Social Identity Patterns in the Police:
Attitudinal and Performance Implications

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Abstract

The present research examined the social identity pattern of a sample of urban police officers by making a direct assessment of the officers' relative degree of alienation from other police officers, police managers, and several community groups. Results from two questionnaires showed that police peers were a clearly defined ingroup, and that social nearness to community groups was determined both on the basis of race and social class. In spite of significant between group differences, those officers closest to their peers were also socially nearest to the community groups. This finding, in conjunction with unremarkable levels of authoritarianism and stress in the sample, tend to refute the ethnocentric and stressed stereotype of police officers. The second questionnaire also elicited attitudes and behavioral intentions in response to police situation vignettes. Results showed the officers were most satisfied, and perceived most support from the public, when acting in a crime fighting capacity.

Résumé

Le projet de recherche décrit aux présentes a examiné la définition de l'identité sociale d'un groupe d'agents de police urbains en évaluant directement le degré d'aliénation ressenti par les agents par rapport aux autres agents de police, aux cadres au sein du corps policier, et aux membres de plusieurs groupes communautaires. Les résultats de deux questionnaires indiquent que les agents considèrent appartenir à un groupe clairement défini composé de leurs pairs, et que le rapprochement social aux groupes communautaires est déterminé à la fois par la race et la classe sociale. Bien qu'il y ait des différences significatives entre les groupes, les agents les plus proches de leurs pairs étaient également ceux les plus rapprochés socialement des groupes communautaires. Ces résultats, considérés avec le fait que les niveaux d'autoritarisme et de stress n'étaient pas élevés au sein du groupe, vont à l'encontre du stéréotype d'un agent de police ethnocentrique et stressé. Dans le deuxième questionnaire se trouvaient des vignettes décrivant des situations dans lesquelles les agents pouvaient se retrouver dans le cadre de leur travail en tant que policier. Les résultats indiquent que les agents ressentent le plus de satisfaction et perçoivent qu'ils ont le plus d'appui du public, lorsqu'ils combattent le crime.

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Chapter 1

Alienation and Social Identity Patterns in the Police

Present day democratic societies place unique and challenging demands upon their police forces. The degree of power which society bestows upon the police provides the individual officer with an unequalled degree of authority over members of that society. Consequently, the police find themselves on the boundary between communal lawfulness and anarchy, having the singular right to arrest and at least initially take away the freedom of citizens.

The nature of public contact that accompanies the police mandate necessitates that a substantial proportion of police-citizen encounters be negative and confrontational in nature. Understandably, repeated contact with criminals is often unpleasant and potentially dangerous, with the criminal element usually being uncooperative and disrespectful of the police. However, only a small proportion of a police officer's time is actually spent in a crime fighting capacity (Hunt, McCadden, & Mordaunt, 1983), and most negative contact is with members of the wider public who view themselves as upstanding citizens. Take, for example, the hostility generated by the issuance of a traffic ticket to an indignant and otherwise law abiding citizen (see Cox & White, 1988; Skolnick, 1966). This is but one example of the many policing job requirements that tend to isolate the police officer from the broader society, potentially leading to depersonalization, emotional dissonance, and burnout on the part of the officer (see Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Violanti, Marshall, & Howe, 1985).

The typical patrol officer is often forced to cope with situations in which "he sees the worst types of people and he sees the best people at their worst" (Ward, 1979, p.17). Importantly, contact with members of the public usually takes place in an environment where the police officer perceives he or she exercises relatively little control. This feature of police work is markedly different from the experience of other professionals such as

psychologists, lawyers, physicians, and school teachers who meet their clientele in their own office, place of work, or classroom. In contrast, the police officer has to interact with "clients" on their own "turf" in action situations most often initiated by those same clients, who usually are violating legal statutes. Given this state of affairs, it might be expected that the typical patrol officer's approach to public interaction would be characterized by feelings of insecurity and a profound sense of societal alienation. It might also be expected that this alienation triggers various coping responses, one of which might be an increasing sense of ingroup identification.

In view of the chronic negative interpersonal contact endured by most police officers, it is not surprising that alienation in the police has been a central theme in both the police literature and police folklore. A number of researchers in the field have assumed that societal alienation is a pervasive reality for most police officers (e.g., Shernock, 1988; Wagoner, 1976). Coexisting with the sense of alienation from the broader society is the legendary camaraderie and solidarity shared amongst police officers. While some have argued that societal alienation is the most fundamental and pervasive feature of the police subculture, others have held that police solidarity is the "pivotal" characteristic of the police society (Alpert & Dunham,1988, cited in Shernock, 1988, p.182). Although this solidarity may be a response to societal isolation (e.g., Reiner, 1985; Shernock, 1988), it may also be the source of intergroup conflict between the police and the groups they police (see Dion, 1979). Phrased slightly differently, the question to be asked is whether police ingroup solidarity and cohesiveness underscore conflictual police-community relations, or if police solidarity arises from this intergroup conflict? This question may be moot, considering that alienation and solidarity may be "flip" sides of the same coin. Ingroup cohesiveness results from the alienation and conflict, and heightened feelings of group uniqueness exacerbate feelings of alienation in the cognitive differentiation of outgroups. In short, these two concepts may feed upon themselves resulting in what has been

traditionally regarded as a dysfunctional cycle (see Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Whetherell, 1987).

The program of research described in the present thesis was designed to investigate the concepts of societal alienation and peer solidarity in the police, and the relationship between the two. Although alienation (or social isolation) is often referred to in the police literature, there have been few empirical studies investigating the implications of societal alienation for the day to day activities of the average police officer. Additionally, the literature which does exist has failed to clearly operationalize the construct in terms directly pertinent to the police experience. More particularly, there remains a need to further clarify the concept for a least three important reasons. First, the literature to date is theoretically weak in that the concept of alienation has been only vaguely described and globally operationalized. Typically, research on police alienation alludes to global societal alienation (e.g., Skolnick, 1966), and does not allow for differentiation between specific community and societal subgroups as distinct components of diverse urban communities. Second, alienation has most often been described as a personality trait rather than as a social process precipitated by the police function. Finally, in spite of suggestions of an interdependence between police alienation and peer solidarity, research to date has failed to examine the relationship between these concepts.

The research described in this thesis addresses these issues by more directly examining the social identity patterns of the police. In order to map out these social identity patterns, a sample of officers was asked to report its perceptions of the relative social nearness between the police as a group and several clearly defined community and societal groups (e.g., poor whites, middle class blacks). As a measure of ingroup solidarity, officers were also asked to report how socially near they were to their fellow officers. These measures were utilized to determine which segments of the community serve as ingroups for police officers (high identification) and which are outgroups (low identification). It was expected that the ingroup with the highest degree of identification

would be other police officers. The varying degrees of identification and contraidentification with police peers on the one hand, and specific community groups on the other, formed the basis for the definition of the social identity pattern of the sample of police officers.

Having established the social identity pattern of the officers, the relationship between various levels of ingroup and outgroup identification was explored. Of particular interest, was whether increases in ingroup identification were accompanied by increases or by decreases in the level of outgroup identification. More specifically, a negative relationship between the degree of police ingroup solidarity and the degree of outgroup identification would support the traditional ethnocentric view of the police. This finding would suggest the presence of negative attitudes toward segments of the community and would solidify the belief that police solidarity is a socially alienating phenonomen. Alternatively, more recent evidence in the area of ethnic group research suggests that increases in ingroup identification may be accompanied by increasing identification with outgroups (see Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977). This possible outcome would suggest the presence of a form of social diversity in the social identity pattern of police officers, and would support the notion that high police ingroup identification is accompanied by positive relations with community subgroups (see Figure 1).

Although the establishment of a global police social identity pattern was at the core of the present research, the relationship between certain identity patterns and several other variables frequently studied in the police research was also explored. The constructs of interest included authoritarianism, occupational stress, job satisfaction, and education. Of interest is whether these variables, often referred to in discussions of police alienation and identity, mediate or are associated with the pattern of ingroup and outgroup identification.

Before turning to a description of the research program, the constructs central to the present thesis need to be discussed in further detail. Thus, the introduction begins with an examination of the historical development of the concept of alienation, with an emphasis on

Ethnocentrism Hypothesis

High Ingroup Identification ---------->Negative Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Outgroup

(Police Solidarity) (Negative Community Relations)

Social Diversity Hypothesis

High Ingroup Identification ---------->Tolerance and Openness Towards Outgroup

(Police Solidarity) (Positive Community Relations)

Figure 1- Opposing views of the police solidarity phenonomen

the measurement of alienation in the police. Second, the concept of social identity as it applies to the police, will be discussed, particularly as it relates to potential ingroup-outgroup identification patterns. Third, the possible relationships between ingroups and outgroups will be explored in terms of support for the ethnocentrism hypothesis versus support for the social diversity hypothesis. Finally, the constructs of authoritarianism, occupational stress, job satisfaction, and education will be reviewed, with a view to their relationship with the social identity pattern of police officers.

The Concept of Alienation

Alienation as a concept has been defined by Faunce (1970) as a "lack of identification with or commitment to, shared goals and beliefs" (cited in Wagoner, 1976, p.390). Undoubtedly, being alienated is an extremely undesirable state for anyone to find themselves in. It implies a sense of normlessness and an absence of shared social identity. Alienation has played an important role in the development of sociological thought, having been fundamental to the writings of philosophers such as Marx (e.g., Marx, 1973) and Durkheim (1966). In spite of relatively unidimensional approaches to the study of alienation, there is increasing recognition that alienation is a complex and multidimensional concept (Mottaz, 1983). For example, as far back as 1959 Seeman proposed that different types of alienation include normlessness, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Others (Neal & Rettig, 1967), in commenting on the separability of the alienation components have concluded that alienation can be thought of as "a single domain (dimension) as well as a multidimensional domain" (p.60). In spite of the apparent complexity of the alienation construct, there remains a dearth of literature which considers alienation from a multidimensional perspective.

Throughout the police literature, the concepts of alienation and social isolation are used somewhat interchangeably. Although these concepts undoubtedly overlap, the

present research proposes a distinction between the terms. In this thesis, alienation is conceived of in Faunce's terms as a lack of identification and commitment to certain others accompanied by an absence of a shared belief system. As such, the concept of alienation represents a perceptual state of mind. On the other hand, social isolation is meant to portray a more concrete and tangible state of affairs arising from actual physical or psychological separation from others. Consequently, social isolation is viewed as one precipitating factor in the development of perceived alienation (see Seeman, 1959). Although the present research project remains cognizant of the role of social isolation in the development of police alienation, the primary theme throughout this thesis focuses more globally on the alienation concept. Hence, with the exception of instances where researchers have specifically referred to social isolation, the following discussion will refer to alienation as the construct of interest rather than social isolation.

In terms of the police, Skolnick (1966) played a significant historical role in outlining the significance of social isolation for the "working personality" of the police officer. Shortly thereafter, Niederhoffer (1967) published his seminal work which in part examined the function of work alienation in the police. Niederhoffer delineated the concept in terms of the "anomic police personality" and viewed alienation "as the theoretical link between police cynicism and anomia" (Regoli, Poole, & Hewitt, 1979, p.336). Subsequent to Niederhoffer's original work, considerable attention in the police literature has been paid to the cynicism construct and the sociological concept of anomie. As might be expected, there has also been substantial overlap in the literature between the cynicism and anomie constructs and the police alienation construct. Hence, a brief discussion clarifying these two additional constructs is in order.

Given the nature of the chronic negative and conflictual human contact that police officers are exposed to, it is not surprising that officers may grow increasingly cynical over time. Niederhoffer viewed cynicism as an adaptive response to the realities of police work, and as a psychological tool which could be used as a tool for offense or defense of the

ideology of the police subculture. The consequence of cynicism for the police officers is that "they lose faith in people, society, and eventually in themselves" (Niederhoffer, 1967, p.9). Niederhoffer contended that the steps preceding cynicism in the police are professionalization or commitment, failure and/or frustration, and disenchantment. Alienation may be a consequence of cynicism, and the syndrome may proceed to the last step in which the anomic police personality is the result. Borrowing from the sociological literature, anomie is "characterized by the absence of standards, by apathy, confusion, frustration, alienation, and despair" (Niederhoffer, 1967, p.95). Niederhoffer further writes that "the elements of this syndrome are loss of faith in people, of enthusiasm for the high ideals of police work, and of pride and integrity" (p.96).

Since the 1960s, much has been made of the relative alienation of the police from society and the legendary ingroup solidarity which seems to accompany this phenomenon (e.g., Reiner, 1985; Shernock, 1988). As suggested, the previously described constructs have continued to be used interchangeably or as a group of characteristics which cluster together. As an early example, Lefkowitz (1975) described police alienation as being central to the self identity of police officers, and used the descriptors of "isolation and secrecy; defensiveness and suspiciousness; and cynicism" to describe an interrelated group of personality characteristics found in the police (cited in Gudjonsson & Adlam, 1983, p.507).

To date, most research on police alienation has largely focused on unidimensional approaches to the concept, focusing on constructs such as anomie, cynicism, or job satisfaction (Mottaz, 1983). For example, Niederhoffer's cynicism scale has been widely used since first being introduced in 1967 (see Anson, Mann, & Sherman, 1986). As previously outlined, the use of this scale presupposes that police cynicism gives rise to the perception of work alienation. These are viewed as progressive steps toward the "anomic police personality."

In line with this conception, research to date has tended to view alienation as an acquired personality trait rather than as a consequence of a specific but diverse occupational reality. This occupational reality is characterized by a complex set of social relationships with different subsets of the community at large. Increasingly, it has come to be recognized that police alienation occurs through a socialization process and can for the most part be explained in terms of an adaptive response to the changing occupational demands of police work (see Shernock, 1988). Growing out of the early conceptualizations of Niederhoffer and Skolnick, this occupation specific view of alienation proposes that the police alienate themselves from segments of the community as part of a coping response to continuous negative contact, which may lead to an emotional detachment over time on the part of police officers (Teahan, 1975). A sense of alienation and defensiveness is likely exacerbated by the many media reports concerning police-community difficulties (e.g., Appleby, Cernetig, & York, 1990; Picard, 1989), which many officers perceive as being biased and hypercritical of the police (e.g., Shernock, 1988). In fact, a perception by police officers of oppression from the public at large has led to the characterization of the police as the "Blue Race" (Kroes, Margolis, & Hurrell, 1974, p.154). Thus, some have come to recognize the police as constituting a specific minority group (see Dharmangadan, 1988).

In characterizing the solidarity phenonomen, Skolnick (1966) has commented that "the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu" (p.52). Much recent media attention has focused on police intragroup cohesion and the unwritten set of intragroup behavior rules known as the "Blue Code" (Lacayo, 1991). These rules require a fierce loyalty of individual officers towards their colleagues, which has been evidenced in situations where officers have supported their peers even in cases where poor judgement had obviously been exercised. Clearly then, there is a need to consider police solidarity as an important factor in any discussion of police alienation.

As suggested, much of the existing literature regarding alienation and the police personality has been sidetracked from focusing specifically on unique characteristics of the police officers' working conditions. Instead, the focus has relied upon more general assessments of personality, employing such instruments as the MMPI and the California Psychological Inventory (Hiatt & Hargrave, 1988; Poland, 1978). While these investigations have shown the police to be relatively free of psychopathology (Beutler, Nussbaumbut, & Meredith, 1988), they have done little to elucidate upon the nature of police alienation. When the concept of alienation is discussed, it is usually poorly defined and anecdotally described leaving the reader with his or her own stereotype as to what police alienation actually means. These anecdotal reports discuss alienation in very general terms and seldom differentiate between different levels and/or dimensions of the concept. In spite of this ambiguity, it seems clear that most early accounts of alienation referred to the distance between the police and the public (e.g., Skolnick, 1966). More recently, there has been an increased recognition that the police can also be alienated from groups more specific than the general public, most notably police administrators (see Shernock, 1988).

