but did anticipate difficulties in terms of becoming isolated from some friends (mostly acquaintances). In addition they could foresee some difficulties when their family was unable to understand their experiences. The majority expected to rely on other police officers and experience personal growth as a result of their experiences.

The results of the 16PF test suggested that probationers are participating, assertive, lively, suspecting, shrewd, self-assured conservative, tough minded and group dependent. This fits in with findings of Cattell et.al. (1970) and descriptions by other authors (eg. Fielding 1985, Reiner 1985). More surprisingly, the 16PF test also suggested that probationers are shy, sensitive, undisciplined and less adventurous. Many respondents in the interviews mentioned that they expected the training process to help them develop in a personal sense and therefore it may be possible that an attraction of the police for some individuals is the opportunity to develop.

3. Do probationers adopt the police identity?

Reported levels of identification as a police officer amongst probationers was very high with only one person indicating that they did not feel that being a police officer was a part of their identity. This appears to support social identity theory which proposes that once categorization as a member of the group has occurred, then this will become a part of the individual's identity. However, counter to the theory, the majority of respondents also felt embarrassed about being a police officer. This may be a result of the feelings of isolation and conflict discussed by authors such as Skolnick (1967) and Sterling (1972). Alternatively, this may be a facet of the occupational culture that views 'the job' as being a bit onerous. All officers interviewed spoke of the difficulties of the job and the fact that it is so complex that people outside the organization cannot fully understand what it is like. The presentation of being embarrassed to be a police officer may simply be consistent with the image of being a difficult job, and being embarrassed is a part of that. In terms of social identity theory, this may constitute a social creativity device in that if no one outside of the police organization can understand, they are therefore not in a position to criticize. In this way, embarrassment emphasizes what a difficult job it is (ie. so much so that even I am embarrassed by it) which is actually a part of the attraction of the role.

4. Can we predict who will adopt the police identity strongly and who weakly on entry to the police service?

In line with the hypothesis, being male predicted high identification as a police officer. This is consistent with social identity theory as obviously males conform to the stereotype of the police*man*. The difficulties faced by women in the police service have been discussed at some length (eg. Young 1991 and Brown and Campbell 1994). It would appear then that women are less likely to adopt the police identity as strongly as are men due to the male dominated culture.

Other factors (age and education) that were predicted to be associated with strength of identification did not prove to be significant. Again, these hypotheses were based on the basic tenets of social identity theory and the assumption that the less like the stereotypical member the new recruit was, the more difficulty s/he would have in adopting the police identity. However, although not significant, it was found that those probationers who had more work experience were less likely to adopt the police identity. This might be accounted for on the basis that the more work experience an individual has, the older they are likely to be. In addition, this group may have developed a stronger identity based on their greater experience, which might in turn, lessen the effect of joining a new group.

The only other variable that was significantly associated with degree of identification was anxiety as measured by the 16PF test. It was found that those who were more anxious were less likely to adopt the police identity. This conflicts with findings found in the literature, with Schachter (1967)

and Ashforth (1985) suggesting that high anxiety is an additional source of pressure to be accepted by the group.

5. Can we predict policing style?

There appeared to be support for three of the policing styles; Thief-taker, typified by a crime fighting approach to policing; Service-provider, with more emphasis on dealing with the public; and Diplomat cop, which combines a crime fighting approach with a career oriented approach to the police organisation. The majority of probationers felt that the hired-officer style (a disillusioned officer who does as little work as possible) was not like them. This is not surprising as this style reflects a disillusioned or cynical approach to police work, and would not be expected so soon in the probationers' careers. However the majority of probationers felt that behaviours reflecting diplomat-cop and thief-taker styles were true of them. There appears to be some overlap in these two styles. The main distinction appears to be less zealousness in crime-fighting on the part of the diplomat-cop, who also is more focused on his or her career prospects. A third group felt that service provider behaviours were true of them.

It was hypothesized that probationers who identified strongly would adopt the thief-taker policing style and those who identified weakly would adopt the service-provider style. This was based on the premise that those who had identified strongly would perceive themselves stereotypically and so adopt the stereotypical style. The stereotypical policing style is that of crime-fighter (Van Maneen 1973). However, strength of identification was not a significant predictor of any of the

policing styles. Median splits were used in regressions but still did not yield any significant results. This finding may be due to other factors that were not part of the study. For example, the increasing use of performance indicators appears to have had an effect on individual officers' policing style. Several interviewees mentioned that they felt pressured to conform to a more result-oriented approach to policing. They said that they were now less likely to use discretion. This supports the suggestion made by Horton and Smith (1988) that policing has changed and is now judged on statistics. In addition, officers may feel that if they want to obtain promotion they need to contribute to the statistics collected for the indicators. Therefore, officers may not be adopting their 'natural' policing style under the pressure to perform in particular ways.

Thief-taker style was significantly predicted by being male. This finding is as was hypothesized and is consistent with descriptions of the policing role as being tough, dangerous and masculine (eg. Fielding 1987, Brown and Campbell 1994). It is not surprising that male probationers more easily adopted this policing style as they more closely resemble the stereotype. However, being female did not predict any policing style. It is possible that female officers do not conform to any of the styles measured in this study. The scale was based on past research when female officers made up a smaller proportion of the police service and so were based largely on male officers.

Thief-taker style was also predicted by having more GCSE's and fewer A levels. This suggests that there may be a cut-off point which can be used as a predictor of this style. Again, it might be surmised that as the stereotypical police officer is less educated, then less educated individuals

would adopt the stereotypical police style. This is consistent with Reming's (1988) finding that those who are less educated make more arrests, which would be associated with this style.

Probationers in the Metropolitan police were found to be more likely to adopt the thief-taker style, and those in Kent police the service-provider style. There are a number of possible explanations for this findings. It may be that people are attracted to a service because of their particular perception of the police role. The style may also be dictated by the environment and the rate and types of criminal activity. Alternatively, this may reflect some differences in the training carried out by these services. A further significant predictor of thief-taker style was having a positive attitude to training. This, and the fact that being in the Metropolitan police predicted a positive perception of training, appears to suggest that training may be a factor here. More research would need to be carried out in order to establish clearly what factors are important.

The results of the 16PF test indicated that being tough-minded is associated with thief-taker style and being independent and liking responsibility is associated with professional style. However, some predictors of service-provider style did not appear to be meaningful and may cast some doubt over the interpretation of this style. The usefulness of this test in this context may be doubtful and is discussed below in relation to the limitations of the study.

10.3 Limitations of the study and future research

The main hypotheses were based on social identity theory and the premise that how strongly an individual identified as a police officer, and which policing style would be adopted, would be based on how close that person was to the stereotype. There appears to be some support for this. However, there are also other explanations such as the environment and the pressure to conform. This study did not set out to, and consequently has not demonstrated why probationers identify as a police officer as strongly as they do. Social identity theory provides a reasonable explanation but future research would need to address this issue.

One problem with the study is the time span. It provides useful information but ten months is probably too short a period for policing styles to have fully developed. This was an issue that was considered at the research design stage. Due to the problems of a cross-sectional study, a longitudinal study was adopted. It was felt that as there was only limited access to respondents, matching or pairing would be difficult. However due to the time constraints on this research project, it was not possible to spread the data collection over a longer period. Future research should take this into account, following up respondents at the end of their probationary period and perhaps two years later.

A further problem experienced in this study is the issue of trust and confidentiality. As can be seen from the experience with the first data collection in the Metropolitan police respondents were suspicious and fearful about any future repercussions of participating. All data collection took

place on police property. This seemed unavoidable, and prove to be so for any future research. However the effect of this cannot be overlooked. It is the experimenter's belief that interviewees were candid on a one to one basis, but the possibility of social desirable answering on questionnaires cannot be ruled out. The problems experienced in confidentiality were anticipated to occur, but not to the extent that they did. This should be taken into account in any future research.

Originally a Q-methodology was chosen as the most appropriate way to assess the policing style of each individual. This would group respondents rather than responses. Clearly this would be desirable in developing independent policing styles preferred by probationers. However it was abandoned due to its impracticality. Although methodologically, it would be more appropriate to the aim of the study at time 3, it was decided that it was not feasible for two reasons.

The first problem involved time; the difficulty of following up 202 probationers (who in the Metropolitan police were spread over 8 training areas and were not together at any time) was considerable. It was necessary to travel to different parts of London to collect data from just two or three probationers at a time. This was easier in Kent police but still involved several trips. The second issue in relation to time, was how long I was allowed access to the probationers. I was made aware that I was taking up their training time and so there was pressure to keep this to a minimum.

The second reason that a Q-methodology was abandoned was that it was felt that the probationers would have been unwilling to participate. Many comments were made about 'silly', pointless' and 'incomprehensible' questions in the questionnaire. It seemed that a number of probationers felt that the questionnaires were to be tolerated and no more. Therefore it seemed unlikely that the probationers would have carried out the exercise either willingly or meaningfully. However for future research this may be feasible if smaller numbers are involved and better access is obtained.

This study demonstrates that probationers' perceptions and attitudes do change with some police experience, with some changes appearing to be related to the formal training period. In addition, a large majority of respondents reported having identified as a police officer after 20 weeks police experience but also being embarrassed about it. Being male predicts adopting the police identity more strongly. In addition diplomat-cop and thief-taker appear to be the policing styles identified with by the majority of probationers after ten months service. Being male, having a positive attitude to training and being in the Metropolitan police predict thief-taker style; being in Kent police predicts service-provider style.

10.4. Main implications of the study

There appear to be two main issues resulting from these findings; i) the experiences of women; and ii) the initial training.

Women in the police service

The findings of this study suggest that although the proportion of women in the police service has increased, their position remains fairly traditional in that they do not adopt the police identity as strongly as men and do not adopt the crime fighting style. It is for the police organization itself and female police officers to evaluate this position to consider if it requires any action as this study is merely descriptive on this point. However many authors have described the difficulties faced by women within the police service (eg. Young 1991, Brown and Campbell 1994) and it seems reasonable that these would have a detrimental affect on women adopting the police identity and particular policing styles. In addition, several women spoken to in the observation study expressed their unhappiness about the conditions that they work under compared to men. One man in the pre-study talked about strategies used in certain police stations to 'get rid' of women, including sending a lone woman out to patrol alone at night when men are sent out in pairs. This approach apparently usually worked because eventually the woman would be faced with a situation that she could not handle alone, which was then viewed as weakness. Anderson, Brown and Campbell (1993) cite many examples of discrimination experienced by female officers and their

dissatisfaction with feeling prevented from certain roles and opportunities on the basis of their gender.

Clearly more research needs to be conducted to establish whether women do not want to identify as strongly or are unable to do so. A further point here is that although men adopt the police identity more strongly than women do, that may also be due to the pressure of the environment, rather than a free choice. In addition, the policing styles that women do adopt needs to be researched as it seems likely that this and previous research has been based largely on men.

The cost of training police officers is very high, and so it seems reasonable to assume that those who are unhappy or feel unable to function as they would like to are more likely to leave. Therefore if women are not able to function in the same way in the same environment, the result could be costly.

Training

The framework of this research and its findings could be researched further with particular attention to the training experience and its role in both the adoption of the police identity and later policing style. Training is obviously a key issue in this study as the probationers were undergoing training through the whole of the ten month period (although more intensively during the first 20 weeks). The differences found between the two police services might suggest an effect of the different training programmes. In addition the questionnaire responses were not very favourable

about the training received. Indeed in the interview studies, probationers reported in advance of the training period, that they felt the training would only teach them the basics, but that 'real policing' was to be learnt on the street. They believed that police work was mainly common sense, which is something that, they felt, cannot be taught. Combined with very negative comments about the training after the 20 week period, this presents a very negative picture of the police training being offered in the initial stages. If individuals entering the police service expect not to get very much out of the training period before they begin it, and either as a consequence of, or in addition to this view, they do not perceive the training they have received to be of any value, the usefulness of the exercise seems doubtful.

Again, in view of the considerable expense of the initial training, this issue must be addressed, either in terms of changes in the training format, or in how training is presented and its credibility.

REFERENCES

Abrams,D. (1984) Social Identity, Self-awareness and Intergroup Behaviour. University of Kent. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation.

Abrams,D., Hogg,M.A. (1990) Social Identity Theory. Hemel Hempstead. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Allen, V.L. and Wilder, D.A. (1975) Categorisation, Belief Similarity and Intergroup Discrimination. Journal of Personality and Social psychology., 32, 971-977

Allen, V.L. and Wilder, D.A. (1979) Group Categorisation and Attribution of Belief similarity. Small group Behaviour. 10, 73-80.

Anderson,R., Brown,J., Campbell,E. (1993) Aspects of Sex Discrimonation Within the Police Service in England and Wales. Police Research Group. Home Office Police Department.

Aronson,E., Mills,J. (1959) as cited in Brown (1988).

Balch,R.W. (1972) The Police Personality: Fact or Fiction? Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol 63, No 1. 106-119.

Balkin,J. (1988) Why Policemen Don't Like Policewomen. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 16. 29-38.

Berg,B.L., Budnick,K.J. (1986) Defeminization of Women in Law Enforcement. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 14. 314-319.

Brim,O.G. Jnr. (1971) Socialisation Through The Life Cycle in Brim, O.G. Jnr., Wheeler, S. (eds) Socialisation After Childhood: Two Essays. J. Wiley and Sons., Inc.

Brim, O.G. Jnr., Wheeler, S. (1966) as cited in Brim (1971) above

Broderick,J.J. (1977) Police in a Time of Change. Morristown, NJ. General Learning Press.

Broverman,I., Broverman,D.M., Clarkson,I.E., Rosencrantz,P.S., Vogel,S.R. (1970) Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgements of Mental Health. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology. No 34, 1-7.

Brown,J.M, Campbell,E.A. (1994) Stress and policing:Sources and Strategies. Chichester. Wiley.

Brown,L., Willis.A. (1985) Authoritarianism in British Police Recruits: Importation, Socialization or Myth? Journal of Occupational Psychology. Vol 58. 97-108.

Brown,M.K. (1981) Police Discretion and the Dilemmas of Reform. New York. Russell Sage Foundation.

Brown, R.J., Ross, G.F. (1982) The Battle for Acceptance: An Investigation into the Dynamics of Intergroup Behaviour. in Tajfel, H. (ed) Social Identity and Intergroup Relations: 155-178

Brown, R.J., Turner, J.C. (1981) Interpersonal and Intergroup Behaviour in Turner, J.C. and Giles,H. (eds) Intergroup Behaviour. Oxford. Blackwell.

Brown, R.J., Williams, J.A. (1984) Group Identification: The Same Thing to All People? Human Relations 37:547-64

Brown,R.J., Condor,S., Matthews,A., Wade, G., Williams,J.A. (1986) Explaining Intergroup Differentiation in an Industrial Organisation. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 59: 273-86

Brown, R.J. (1988) Group processes: Dynamics Within and Between Groups. Oxford and New York. Blackwell.

Bull,R., Horcastle,P. (1988) Evaluating Training: the London Metropolitan Police Recruits Training in Human Awareness/Policing Skills. In L. Poole (ed) New Directions in Police Training. London. HMSO.

Bull,R., Horcastle,P. (1991) Evaluation of Police Recruit Training Involving Psychology. Conference paper; First Joint Spanish-British Conference on Psychology, Crime and Law, Pamplona, June 1991.

Burbeck,E., Furnham,A. (1985) Police Officer Selection: A Critical review of the Literature. Vol 13,No 1. 58-69.

Burkhart,B.R. (1980) Conceptual Issues in the development of Police Selection Procedures. Vol 11, No 1. 121-129.

Cascio.W.F. (1977) Formal Education and Police Officer performance. Journal of Police Science and Administration. March Vol 5, No 1. 89-96.

Coleman,A.M., Gorman,L.P. (1982) Conservatism, Dogmatism and Authoritarianism in British Police Officers. Sociology. Vol 16, No 1. 1-11.

Davis,F. (1975) Professional Socialisation as Subjective Experience: the Process of Doctrinal Conversion Among Student Nurses. In Collier,M. (ed) A Sociology of Medical Practice: 116-131.

Fielding,N. (1986) Evaluating the Role of Training in Police Socialization: A british Example. Journal of Community Psychology. Vol 14. 319-330.

Fielding,N. (1987) Socialization of Recruits into the Police Role in Southgate P (Ed) New Directions in Police Training. London. HMSO.

Fielding,N. (1988) Competence and Culture in the Police. Sociology Vol 22 No 1 45-64

Fielding,N., Fielding, J. (1991) Police Attitudes to crime and Punishment. Certainties and Dilemmas. British Journal of Criminology. Vol 31, No 1. 39-53.

Festinger,L. (1950) Informal Social Communication. Psychological review 57. 271-82.

Golombok,S., Fivush.R. (1994) Gender Development.cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Gooch, K. (1991) as cited in Brown and Campbell (1994)

Hatting, S.H., Engel.A.S., Russo,P.A. (1983) Shades of Blue:Towards an Alternative Typology. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 11 No. 1. 54-61.

Hinckle,S., Taylor,L.A., Fox-Cardimone,D.L. (1989) Intragroup Identification and Intergroup Differentiation: A Multicomponent Approach. British Journal of Social psychology. 28. 305-317.

Hinkle,S, Brown,R. (1990) Intergroup Comparisons and Social Identity: Some Links and Lacunae. In Abrams,D, Hogg,M.A. (eds) Social Identity Theory. Constructive and Critical Advances. London. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hochstedler, E. (1981) Testing Types: A review and Test of Police Types. Journal of Criminal Justice. Vol 9. 451-466.

Hogg,M.A., Turner,J.C. (1985) When Liking Begets Solidarity: An Experiment on the Role of Interpersonal Attraction on Psychological Group Formation. European Journal of Social Psychology. 15. 51-66.

Hogg,M.A. (1987) Social Identity and Group Cohesiveness. in J.C. Turner, M.A. Hogg, P.G. Oaks, S.D. Reicher and M. Wetherall, Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorisation Theory. Oxford and New York. Blackwell.

Hogg,M.A., Abrams,D. (1988) Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes. London. Routledge.

Hollin,C.R. Psychology and Crime. An Introduction to Crminiological Psychology. London. Routledge.