In spite of these shortcomings, there does presently exist a body of literature which has empirically examined the nature of police alienation (e.g., Berg, True, & Gertz, 1984; Mottaz, 1983; Regoli et al., 1979; Wagoner, 1976). For example, Mottaz (1983) found that the police scored significantly higher on his measure of alienation than a comparison group of professionals, but lower than a subsample of blue collar workers. These results are rather surprising, and suggest that police officers are not as alienated as might be expected, assuming construct validity in the instrument utilized. In another study, Regoli and his colleagues (1979) concluded that the concepts of alienation and cynicism in the police are empirically related. Wagoner (1976), in a study of police alienation, concluded that the degree of officer specialization was inversely related to degree of alienation.

However, even in these more data based studies, there remains a marked tendency to fail to recognize the multidimensionality and complexity of the measured construct.

Additionally, the scales utilized have in large not been sensitive to the specific realities of policing. For example, Mottaz (1983) used a seven item unidimensional "self-estrangement" scale as his measure of alienation. He failed to measure police-community relations directly, despite recognizing the fundamental relationship between alienation and police-community relationships. Regoli and colleagues (1979) also did not consider the complex nature of alienation in the police. These researchers used a five item unidimensional measure of alienation as well as a modified version of Niederhoffer's cynicism scale in their study of police alienation. Finally, although Wagoner (1976) assessed alienation on separate dimensions of powerlessness and normlessness, he claimed that these were components of an essentially unidimensional concept.

In response to the recognition of the complexity of the police function, Regoli and his colleagues (Regoli, Crank, & Rivera, 1990), have recently developed a cynicism scale which is an alternative to Niederhoffer's original scale. Although not directly measuring work alienation per se, the study is noteworthy due to the theoretical and practical link between cynicism and alienation. These researchers recognized the need for a multidimensional approach to police cynicism. Their novel multidimensional scale emerged from a factor analysis of 16 items resulting in a four factor solution. The four defined dimensions included: 1) Decision Makers (problematic relations with police administrators), 2) Rules (ambiguity and confusion with departmental policies and enforcement of laws), 3) Legal System (frustration with the legal and court systems), and 4) Respect (lack of societal and community respect for police officers).

These researchers also examined the relationship between the four dimensions of cynicism and several outcome measures relevant to the police workplace. The cynicism scales failed to predict relations with police peers, but were significant predictors, in the negative direction, of relations with supervisors. Additionally, there was a weak negative relationship between the "Respect" dimension and relations with the public. Level of cynicism on the "Decision Makers" and "Rules" dimensions was negatively related to job

satisfaction. In terms of misdemeanor arrests and total arrests, there was a significant positive relationship with the "Decision Makers" dimension of cynicism and a significant negative relationship with the "Rules" dimension of cynicism.

A study which both directly assessed police alienation and in part addressed the multidimensionality issue was reported by Berg and his colleagues (Berg et al., 1984). Berg measured the perceived social nearness of the police to specific groups known to have problematic relations with the rank and file officer. More specifically, these groups included the community as a whole, the media, state attorneys, and police administrators. Data were collected in Miami shortly after the Liberty City riot of 1980. Consequently, the data may have been somewhat negatively biased against the report of normalized police-community relations. Interestingly, officers were asked to report their perception of community sentiment towards the police rather than police sentiment towards the community. The results of the Berg et al. study indicate increasing alienation on the part of police officers and "suggest that a key factor in creating this new breed of cynical and detached officer is police-community relations" (p.189). The results also suggest the presence of poor police-administrator and police-media relations. While this study was progressive, it was not comprehensive in that it did not consider any measure of police solidarity and did not assess social nearness to distinctly defined community groups. Additionally, the study failed to consider the implications of relative social distance between individual police officers and at least one other specific group simultaneously.

Consequently, there remains a need to examine police alienation with regard to the full complexity of police-community interaction. More specifically, a multidimensional approach to the study of police alienation allows for the consideration of differing degrees of social nearness between individual officers and a variety of salient and distinct community groups. In order to be comprehensive and incorporate the possible impact of police solidarity, a measure of social nearness between the police officer and his or her peers needs to also be included. This approach would be amenable to an examination of

the consequences of different combinations of social proximity to more than one group simultaneously. For example, an officer might identify highly with his or her peers but contraidentify with poor whites. Another officer may feel alienated from his or her peers, but identify highly with all members of the middle class. The question of interest is whether these distinct identity patterns are differentially associated with other constructs (e.g., stress, job satisfaction) and whether the patterns have an impact on behavioral intentions in the administration of the law.

In sum, the main thrust of the present research relies fundamentally upon the assessment of police officers' perception of alienation from well defined community and occupational subgroups that are meaningful to the officers. This strategy is based on the assumption that the attitudes and "working personality" of police officers are in large part determined by a sense of separateness and alienation from real categories of people in the community. Implicit in the strategy, is the assumption that police officers experience differing levels of alienation dependent upon the particular community or occupational group being judged. The resulting multidimensional alienation patterns are composed by varying degrees of identification and contraidentification with specific groups with whom the police have contact, and can be regarded as the social identity pattern of the individual officers.

Social Identity Patterns in the Police

The research described in this thesis seeks to study police alienation in a way that is firmly rooted in the reality of the police experience. The purpose of the collection of data was to establish an alienation pattern which describes the social identity of the sample of police officers. For the purpose of the present program of research, a social identity pattern refers to the differential pattern of social identification with specific ingroups (high identification or social nearness) and outgroups (low identification or social nearness). As

such, it is a multidimensional appraisal of the degree of social nearness of the police officer to several specific societal groups. To achieve this end, an empirically defined continuum was designed assessing social nearness at one pole and alienation at the other.

Knowledge regarding the nature and composition of these patterns is important in at least two regards. First, the social identity pattern of a police officer has profound implications for the even handed enforcement of the law. Identification by the police officer with certain segments of the community implies the presence of mutual goals and a certain probability of a police officer working in concert with members of the "ingroup." Conversely, identification with members of outgroups is not seen as crucial to the sense of self, and therefore outgroup members may not command the same respect as do members of ingroups. This cognitive set may result in a deprecation of outgroup members, and may set the stage for discriminatory behavior.

Second, and closely related to the foregoing, is the potential impact of a given social identity pattern on the psychological well-being of police officers themselves. Knowledge regarding the nature and composition of a pattern of social identity is likely intricately interwoven with the officer's sense of self-esteem and his or her self-schema. In other words, knowledge regarding the social identification of individual police officers betrays rich information regarding the perception of self. To extend this to a more social level, the relative levels of alienation in the sample as a whole reflect the perceptions of a collective self.

For example, it seems likely that a police officer who identifies highly with both his or her colleagues and specific community groups would perceive a role congruent shared sense of purpose with his or her peers and the community being served. This type of identification may result in the development of a positive self-schema which may be associated with enhanced feelings of job satisfaction and decreasing levels of stress. Conversely, the perception of alienation from specific community groups is likely to result in a less positive self-schema due to the absence of a shared sense of purpose. In view of

the importance of police solidarity, an officer who is alienated from his or her peers may have the least valued sense of self.

The present research is primarily concerned with the establishment of a global social identity pattern in the police and with the implications of that global pattern. To a lesser extent, the research is also concerned with the comparison of subgroups of officers who show differing social identity patterns. To achieve these goals, the present methodology focused on a more direct and "upfront" measure of police identification with peers and specific community groups meaningful to the police (e.g., poor whites, middle class blacks). The officers were simply asked to what degree they respect, like, and feel close in attitudes and beliefs to each specific group. They were also asked to rate their perception as to what degree the groups respect, like and feel close to the police.

The simultaneous assessment of the perceived attitudes of the groups toward the police as well as the sentiment of the police towards the specific groups represents an innovative step, and extends beyond the approach of Berg and his colleagues (Berg et al., 1984). First, these "across perceiver" ratings have important implications in terms of the self-schema of the sample of officers. Almost certainly, one's self-schema is affected not only by attitudes held towards others, but also by one's perception of the attitudes that others hold towards the individual. Additionally, across perceiver ratings may represent a type of projection on the part of the police officer in which he or she is able to express his or her own feelings from a safer vantage point. Related to this is the possibility that the police employ rationalization as a coping or defense mechanism. It is likely that it is less cognitively dissonant for police officers to view the causes of societal alienation as resting with the community groups rather than with the police officers themselves. Data on this issue would be helpful in determining where the police attribute the source of police-community alienation and tension to lie, having obvious implications for policy implementation designed to reduce the alienation gap.

In the present research, minimal or no discrepancy between "self" and "other" as perceiver measures would suggest a shared sense of mutual identification and values. This sense of belonging and shared interest is likely to result in a positive view of self, or in other words a positive self-schema. However, increasing discrepancy between these measures in either direction suggests a lack of shared purpose which may have a detrimental impact on self-schema.

In review, the present research seeks to establish the social identity pattern of a sample of police officers. This glimpse into the self-schema of the sample of officers assisted in the establishment of police ingroups (high identification) and outgroups (low identification). As will be discussed in a subsequent section of this thesis, the relationship between ingroup identification and outgroup contraidentification was explored in depth. Additionally, the relationship between the identity patterns and other variables frequently measured in the police literature (e.g., authoritarianism, occupational stress) was examined.

Establishing Ingroups and Outgroups

In terms of social identity patterns in the police, it is of great interest which groups, if any, are ingroups, and which groups are perceived as outgroups. Clearly, the empirical investigation of social nearness of the police to specific groups is not entered upon in complete naivete. For example, past research on police solidarity indicates that the police identify highly with those in their peer group (see Shernock, 1988; Skolnick, 1966). However, what is not clear is just how high this identification is relative to other community subgroups. Conversely, it would be expected that the police officers would contraidentify with their bosses. Difficulties between front line officers and police management and management policy have been well documented (see Loo, 1984). A perceived lack of understanding by management may well lead to a view that police

managers contribute negatively to the ease of the day to day functioning of the average police officer.

Research into the phenonomen of ethnocentrism suggests that ingroup-outgroup distinctions exist both on the basis of broad inclusion criteria and more exclusive inclusion criteria (Forbes, 1985). This process provides the individual with different layers of self-identity, with the ethnocentrist preferring to identify with the most narrowly defined description of self. For example, the different bands of self-identity for a university professor may include belonging to the group of middle class whites (wide band), university professors (narrow band), or members of the Department of Psychology (narrowest band). This distinction is pertinent to the present discussion. The groups of individuals known as "police officers" and "police managers" are both relatively narrowly defined, and will subsequently be referred to as "narrow band" groups. Conversely, community groups, such as poor whites, are more broadly defined and will be referred to as "wide band" groups.

It is of particular interest which community groups police officers see as similar to them, and which groups they perceive as being different. To achieve this end, it was essential that officers understand clearly the differences between the reference groups. To avoid ambiguity and remain cognizant of distinctions made by front line police officers, community groups were described in terms of clearly distinct social class and race. The groups of primary interest in the present thesis were "poor blacks," "poor whites," "middle class blacks," and "middle class whites."

Since most police officers are white males, it is likely that they identify with the white community. What is less clear is whether police officers feel closer to the ranks of the poor class than to the middle class. The police officer has traditionally come from the ranks of the working class which may be imperfectly equated with the "poor" classification. As most police officers are white, a possible affinity between police officers and poor whites is suggested. However, increasing professionalization in recent years

along with better educated and better paid officers (Arcuri, 1976; Hunt et al., 1983), may well lead the typical officer to identify more with middle class whites. Consequently, it was hypothesized that middle class whites are a wide band ingroup while poor whites are an outgroup.

Of all the possible outgroups, it is the relationship that the police have with members of visible minority groups that presently holds the attention of the media (e.g., Appleby et al., 1990; Picard, 1989). In terms of the present studies, the selection of a community ethnic group having greatest salience for the specific police force surveyed was of paramount importance. Consequently, while nearness to several specific ethnic groups could have been queried (e.g., Native Indians), the experience in the city of interest suggests that police relations with the black community are of greatest interest.

In view of the hypothesized poor relations between the police and black community in the city of interest, traditional relations between blacks and police forces in some western democracies need to be discussed in some depth. The relationship between white middle class police officers and disadvantaged blacks has frequently come under scrutiny in both North America and Great Britain. If tension between groups is a measure of ingroup and outgroup division, it would not be surprising that blacks are fixed solidly as a police outgroup. The police frequently come into confrontational conflict with blacks who are vastly overrepresented in the arrest statistics. For example, in 1982 blacks represented only 5-6 % of the population in London, but accounted for 17 % of all people arrested (Smith, 1983). In the same year, blacks in the United States were arrested at a ratio of two to one over the general population, and were overrepresented in the prison population at a rate of four to one (Jones, 1986). Between 1986 and 1988 in the city where the present research was conducted, blacks were overrepresented in criminal arrests at a ratio of about three to one for offenses of fraud and break and enter, and at a rate of four to one for assaults (Don Clairmont, personal communication, Jan 4, 1990). Adding to this already conflictual

contact, is the fact that black youths are often hostile and disrespectful of the police (Boggs & Gallier, 1975; Jefferson, 1988; Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984).

This conflictual contact is likely to overshadow the more friendly reception that the majority of the black community would be predisposed to extend to the police. Instead, police officers may come to expect hostility in their relations with blacks, and become defensive and suspicious of all contact with members of that community. This defensiveness is likely to be perceived by black citizens, and serves to exacerbate the already poor relations the police have with the black community. Hence, the emergence of the mutual distrust and deteriorating relations that are often the central theme of so many media reports.

This inordinate degree of negative contact probably leaves the average officer in a quandary. It is proposed that at some level officers will seek to provide a rationale for the fate of various law breakers in the Criminal Justice System. One option is to recognize societal inequities as being at the base of criminal activity, especially for overrepresented groups such as blacks. However, this response would be cognitively dissonant in that the individual officer would be required to acknowledge that he or she is an agent of an oppressing societal hierarchy. This option obviously raises questions as to the role of police in society. As an expression of self-serving bias (see Mullen & Riordan, 1988) and the Fundamental Attribution error (see Ross, 1977), it is more role congruent for individual officers to blame the actors for their fate in the Criminal Justice System. Hence, confrontational or generally negative contact with minority group members can be explained on the basis of fundamental human differences between the police (good guys) and minority group offenders (bad guys). It seems likely, then, that social distancing by the police from certain outgroups represents a coping mechanism which provides a cushioned explanation for why the police have so much negative contact with those groups.

As already suggested, it seems reasonable to propose that the police make social nearness distinctions on the basis of social class as well as race. This point has already

been alluded to in the proposed differentiation between middle class and poor whites. In view of the present discussion, it is likely that poor blacks are an especially well defined police outgroup. However, it is unclear to what degree the police as a whole identify with middle class blacks. The question of interest is whether the police classify middle class blacks according to race (black outgroup) or social class (middle class ingroup) or some combination of the two. The clarification of this relationship and others involving the police is the fundamental goal of the present research and provides the basis for the present investigation.

In sum, data was collected in order to delineate the pattern of police ingroup and outgroup identification. The description of the social identity pattern of a sample of police officers across two levels of perceiver sets the stage for this examination. Of particular interest, is the relationship of identification ratings between the various police and community groups. In this regard, the question of overriding interest is whether increasing identification with an ingroup is accompanied by increasing or decreasing identification with outgroups. This possibility of covariance in the degree of identification or contraidentification between the various groups is raised in the following discussion of ethnocentrism and social diversity.