Home Office Statistical Bulletin. (1995) Notifiable Offences, England and Wales, 1994. London. Research and Statistcs Department.

Horton,C., Smith,D.J. (1988) Evaluating Police Work. An Action Research Project. London. Policy Studies Institute.

Howell,D.C. (1987) Statistical Methods for Psychology. Second edition. Boston. Duxbury Press.

Hunt,Y.C. (1971) Minority Recruiting in the New York City Police Department: Part 1, The Attractions of Candidates. New York. New York City-Rand Institute.

Holdaway,S. (1989) Discovering Structure: Studies of the British Police Occupational Culture. In Weatheritt (Ed) Police Research: Some Future Prospects. Aldershot. Avebury.

Jacobs,P. (1987) Women in Police Work: What's the attraction? Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology. 15. 213-217.

Janis,I. (1972) Victims of Groupthink. Boston. Houghton-Mifflin.

Jermier,J.M., Gaines,J., McIntosh,N.J. (1989) Reactions to Physically Dangerous Work: A conceptual and Empirical Analysis. Journal of Organizational Behaviour. Vol 10. 15-33.

Kelman, H.C. (1974) The Place of Jewish Identity in the Development of Personal Identity. Colloquim on Jewish Education and Jewish Identity. Nov 10-11.

Klein,V. (1986) An Evaluation of the metropolitan Police Cadet and Recruit Training in Interpersonal Skills. Unpublished MSc Thesis. CNAA. Hatfield Polytechnic.

Lewin,K. (1948) Resolving Sopcial Conflicts. New York. Harper and Bros.

Malouff,J.M., Schutte,N.S. (1986) Using biographical information to hire the best new police officers: Research findings. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 14, No.3. 175-177.

Manuel,L.L., Retzlaff,P., Sheehan,E. (1993) Policewomen Personality. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality. Vol 8. No 1. 149-153.

Martin, S.E. (1979) Policemen and policewomen: Occupational Role Dilemmas and Choices of female Officers. Journal of Police Science and Administration. 7. 314-323.

Meadows,R.J. (1985) Police Training Strategies and the Role Perceptions of Police Recruits. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 13, No 3. 195-200.

Milton,C.H., Abramowitz,A.,Crites,L., Gates,M., Minz,E., Sandler,G. (1974) as cited in Wexler (1985).

Muir,W.K. (1977) Police. Street Corner Politicians. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Mummendey,A., Schreiber,H.J. (1983) Better or Just Different? Positive Social Identity by Discrimination against or by Differentiation from outgroups. European Journal of Social psychology 42: 1127-36

Mummendey,A., Schreiber,H.J. (1984) Different Just Means Better: Some Hidden and obvious Pathways to Ingroup favouritism. British journal of Social psychology. 23: 363-368.

Mummendey,A., Simon,B. (1989) Better or Different? III: The Impact of Importance of Comparison Dimension and Relative Ingroup Size upon Intergroup Discrimination. British journal of Social Psychology. 23: 1-6.

Oakes, P.J., Turner,J.C. (1980) Social categorisation and Intergroup Behaviour: Does Minimal Intergroup Discrimination make Social Identity More Positive? European Journal of Social Psychology. 10: 295-301.

Reiner, R. (1978) The Blue-Coated Worker. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Reiner, R. (1979) Police Unionism in Holdaway (ed) The British Police. London. Edward Arnold.

Reiner, R. (1985) The Politics of the Police. Brighton. Wheatsheaf Books.

Reming,G.C. (1988) Personality Characteristics of Supercops and Habitual Criminals. Journal of Police Scienc and Administration. Vol 16, No 3. 163-167.

Ronan,W.W., Talbert,T.L., Mullet,G.M. (1977) Prediction of job Performance Dimensions: Police Officers. Public personnel Management. May-June. Vol 6, No 3. 173-180.

Schacter,H.L. (1979) Job Related Examinations for Police: Two Developments. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 7, No 1. 86-89.

Sherif,M., Sherif,C. (1956) Social Psychology. London. Harper and Row.

Sherman,L.J. (1973) as cited in Manuel et.al.(1993).

Shernock,S.K. (1988) An Empirical Examination of the Relationship Between Police Solidarity and Community Orientation. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 16. No 3. 182-194.

Skolnick,J.H. (1967) Justice Without Trial. Law Enforcement in demographic Society. New York. Wiley.

Stephenson, G.M. (1981) Intergroup Bargaining and negotiation. In Turner, J.C. and Giles,H. (eds) Intergroup Behaviour. Oxford. Blackwell.

Stradling,S.G., Croew,G, Tuohy,A.P. (1993) Changes in Self-concept During Occupational Socialization of New Recruits to the Police. Journal of Community and Applied Psychology, Vol 3, 131-147.

Tajfel,H. (1978) Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Inter-group Relations. London. Academic Press.

Tajfel,H., Turner,J.C. (1979) An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. In Austin, W.G. and Worchel,S. (eds) The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Monterey, Calif. Brooks/Cole.

Turner,J.C. (1982) Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group. In H. Tajfel (ed) Social Identity and Intergroup Relations. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Turner,J.C., Hogg,M.A., Oakes,P.J., Reicher,S.D., Wetherell,M.S. (1987) Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self Categorisation Theory. Oxford. Basil Blackwell.

Van Maanen,J. (1976) Breaking In: Socialisation to Work. In Dubin,R. (ed) Handbook of Work, Organisation and Society. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Vogel,R., Adams,R. (1983) Police professionalism: A longit udinal cohort study. Journal ofd Police Science and Administration. Vol 11,No.4. 474-484.

Walsh,J.L. (1977) Career Styles and Police Behavior. In Bayley,D.H. (Ed) Police and Society. Beverly Hills. Sage.

Weisheit,R.A. (1987) Women in the State Police. Journal of Police Science and Administration. Vol 15, No 2. 137-144.

Wexler,J.G. (1985) Role Styles of Women Police Officers. Sex Roles. Vol 12. 749-755.

Wolff Olins (1988) A Force for Change: A Report on the Corporate Identity of the Metropolitan Police. London. Wolff Olins.

Young,M. (1991) An Inside Job. Policing and Police Culture in Britain. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

APPENDIX A. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PRE-STUDY

Name:

Age:

What previous jobs have you done?

1. Which 3 occupations would you see as being most similar to police work?

   Which would you see as being most similar?

   Which would you find most attractive?

   And which the least attractive?

2. What is it that first attracted you to the police?

3. What 3 characteristics do you think are necessary to be a good police officer?

Which one of these would be least important?

4. What do you think is the public's primary perception of the police?

How accurate do you think this is

What is the true role of the police?

5. What do you feel is the role of women in the police force?

Do they perform a different role?

Are they better/worse at some tasks than men?

Do they have an easier or harder time than men?

6. How do you feel about wearing a uniform?

Do you feel a different person when wearing one?

Do you think a uniform is important in maintaining the authority of police officers?

Does it make you feel more like a real policeman?

7. Did you know anyone in the police force when you decided to apply?

Did you talk to them about joining...what did they say?

Was their impression generally positive or negative?

8. How do your family feel about you joining?

If not, why not?

Is it important to you how they feel?

Do you think they regard you as a real police officer?

Do you think they really understand what it's like to be a real officer?

Can any non-police person understand what it's like?

9. Do you feel that you are a police officer 24 hours a day or only when on duty?

If you saw an incident in the street when you were off-duty, do you think you should

intervene?

What do you think the organisation's view of this would be?

Would other officers frown on it if you didn't intervene?

What percentage of officers do you think would intervene?

10. How long do you think it takes to become a police officer?

Are some people `naturals' for the job?

Which is more important, using your common sense or putting your training into practice?

Is it appropriate for a police officer to use his/her discretion in applying the law?

How does s/he know when and how to do this?

Do they learn it from other police officers or do they develop it themselves?

APPENDIX B. QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FOR TIME 1

Questionnaire 1

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to look at your expectations and experiences as you go through your probationary period. To this end I would be grateful if you would answer the questions honestly in order for me to obtain data that is as accurate as possible. You can feel quite certain that any information given by you as a part of this study is, and will remain completely confidential. This Police Force is kindly co-operating but it did not initiate and is not funding this research. It is actually funded by the Economic Social Research Council. The information collected will be collated to produce an over-all picture of your collective experiences. Individuals will not be referred to at any time.

The information you supply regarding your personal back-ground is only used to examine whether particular groups of people report similar experiences. This, of course, is also confidential.

You will notice that there is a code number on your questionnaire. This does identify you but I am the only person who has access to this information. I need to know who you are in order to give you the correct questionnaire next time.

Age .....years

Sex Male/Female

Married at the moment Yes/No

Have you ever been married Yes/No

Do you have any children? Yes/No

If yes, how many? .....

What ages are they .....

Educational qualifications

Number of 'O' Levels/GCSE's .....

Number of 'A' Levels
(or equivalent) .....

Higher Education (please specify .....

For how many years have you actually been employed since leaving school? .....years

Name your last three occupations .....

.....

...

PART 1.

Please fill in your response to the following questions. It is important that you do not leave out any questions.

Below are **some aspects of police work**. These will be more important to some people and less important to others. Please indicate by ringing the appropriate number how important each is **to you personally**.

1. Variety

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

2. Helping people

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Challenge

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

4. Being of service

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

5. Security

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

6. Reducing crime

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

7. Career opportunities

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

8. Contributing to the community

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

9. Excitement

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

10. Doing a worthwhile job

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

11. Please identify below the **three** aspects of the police role that you think are most important to you personally **from those mentioned in questions 1-10** by inserting the relevant question numbers in rank order, placing the most important as number 1.

Rank 1. Question No. .....

Rank 2. Question No. .....

Rank 3. Question No. .....

Please now continue with the following questions by indicating how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements by ringing the appropriate number

12. The chance to work with people is **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

13. The chance to work with highly qualified and motivated people is **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

14. The chance to use professional skills in a creative way is **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

15. The chance to be of service is **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

16. The chance to think and act independently on the job is **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

17. The chance to defend the public interest is **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

18. Good fringe benefits are **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

19. Good working conditions are **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

20. Good salary is **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

21. Job security is **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

22. The chance to advance to a position of authority is **important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

23. High prestige in the public eye is **not important** to me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

Please now answer the following questions by ringing the number that most accurately reflects your view.

24. How much do you expect your experience in the police force to change the person you are over the next year?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all very much

25. If, at the end of one year you feel that you have changed, how good a thing do you think this will be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very good Very bad

26. Do you think you will be a police officer 24 hours a day or just when on-duty?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Only on-duty 24 hours

27. In relation to Question 24, what proportion of serving officers do you think more or less share your view?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

All None

28. If you see an incident when you are off-duty that involves damage to property, do you think you will intervene?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Yes, always Never

29. If you see an incident when you are off-duty which involves danger to people, do you think you will intervene?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Yes, always Never

30. What proportion of serving officers do you think would intervene?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

None All

31. I think that I am fairly typical of new police recruits

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

32. How important do you think your previous experience will be in performing your role as a police officer, compared to the training you will receive?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very important Very unimportant

33. Policing is largely a matter of common sense

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

34. Is it appropriate for a police officer to use discretion in applying the law?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never						Sometimes

35. If you feel that you will use discretion, where do you think this will come from?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
From my own experience						From the training

36. I will always take the circumstances into account when deciding when to use my discretion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

37. The attitude of the suspect towards the crime will influence my use of discretion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

38. If the suspect behaves in a hostile way towards me I will take this into account when deciding whether to use discretion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

39. The motivation for the crime is important when I decide whether I should use discretion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

Below are **some characteristics** that might be thought of as being more or less important to a police officer. These will be more important to some people and less important to others. Please indicate by ringing the appropriate number how important each is **to you personally**.

40. Tolerance

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

41. Authority

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

42. Knowledge

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

43. The ability to talk to people

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

44. Compassion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important Less important

to me to me

45. Persistence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important to me — Less important to me

46. Honesty

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important to me — Less important to me

47. Self-confidence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important to me — Less important to me

48. Common sense

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Most important to me — Less important to me

49. Physical strength

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most important to me						Less important to me

50. Please identify below the **three** characteristics of the police officer that you think are most important to you personally **from those mentioned in questions 40-49** by inserting the relevant question numbers in rank order, placing the most important as number 1.

Rank 1. Question No. .....

Rank 2. Question No. .....

Rank 3. Question No. .....

Please now continue with the following questions by indicating how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements by ringing the appropriate number

51. The law as it stands **does not** allow too many criminals to escape punishment

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

52. Allowing some criminals to escape punishment **is not** justified in order to protect the civil liberties of ordinary people

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

53. Generally, **I am** in favour of tougher sentencing of criminals

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

54. Too much police time is spent dealing with the victims of crime, when it should be spent on catching the criminals

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

End of Part 1 - STOP HERE

PART 2

This questionnaire is aimed at understanding how people think about social problems. Different people often have different opinions about questions of right and wrong. There are no `right' answers in the way that there are right answers to arithmetic problems. We would like you to tell us what you think about several problem stories. No-one else will see your individual answers; they are entirely confidential.

In this questionnaire you will be asked to give your opinion about several stories. Here is a story as an example. Read it then turn to the next page.

Frank Jones has been thinking about buying a car. He is married, has two small children and earns an average income. The car he buys will be his families only car. It will be use mostly to get to work and drive around town, but sometimes for holiday trips also. In trying to decide what car to buy, Frank Jones realised there were a lot of questions to consider. On the next page is a list of some of these questions.

If you were Frank Jones, how important would each of these questions be in deciding what car to buy?

(Continues...)

Instructions for Part A: (Sample Question)

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each statement of a consideration. (For instance, if you think statement 1 is not important in making a decision about buying a car, tick the space on the right.)

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Whether the car dealer was in the same part of town as Frank lives.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Would a used car be more economical in the long run than a new car. (Note that a tick was put in the far left space to indicate the opinion that this is an

important issue in making a decision about buying a car.)

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Whether the colour was green, Frank's favourite colour.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Whether the cubic inch displacement was at least 200. (Note that if you are unsure about what `cubic inch displacement' means, then mark it `no importance'.)

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Would a large roomy car be better than a compact car.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. Whether the front conibilies were differential. (Note that if a statement sounds like gibberish or nonsense to you, mark it `no importance'.)

Instructions for Part B: (Sample Question)

From the list above, select the most important one of the whole group. Put the number of the most important question on the top line below. Do likewise for your second, third and fourth most important choices. (Note that the top choices in this case will come from the statements that were ticked on the far left-hand side - statements No. 2 and No. 5 were thought to be very important. In deciding what is the most important, a person would re-read No. 2 and No. 5 and then pick one of them as the most important, then put the other one as the second most important and so on.)

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

1. HEINZ AND THE DRUG

In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a chemist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make but the chemist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid £100 for the radium and charged £1000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to every-one he knew to borrow the money but he could only get about £500, which is half of what it cost. He told the chemist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the chemist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it". So Heinz became desperate and began to think about breaking into the chemist's shop to steal the drug for his wife.

Should Heinz steal the drug? (Tick one)

Should steal it .....

Can't decide .....

Should not steal it .....

(continues....)

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding whether or not Heinz should steal the drug.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Whether a community's laws are going to be upheld.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Isn't it only natural for a loving husband to care so much for his wife that he'd steal?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Is Heinz willing to risk getting shot as a burglar or going to jail for the chance that stealing the drug might help?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Whether Heinz is a professional wrestler, or has influence with professional wrestlers.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Whether Heinz is stealing for himself or doing this solely to help someone else.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. Whether the chemist's rights to his invention have to be respected.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. Whether the essence of living is more encompassing than the termination of dying, socially or individually.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. What values are going to be the basis for governing how people act towards each other?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. Whether the chemist is going to be allowed to hide behind a worthless law which only protects the rich anyway.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. Whether the law in this case is getting in the way of the most basic claim of any member of society.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. Whether the chemist deserves to be robbed for being so greedy and cruel.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. Would stealing in this case bring about more total good for the whole society or not?

From the list above, select the four most important questions and insert the question numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

2. STUDENT TAKE-OVER

At a university in America a group of students, called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), believed that the university should not have an army training programme for students. SDS students were against the war in Viet Nam, and the army training programme helped send men to fight in Viet Nam. SDS students demanded that the university end the training programme as a university course. This would mean that students could no longer get army training as a part of their regular course work and not get credit for it towards their degrees.

Agreeing with the students in the SDS, the lecturers voted to end the army training programme as a university course. But the president of the university stated that he wanted to keep the army training programme at the university as a course. The SDS students felt that the president was not going to pay attention to the lecturers' vote or to their demands. So, one day, two hundred SDS students walked into the university's administration building, and told every-one else to get out. They said they were doing this to force the university to get rid of the army training programme as a university course.

Should the students have taken over the administration building?

Yes, they should take it over .....

Can't decide .....

No, they should not take it over .....

(continues...)

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding whether or not the students should have taken over the administration building.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Are the students doing this to really help other people or are they doing it just for kicks?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Do the students have any right to take over property that does not belong to them?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Do the students realize that they might be arrested and fined, and even expelled from the university?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Would taking over the university building in the long run benefit more people to a greater extent?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Whether the president stayed within the limits of his authority in ignoring the lecturers' vote.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. Will the take over anger the public and give all students a bad name?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. Is taking over the building consistent with the principles of justice?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. Would allowing one student take-over encourage many other student take-overs?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. Did the president bring this mis-understanding on himself by being so unreasonable and unco-operative?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. Whether running the university ought to be in the hands of a few administrators or in the hands of all the people.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. Are the students following principles which they believe are above the law?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. Whether or nor university decisions ought to be respected by students.

From the list of questions, select the four most important and insert the question numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

3. ESCAPED PRISONER

A man has been sentenced to prison for ten years. After one year, however he managed to escape from prison, moved to a new area of the country, and took on the name of Thompson. For 8 years he worked hard, and gradually he saved enough money to buy his own business. He was fair to his customers, gave his employees high wages and gave most of his own profits to charity. Then one day Mrs.Jones, an old neighbour, recognised him as the man who had escaped from prison eight years before, and whom the police had been looking for.

Should Mrs. Jones report Mr. Thompson to the police and have him sent back to prison?