Ethnocentrism versus Social Diversity

When considering the continuous negative contact the police are subjected to, it would not be surprising if officers in large maintain an "us versus them" occupational philosophy. Additionally, in accordance with social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a need to make the ingroup separate and distinct likely contributes to a perception of "us versus them." Alienation and a perceived lack of support from the public provides the framework for strong ingroup identification and outgroup devaluation. This general ingroup-outgroup style is consistent with the solidarity-alienation phenonomen

which is generally considered to be dysfunctional. The consequences of societal alienation are viewed in terms of the potential negative impact of the alienated, out of touch, and uncommitted officer on the functioning of the broader society (Wagoner, 1976).

This view is intuitively compelling and can best be conceptualized in terms of ethnocentrism in the police. However, contrary to conventional wisdom, the present studies do not assume at the outset that the alienation-solidarity cycle is necessarily a negative phenonomen. Rather, a belief that the cycle is dysfunctional is only one viable point of view that needs to be tested. Indeed, there appear to be at least two hypotheses which have explanatory potential. These two views include the more traditional ethnocentrism hypothesis and the newly proposed social diversity hypothesis. These hypotheses will both be examined in some detail.

1. The Ethnocentrism Hypothesis

The combination of ingroup solidarity and outgroup alienation in the police suggests a particularly ethnocentric interpersonal style. The development of the ethnocentrism concept can be historically credited to Sumner's (1906) publication in which he posited that it was part of the human condition for groups to war against each other. This conflict is accompanied by loyalty for the ingroup and contempt and hatred for members of the outgroup (see Forbes, 1985).

Much of the theoretical underpinnings of ethnocentrism, as well as the development of an ethnocentrism "E" scale, can be credited to a 1950 publication by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford. In their milestone book, *The Authoritarian Personality,* these researchers (often referred to as the Berkeley Group) described ethnocentrism as follows: "Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped, negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding

ingroups, and a hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate" (p.150).

LeVine and Campbell (1972) have specified a number of attitudes and beliefs held by the ethnocentrist toward members of the ingroup and members of outgroups. For example, ingroup members are perceived as strong, superior, and virtuous while outgroup members are considered inferior, weak, immoral, and contemptible. The ethnocentrist obeys ingroup authorities and may be willing to fight and die for the ingroup. Especially salient to the present thesis, is that fact that members of ingroups maintain social distance between themselves and members of outgroups.

While the theory would seem to imply ingroup-outgroup distinctions on the basis of ethnicity, outgroups need not necessarily be specific ethnic groups. Rather, the ethnocentrist splits humankind into discrete groups with whom he or she does or does not identify (see Forbes, 1985). In other words, the ethnocentrist may include blacks, Jews, anti-abortionists, and lawyers as outgroups. Similarly, ingroups could include middle class whites, citizens of the island of Jamaica, or all physicians. As noted in the previous discussion of "wide band" and "narrow band" groups, the breadth of the ingroup and outgroup distinctions may widen or narrow, with the ethnocentrist preferring to identify where possible with the narrowest definition of an ingroup. For example, the police as a group may identify with middle class whites and contraidentify with poor whites, poor blacks, and even middle class blacks. However, the typical officer may narrow his or her focus and prefer to include other police officers as the only members of the ingroup. Outgroups may include police managers, liberal "do-gooders," or anyone who is not a police officer. In short, the ethnocentrist must always have an outgroup.

As previously suggested, there is empirical evidence of a link between ingroup identification and outgroup deprecation mediated by intergroup conflict or competition (Dion, 1979). The evidence is relatively clear in supporting the contention that intergroup conflict leads to ingroup solidarity. What is less clear is whether ingroup cohesiveness

leads to intergroup conflict. There is some evidence which suggests that while ingroup cohesiveness leads to enhanced ratings of solidarity, it doesn't do so at the expense of outgroup ratings (Dion, 1973; Lambert & Taylor, 1990). In other words, ingroup cohesion is not in itself sufficient to explain outgroup antagonism.

The characterological features of ethnocentrism, if present in the typical police officer, may represent a coping response initiated by a sense of exclusion and alienation from the broader society. As previously suggested, there can be little doubt that police officers see themselves as a select group with high ingroup solidarity. Similarly, there appears to be at least anecdotal support for the notion that the police view at least some groups of citizens as belonging to outgroups. Ethnocentrism theory holds that the officers who identify most strongly with their ingroup will be most alienated from outgroups including the community as a whole. Hence, support for the ethnocentrism hypothesis would be demonstrated if increases in police solidarity were accompanied by decreasing identification with outgroups.

2.Social Diversity Hypothesis

As an explanation of police ingroup-outgroup relations, the novel social diversity hypothesis relies on principles arising from multiculturalism theory (see Berry et al., 1977; Lambert, Mermigus, & Taylor, 1986) and social identity theory (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). First, the multiculturalism hypothesis is rooted as much in political ideology as it is in in scientific theory. It has major implications for the Canadian "cultural mosaic" philosophy where different ethnic groups are encouraged to maintain their unique cultural identities. The hypothesis proposes that "generous and appreciative feelings toward members of other ethnic groups are based, in part at least, on a sense of cultural well-being and security with one's cultural identity and background" (Lambert et al., 1986, p.35). Hence, the more secure and confident that individuals feel as

members of their particular ingroup, the more tolerant and accepting they will be of outgroups. In other words, the multiculturalist feels best about members of other groups when he or she is most secure with his or her own social identity.

In spite of the important ramifications of multiculturalism, relatively few studies have tested the hypothesis directly. A relatively recent exception was the 1986 previously cited study conducted by Lambert and his associates. These researchers found muted support for the hypothesis in an examination of Greek Canadian attitudes towards other Canadian ethnic groups. Results showed that those Greek Canadians who were most culturally and financially secure, attributed positive qualities to certain outgroups but were not willing to socially interact with members of those groups. Two earlier studies in the context of French-English Canadian relations also lent support to the multiculturalism hypothesis (Berry, 1984; Berry et al.,1977).

While encompassing a narrower scope in terms of social policy, the multiculturalism hypothesis has implications for police-community and police-management relations. In an extension of the hypothesis, it is proposed that comfort and security in one's role as a police officer should result in enhanced appreciation and tolerance of community or occupational (e.g., police managers) outgroups. This proposal is weakened somewhat by the recognition that high ingroup identification or strong police solidarity does not necessarily equate with ingroup security as outlined by Lambert and his colleagues. Nonetheless, the cited tendency for police officers to define their social identity in terms of their vocation, renders it likely that personal security is to some degree contingent upon the perception of solidarity with one's peers. In this light, the provisions of the multiculturalism hypothesis suggest that increases in the status of the police ingroup should result in a perception of higher worth of outgroup members. In terms of the multiculturalism hypothesis, police solidarity can be seen as a socially unifying rather than a divisive phenonomen.

The potential for this phenonomen to be curvilinear in nature should also be noted. Increases in nearness to the outgroups may rise with increasing nearness to police peers to a relatively high level, but begin to decrease at extreme levels of nearness to peers. In other words, although moderate to high levels of police solidarity may be accompanied by positive consequences in terms of the outgroups, extreme ingroup identification may be associated with the perception of alienation from the outgroups and possibly other negative consequences.

In spite of its relevance, multiculturalism theory is not in itself comprehensive enough to provide a complete explanation of police-community relations. Most importantly, the question of whether police officers can be tolerant and accepting of outgroups without actually identifying with them is not directly dealt with by multiculturalism theory. Nonetheless, it seems probable that the police can be receptive to outgroups while still seeing them as quite different from their own ingroup (police peers). Under these conditions, one would still expect increases in police solidarity to correlate positively with increases in outgroup appreciation and possibly even with outgroup identification. However, mean identification scores between the ingroup and outgroup may be dramatically different.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) may be able to shed some light on this additional proviso of multiculturalism theory. Social identity theory predicts that the police will strive to make their own group distinctive or separate from other groups in a bid to achieve a positive and distinct self identity. In developing this positive self identity, an attempt will be made to raise the status of the ingroup when making comparisons to outgroups. Because the social identity of the ingroup is dependent upon relative comparisons to outgroups, social identity theory allows for intergroup competitiveness and conflict. Disadvantaged groups (e.g., poor blacks) will attempt to increase their status through individual and collective action, while advantaged groups (e.g., middle class whites) will strive to maintain superiority. In terms of the police, the need for

distinctiveness implies that officers will be uncomfortable with, and most threatened by, groups they view as being quite similar to them. Consequently, the police may feel more comfortable with and tolerant of outgroups whom they view as being somewhat different from themselves. This appears to provide an additional rationale consistent with the multiculturalism hypothesis where identity ratings could be positively correlated while showing distinct differences in terms of mean ratings.

In borrowing from these two already researched theories, a framework can be laid for the introduction in this thesis of what will be termed the social diversity hypothesis. In terms of the social diversity hypothesis, it would be predicted that rather than increasing alienation, raises in the status of the police ingroup should result in enhanced appreciation of community and other outgroups. Consistent with multiculturalism, support for this new hypothesis would be demonstrated if increases in police solidarity were accompanied by increasing proximity to the various outgroups as measured by social nearness ratings. In terms of social identity theory, however, mean between group differences could coexist with significant positive correlations between the social distance variables. This follows naturally from the need of the police to keep the ingroup (other police officers) separate and distinct from various outgroups. Hence, the social diversity hypothesis predicts that high ingroup solidarity results in tolerance of outgroups while at the same time maintaining social distance between the officers and outgroups. There is already some empirical support for this type of relationship. Dion (1979) reviewed several studies showing positive correlations between ingroup and outgroup social proximity assessments and concluded that "most of the evidence suggests that the greater the esteem or acceptance of one's in-group, the greater the esteem or acceptance of the out-group" (p.220).

The ethnocentrism versus social diversity hypotheses have not been tested directly in the context of social groups such as the police. However, some circumstantial evidence has been gleaned through a recent study investigating police solidarity. Shernock (1988) examined the relationship between two measures of police solidarity and attitudes toward

the community. In spite of being mixed overall, the results tended to demonstrate an inverse relationship between levels of solidarity and community orientation. These findings tend to support the ethnocentrism hypothesis over that of social diversity. However, the results are far from convincing and have not been replicated. Consequently, a primary goal of the present study was to empirically and directly test these two competing hypotheses.

Variables Mediating or Associated with Social Identity

In terms of the implications of social identity patterns in the police, it was necessary to examine the relationship between those patterns and other variables which are associated with the police function. The primary question is whether differing levels of some of these more frequently measured variables in the police literature mediate or are associated with the degree of ingroup and outgroup identification. One of the topics examined in the present research context was authoritarianism, a construct receiving substantial attention in the police literature to date (see Hageman 1985 for a review). A variable generating even more empirical data in the police literature is occupational stress. Police work has long been recognized as being highly stressful by researcher and layperson alike. Consequently, while crucial to the examination of social identity patterns, absolute levels of authoritarianism and stress in the sample are also of interest independent of their more direct association with social identity patterns. The presence of above normative levels of these variables would support the notion that the police are a stressed and cognitively inflexible group and would indirectly lend support to the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Other variables previously found to be pertinent to the police function and which may be associated with social identity include job satisfaction and education.

In the present research, these variables were treated as independent variables, implying that variations in the social identity patterns of police officers are the consequence

of categorical inclusion into specific levels of the pertinent variables (e.g., high school education versus university education). For example, it was predicted that university educated officers are socially nearer to community outgroups than are their high school educated colleagues. Nonetheless, in examining the role of stress, it is also plausible that the nature of the social identity pattern is actually the mediating factor. For example, it seems likely that alienation as it relates to social identity would precipitate occupational stress in the causal chain. In the cases of authoritarianism and job satisfaction, the causal sequence is unclear. Hence, some care was taken to view these relationships as associational, with conclusions as to cause and effect remaining somewhat speculative. Following is a brief discussion of the present status of knowledge regarding each of these constructs.

1. Authoritarianism

Tied closely to the notion of ethnocentrism is the concept of authoritarianism. The development of this concept can also be largely attributed to the Berkeley Group, who developed the now famous "F" (fascism) scale (Adorno et al., 1950). In contrast to a democratic personality style, the authoritarian personality concept was explored in an attempt to understand the fascism, prejudice, and anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. In making the link between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, the Berkeley group asserted that ethnocentrism is essentially an expression, or result, of authoritarianism (see Forbes, 1985). Forbes (1985) also linked the concepts, but contended that authoritarianism is a response to ethnocentrism. Borrowing from Freud, authoritarianism has been conceived as a flaw of personality evolving from a weak ego. Ray (1976) defines the authoritarian as one who is aggressive, domineering, and destructive towards others.

Altemeyer (1981, 1988) has conducted exhaustive empirical research examining the construct of authoritarianism. While acknowledging the profound influence of the Adorno

group on the development of the concept of authoritarianism, he has written at length on the psychometric weaknesses of the "F" scale. Perhaps, the most important criticism is that the original "F" scale was composed entirely of items requiring responses in the protrait direction, leaving it vulnerable to a response set bias. Since then, the development of balanced measures designed to improve upon the initial "F" Scale has been characterized by methodological deficiencies and questionable construct validity. As a response to these psychometric weaknesses, Altemeyer (1981, 1988) has developed an internally consistent thirty item *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* (RWA) scale. As this scale was used in the present thesis as the best measure of authoritarianism presently available, Altemeyer's conception of right-wing authoritarianism will be discussed in more detail.

Altemeyer proposes that his scale is essentially a unidimensional measure of the covariation of three clusters of attitudinal characteristics. The first cluster has been termed *authoritarian submission*. The right-wing authoritarian is willing to accept and submit to the instructions and behavior of established and legitimate authority entities. This person is unwilling to challenge those authorities in any regard, and questions the legitimacy of others who do. Interestingly, it could be argued that this type of submission is a prerequisite to conducting the business of the police.

The second cluster has been labeled as *authoritarian aggression*. The right-wing authoritarian shows a general aggressiveness towards others in situations where he or she perceives this aggression to be condoned by established authorities. While the right-wing authoritarian may not act on his or her aggression, the predisposition to act aggressively remains intact especially when the authoritarian perceives sanctioning from authorities. Altemeyer (1988) points out that perceived "social deviants" such as homosexuals may be particularly vulnerable to this aggression.

Finally, the authoritarian is characterized by *conventionalism*. The right-wing authoritarian adheres rigidly to established norms and conventions, and is unwilling to adapt to changing customs or to accept unconventionality in an individual. In terms of the

police, McInnes (1962) has commented on a marked tendency for police officers to cling to the conventional (cited in Skolnick, 1966). If restated in terms of a social identity pattern, it seems probable that the right-wing authoritarian willingly acquiesces to superiors in his or her ingroup, is domineering and aggressive towards members of outgroups, and is cognitively rigid in adhering to established or conservative ideology.

While not necessarily conceived of in Altemeyer's terms, the possible presence of authoritarianism in samples of police officers has been investigated for three decades (Hageman, 1985). This empirical research has risen from a widely accepted assumption that police officers are, by in large, authoritarian individuals. In fact, Lefkowitz (1975) noted authoritarianism as being a feature of one of his two police personality clusters (cited in Gudjonsson & Adlam, 1983). The available research to date tends to support this assumption. However, some have argued that the police are not especially authoritarian. For example, Siiter and Ellison (1984) found their sample of police officers to be no more authoritarian than a sample of college students. One major problem contributing to the lack of consensus is that the construct measured often is better described as cynicism rather than authoritarianism (Hageman, 1985). Hence, there remains a need for further well controlled investigation with measures designed to capture a more specific and clearly defined construct.