Tick one;

Should report him .....

Can't decide .....

Should not report him .....

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding whether or not Mrs. Jones should report Mr. Thompson to the police.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Hasn't Mr. Thompson been good enough for such a long time to prove he isn't a bad person?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Every time some-one escapes punishment for a crime, doesn't that just encourage more crime?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Wouldn't we be better off without prisons and the oppression of our legal system?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Has Mr. Thompson really paid his debt to society?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Would society be failing what Mr. Thompson should fairly expect?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. What benefits would prison be apart from society, especially for a charitable man?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. How could anyone be so cruel and heartless as to send Mr. Thompson to prison?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. Would it be fair to all the prisoners who had served out their full sentences if Mr. Thompson was let off?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. Was Mrs. Jones a good friend of Mr. Thompson?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. Wouldn't it be a citizen's duty to report an escaped criminal, regardless of the circumstances?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. How would the will of the people and the public good be best served?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. Would going to prison do any good for Mr. Thompson or protect anybody?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important and insert the question numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

4. NEWSPAPER

Some years ago, a senior boy in a secondary school in America, Fred, wanted to publish a mimeographed paper for pupils so that he could express many of his opinions. He wanted to speak out against the war that was going on then in Viet Nam and speak out against some of the school rules, like the rule forbidding boys to wear long hair.

When Fred started the paper, he went to the headteacher of his school for permission. The headteacher said it would be alright if before every publication Fred presented all his articles for the headteacher's approval. Fred agreed and presented several articles for approval. The headteacher approved all of them and Fred published two issues of the paper in the next two weeks.

However the headteacher had not expected Fred's newspaper to receive so much attention. Pupils were so excited by the paper that they began to organise protests against the hair regulation and other school rules. Angry parents objected to Fred's opinions. They telephoned the headteacher saying that the newspaper was un-patriotic and should not be published. As a result of all the rising excitement, the headteacher ordered Fred to stop publishing. The reason given was that Fred's activities were disruptive to the operation of the school.

Should the headteacher stop the newspaper?

Tick one

Should stop it .....

Can't decide .....

Should not stop it .....

(continues...)

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding whether or not the head teacher should stop the newspaper.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Is the headteacher more responsible to pupils or to parents?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Did the headteacher give his word that the newspaper could be published for a

long time,or did he promise to approve the newspaper one issue at a time?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Would the pupils start protesting even more if the headteacher stopped the newspaper?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. When the welfare of the school is threatened, does the headteacher have the right to give orders to pupils?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Does the headteacher have the freedom of speech to say `no' in this case?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. If the headteacher stopped the newspaper would he be preventing full discussion of important issues?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. Whether the headteacher's order would make Fred lose faith in the head?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. Whether Fred was really loyal to his school and patriotic to his country.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. What effect would stopping the paper have on the pupils' education in critical thinking and judgement?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. Whether Fred was in any way violating the rights of others in publishing his own opinions.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. Whether the head should be influenced by some angry parents when it is he himself who knows best what is going on in the school.

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. Whether Fred is using the paper to stir up hatred and discontent.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important and insert the question numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

5. THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

A lady was dying of cancer which could not be cured and she only had about six months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of pain-killer like morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious with pain, and in her calm periods she would ask the doctor to give her enough morphine to kill her. She said she couldn't stand the pain and that she was going to die in a few months anyway.

What should the doctor do?

He should give the lady an

overdose that will make her die .....

Can't decide .....

Should not give the overdose .....

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding what the doctor should do.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. Whether the woman's family is in favour of giving her the overdose or not

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Is the doctor obliged by the same laws as every-one else if giving an overdose would be the same as killing her?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Whether people would be much better off without society regimenting their lives and even their deaths

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Whether the doctor would make it appear like an accident

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. Does the state have the right to force continued existence on those who don't want to live?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. What is the value of death prior to society's perspective on personal values?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. Whether the doctor has sympathy for the woman's suffering or cares more about what society might think

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. Is helping to end another's life ever a responsible act of co-operation?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. Whether only God should decide when a person's life should end

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. What values the doctor has set for himself in his own personal code of behaviour

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. Can society afford to let every-one end their lives when they want to?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. Can society allow suicides and mercy killings and still protect the lives of individuals who want to live?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important and insert the quetion numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

6. WEBSTER

Mr. Webster was the owner and manager of a petrol station. He wanted to hire another mechanic to help him, but good mechanics were hard to find. The only person he found whoseemed to be a good mechanic was Mr. Lee, but he was a Protestant. Mr. Webster's petrol station was in a Catholic area of town. While Mr. Webster himself did not have anything against Protestants, he was afraid to hire Mr. Lee because many of his customers did not like Protestants. His customers might take their business elsewhere if Mr. Lee was working in the petrol station.

When Mr. Lee aked Mr. Webster if he could have the job, Mr. Webster said that he had already hired someone else. But Mr. Webster really had not hired anybody, because he could not find anybody who was a good mechanic besides Mr. Lee.

What shoild Mr. Webster have done? (Tick one)

Should have hired Mr. Lee .....

Can't decide .....

Should not have hired him .....

On the left hand side of the page tick one of the spaces by each question to indicate its importance in deciding what Mr. Webster should have done.

GREAT Importance

MUCH Importance

SOME Importance

LITTLE Importance

NO Importance

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 1. the owner of a business have the right to make his own business decisions or not

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 2. Whether there is a law that forbids religious discrimination in hiring for jobs

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 3. Whether Mr. Webster is prejudiced against Protestants himself or whether he means nothing personal in refusing the job

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 4. Whether hiring a good mechanic or paying attention to his customers' wishes would be best for his business

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 5. What individual differences ought to be relevant in decisding how society's roles are to be filled?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 6. Whether the greedy and competitive capitalist system ought to be completely abandoned

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 7. Do a majority of people in Mr. Webster's society feel like his customer or are a majority against prejudice?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 8. Whether hiring capable men like Mr. Lee would use talents that would otherwise be lost to society

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 9. Would refusing the job to Mr. Lee be consistent with Mr. Webster's own moral beliefs?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 10. Could Mr. Webster be so hard-hearted as to refuse the job, knowing how much it means to Mr. Lee?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 11. Whether the Christian commandment to love your fellow man applies in this case

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ 12. If some-one is in need, shouldn't s/he be helped regardless of what you get back from him/her?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important and insert the quetion numbers below:

Most important .....

Second most important .....

Third most important .....

Fourth most important .....

End of Part 2 - STOP HERE

Interview schedule for Time 1

1. What aspects of police work attracted you into the police force in the beginning?

2. What do you see as your role in society as a police officer?

3. When you say "protect and maintain" you mean maintain ----?

4. Which areas of the police individual role do you think you will actually dislike the most?

5. What do you think are the main things that you are going to learn during your formal training period at the times when you are at one training school or another? What do you think is the main function of the training schools where you go?

6. You say "with experience", you think that these are things that you just learn on the stations quite separate from what you are going to learn here?

7. Are there any areas about the police force that actually concern you?

8. Do you think you are going to spend more of your time dealing with criminals or members of the public?

9. How do you feel about that in terms of how you came into the police force and your expectations?

10. If you find yourself dealing most of your time with members of the public and this did not fit in with your perceived role as protecting law and order, would that be a problem for you?

11. Can you tell me what you think of in terms of the stereotype of a police officer?

12. Do you see yourself as becoming a typical police officer or do you think that in any particular area, you might wish to mention, that you would be in some way different?

13. When you come in, as you did on Monday, to join do you think you are a typical recruit or a typical probationer?

14. Do you think you would change very much in the next year?

15. Do you think your self-concept will change?

16. You think you would be resistant to that?

17. Do you think that more people would commit crimes if they felt sure that they wouldn't be caught?

1818. What function do you think discretion plays in the police force?

19. What effect do you think being a police officer is going to have on how you get on with your friends and your neighbours?

20. What about your family? How do you think being a police officer is going to affect your family?

21. Do you think that they will actually be able to understand what it is like for you to a police officer - the things you have to do, the pressures that you are going to be under?

22. Would you say you would describe yourself as a group oriented person?

APPENDIX C. DESCRIPTION OF 16PF FACTORS

16PF Primary Factors

(Adapted from manual for 16PF. The Test Agency)

Factor A

Ranks of 1-3 - Reserved. Cool and aloof, precise and objective. Likes working alone rather than in groups.

Ranks of 7-9 - Participating. Enjoys dealing with people and being a part of a group.

Factor B

Ranks of 1-3 - less intelligent, concrete thinking

Ranks of 7-9 - the ability to think abstractly or to see relationships.

Factor C

Ranks of 1-3 - Easily Upset. Changeable, easily perturbed and disorganised. Annoyed by people and things. Often unable to cope with lifes problems.

Ranks of 7-9 - Mature. Emotionally well-balanced and realistic. Mature and well integrated. Prepared to stand up for own view.

Factor E

Ranks of 1-3 - Submissive. Considerate and diplomatic in relationships, obedient, submissive and easily upset by authority.

Ranks of 7-9 - Assertive. Readiness to engage in discussion and critical evaluation. Independent minded. Likes responsibility and often seeks leadership.

Factor F

Ranks of 1-3 - Reserved and withdrawn, tends to be serious and sober, possibly overcautious and overprecise.

Ranks of 7-9 - Optimistic and unconcerned attitude to life, enthusiastic. Can be impulsive and mercurial.

Factor G

Ranks of 1-3 - Expedient. Impulsive with a disregard for rules and obligations. Lacks persistence and is self indulgent.

Ranks of 7-9 - Conscientious. Likes things to be done properly, self-motivated and hard working. Strong sense of justice and expects people to observe rules and agreements. Strong-principled and self-disciplined.

Factor H

Ranks of 1-3 - Shy, withdrawn, emotionally cautious, dislikes jobs with too many personal contacts, prefers one or two friends to large groups.

Ranks of 7-9 - Enjoys taking risks, fearless and uninhibited. Enjoys negotiating and being active and is very sociable.

Factor I

Ranks of 1-3 -Sensitive. Kindly, indulgent to self and others. Imaginative and acts on sensitive intuition. Likes help and sympathy, and is attention seeking and fastidious

Ranks of 7-9 -Tough-minded. Unsentimental, realistic and self-reliant. Acts on logical evidence, is full of confidence. Can be detached, self-satisfied and cynical

Factor L

Ranks of 1-3 - Suspecting. Cautious and wary in contacts with other people and not very interested in them. Is always right, dogmatic, concerned with self and mistrustful

Ranks of 7-9 - Trustful. Willing to accept change, understanding and permissive, tolerant. Dislikes correcting people.

Factor M

Ranks of 1-3 - Imaginative, interested in artistic pursuits, unconventional and absorbed in ideas

Ranks of 7-9 - Practical. Conventional, alert to practical needs, avoids anything far-fetched. Concerned with immediate issues, lacking in imagination.

Factor N

Ranks of 1-3 - Forthright. Genuine, great faith in human nature, warm to others. unskilled in analysing motives, gregarious, a little socially clumsy.

Ranks of 7-9 - Shrewd, has insight into self and others. Ambitious and insecure, sophisticated, polished and socially aware. Smart and tends to cut corners.

Factor O

Ranks of 1-3 - Apprehensive. Strong sense of obligation, sensitive to disapproval, easily touched emotionally

Ranks of 7-9 - Confidence in self, and own abilities. Expects colleagues to pull with them. Like simple clear methods of work.

Factor Q1

Ranks of 1-3 - Conservative concerning traditional ideas, not inclined to accept change easily.

Ranks of 7-9 - Radical tendencies, experiments with problem solutions, no-moralising. Open to new ideas, well-informed, analytical thinker.

Factor Q2

Ranks of 1-3 - Conforms to consensus opinion. Prefers working with other people and joint decision making. Individuality and originality needs support from a team.

Ranks of 7-9 - Self-sufficient and resourceful, prefers to make own decisions.

Factor Q3

Ranks of 1-3 - Does not have an inflated opinion of self, spontaneous and uninhibited but attempts to withdraw from social demands and responsibilities. Not always considerate to others.

Ranks of 7-9 - Socially precise, considerate, has regard for social approval. Great self-control, persistence and foresight.

Factor Q4

Ranks of 1-3 - Can be over-wrought, tense and irritable in frustrating situations

Ranks of 7-9 - Relaxed and well-balanced. In certain circumstances this can lead to self-satisfaction.

16PF second order factors

(Adapted from manual for 16PF. The Test Agency)

The sixteen first order factors produce 6 second order factors;

Extroversion

Comprises - Factors A (Participating), F (Enthusiastic), H (Adventurous), M (Conventional). A high rank indicates an extroverted personality.

Stability

Comprises - Factors C (Mature), E (Dominant), L (Trustful), O (Self-confident). A high rank indicates a non-neurotic personality.

Anxiety

Comprises - Factors C (Mature), O (Self-confident), Q3 (Controlled), Q4 (Stable). A high rank indicates few anxiety symptoms.

Leadership

Comprises - Factors F (Enthusiastic), G (Consistent), O (self-confident), Q3 (Controlled). A high rank indicates a leadership type of personality.

Research-creativity

Comprises - Factors A- (Formal), C (Mature), F- (Silent), Q1 (Liberal). A high rank indicates a personality that tends towards research and creativity.

Initiative-drive

Comprises - Factors E (Dominant), F (Enthusiastic), N (Sophisticated), Q1 (Liberal). A high rank indicates initiative and drive

APPENDIX D. QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TIME 2.

Questionnaire 2

Introduction

This questionnaire is intended to find out about your experiences so far during your probationary period. I am interested in your perceptions and feelings about how things are going for you. As before, I can assure you that your replies are completely confidential and that they will have no bearing on your career in the police force at all. Please answer questions honestly.

It is important that you do not leave out any questions.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement on the appropriate scale by ringing the number that most closely reflects your view.

1. How much have your experiences in the police force so far been as you expected them to be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Just as I expected — Not at all as I expected

2. To what extent would you say that your experiences in the police force have been positive for you personally?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very negative — Very positive

3. How satisfied are you with your job as a police officer compared with other jobs you had before you entered the police force?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very satisfied — Very dissatisfied

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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Definitely No						Definitely Yes

5. Being a police officer is more than a job to me

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

6. I feel that being a police officer is a part of my identity now

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

7. How useful do you feel the formal training (at the training school) has been to equip

you to be a police officer?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very useful Not at all useful

8. Do you feel that the skills and experience that you have brought into the force has been utilized during your formal training?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not at all A great deal

9. The training teaches the basics but it is not particularly relevant to the real job of a police officer

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree

10. I prefer not to mix socially with police officers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

11. The instructors at the training school are really in touch with what goes on in the real world

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

12. I like my neighbours to know that I am a police officer

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

13. I think that some people who know I am a police officer may feel inhibited/threatened by it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

14. When I am with non-police officers I feel that I must be careful to 'do the right thing'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

15. It is difficult to talk about my experiences as a police officer to my family/friends outside the police force as they can't really understand

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

16. People outside the police force cannot really judge the behaviour of a police officer as they don't understand the pressure

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

17. Which do you think is most important to a police officer on the street, putting his/her training into practice or using common sense?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Training Common sense

18. The circumstances of a crime influence how I carry out my duties

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

19. It is not up to the police officer to interpret the law but simply to uphold it as it stands

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

20. When I am out on the street, it's up to me to behave in the way that I consider to be most appropriate

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

21. If you were called at home when you were off-duty and asked to come in to work, but you had a choice, how likely would it be that you would go in to work?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very likely						Very unlikely

22. What would be the reason for your decision?

.....

.....

23. I feel very much a part of the police force

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

24. I feel that I fit into the police organisation well

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

25. The police organisation is very important to me personally

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

26. I am a person who considers the police service important

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

27. I am a person who identifies with the police service

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

28. I am a person who feels strong ties with the police service

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

29. I am a person who is glad to belong to the police service

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Agree						Disagree

30. I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the police service

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

31. I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the police service

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

32. I am a person who tries to hide belonging to the police service

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

33. I am a person who feels held back by the police service

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly Strongly

Agree Disagree

34. I am a person who feels annoyed to say I'm a member of the police service

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

35. I am a person who criticizes the police service

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree

Thank you very much for your co-operation

Interview Schedule for Time 2.

1. Are you glad that you joined? Have your perceptions of the police changed at all since you arrived in December?

2. Has your time at Hendon been as you expected?

3. What did you do when you went to your station for two weeks? Did you find it exiting?

4. Which station did you go to? Will that be your permanent station?

5. Was it how you expected?

6. Did anything surprise you or make you unhappy?

7. What sort of impression of policing did you get from the officers that you met there?

8. Did you find that they were still positive about police work?

9. Did you talk to your family and friends about your experiences when you were on station? Do you think they really understood what it was like? Is this a problem?

10. Do you feel that you are a real part of the police service?

11. What do you think has contributed to you feeling this?

12. Do you feel that being a police officer is a part of who you now are?

13. Do you like the feeling of belonging that is a part of being in the police?

14. Did you feel a part of a team when you were on station?

15. Did you like that? Is this important to you?

16. Do you think that the training you have received here has prepared you to go out on the street? What could prepare you/ could anything else have been added that would be useful?

17. Do you feel anxious about actually working on a station?

18. Has being a police officer over the last 20 weeks changed you at all? Your attitude/ perceptions/feelings towards the public?

19. Do you think that as a police officer you will receive adequate back-up from the public? From the police organization?

20. Why do you think police officers become cynical? Will you also become cynical?

APPENDIX E. QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AT TIME 3.