It also appears that certain subsamples of police officers are less authoritarian than others. For example, Smith, Locke, & Walker (1967) found that university educated officers were less authoritarian than were their less educated counterparts. The link between authoritarianism and education, albeit somewhat tenuous and supported by weak correlations, has also been established with the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988).

What is less clear, is whether certain characterological attributes such as authoritarianism shared by police officers predate departmental hiring or result as a function of time spent on the force. In other words, is authoritarianism a predisposed personality

characteristic possessed by police applicants, or is it another example of officers coping with the realities of police work? Niederhoffer (1967) believed that authoritarianism developed over time spent on the police force. However, Colman and Gorman (1982) have argued that police forces draw particularly conservative and authoritarian applicants. They further suggest, however, that continuing police service may take a functional role in the maintenance of these characteristics. Several other studies have suggested that there is nothing particularly unique about the personality of the average police applicant (Poland, 1978). It seems likely, then, that the development of certain common characteristics such as cynicism and authoritarianism at least in part develop during the socialization process into the police system, and may in fact represent an adaptive response to the challenges of police work (Anson et al., 1986; Stotland & Pendleton, 1989).

As suggested, there is some reason to believe that police officers are a particularly authoritarian group (e.g., Colman & Gorman, 1982; Jefferson, 1988). In view of previous findings of the significant positive correlation between age and nonliberal attitudes (e.g., Maykovich, 1975), it seems likely that longer service officers are more authoritarian than shorter service officers. If this hypothesis was to find support, at least two explanations could be offered. Perhaps, the older officers were reared in a society that was much more conservative than the present one. This, however, would be unlikely as the vast majority of officers presently working are of "baby boom" age or younger. It seems more likely, then, that authoritarianism develops over time spent on the force (e.g., Stotland & Pendleton, 1989). This trend of increasing conservatism or cognitive rigidity over time may in fact represent a coping mechanism which the individual officer employs to deal with the ambiguities of police work and the chronic exposure to societal injustices. Additionally, the cited negative relationship between level of education and authoritarianism leads to the hypothesis that university educated officers will score lower on a measure of this trait than their high school educated counterparts (Smith et al., 1967).

In view of the preceding evidence, it is not unreasonable to propose that those officers whose social identity pattern renders them most alienated from the public they serve would also be the most authoritarian. This follows from the conceptual link between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. The ethnocentric individual is alienated from outgroup members and deprecates their worth while highly valuing members of the ingroup. The resulting "us" (police officers) versus "them" (community outgroups) cognitive set may become well entrenched and result in a tendency to dichotomize all aspects of the officer's world. This cognitive rigidity is an expression of authoritarianism where the officer may rationalize his or her indiscriminate enforcement of laws as an almost "divine" right sanctioned by the legal and criminal justice institutions. Hence, this unmitigated acquiescence to the legal system can be viewed as authoritarian submission, excessively punitive actions towards offenders as authoritarian aggression, and unwillingness to tolerate unconformity encountered in the line of duty as conventionalism. Consequently, citizens, mostly law breakers but also victims, are seen as deserving of whatever troubles they encounter. If present, this "right or wrong" ethnocentric and authoritarian rigid and moralistic viewpoint leaves no room for the consideration of mitigating circumstances or societal injustices. Hence, the development of authoritarianism could be seen as serving to maintain a sense of alienation between police officers and the public they serve.

The discussion thus far has all but assumed that the police are an especially authoritarian group. Indeed, the evidence on balance supports this assertion. However, the evidence is not conclusive; hence, there is a need to consider the origins of any possible null results. The ethnocentrism versus social diversity hypotheses are germane to this discussion. As already noted, the literature on ethnocentrism and authoritarianism has commented on the theoretical, and perhaps reciprocal link between the two concepts. Consequently, if the present sample of officers was found to be ethnocentric and adhering to an "us versus them" cognitive set, one would not be surprised to find them to be otherwise cognitively rigid and authoritarian. Hence, the presence of inordinately high

levels of authoritarianism in the sample would likely be accompanied by an ethnocentric interpersonal style, and therefore lend support to the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Conversely, it seems reasonable to argue that unremarkable levels of authoritarianism would tend to refute the ethnocentrism hypothesis. This later finding could generate several possible explanations, one of which would lend indirect support to the social diversity hypothesis.

2. Occupational Stress

Much has been written about the occupational stress faced by police officers (see Farmer, 1990, for a review of studies published in the 1980s). The traditional view has held that police work is particularly stressful due to the dangerous situations which are inherent in the profession, and that policing may be the most stressful of all occupations (Somodevilla, 1978). However, more recent empirical evidence suggests that several other occupations may be at least as stressful (Anson & Bloom, 1988; Malloy & Mays, 1984; Pendleton, Stotland, Spiers, & Kirsch, 1989; Terry, 1981). Additionally, it is now recognized that only a small proportion of the average officer's time is spent in a crime fighting capacity (Hunt et al., 1983), and that time spent in that sometimes dangerous role is in fact highly meaningful for most police officers (Jermier, Gaines, & McIntosh, 1989). Consequently, some have suggested that although the dangerous aspects of police work are undoubtedly stressful, they do not represent the primary sources of stress for the average street officer (Kaufman & Beehr, 1989).

Instead, it appears to be the more mundane issues such as police-community relations and a negative public image, police-management relations and administrative policies, non-support from the courts, and problems with equipment which form the base of major police stressors (e.g., Gaines & Jermier, 1983; Kroes et al., 1974). Kroes and his colleagues (1974) conclude that it seems that police officers cope relatively well with

second level stressors (e.g., life threatening and crisis situations, rigors of shift work, and boredom) if they are receiving support in coping with the primary stressors pertaining to their professional image.

This should not, however, serve to diminish the importance of police stress research. Policing is undoubtedly highly stressful, and stress is problematic whatever the source. The origins and consequences of occupational stress are important not only from the view of distressed police officers, but also have wide ranging implications for the public served by those police officers. First, the public as a whole is burdened with the bill for job absenteeism and the treatment of psychological and physical disorders thought to be initiated by police stress. More important to the public are the potential difficulties encountered when a distressed citizen requests assistance from the burned out police officer.

Attention to the problem of alienation and police stress is warranted particularly in view of the dysfunctional coping mechanisms used by police officers and the negative outcomes associated with this stress. These coping mechanisms may include alcohol abuse (Violanti et al., 1985; Machell, 1989) and nonmedical use of drugs (Dietrich & Smith, 1986). Negative outcomes include family and marital dysfunction (Loo, 1984; Maynard & Maynard, 1982), physical problems such as heart disease (Kreitner, Sova, Wood, Friedman, & Reif, 1985), and suicide (Violanti, Vena, & Marshall, 1986). Given the proposed significance of negative community contact on levels of police stress (e.g., Kroes et al.,1974), it seems likely that the community alienated officer is rendered more vulnerable to the rigors of police work than are his or her peers who are better integrated into the community.

Having underscored the importance of police-community and police-management relations on levels of perceived stress, it is not surprising that stress is a likely consequence of alienation from these groups. In terms of social identity, it is likely that the police are desirous to share a mutual sense of purpose with the community they serve. Those officers

at odds with the community, both in terms of general alienation and inflexible approaches to policing specific community groups, are liable to perceive most police-community contact as a source of tension. Similarly, those officers who contraidentify with their superiors are likely to perceive interaction with police managers as stressful and problematic. It was hypothesized, therefore, that those officers most alienated from the various outgroups experience the highest level of stress. However, it is likely that the level of perceived stress will be moderated or buffered to some extent by how highly the officer identifies with and is supported by his or her peer group.

Finally, in view of the potential for cumulative impact of alienation over time, it is not surprising that level of stress has been linked to length of service. Violanti (1983) reported that levels of stress in the police rose over the first five years of service, leveled off during the next five years, and then tended to decrease from the middle of the officer's career until retirement. Contradictorily, Burke & Deszca (1986), found that longer serving police officers were more burned out, drank more, smoked more, and exercised less than newer officers. It is possible that the lower levels of perceived stress in the older officers may reflect a reduction in their level of devotion to their jobs brought on by years of frustration and emotional hardening. Consequently, it was predicted in the present research that the longer serving officers experience lower levels of perceived stress than do the newer officers.

3. Job Satisfaction

The next correlate to be examined is that of job satisfaction. As indicated above, in recent years a police officer's time has been increasingly spent in public service duties rather than in a crime fighting capacity. In line with this emphasis, a 1976 study by Alan Arcuri found that over 50% of a sample of police officers cited that they achieved most satisfaction in their jobs from "helping people" (p. 441). While crime fighting can in fact be

seen as "helping people," the newer public service role extends far beyond the apprehension of criminals. This would appear to be especially the case for those departments which have adopted the community policing model (see Clairmont, 1988). This fundamental change in the function of the police likely leads to role conflict and consequently greater job dissatisfaction in those officers who are unable to adjust to the service orientation. Increasing professionalization and acceptance of the service oriented (versus crime fighting) role seems to be best adapted to by younger and better educated officers (Hunt et al., 1983). Therefore, it is likely that the officer who is unable to shift from this traditional role as a crime fighter will find himself or herself distanced from the community being served. Consequently, the resulting lack of bond between this isolated officer and the community is likely to be reflected in poor morale and job dissatisfaction, accompanied by elevated levels of stress (Martelli, Waters, & Martelli, 1989). Essentially, the alienated officer is unable to derive pleasure from his or her function as a provider of community services.

4. Education

As suggested, the police officer's level of education may have a mediating impact upon his or her social identity pattern. It may also play a role in the level of stress and job satisfaction the officer experiences. While the impact of education on police attitudes has not been consistently demonstrated (e.g., Anson et al., 1986), there is some evidence that points to a liberating effect of higher education on rigidly held authoritarian beliefs of non police groups. For example, Altemeyer (1981) demonstrated modest negative correlations between level of education and scores on his *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* Scale (r=-.24 to -.30). As already noted, Smith and his colleagues (1967) found that his college educated officers were less authoritarian than those officers without the university exposure. Additionally, Colman & Gorman (1982) found that exposure to liberal studies during basic

police training also, at least temporarily, had an impact in reducing authoritarian and conservative views in police officers. Of interest in the present study is the relationship of education to variables such as authoritarianism, and whether level of education has an impact on the social identity (ingroup-outgroup) patterns of police officers. There already exists some indirect evidence regarding this question. Berg and colleagues (1984) found that level of education was nonsignificantly related to measures of alienation from the community, media, state attorney's office, and police administrators.

Nevertheless, it still seems reasonable to predict that university educated officers will be less alienated from the community than are high school educated officers. A university education not only has an impact on nonliberal attitudes, but is likely to redefine an officer's identity from a social identity framework. It becomes relatively more difficult for the university educated officer to define himself or herself solely on the basis of the police characteristics he or she possesses. Instead, this officer is forced to identify as a student as well of as a police officer, resulting in an expanded perception of personal social identity. Furthermore, this officer is likely to have been exposed to a number of cultures in a nonconfrontational milieu. A consequence of this exposure is that the officer has a greater understanding of nonpolice groups, resulting in a reduction of distance between himself or herself and the community. This decrease in alienation between the officer and the community is likely to result in a greater level of job meaningfulness and a reduction in levels of perceived stress.

The Present Research Program

Before turning to the findings of the present thesis, it is useful to review the goals of the present research program. The foremost goal of the project was to describe the social identity pattern of a large sample of urban police officers and to document the potential behavioral implications of that identity pattern. To achieve this goal, two separate studies in

an urban policing milieu were conducted. The first of these studies emphasized police attitudes and perceptions, while the second study examined attitudes and behavioral intentions in response to specific action situations.

In Study 1, officers were asked to rate how socially near they were to several specific community groups, police managers, and other police officers. An important feature of the methodology was the assessment of relationships from two levels of perceiver (i.e., self and other or group as perceiver). Through these ratings, police ingroups and outgroups were established. The pattern and relationship of ratings between groups was examined in order to test the ethnocentrism hypothesis against the social diversity hypothesis. As a stereotypical view of an ethnocentric police officer would suggest a highly authoritarian and stressed individual, the investigation also examined absolute levels of authoritarianism and perceived stress in the sample. Additionally, the relationship between authoritarianism, stress, job satisfaction, and education and the social identity pattern of the officers was explored. The second research component, was designed in part to validate the findings of Study 1. In addition, Study 2 focused upon an investigation of the relationship between the attitudes and perceptions of the officers and actual performance intentions on a variety of police calls.

Chapter 2

The Social Identity of Police Officers

The present study was designed to better understand the attitudes and perceptions of a sample of urban police officers. The primary goal of the research was to describe the social identity pattern of police officers by means of the assessment of the relative alienation of the officers from several community and occupational groups. From this empirically defined identity pattern, it was possible to establish which groups are police ingroups and which groups are police outgroups. The question as to whether outgroup identification correlates negatively or positively with level of ingroup identification was examined, as the nature of this relationship is fundamental to testing the ethnocentrism hypothesis against the social diversity hypothesis. Finally, the relationship between the social identity pattern of the sample of officers and several possible mediating or otherwise associated variables was explored. Of these variables, authoritarianism and perceived stress received special attention. First, the determination of the absolute level of these constructs within the sample is important in order to ascertain whether the sample of officers fits the police stereotype. Second, the presence or absence of remarkable levels of these variables in the sample provides further evidence with which to test the ethnocentrism hypothesis against the social diversity hypothesis.

The police force surveyed in the present study is situated in a medium sized eastern North American city of approximately 115,000 people. The city itself is the largest municipality of several set within a larger metropolitan area of approximately 300,000. Although the vast majority of residents in the area are Caucasian and of European ancestry, a large black community forms a significant segment of the population. Unlike the black communities in several North American centers which are composed of recent immigrants,

the black community in the city of question has long been established with ancestry tracing back through several generations.

Superficially, race relations in the area are relatively harmonious. However, black-white tensions arise periodically, and police relations with the black community are at times problematic. In fact, a serious racial incident involving blacks, whites, and the police occurred some time after the collection of data for the present research program. The incident underlying the disturbance involved an assault of a black man by several whites in a downtown bar. In retaliation, a group of young black men rioted in the downtown area, destroying property and assaulting whites with whom they came in contact. The ensuing police response was rapidly denounced by black community leaders as being racist in nature, and the fall-out from the incident received national attention. As previously noted, blacks are vastly overrepresented in arrest statistics, thus ensuring a disproportionate amount of negative black-police contact even in the absence of more direct racial tension.

In response to perceived community needs, the police department has worked from the community-based zone policing model since 1986 (see Clairmont, 1988; Riechers & Roberg, 1990; Ware, 1989). To become more in touch with community needs, officers work out of several "community" or "zone" offices. In order to optimize police-community relations and to harmonize police-community goals, individual police officers work for extended periods in these specific community zones. This more integrated community style of policing emphasizes a "proactive" approach to police work where the community itself gets involved in crime prevention. This particular model is a specific embodiment of the service oriented style of policing that has come to prevail in recent years.

Hypotheses

1. The degree to which police officers as a group are alienated from the community varies on the basis of the race and social class of the particular community group.

2. Central to the social identity pattern of police officers is the existence of police ingroups and outgroups. This pattern of identification is determined by the relative degree of alienation of the police officers from the specific groups. Police peers are the ingroup most highly identified with.

3. Police officers are more authoritarian and perceive more stress than normative groups.

4. Differing levels of authoritarianism, perceived stress, job satisfaction, and education mediate or are associated with the social identity patterns of police officers.