Questionnaires

1. I take problems as they occur but above all stay out of trouble

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

2. I see it as my responsibility to keep the peace, protect citizens from criminals and preserve the social order

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

3. I believe that the law allows criminals to escape their just deserts through exploitation of loop-holes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

4. I prefer an arrest to a mediation

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

5. I think that society is a shambles and people dislike the truth

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

6. I believe the <u>most</u> important qualities of a police officer are honesty, patience and understanding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very			Neither			Very unlike

like me	like nor unlike me	me

7. **I take a qualified and long-term perspective in relation to policing**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

8. **I know residents and shop-keepers and spend time exchanging pleasantries and information about activities in the area**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

9. **I do just enough work to keep the sergeant happy**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

10. **I feel that I have the ability to see beyond the multitude of laws and ordinances and to enforce these laws in a discretionary manner so that the greatest degree of protection will be secured to the community**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

11. **I <u>used</u> to want promotion or specialisation**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

12. **Above all, I just want to avoid trouble**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

13. **I would like to find a civilised niche within police work**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

14. **I present myself as a professional and make my own decisions about what should and should not be done**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

15. **I feel that my relationship with the public is important**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

16. **I don't think you can really spend too much time enforcing the law or listening to people's problems**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

17. **I prefer working with people to fighting crime**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

18. **I am prepared to work long hours despite the disruption to my family life**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

19. I think it is better not to answer the telephone when possible as it always means more work

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

20. My primary identification is with the police

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

21. I see the opportunity to exercise discretion as more important than the opportunity to use police powers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

22. I place more emphasis on detection of crime rather than prevention

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

23. I would be interested in becoming a home beat officer

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

24. I like to show red (in the book) and make significant arrests involving serious crime

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

25. I can cope with crime while maintaining a rapport with the community

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

26. I place high value on individual rights and due process of the law

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

27. I believe that `real' police work is the skilful application of techniques learnt on the street

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

28. The job has ceased to be a vocation to me

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

29. I am not very likely to consider a transfer to a specialist post

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

30. I believe that enforcement of the law should be tempered with an understanding of human foibles

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

31. I believe that I am responsible for what I do and want to do it right

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

32. I like to give correct, sensible, balanced responses

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

33. I think that it is a dismal world and I feel a little cynical but I still want to stay on the job

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

34. I do not think that justice is distributed equally to all individuals

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

35. I am disillusioned about the job and its purpose

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

36. I have stringent standards of success and failure

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

37. **Family life is important to me, but I see promotion as the way to fulfil my responsibilities to my family**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

38. **I believe in enforcing the law but am flexible enough to know when not to**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

39. **I think that promotion and success in examinations is a sign of a good police officer**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

40. **I am dedicated to the crusade against crime and disorder**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me		l	Neither ike nor unlike me		me	Very unlike

41. **My main goals in life is the achievement of promotion and higher rank**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

42. **I am tied to the job by the money**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

43. **I apply the law with discretionary common sense**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

44. **My goal in life is to perform the police role through doing real police work**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

45. **I am conscious of the public relations image needed for the police service**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

46. **I feel that policing is `just a job'**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

47. **I believe that it is my responsibility as a professional to implement, and not undermine, police policies**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

48. **I want to be considered a `good cop'**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

49. I am happy doing uniformed patrol work as I see this as the core part of policing

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

50. I frequently pop into work to ensure satisfactory progress on a job even when on a rest day or annual leave

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

51. I would like to be a traditional `village police officer'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

52. It is a compliment to be known by other officers as `a good thief-taker'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very like me			Neither like nor unlike me			Very unlike me

Please check that you have not left out any pages or questions.

Thank-you very much for your participation through the whole of this study, it has been much appreciated.

Best wishes for your future,

Lynne Lawrie

Interview 3 (10 months)

1 Is policing what you thought it would be? Why/not?

2 What are the things you most like about being a police officer?
And the things that you least like?

3 Is it as it was presented during your formal training?

4 What do you think has had most influence on the type of officer that you are?

5 How large a part of your life is being a police officer?

6 Do you think that it is a part of your identity?
Is that a good thing or a bad thing?
Are there any practical consequences to this?

7 How would you describe your general philosophy to policing?

8 What would you say is the most important thing that you have learnt over the last six months?

9 Are there different types of police officers?
Can you describe them?

10 What accounts for the differences?

11 Do you feel more or less optimistic about society than you did before you joined the police?

12 Do you feel more or less optimistic about your career than you did before you joined?

13 Do you think that you will still be in the police in ten years time?

14 There are a lot of changes in the police at the moment.
a) What do feel about performance indicators?
b) Fixed term contracts
c) Differential pay for different roles at constable level
d) The criminal justice system

15 How would you rate morale in the police?

16 What effect do you think the above issues have had on morale?

17 On you personally?

18 If you knew when you joined what you know now, would you still join?

19 Is there any thing that you feel is important about being in the police that I haven't mentioned?

APPENDIX F. TABLE OF MEANS FOR 3 LONGITUDINAL STUDIES.

Table F.1. Time 1. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex.

Variable	Whole group	Kent	Metropolitan	Male	Female
service	1.99 (.67)	1.94 (.64)	2.04 (.70)	2.02 (.69)	1.90 (.60)
self benefits	4.57 (.76)	4.64 (.75)	4.50 (.76)	4.63 (.72)	4.40 (.85)
independence	5.03 (.65)	5.10 (.68)	4.96 (.61)	5.05 (.65)	4.95 (.64)
interest	1.86 (.72)	1.87 (.69)	1.85 (.74)	1.81 (.69)	2.00 (.76)
discretion	3.56 (1.40)	3.44 (1.31)	3.68 (1.49)	3.54 (1.40)	3.63(1.43)
authoritity	3.54 (1.03)	3.48 (1.01)	3.59 (1.05)	3.54 (1.07)	3.53 (.94)
talk	1.60 (.48)	1.61 (.47)	1.59 (.48)	1.61 (.47)	1.56 (.51)
persistence	2.60 (1.04)	2.60 (1.05)	2.60 (1.03)	2.55 (1.03)	2.73 (1.07)
canteen	2.02 (.65)	2.03 (.68)	2.01 (.63)	2.04 (.64)	1.98 (.68)

Table F.2. Time 2. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex.

Variable	Whole group	Kent	Metropolitan	Male	Female
satisfy	3.88 (.60)	3.83 (.52)	3.94 (.66)	3.82 (.60)	3.91 (.59)
Training	3.93 (.68)	4.14 (.61)	3.73 (.69)	3.90 (.68)	4.01 (.66)
Embarrass	5.87 (.62)	5.91 (.56)	5.82 (.67)	5.88 (.62)	5.83 (.63)
Identify	2.16 (.76)	2.13 (.68)	2.18 (.84)	2.08 (.66)	2.39 (.97)

Table F.3. Time 3. Mean responses on all variables for the whole sample and by force, and by sex.

Variable	Whole group	Kent	Metropol-itan	Male	Female
Service-provider	4.98 (1.96)	4.57 (2.01)	5.40 (1.82)	5.05 (2.01)	4.78 (1.81)
Hired-officer	4.72 (.67)	4.79 (.67)	4.65 (.67)	4.71 (.68)	4.76 (.67)
Diplomat-cop	2.69 (.58)	2.70 (.51)	2.68 (.65)	2.68 (.60)	2.72 (.55)
Thief-taker	2.59 (.59)	2.79 (.58)	2.39 (.54)	2.53 (.60)	2.75 (.54)

APPENDIX G. MULTIPLE REGRESSION TABLES BY FORCE

POST-HOC ANALYSIS BY FORCE

Regressions To Time 2

Kent Police

Table G.1 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Identification for Police for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.28**	-.02	-.28	.05
B	-.20*	-.02	-.25	.05
C	-.14	-.01	-.07	.00
E	-.08	-.01	-.07	.00
F	-.17	-.00	-.01	.00
G	-.09	.01	.08	.00
H	-.18	-.01	-.08	.00
I	.02	-.00	-.03	.00
L	.00	.01	.08	.00
M	- 01	-.00	-.05	.00
N	- 05	-.01	-.10	.01
O	-.04	.01	.06	.00
Q1	.03	-.00	-.00	.00
Q2	-.01	-.00	-.00	.00
Q3	-.26*	-.03	-.29	.06
Q4	-.17	.00	.00	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001 R^2$ .24

Table G.2 Standard Multiple Regression of Qualities on Identification with the Police for Police for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Talk	-.10	-.18	-.06	.00
Persist	.23*	.07	.21	.04
Canteen	.11	.01	.02	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .06$

Table G.3 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Satisfaction with Experience in the Police for Police for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.10	.00	.17	.02
B	.14	.00	.16	.02
C	.04	.00	.06	.00
E	.06	.00	.09	.01
F	.04	.00	.05	.00
G	-.15*	-.00	-.24	.04
H	.00	.00	.01	.00
I	-.03	.00	.04	.00
L	-.01	-.00	-.01	.00
M	-.02	.00	.02	.00
N	-.06	-.00	-.06	.00
O	.01	.00	.02	.00
Q1	-.08	-.00	-.06	.00
Q2	.06	.00	.02	.00
Q3	-.00	.00	.06	.00
Q4	-.05	-.00	-.18	.02

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .11

Table G.4 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second order Factors on Attitudes towards Training for Police for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	-.00	-.09	-.05	.00
Initiative	.03	.21	.09	.01
Creativity	.06	-.25	-.13	.01
Stability	.15*	.59	.32	.05
Introversion	-.03	-.09	-.05	.00
Leadership	-.13	-.49	-.28	.03

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .08$

Metropolitan Police

Table G.5 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions of Policing on Embarrassment for the metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	-.12	-.44	-.11	.01
Self-benefits	.19*	.19	.20	.04
Independence	-.08	-.21	-.11	.01
Interest	.01	.14	.04	.00