5. The interrelations of the ingroup-outgroup alienation patterns can be explained by one of two competing hypotheses: the ethnocentrism hypothesis or the social diversity hypothesis. No a priori predictions were made as to which of these hypotheses would be supported.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were sworn police officers below the rank of Inspector. Police managers (Inspector rank and above) were not invited to participate as they are usually administrators with little "front-line" contact. Their exclusion also made the sample more conceptually pure especially in terms of assessing relations between the typical police officer and his or her superiors. In total, 160 of the 248 questionnaires distributed were returned, representing a response rate of approximately 65%. At the time of data collection there were seven white women and five black males on the force. The remainder of the officers were white males.

Measures

The current research project was a survey study, in which police officers were requested to complete a relatively long questionnaire encompassing several psychometric scales. The questionnaire employed first required the officers to respond to a number of demographic queries (e.g. length of service, level of education). Following this were 36 items assessing the degree of social nearness of the officers to several community and societal groups. These groups included poor whites, middle class whites, poor blacks, middle class blacks, police managers, and other police officers. Officers responded to items assessing to what extent they respect, like, and feel close to these groups. Separate responses were required for each of the three dimensions. They were also asked to indicate their perceptions as to how much they believed the various groups respect, like, and feel close to the police. This distinction between "self" or "police" as perceiver versus "other" or "group" as perceiver was fundamental to the research design. An eleven point Likert scale was used to collect this information ranging from 0 (not at all) to 10 (very much).

The thirty item *Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale* (RWA, Altemeyer, 1981; Altemeyer, 1988) was included as a measure of authoritarianism, where responses were made on a nine point Likert scale from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree).

Following the Altemeyer scale, officers were required to indicate how much stress they had experienced during the past month. The stress scale used in the present study was the *Perceived Stress Index* (Cohen, Karmack, & Mermelstein, 1983; Cohen & Williamson, 1988), which has previously been utilized in at least one study of police stress (Graf,1986). This approach of assessing levels of perceived stress was used instead of a measure of stressful life events, because of the variability of stress responses to specific life events. The index consists of 14 items requiring the individual police officer to respond to how many times in the last month he/she has experienced certain feelings. Responses are

given on a five point Likert scale ranging from 0 (never) to 4 (very often). Although this instrument was used as a measure of occupational stress, it is important to note that the items were not occupation specific. Hence, it could be argued that the source of perceived stressors may emanate from the officers' personal lives rather than, or in addition to, workplace stressors. However there is empirical evidence to suggest that police stress is based more on "job" stressors than on "life"stressors (Sigler & Wilson, 1988).

Finally, the questionnaire included 14 items related to job satisfaction and the perceived role of the police in society. Officers were asked to rate how much they agreed with each statement, utilizing the same 11 point Likert scale that was used with the social distance items.

Procedure

The questionnaire requiring Likert type judgements was distributed to all members of the Police Department below the rank of Inspector who could be contacted. Data were collected over a two week period during the last week of 1989 and first week of 1990. When possible, police officers were contacted personally at the beginning of their tour and asked to complete a questionnaire. However, a substantial segment of officers could not be conveniently located by this method, and approximately 15% of the questionnaires distributed were left in the officers' departmental mailboxes. An additional eight department members could not be approached by either method.

Results and Discussion

The Police Social Identity Pattern

The social nearness data collected were used to determine the ingroup-outgroup alienation pattern of the sample of officers. The large number of variables under investigation made univariate analyses a cumbersome and obtuse challenge. Hence, it became a desirable objective to find some way to reduce the data to a more conceptually clear and practically manageable level. It was intuitively appealing to view the three separate ratings on the dimensions of *respecting, liking, and closeness* as measuring the same underlying construct (i.e., social nearness or alienation). Moderate to high inter-item correlations provided considerable support for this theoretical conceptualization. Consequently, composite distance variables were computed by calculating a single mean from the combination of the respecting, liking, and closeness scores for each of the six groups (e.g. poor whites, police managers), at both levels of perceiver (self versus other as perceiver). High Cronbach Alpha coefficients, ranging from .76 to .87, demonstrated good internal reliability for these composite variables. This described data transformation reduced the total number of outcome values for the following repeated measures analyses to eight "broadband" community group and four "narrowband" occupational group composite variables (six levels of Group by two levels of Perceiver).

Before turning to the actual identity pattern of the sample of officers, it is necessary to consider a possible confounding factor. The present sample was composed of 123 constables, and 36 of their supervisors known as noncommissioned officers (NCOs). There is some reason to suspect that the outlook of the police constables may be somewhat different than that of their immediate supervisors due to the difference in occupational status. NCOs, while not themselves members of police management, are responsible for seeing that the policies of police managers are carried out in the field. Also, NCOs have

been relatively successful in obtaining job advancement as compared to long service constables. Consequently, it would not be surprising if NCOs have a generally more positive outlook towards their vocation and feel closer to police managers than do police constables. A final consideration is that police constables, as a group, tend to spend more time in the field than do their more administratively restricted bosses. This fact may play a role in perception of social nearness to the community.

As previously indicated, one of the greatest sources of tension and stress for police officers is the problematic relationship they have with police managers. Consequently, differences between NCOs and constables in social nearness to police managers and police officers in general deserves special attention. To directly test the impact of rank on nearness to police and management scores, a two-way ANOVA involving the factors of Occupational Group (police officers and police administrators) and Rank (constables and NCOs) was conducted revealing a highly significant interaction [$F(1, 156) = 25.40$, $p < .001$]. Main effects subsumed by the interaction were Occupational Group [$F(1,156) = 79.05$, $p < .001$] and Rank [$F(1,156) = 9.24$, $p < .01$]. Whereas both NCOs and constables felt significantly nearer to their colleagues than to police managers, the discrepancy was strikingly narrower for the NCOs (see Figure 2). Tests of simple main effects further showed that NCOs were significantly nearer to their bosses than were constables ($p < .001$). These results show that satisfaction with departmental administrators clearly depends on the rank of the officer. Relations between constables and managers can at best be described as fair, and it would appear that the constables feel alienated from the policies and goals of administrators. While there are clear rank differences in nearness to managers, both NCOs and constables feel equally close to police officers as a group. Thus it would appear that NCOs have not been alienated from the rank and file officer as a function of having been promoted. The NCOs appear to continue to identify with their subordinates in spite of their link to police administrators.

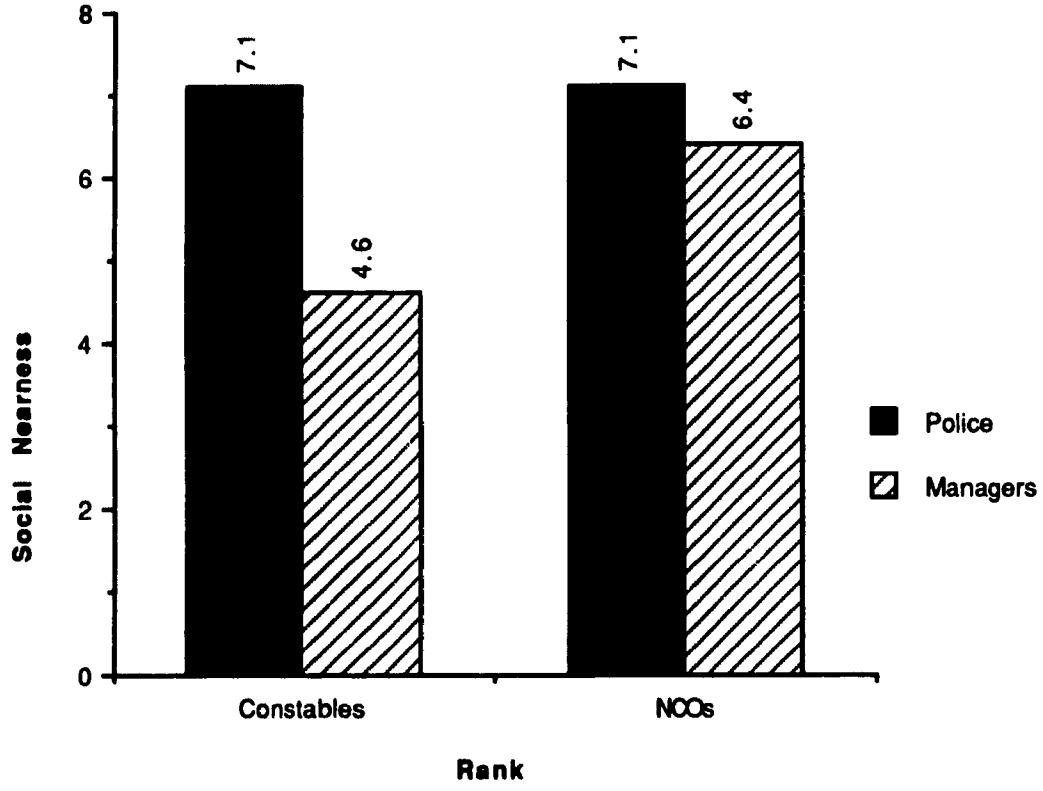

Figure 2-Rank X Occupational Group Interaction

Analyses were also conducted to determine if there were differences between police constables and their supervisors on individual and composite measures of nearness to the four community groups. T-test comparisons demonstrated that, in general, NCOs were closer to the community groups than were constables.

The preceding analyses show that there are substantial differences between NCOs and constables. It is noteworthy that while most constables are "front line" officers, many NCOs are more restricted to administrative duties. It appears that the social identity of the "front line" constables is decidedly different than that of their supervisors. Consequently, it was necessary to control in some way for the effect of rank on the dependent measures. Due to the small number of NCOs in the present sample, in conjunction with their demonstrated unique qualities, it was decided to exclude them from most of the further analyses. Hence, unless otherwise specified, the remaining analyses include constables only.

1. The Identity Pattern of Broadband Community Groups

Factors potentially impacting on the police perception of nearness to the community included race of community member (white or black), social class (middle class or poor), and perceiver (self or other). The "self as perceiver" level included those ratings of how near the police perceive themselves as a group to be to the various community groups, while the "other as perceiver" level included ratings of the police officer's perception of how near the community groups believe they are to the police. The community groups of interest in the following analyses were poor blacks, poor whites, middle class blacks, and middle class whites.

In order test the impact of these three factors, a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed on the composite scores. Although subsumed by significant interactions in all cases, it is interesting to note what otherwise would have been highly significant main effects of all

three variables: Race [E (1,121) = 150.16, $p < .001$], Class [E (1,121) =149.71, $p < .001$], Perceiver [E (1,121) = 156.42, $p < .001$]. In all cases the interactions do not change the direction or interpretation of the main effects. The results unequivocally demonstrate that the police identify more closely with the middle class than with the poor, and more closely with whites than with blacks. The across perceiver effect, where the police feel closer to the various groups than they believe the groups to be to them, is also clear. Following is a more detailed discussion of these effects.

A. The Impact of Race and Social Class on Social Identity

Figure 3 shows a significant Race x Class interaction [E (1, 121) = 36.98, $p < .001$]. The results show a greater impact of race with the middle class than with the poor. The increment across race (black to white) in the poor class is approximately 0.7 points, while in the middle class the increment is 1.3 points. In examining the interaction from across social class, it is clear that class differences are greater for whites than for blacks. This interaction suggests that the police view middle class whites as belonging to a group somewhat distinct from the other three community groups.

It is important to note that these distinctions are mutual, being averaged across both levels of perceiver. Consequently, contributions to the interaction from "self as perceiver" scores are higher in absolute terms than from "other as perceiver" scores. However, the absence of a 3-way interaction indicates that the pattern of the 2-way interaction is much the same for both levels of perceiver.

Tests of simple main effects yielded responses consistent with the interaction and strong main effects. Nearness scores assigned to whites were significantly higher than those assigned to blacks at both levels of social class, but were marginally greater in the middle class. Similarly, scores were higher for the middle class at both levels of race, with the distance being somewhat greater for whites.

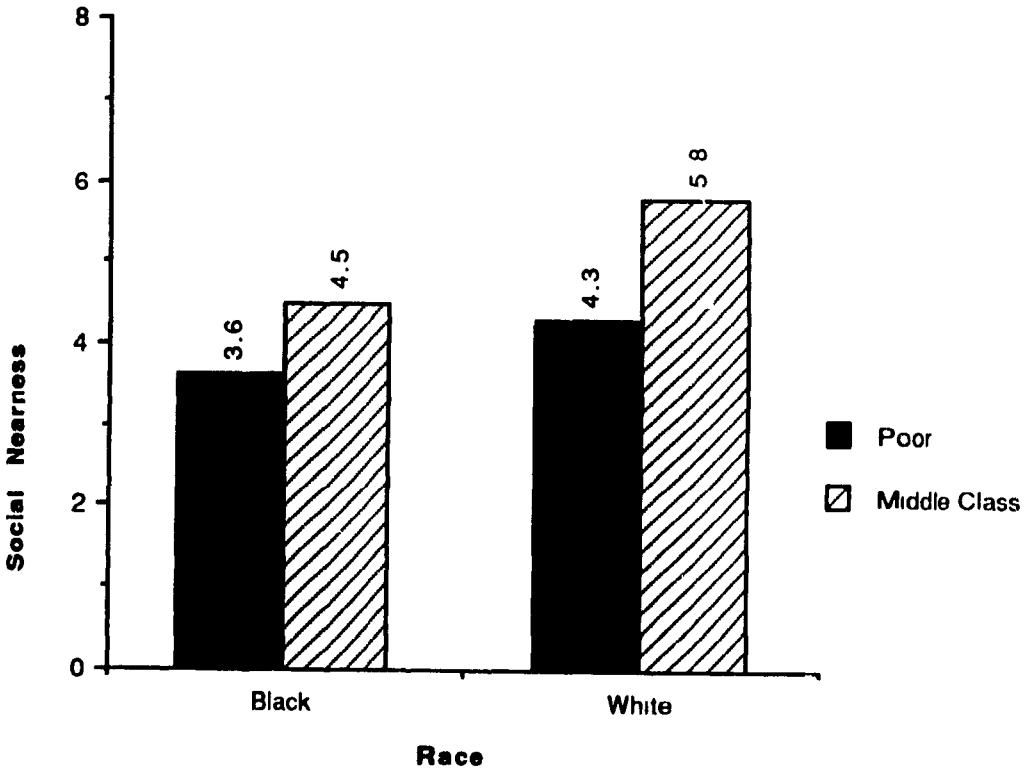

Figure 3- Race X Class Interaction

The interaction involving the race and class variables failed to demonstrate which of these two variables is more important in determining degree of alienation from the community. Instead, a close examination suggests that both race and class have a profound and relatively equal impact on the social nearness composite scores. What the analysis did demonstrate was that the police tend to rate relations with middle class whites as standing out from relations with the other three groups. One could speculate that since police rate relations with middle class whites as being inordinately higher than the other community groups, that this is the group to which they perceive they belong. In other words, middle class whites are a broadband ingroup for this sample of police officers. This conclusion is consistent with social identity theory in that there appears to have been a tendency to make the middle class white group positive and distinct from the other three groups. This position is supported by the finding that the rating of social nearness to the white middle class group is closer than one would predict on the basis of race or class alone.

B. The Impact of Race and Perceiver on Social Identity

Figure 4 shows a significant Race x Perceiver interaction [$F(1, 121) = 16.51$, $p < .001$]. The results show a greater effect of race on the social distance composite score at the "other as perceiver" level. The increment across race (black to white) at the "other as perceiver" level is approximately 1.2 while only 0.8 at "self as perceiver". Blacks at the "other as perceiver" level received an especially low rating. The significant interaction arises from this result and suggests that in the perception of officers, blacks believe themselves to be even more alienated from the police than do the police officers themselves. Another way of stating this, is that while the police reported differences in across race judgements, they believe that blacks make an even greater distinction when considering their relationship with police officers. Tests of simple main effects demonstrated

Figure 4- Race X Perceiver Interaction

significant differences between race at both levels of perceiver, and an especially strong effect of perceiver for both races.