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .06

Table G.6 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Identification with the Police for the metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.01	-.01	-.11	.01
B	.08	.01	.11	.01
C	.04	.00	.05	.00
E	-.02	.00	.01	.00
F	.17	.01	.15	.02
G	.04	.00	.00	.00
H	-.00	-.00	-.02	.00
I	-.22*	-.03	-.25	.05
L	.07	.01	.10	.01
M	-.06	-.01	-.14	.01
N	.03	.01	.05	.00
O	-.07	-.01	-.06	.00
Q1	-.19	-.01	-.12	.01
Q2	-.09	-.00	-.04	.00
Q3	.00	.00	.04	.00
Q4	.00	.00	.05	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .14$

Table G.7 Standard Multiple Regression of Attractions on Attitudes to Training for the metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Service	.01	.30	.02	.00
Self-benefits	.11	.62	.14	.02
Independence	-.17	-1.67	-.20	.04
Interest	.02	.80	.05	.00

R^2 .05

Table G.8 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Attitudes towards Training for the metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.24*	-.36	-.16	.00
Sex	.11	.84	.13	.02
college education	-.12	-1.05	-.16	.02
university education	-.01	-.76	-.11	.01
GCSE	-.06	.04	.04	.00
Children	.26*	1.64	.25	.04
Married	.02	-1.25	-.23	.04
Alevel	-.10	-.04	-.01	.00
Age	-.29	-173.10	-.44	.03

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .18

To Time 3

Kent Police

Table G.9 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Thief-taker Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	.03	.12	.03	.00
Authority	.24*	.50	.19	.04
Discretion	.04	.59	.05	.00

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .04

Table G.10 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	-.19	-1.63	-.24	.01
Sex	.08	2.07	.12	.01
college education	.08	2.69	.16	.02
university education	.20	3.18	.12	.01
GCSE	.08***	-1.03	-.37	.08
Children	-.08	-.99	-.06	.00
Married	-.04	2.83	.18	.02
Alevel	.30**	3.38	.31	.06
Age	.08	111.44	.11	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

R^2 .22

Table G.11 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Service-provider Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	-.01	.15	.02	.00
Sex	-.03	-.72	-.04	.00
college education	-.09	-2.07	-.12	.01
university education	-.00	-2.72	-.10	.01
GCSE	.20*	.84	.31	.06
Children	-.06	-2.10	-.12	.01
Married	.02	.64	.04	.00
Alevel	.07	.21	.02	.00
Age	.01	-195.48	-.20	.00

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .08

Table G.12 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary factors on Service-provider Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.04	.35	.10	.01
B	-.01	.18	.04	.00
C	.06	.47	.12	.01
E	-.09	-.76	-.14	.02
F	-.05	-.60	-.15	.02
G	-.05	.01	.00	.00
H	-.19*	-1.04	-.26	.05
I	.08	.26	.06	.00
L	.06	.16	.04	.00
M	-.00	.05	.01	.00
N	.11	.85	.18	.03
O	-.00	.40	.08	.01
Q1	.01	-.17	-.04	.00
Q2	-.02	.33	.08	.00
Q3	.09	.74	.14	.02
Q4	.07	.26	.06	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .13$

Table G.13 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic variables on Hired-officer Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	-.01	-.07	-.01	.00
Sex	.04	.74	.04	.00
college education	-.04	-1.28	-.06	.00
university education	-.06	-2.15	-.07	.00
GCSE	.07	.61	.19	.02
Children	-.19*	-6.30	-.31	.05
Married	-.02	1.07	.06	.00
Alevel	-.05	-1.32	-.10	.01
Age	.04	-265.73	-.23	.01

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .08$

Table G.14 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.10	.12	.02	.00
Sex	.04	1.89	.13	.02
college education	-.04	.34	.02	.00
university education	.17	2.73	.12	.01
GCSE	-.18*	-.61	-.26	.04
Children	.11	.27	.02	.00
Married	.06	.29	.02	.00
Alevel	.17	2.18	.24	.03
Age	-.18	-53.42	-.07	.00

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .13

Table G.15 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for Kent police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	-.16	-.49	-.16	.02
B	-.15	-.64	-.18	.03
C	-.25	-.67	-.21	.03
E	-.22**	-1.29	-.29	.07
F	-.02	.04	.01	.00
G	-.01	.13	.04	.00
H	-.05	.27	.08	.00
I	.02	.03	.01	.01
L	.07	.43	.12	.01
M	-.07	-.10	-.02	.00
N	.08	.44	.11	.01
O	.03	.43	.10	.01
Q1	.15	.42	.11	.01
Q2	.04	.19	.05	.04
Q3	-.02	-.35	-.08	.01
Q4	-.10	.32	.09	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

$R^2 = .20$

Metropolitan Police

Table G.16 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Thief-taker Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	.26*	.81	.22	.05
Authority	-.11	-.20	-.08	.01
Discretion	.05	-.42	-.04	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 - .05$

Table G.17 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Thief-taker Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.12	.03	.00	.92
Sex	.23**	4.75	.27	.07
college education	-.03	-1.14	-.06	.00
university education	-.03	-2.12	-.11	.01
GCSE	-.01	-.11	-.05	.00
Children	.22	4.39	.24	.04
Married	.15	1.38	.09	.00
Alevel	.08	2.05	.21	.02
Age	-.13	26.83	.02	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

R^2 .14

Table G.18 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	.13	.68	.17	.03
Authority	-.03	-.05	-.02	.00
Discretion	-.18*	-2.51	-.21	.04

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

Table G.19 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.03	.15	.02	.00
Sex	.06	2.78	.15	.02
college education	-.10	-.47	-.02	.00
university education	.07	3.49	.17	.01
GCSE	-.16	-.62	-.25	.04
Children	.20*	5.64	.29	.05
Married	.01	-1.87	-.11	.01
Alevel	-.07	-.40	-.04	.00
Age	-.03	208.84	.18	.00

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .11

Table G.20 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.04	.59	.14	.01
B	.12	.80	.16	.02
C	-.08	.13	.03	.00
E	.22*	1.47	.25	.06
F	-.04	.17	.04	.00
G	-.13	-.66	-.13	.01
H	-.18*	-1.28	-.30	.05
I	.05	.27	.05	.00
L	-.12	-.35	-.06	.00
M	-.09	-.22	-.05	.00
N	.02	.11	.02	.00
O	.01	-.29	-.06	.00
Q1	-.01	.25	.05	.00
Q2	.03	-.02	-.01	.00
Q3	.13	.78	.14	.01
Q4	.01	.20	.05	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .18$

Table G.21 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Second Order Factors on Service-provider Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Anxiety	.02	1.8	.32	.03
Initiative	.05	1.37	.17	.02
Creativity	-.06*	-2.05	-.30	.04
Stability	-.01	.06	.01	.00
Introversion	-.09	-1.25	-.22	.03
Leadership	-.09	-1.76	-.26	.03

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .08

Table G.22 Standard Multiple Regression of Demographic Variables on Hired-officer Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Employment	.14*	4.39	.61	.04
Sex	.02	.42	.02	.00
college education	-.19	-3.93	-.20	.03
university education	.04	3.59	.17	.01
GCSE	-.07	-.01	-.00	.00
Children	.12	.68	.03	.00
Married	.12	1.52	.09	.00
Alevel	.02	1.71	.16	.01
Age	-.07	464.66	.38	.02

* $p < 0.05$

R^2 .12

Table G.23 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Hired-officer Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.11	.79	.18	.02
B	.16	.95	.19	.03
C	-.12	-.22	-.05	.00
E	.10	.70	.12	.01
F	.08	.31	.08	.01
G	-.09	.06	.01	.00
H	-.01	-.71	-.16	.02
I	.05	.56	.10	.01
L	-.17	-.90	-.16	.02
M	-.12	-.16	-.03	.00
N	-.07	-.51	-.10	.01
O	-.18**	-1.57	-.29	.06
Q1	-.06	.20	.04	.00
Q2	-.05	-.09	-.02	.00
Q3	-.04	-.22	-.04	.00
Q4	-.07	-.15	-.04	.00

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

$R^2 = .20$

Table G.24 Standard Multiple Regression of Attitudes at Time 1 on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
Commitment	.21*	.90	.22	.05
Authority	-.06	-.20	-.07	.01
Discretion	.03	.16	.01	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 = .05$

Table G.25 Standard Multiple Regression of 16PF Primary Factors on Diplomat-cop Policing Style for the Metropolitan police

	Correlation	B	Beta	sr^2
A	.17	.60	.14	.01
B	.05	.63	.12	.01
C	.02	.38	.09	.00
E	-.23	-.71	-.12	.01
F	-.01	.03	.01	.00
G	.21*	.88	.17	.02
H	-.17*	-1.26	-.28	.05
I	-.09	.14	.03	.00
L	.12	.65	.11	.01
M	.04	-.08	-.02	.00
N	.12	.54	.11	.01
O	.12	.16	.03	.00
Q1	-.12	-.03	-.01	.00
Q2	-.14	-.67	-.14	.01
Q3	.13	.77	.14	.01
Q4	.01	-.02	-.01	.00

* $p < 0.05$

$R^2 - .20$