In summary, then, perception of nearness to the community is profoundly influenced by race and by the group making the assessment. Results here suggest that the police attribute the locus of negative police-black relations more to black attitudes than to the attitudes of the police officers themselves. Although this study provides no empirical evidence of why this across perceiver effect exists, two completely speculative explanations are nonetheless offered. First, the across perceiver difference may indicate a type of projection used as a defense mechanism on the part of the police officers. It may be that the officers are projecting the source of poor police-black relations to the black community as a whole. Second, it may at least partially reflect a legitimate perception on the part of police officers that the black community has failed to demonstrate empathy for the police. Should this second explanation prove to have some basis in fact, interventions designed to improve community relations should focus on helping black community leaders better understand the police reality in addition to increasing the cultural awareness of police officers.

C. The Impact of Social Class and Perceiver on Social Identity

Figure 5 shows a significant Class x Perceiver interaction on social distance scores [$F(1, 121) = 24.66$, $p < .001$]. The interaction arises from a greater impact of class at the "other as perceiver" level than at the "self as perceiver" level. The cell primarily responsible for the interaction was that of the poor at the "other as perceiver" level, where the mean social nearness composite score dropped to 3.2. Similar comments can be made across social class differences as were made about across race differences. Specifically, the police feel that they make less of an across class distinction than do the two classes in their assessment of nearness to the police.

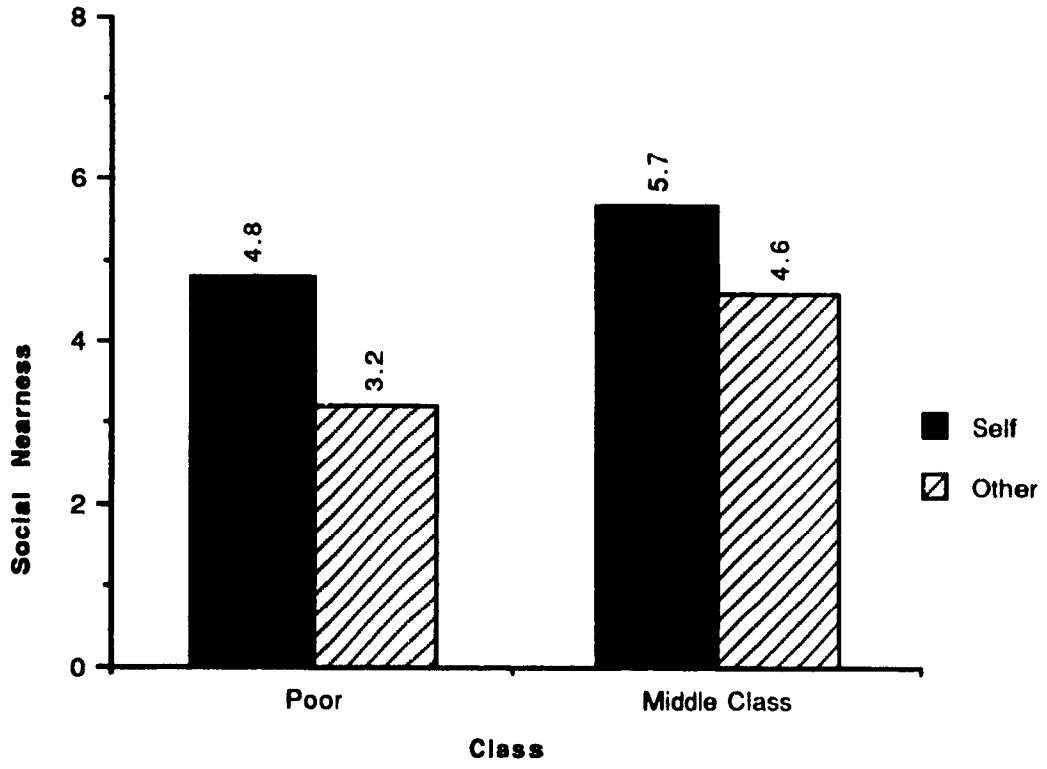

Figure 5- Class X Perceiver Interaction

Tests of simple main effects show significantly higher social distance scores for the middle class at both levels of perceiver, and much higher scores for "self as perceiver" at both levels of class. As was the case with race, across perceiver social class differences suggest the police see the genesis of police-community difficulties as being situated in the community rather than with the police officers themselves. It could again be speculated that this phenonomen may to some extent be attributed to projection on the part of the officers.

D. Summary of Community Broad Based Social Identity Pattern

In summary, it is clear that the sample of police officers judge the quality of police-community relations on the basis of both race and social class. Results demonstrate that the sample of officers are socially nearer to whites than blacks, and nearer to the middle class than the poor. Of particular interest, is the distinct status of the white middle class group. The fact that this group achieved a higher group mean rating than would be expected given the other means, suggests that police officers identify strongly with middle class whites. Thus, for this sample of police officers, middle class whites are an ingroup. The relative alienation from the other three groups suggest that they are police outgroups.

The other major finding in terms of a social identity pattern, is that the sample of police officers perceive themselves as being socially nearer to all community groups than they believe the groups to be to them. More specifically, the interactions show that in the perception of police officers, the poor and blacks contribute inordinately to lower "other as perceiver" scores. Further investigation into this phenonomen is merited especially when considering the implementation of administrative policies designed to enhance police-community relations.

2.The Identity Pattern of Narrow Band Occupational Groups

In the preceding analyses, social nearness of the police to several "wide band" community groups was assessed. In the following analysis, social nearness of the police as a group to two "narrow band" groups was scrutinized. More specifically, the narrow band groups included police managers and police peers. These analyses helped determine whether police peers are a "narrow band" ingroup, and shed light on the nature of police-management relations.

For responses to the police as a group items, it was obviously necessary to change the wording of the questions somewhat. At the "police as perceiver" level, officers were asked how much they as individuals respect, like, and are close to their colleagues. At the "other as perceiver" level, officers were asked how much their fellow officers respect, like, and are close to them as individuals. As was the case in the previous analyses, composite scores of the three measures were used as outcome measures.

The Impact of Occupational Group and Perceiver on Social Identity

An examination of the mean group composite ratings demonstrate that the police are much closer to their peers than to their bosses. The nearness to police peers rating averaged across both levels of perceiver ($\underline{M} = 7.0$) is significantly higher than those of any other group including middle class whites ($\underline{M} = 5.8$, $\underline{t}\ (121) = -6.24$, $\underline{p} < .001$). Conversely, nearness to police managers ratings were quite low ($\underline{M} = 4.8$), being only slightly higher than nearness scores of the middle class blacks and poor whites outgroups. In fact, if considering scores only at the "police as perceiver" level, officers rated relations with poor whites and middle class blacks to be marginally, though nonsignificantly, better than that with department administrators. In any case, the results firmly entrench police managers as a narrow band outgroup and police peers as a narrow band ingroup.

Figure 6 shows the significant Occupational Group x Perceiver interaction [$\underline{F}$ (1, 121) = 21.65, $p < .001$]. A highly significant main effect of Group [$\underline{F}$ (1,121) = 236.84, $p < .001$] was subsumed by this interaction. The interaction shows a greater effect of occupational group at the "self as perceiver" level as compared to at the "other as perceiver" level. In other words, the great disparity of social distance scores between police officers and police managers at the "self as perceiver" level, is still clear but somewhat reduced at the "other as perceiver" level. Tests of simple main effects were hardly necessary to demonstrate that police officers are socially nearer to their colleagues than to their bosses at both levels of perceiver. Simple main effects also showed that across perceiver differences at both levels of occupational group were marginally significant.

In sum, police officers clearly identify with their colleagues to a much greater degree than they do with police management. This finding supports anecdotal reports of poor police-manager relations, and has important implications for policy implementation. The across perceiver differences for the composite social distance scores are interesting if not robust. In the case of social distance to police peers, the "self as perceiver" score was slightly higher than the "other as perceiver" score. This finding suggests a marginal tendency for police officers to believe that loyalty and identification of the individual to the group is even more important than that of the group to the individual. Nonetheless, the difference is only marginal and stands in contrast to the large across perceiver differences found in the community groups. These differing findings suggest that the across perceiver phenonomen is not simply the result of a response set. Rather, the relatively equal across perceiver ratings of the police ingroup may reflect a need for mutual loyalty in the individual police officer's self schema. The results suggest that the officers share a mutual sense of empathy with their peers which is absent in their interaction with the community.

Finally, in the perception of police constables, police managers are marginally nearer to rank and file officers than are those officers to the managers. However, in

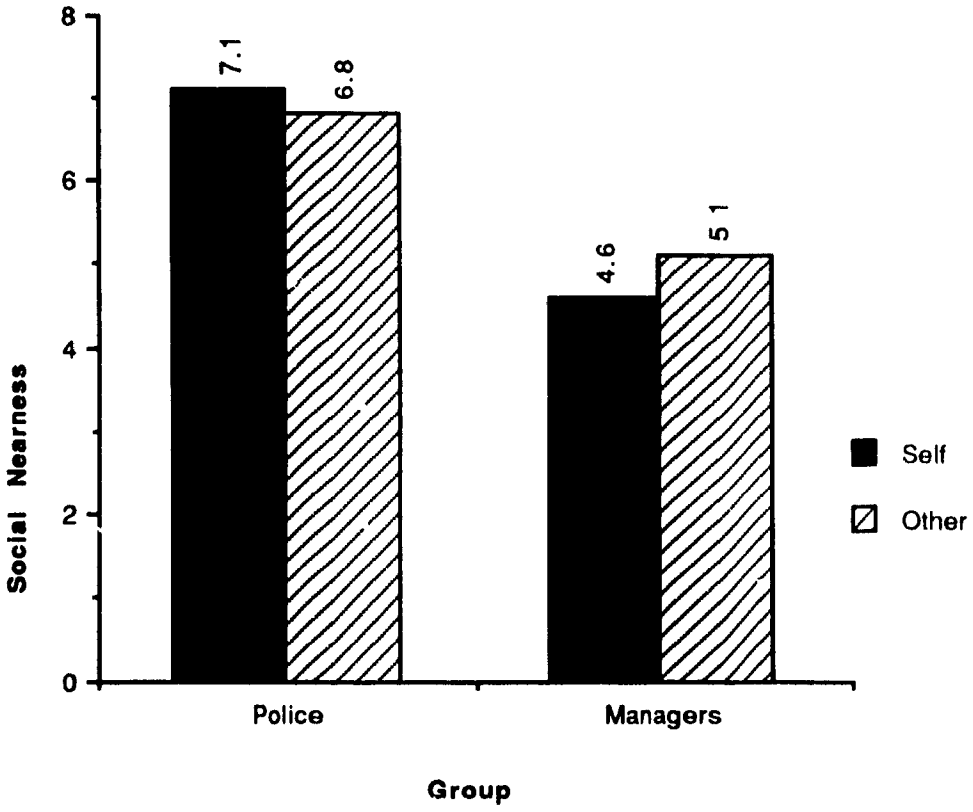

Figure 6-Occupational Group X Perceiver Interaction

practical terms, police constables reported a mutual perception of generally poor relations between police constables and police administrators.

3. Summary of Police Ingroups-Outgroups

In terms of social identity patterns in the police, it is of great interest which community groups, if any, are ingroups, and which community groups are considered outgroups. The preceding analyses provided the empirical basis with which to establish these relationships. Clearly, police ratings firmly entrenched poor blacks as a police outgroup. This is not surprising if the officers surveyed generalized the term "poor" blacks to represent the often disadvantaged black individuals with whom they have repeated negative contact. What was not known, was whether these poor relations spill over into perceptions of nearness to middle class blacks. Results showed that while the officers made distinctions between blacks on the basis of the socioeconomic status, middle class blacks still received ratings significantly lower than did middle class whites. In fact, middle class black ratings were essentially the same as those of poor whites as a group.

It was also unclear, a priori, whether the police identify more closely with poor or middle class whites. As noted in the introduction, police officers have traditionally come from the ranks of the working class, suggesting a possible affinity for poor whites. However, professionalization and better pay often accompanied by a university education suggests that the modern officer may identify with the middle class. In view of the present results, it is the second alternative which is supported. The police constables in the sample reported being significantly socially nearer to middle class whites than to the other three groups. In fact, the nature of the interaction involving race and class demonstrated that the group ratings for middle class whites made this group stand out distinctly as an ingroup. Clearly, then, in terms of broadband community groups, middle class whites are a police ingroup and middle class blacks, poor whites, and poor blacks are police outgroups.

The sample of officers identified even more strongly with the narrow band police peer ingroup. The officers reported that they are far closer yet to their colleagues than they are to even the middle class white ingroup. The mean across perceiver score for other police officers was 7.0 as compared to an average score of 5.8 for middle class whites (see Figure 7). Thus, social nearness scores demonstrate a social attachment between officers that clearly surpasses that of all other groups. In sum, the present results suggest the presence of both a wide band ingroup (middle class whites) and a narrow band ingroup (other police officers). Outgroups include poor whites, poor blacks, and middle class blacks. Additionally, results show that police officers are alienated from police administrators, who are a narrow band outgroup.

Ethnocentrism versus Social Diversity

If one considers only the between groups mean differences, one might conclude that the police are an ethnocentric group. In terms of social nearness, the sample of officers made clear distinctions between ingroups (middle class whites, other police officers) and outgroups (middle class blacks, poor whites, poor blacks, and police managers). As a preliminary caution, however, it should be noted that the favouring of the ingroup is not unique to the police, and could be expected in a variety of ingroup contexts (e.g., physicians, lawyers). Nonetheless, the mean between groups differences in the police have important ramifications given the amount of conflictual contact the police have with members of outgroups.

Perhaps of even greater interest than the ingroup and outgroup ratings, is the actual relationships between the ingroup and outgroup variables. To be truly ethnocentric, one would expect that increases in nearness to the ingroup to be accompanied by increases in social distance from the outgroups. Conversely, increases in ingroup identification

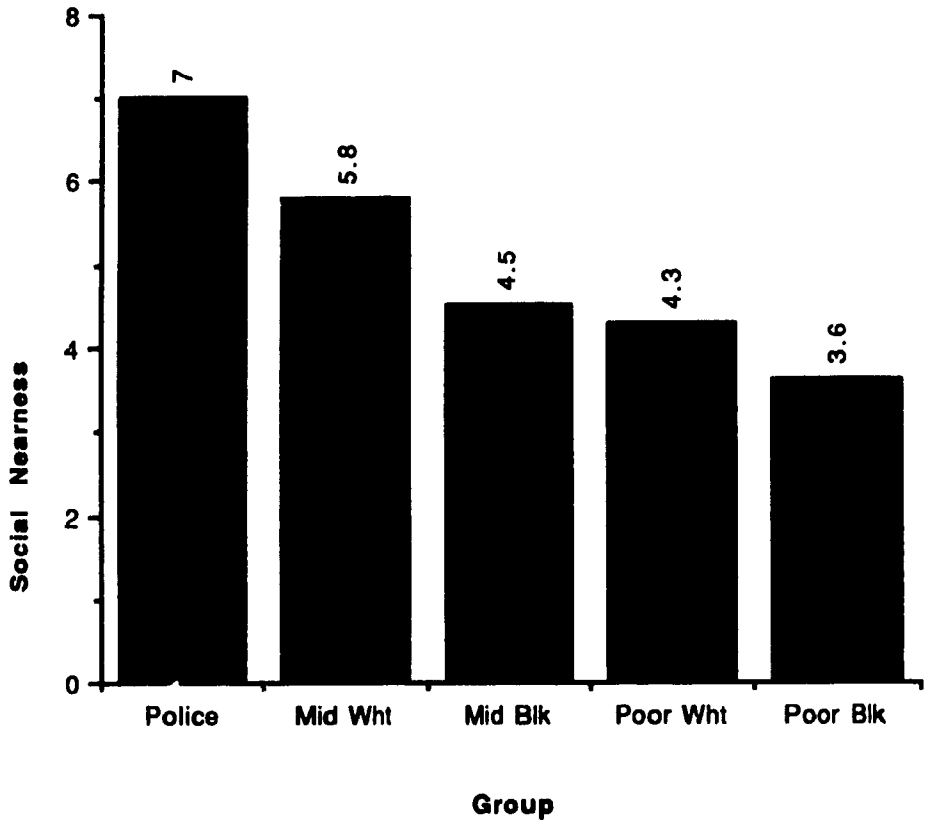

Figure 7- Nearness to Police and Community Groups

accompanied by increases in outgroup tolerance and acceptance would challenge the presence of ethnocentrism in at least this sample of police officers.

An examination of the Pearson coefficients reporting the correlations of social distance ratings between the ingroups and the outgroups does in fact challenge the ethnocentrism hypothesis (see Table 1). It appears that increases in nearness to the ingroups are associated with increases in nearness to the outgroups. With the narrow band police ingroup, correlations range from .27 (poor blacks) to .52 (middle class whites). With middle class whites as the ingroup, the correlations were even stronger ranging from .42 (poor blacks) to .71 (community average scores). It is interesting that in both sets of comparisons that the weakest associations were with poor blacks as the outgroup. Apparently, feeling good about the ingroup is less strongly associated with tolerance of poor blacks than for the other outgroups. This finding may reflect and be central to understanding the particularly poor relations that the police have with poor blacks.

It is important to note that these findings do not provide sufficient evidence to adopt the social diversity hypothesis. Indeed, other hypotheses could be offered for these ingroup-outgroup associations. For example, those officers rating themselves near to both ingroups and outgroups may do so due to personality characteristics such as agreeableness or extraversion. The findings could also be the result of a social desirability bias in at least some of the officers. Or, the results may emanate from a more general response set where certain officers mark all responses at the higher end of the Likert scale. It must also be noted that these findings are not without precedent. Dion (1979) has cited previous research demonstrating positive correlations between ingroup and outgroup ratings.

Consequently, while the results directly challenge the ethnocentrism hypothesis, the social diversity hypothesis represents only one possible explanation for the observed phenonomen. In other words, while the results are consistent with the provisions of social diversity, the evidence provided remains somewhat speculative. Nonetheless, it is proposed that the social diversity hypothesis provides a viable if not compelling

Table 1- Ingroup-Outgroup Pearson Correlations

A. Police as Ingroup	Total Sample	Constables
Middle Whites	.46 ***	.52 ***
Middle Blacks	.31 ***	.36 ***
Poor Whites	.30 ***	.39 ***
Poor Blacks	.17 *	.27 **
Communtiy Average	.35 ***	.43 ***
Police Managers	.42 ***	.49 ***
B. Middle Whites as Ingroup		
Middle Blacks	.62 ***	.62 ***
Poor Whites	.47 ***	.52 ***
Poor Blacks	.38 ***	.42 ***
Community Average	.69 ***	.71 ***

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$
Two-tailed significance

interpretation of the results. Also, at least one of the alternative hypotheses can also be challenged. A social desirability bias seems unlikely given the fact that the officers were willing to report relatively poor relations between themselves and outgroups.

As already emphasized, conventional wisdom has held that police alienation is a negative phenonomen which may have detrimental consequences in terms of police-community relations. However, this is not the case if one accepts that high ingroup identification or solidarity is a component of police alienation. Instead, it appears that being close to one's police colleagues translates in higher receptivity to police managers and the various community groups. In other words, the officers who feel best about themselves as a group also feel best about the various segments of the community they serve.

In sum, the present findings suggest that those officers who hold their own group in high esteem are also those officers who are most accepting and tolerant of outgroups. It would appear, somewhat ironically, that adherence to the "Blue Code" as it relates to the enhancement of police self identity is a positive phenonomen not only for police officers, but also for all those who interact with the police.

Variables Mediating or Associated with Social Identity Patterns

The possible mediating impact of authoritarianism, stress, job satisfaction, and education on social nearness to the various community and police groups was explored in some detail. The impact of two additional variables not distinctly introduced in Chapter I was also examined. The first of these is a alienation/solidarity variable, which will be defined in the following discussion. The other variable not separately introduced in Chapter 1 is length of service. Although not as conceptually interesting as the other mediating variables, potential differences between long-serving and shorter service officers need to be empirically examined.

It is important to again note that although the following analyses proceed as though these variables mediate social identity, it may be the case that social identity is the factor which actually mediates levels of at least some of these variables. In other words, even though constructs such as authoritarianism and perceived stress were utilized as independent variables, it may be the social identity pattern of the officer which comes first in the causal chain. Consequently, it was necessary to discuss most of these relationships as associational rather causal. This was not an issue with the education and length of service variables, where causality would be expected to be unidirectional.

Two of the possible mediating or associated variables merit special consideration. As noted in Chapter 1, the police are often considered to be a highly authoritarian and highly stressed group. Given the police stereotype, and the theoretical link between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, it follows that high levels of authoritarianism would support an ethnocentric view of the police. The argument linking perceived stress in the police to ethnocentrism is less clear. Many occupational groups experience high levels stress without being ethnocentric. However, the available police literature points towards a strong link between police stress and poor community relations. If alienation from the community is one characteristic of ethnocentrism, it seems reasonable to propose that those ethnocentric officers who are most alienated from the community would be most susceptible to stress.

The presence of high levels of these constructs in the sample was expected, and would be fitting with the commonly held stereotype of the police. As outlined, this stereotype is generally consistent with an ethnocentric view of the police, and implies that police officers are a cognitively rigid, "uptight", and stressed group. Conversely, unexceptional levels of these variables implies more flexibility and would indirectly challenge the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Hence, in the following discussion of authoritarianism and perceived stress, absolute levels of these constructs were examined before assessing their mediating potential.

The impact of length of service and education on the remaining four mediating or associated variables was also of interest. Consequently, before turning to the relationship between each of the mediators and social identity, the potential impact of education and length of service on levels of authoritarianism, stress, job satisfaction, and alienation/solidarity was explored. For the education variable, several levels of education were collapsed into just two levels, composed of high school educated officers and university educated officers. High school educated officers included those members who completed high school or fell short of completion. The university educated group included a range of officers from those having at least some university experience to those who had successfully completed university degrees. Years of service was collapsed into an independent variable composed of three levels: less than five years (new officers) , five to fourteen years (veteran officers), and fifteen years or more (career officers).

To conclude the discussion for each of the potential social identity mediators, a series of two factor Group X Mediator ANOVAs were conducted. The Group factor contained two levels and compared nearness ratings to the ingroup (police peers) to nearness ratings of each of the specific outgroups (e.g., middle class blacks). The Mediator factor examined nearness ratings as determined by categorical membership in a defined level of the the mediator variable (e.g., high stress). For example, a representative 2 X 2 ANOVA examined the effect of the Education (high school and university) and Group (police peers and poor blacks) factors on social nearness ratings. Composite distance scores used in these analyses included only those at the "self as perceiver" level. As would be expected, significant differences between the ingroups and outgroups serve only to confirm previous findings and are of minimal interest. Of greater interest are the main effects of the mediating variables as well as the two-way interactions.

In summary, the following discussion serves three goals. First, absolute levels of authoritarianism and stress in the sample of officers are explored in terms of support or disconfirmation of the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Second, the impact of length of service

and education on levels of authoritarianism, stress, job satisfaction, and the alienation/solidarity factor is examined. Third, and most important, is an investigation of the association between mediator variables and social identity as demonstrated by the Group X Mediator ANOVAs.

1. Authoritarianism

An examination of authoritarianism in the sample provided unexpected results in that it indicated that this sample of police officers was not particularly authoritarian. The mean total score of the whole sample of officers including NCOs was 163.6 (s.d. = 23.8). Dr. Altemeyer, who developed the RWA scale, provided normative means from University of Manitoba samples to which these police results could be compared (Altemeyer, personal communication, February 16, 1990). An independent groups t-test showed that although the police mean is significantly higher than the mean of 148.6 attained last year by a sample of 1,166 University of Manitoba introductory psychology students (t=7.80, p < .001), it is substantially lower than that observed in a 1985-86 sample of 571 parents of university students (M = 173.4, t =-5.40, p <.001). Dr. Altemeyer advises that a slightly different version of the RWA scale was administered to the previously cited university sample, but it was nonetheless representative of past student samples who typically score around or just below the 150 mark. Finally, the average score of the sample of police officers was not significantly different than the mean of 160.6 earned by non college educated friends of university students.

An independent groups t-test showed that NCOs (police supervisors) are significantly more authoritarian than are constables. The average score for constables (n = 118) was 161, while the mean score for NCOs (n = 34) was approximately 171 (t= -2.12, p < .05).

Restricting analyses to police constables, total authoritarianism scores were subjected to a 2(Education) X 3(Service) independent groups design ANOVA. Results showed a significant main effect of Education, with high school educated officers being significantly more authoritarian than university educated officers [$F(1, 110) = 15.91, p < .001$]. The mean score of the high school group was 168.6 as compared to a mean of 151.6 for the university educated officers.

These analyses support the view that the police are not particularly authoritarian. In fact, Dr.Altemeyer (Altemeyer, personal communication, February 16, 1990) advises that he has no reason to assume that police officers or military personnel are particularly authoritarian. In fact, an early RWA scale study conducted with armed forces recruits failed to show them to be especially authoritarian.

The results are somewhat surprising in that they suggest that the sample of officers is not nearly as cognitively rigid or conservative minded as the police literature suggests. Interestingly, not even the most authoritarian police subsamples reached the level of that attained by Altemeyer's parent sample. Clearly, the university educated officers were the least authoritarian supporting the contention that university education has a liberalizing effect on police officers. Overall, the results do not support the police stereotype which holds that the police personality is inflexible and self-righteous. Due to the theoretical link between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism, these results also represent a challenge to the ethnocentrism hypothesis.

In order to test the mediating effects of authoritarianism on social identity, authoritarianism scores were dichotomized into high and low levels by means of a median split. As indicated above, 2 (ingroup-outgroup within subjects) x 2 (high and low authoritarianism between groups) ANOVAs were conducted with each of the outgroups. The results were surprising in that they demonstrated that authoritarianism had little impact on social identity. Authoritarianism, with its link to ethnocentrism, represents an intolerant and rigid "good guy-bad guy" cognitive style. It would therefore be reasonable to predict

that the most authoritarian police officers would be less tolerant to the cultural and behavioral idiosyncrasies of the outgroups. Instead, there were essentially no differences between the high and low groups on social distance scores.

In sum, the present results lead to two conclusions. First, the sample of police officers as a whole was not more authoritarian than normative samples. Second, even those officers who were authoritarian did not reflect this bias in their social identity pattern. Hence, the assumptions that the police are authoritarian and that this authoritarianism is associated with negative consequences are not supported. These findings provide yet another, albeit indirect, challenge to the ethnocentrism view.

2. Perceived Stress

In terms of perceived stress, the mean score earned by the total police sample in the present study was 18.9, with a standard deviation of 6.0. This was essentially the same mean as that observed in the normative sample of 926 males ($\underline{M}$ = 18.8, $\underline{s.d.}$ = 6.9) , and only marginally and nonsignificantly lower than the average score garnered by the entire normative sample composed of 2355 males and females ($\underline{M}$ = 19.62, $\underline{s.d.}$ = 7.5) .

A within sample comparison showed the difference between constables and NCOs was nonsignificant, although police constables showed a marginal trend towards higher levels of stress.

The 2(Education) X 3(Service) ANOVA conducted on the total stress scores, showed that level of education impacted significantly on the dependent measure. High school educated officers ($\underline{M}$ = 21.09) were significantly more stressed than their university trained colleagues ($\underline{M}$ = 18.0) [$\underline{F}$ (1, 112) = 5.67, $\underline{p}$ < .05]. As was the case with authoritarianism, a priori assumptions about high levels of stress in the police were unwarranted. Two explanations can be offered for this seeming paradox. Police officers are either not as stressed as previous research would suggest, or the present sample of

officers was reticent to respond in a way that might suggest vulnerability to what may be perceived of as certain "unmanly" weaknesses. It is likely that the truth lies in a combination of these explanations.

The failure to find an effect of Years of Service on stress scores is in contradiction to that of Violanti (1983), who reported that levels of stress in the police rose over the first five years of service, leveled off during the next five years, and then tended to decrease from the middle of the officer's career until retirement. The finding that the high school educated officers were more stressed than their university educated counterparts, adds support to the finding in the large normative sample that levels of stress tend to decrease as level of education increases (Cohen & Williamson, 1988). Unfortunately, the authors offer no explanation for this phenomenon and cite a life event stress study in which stress increased positively with level of education.

Nonetheless, an explanation as to why level of stress is negatively associated with level of education immediately comes to mind. High school educated officers are both more authoritarian and more stressed than are their university trained counterparts. Perhaps, stress occurs when the more authoritarian officers encounter ambiguous job challenges. In other words, cognitive rigidity produces a stress response in situations requiring a flexible approach. If this was the case, one would expect to find a strong positive relationship between authoritarianism and stress. This explanation must be abandoned in the face of the reality of no relationship between the two variables (r=.02). Instead, it may be the case that university provides the individual officer with other coping mechanisms not available to high school educated officers. Alternatively, those individuals who enter university may be better copers to begin with.

To test the relationship between stress and social identity, the stress variable was also dichotomized into high and low levels by means of a median split. The various ingroup-outgroup pairings, without exception, demonstrated that level of perceived stress was not associated with differences in social nearness scores. This finding was

unexpected in that one might expect that greater levels of alienation from both police managers and other police officers would be associated with higher levels of job stress. Indeed, it has already been emphasized that poor community relations are a primary source of stress for police officers (e.g., Kroes et al., 1974). This, however, is not supported by the present results which show no differentiation of social nearness to the community groups on the basis of high or low levels of stress.

Similar comments can be made about the perceived stress findings as were made with the results pertaining to authoritarianism. The sample of officers reported that they in general were not particularly stressed. Even those officers who scored higher on the stress scale showed no difference in their social identity pattern as compared to less stressed officers. Unremarkable levels of authoritarianism and stress combined with the absence of discrimination in terms of social identity patterns flies in the face of the stereotype of the defensive, stressed, and cognitively rigid police officer. Instead, it appears that officers are neither as rigid or "uptight" as one would expect if they were indeed an ethnocentric group. Additionally, high levels of these variables in subsamples of officers are not accompanied by negative consequences, at least in terms of social identity.

The unexpected moderate levels of authoritarianism and stress in the police sample either challenge the popular stereotype of the ethnocentric police officer or indicate an uniqueness of the sample. The city where the data was collected is smaller and relatively less crime ridden than some of the larger urban North American centers and has relatively less of the police-community group tensions that characterize relations in some of the bigger cities. Nonetheless, the sample of officers still face big city problems, especially in terms of their contact with the black community. This point was unfortunately emphasized in the recent race riot in the city. Consequently, the present findings remain significant and challenge previous police research.

3.Job Satisfaction Factor

The questionnaire included 14 items related to the role of the police in society. Through a principal components analysis with an orthogonal (Varimax) rotation, a three factor solution was extracted accounting for 54% of the variability in the original matrix. Two components which were conceptually meaningful were defined as *Job Satisfaction* and *Alienation/Solidarity* factors, being composed of six items each (see Table 2). The third factor composed of two items was considered unreliable (alpha=.29) and will not be elaborated upon further. Consequent to the principal components analysis, a composite Job Satisfaction variable was created by taking the mean of the six items loading most highly on the first factor. An Alienation/Solidarity variable was similarly constructed by taking the mean of the six items loading on the Alienation/Solidarity factor.

The Education X Service ANOVA showed a main effect of length of service on job satisfaction scores [$F(2,113) = 8.53$, $p < .001$] The means for the less than five year group, the five to fourteen year group, and the fifteen year and over group, were 7.6, 6.7, and 5.9 respectively. Newman-Keuls post hoc tests showed the newest (less than five years) group of officers to be significantly more satisfied than both of the longer serving groups. While this in part may reflect an exuberance which might be expected with new employees in a number of occupations, it also suggests that continuing service in this conflict laden occupation exacts a toll on longer service officers However, previous analyses demonstrated that this length of service toll can not be accounted for in terms of increasing levels of perceived stress.

Level of job satisfaction was dichotomized into high versus low levels by a median split to examine the impact of job satisfaction on social identity. Analyses showed significant Group x Satisfaction interactions with all ingroup-outgroup comparisons when the community outgroups were included at one level of the Group factor. Although there was very little impact of level of satisfaction on nearness to the community outgroups,

Table 2- Principal Components Analysis of Job Satisfaction and Alienation Items

Component 1. Job Satisfaction

Eigenvalue = 3.95 Accounts for 28% of Variance alpha = .83

	Rotated Loadings
1. I'm very satisfied with my job.	.91
2. I really look forward to coming to work every day.	.84
3. When I think of all the occupations I might have worked at, I'm glad that I chose policing as a career.	.80
4. I feel that my job is meaningful a provides a very important service to the public.	.71
5. I think of myself as a skilled professional.	.57
6. Of all of my roles, I think of myself as a police officer first.	.46

Component 2. Solidarity/Alienation

Eigenvalue = 2.54 Accounts for 18% of Variance alpha = .72

	Rotated Loadings
1. Sometimes I feel like it's we cops against the rest of the world.	.77
2. There is something about police officers which makes us very different from other people.	.72
3. The only person who can really understand a police officer, is another police officer.	.62
4. Most people jump at the chance to lay a complaint against a police officer.	.61
5. When I socialize off duty, it is usually with other police officers.	.61
6. Society as a whole has little respect for police officers.	.38

there was a very substantial impact on how close the officers felt to their colleagues. Those officers who were most satisfied with their jobs were also closest to their peers. This interaction can be seen clearly in Figure 8, where the outgroup was composed of poor blacks [$F(1,118) = 6.36, p < .05$]. Figure 8 is representative of all police peer-community outgroup comparisons.

A significant main effect of Satisfaction was evident when police were the ingroup and police managers were the outgroup [$F(1,118) = 19.18, p < .001$]. Results suggest that highly satisfied officers are closer to both their superiors and their peers than are their less satisfied counterparts.

These findings are surprising in that they fail to show a relationship between level of satisfaction and community orientation. As was the case for authoritarianism and perceived stress, level of job satisfaction was not associated with social nearness to the community outgroups. Although unexpected, this finding is somewhat reassuring in that the dissatisfied officer may not reflect his dissatisfaction in his dealings with citizens. However, the relationship between level of satisfaction and social proximity to other police officers is clear. In particular, a prerequisite of job satisfaction for the typical police officer may be feelings of nearness to both colleagues and police management. Hence, it appears that job satisfaction is linked with a nonethnocentric interpersonal style because the most satisfied officers feel close, relatively, to both police managers (outgroup) and police peers (ingroup). It should be noted again that this is an instance where causality could be reversed, with social identity mediating level of job satisfaction.

4.Alienation/Solidarity Factor

As noted above, the factor analysis of 14 items related to the role of police in society resulted in the identification of two factors. The first factor, termed *Job Satisfaction,* was readily interpretable. The second factor was less clear in that it seemed to

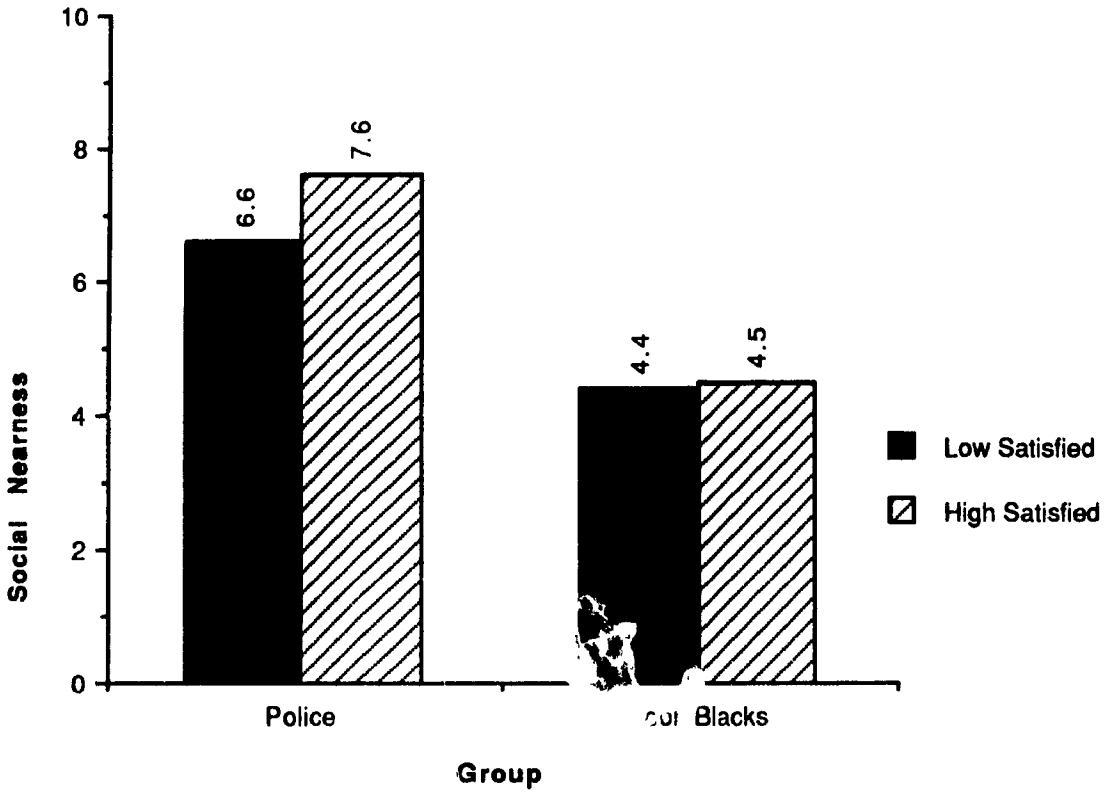

Figure 8- Group X Satisfaction Interaction

be measuring aspects of ingroup solidarity as well alienation from the broader society (see Table 2). However, as established in Chapter 1, these processes may well coexist. In this light, the loading pattern of the items on this *Alienation/Solidarity* factor becomes somewhat more clear conceptually. Nonetheless some question remains as to what this factor actually measures. As was the case with the Job Satisfaction factor, the outcome measure of interest was the mean of the six items loading on this Alienation/Solidarity factor.

The Education X Service ANOVA showed a main effect of education on scores of this factor [$F(1, 113) = 7.50$, $p < .01$]. High school educated officers had a mean score of 5.6 while the university educated officers mean score was 4.7. These results suggest a greater need for high school educated officers to identify with the ingroup or police subculture as compared to their university educated colleagues. On the other hand, the potential for university educated officers to be exposed to a greater breadth of cultural awareness may result in a more diverse perception of self-identity. As university educated officers may identify with different segments of society (e g., other university students), there may be less pressure to identify exclusively with the police subculture.

Levels of ingroup solidarity (or alienation) as measured by this factor were found not to discriminate the degree of social nearness to the ingroups and outgroups. This finding contradicts that of Shernock (1988) who found that levels of ingroup solidarity were negatively correlated with community orientation. However, in terms of construct validity, the present measure is questionable in what it measures. If it measures solidarity, it would be expected to be closely linked to the composite "near to police" scores. However, the present results indicate that being high or low on the solidarity/alienation factor is not related to perceptions of social distance between police officers and their peers. The analyses also show that high levels of ingroup identification (solidarity) and general societal alienation do not appear to impact on perception of social distance between the police and both the community and police managers. It might be argued that this factor,

due to its dual faceted nature, may itself be a measure of ethnocentrism. If one accepts this conceptualization, the findings throw into question the contention that ethnocentrism in the police (if present at all), has negative consequences for the public at large.

This lack of relationship between the alienation/solidarity factor and ratings of social distance merits further discussion. As already noted, if the factor was assessing alienation in terms of the present research, one would expect it to be associated with social distance ratings. However, there appears to be little impact on the social nearness scales, both in terms of the present analysis and the nonsignificant correlations between this factor and the community measures in question. The correlation between this factor and nearness to peers, although statistically significant, was also weak (r=.27, $p < .01$) It is interesting that the alienation/solidarity measure more closely resembles traditional approaches to the measurement of alienation in the police than do the more innovative social distance ratings used in the present study. For example, the items on the alienation/solidarity variable are somewhat similar, at least in terms of the alienation items, to the "Respect" factor in Regoli's measure of cynicism (Regoli et al., 1990). Hence, this appears to provide support for the notion that the more direct social distance inquiries incorporated in the present research assess degree of alienation in a way not captured by the more traditional measures. The reason for the difference may be explained in the greater specificity of the direct social distance to actual groups queries made in this study. Perhaps, it may be safer, from a cognitive dissonance perspective, to indicate societal alienation in general terms (i.e., traditional measures) than to report being alienated from specific community and occupational groups. However, this explanation is less than satisfactory in view of the fact that the police officers were willing to report poor relationships with certain groups.

5.Education

A series of ANOVAs showed significant Education x Group interactions with pairings of police officers as the ingroup and both poor blacks [F (1, 120) = 4.99, p < .05] and poor whites [F (1, 120) = 4.68, p < .05] as the outgroup. The interaction with middle class blacks was nonsignificant. Results demonstrate that there is no impact of level of education on social distance ratings of the police ingroup. However, tests of simple main effects demonstrate that university educated officers are more alienated from poor blacks and poor whites than are their high school educated colleagues. The interaction with poor blacks as the outgroup is shown in Figure 9, which is also representative of the interaction with poor whites as the outgroup.

The preceding results demand an explanation as to why university educated officers are more distant from two of the community groups (i.e., poor blacks and poor whites) than are their high school educated peers. Without further exploration, a ready conclusion to draw is that university education has a detrimental effect on police-community relations. It is noteworthy that there are no education differences in nearness to middle class whites, and that the vast majority of university students are middle class whites. Perhaps, when compared to high school educated officers, there is an even greater tendency for university students to make ingroup and outgroup distinctions. It would be indeed ironic if the supposed liberating effects of a university education are in fact not liberating, and instead serve to place a wedge between the typical student and disadvantaged group members. While the university educated officer may distance him/herself from poor blacks and poor whites, the less aloof high school educated officer may perceive more similarities between himself or herself and members of the working class who are often poor.

It should be noted that a less cynical explanation is also plausible. It may be the case that university educated officers are simply reflecting a better educated and more realistic awareness of differences across social class. In other words, they may be more cognizant

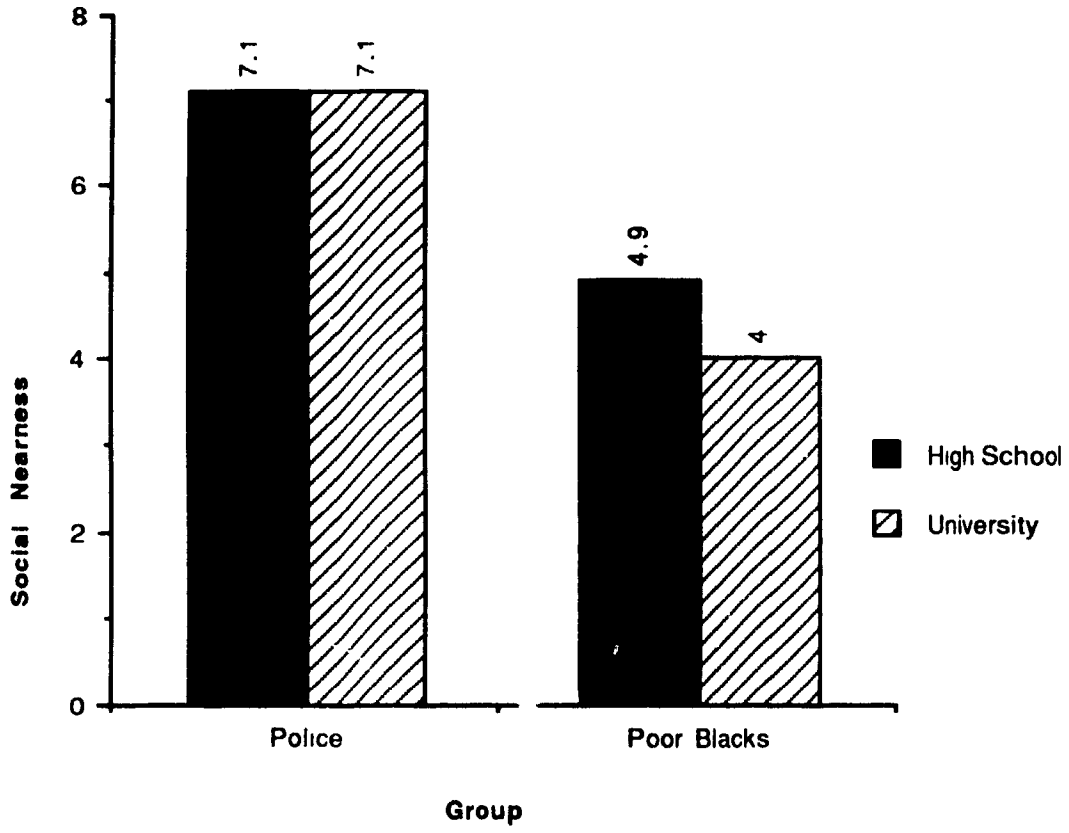

Figure 9- Group X Education Interaction

of cultural differences than are their less educated colleagues. By any standard, the life of a white middle class university educated police officer is different from those who are economically deprived and sometimes culturally distinct by virtue of membership in the "poor" category. Nonetheless, this tendency of greater detachment from certain community groups by the university educated officers gives rise to some concern and warrants further investigation.

6.Length of Service

The years of service variable was broken down into same three levels as were used in the Education X Service analyses. Years of service on the police department did not have an effect on nearness to the community outgroup scores However, a significant interaction followed by tests of simple main effects showed that nearness to police peers was dependent upon length of service. Figure 10 shows this significant interaction with poor blacks as the outgroup [$F(2,117) = 5.60$, $p < .01$]. More specifically, post hoc tests (Newman-Keuls) showed that the "less than five years" officers were significantly nearer to their colleagues than were the officers with fifteen or more years service.

It was not expected that police constables would distance themselves from their colleagues over time. It would seem more likely that long service police officers, who may have become emotionally hardened and perhaps more ethnocentric over time, would have a narrower self-identity as a police officer. It might be expected that this tighter self-identity would result in higher ingroup identification coexisting with outgroup devaluation. As there were no NCOs in the long service group, there is even more reason to suspect that the long service constables would be particularly cynical due to their longer service on the "front lines." However, the present results do not support this line of thinking. Perhaps, the longest serving officers have broadened their social identity base as they have looked for life satisfaction outside of their narrowly defined role as police officers. This line of

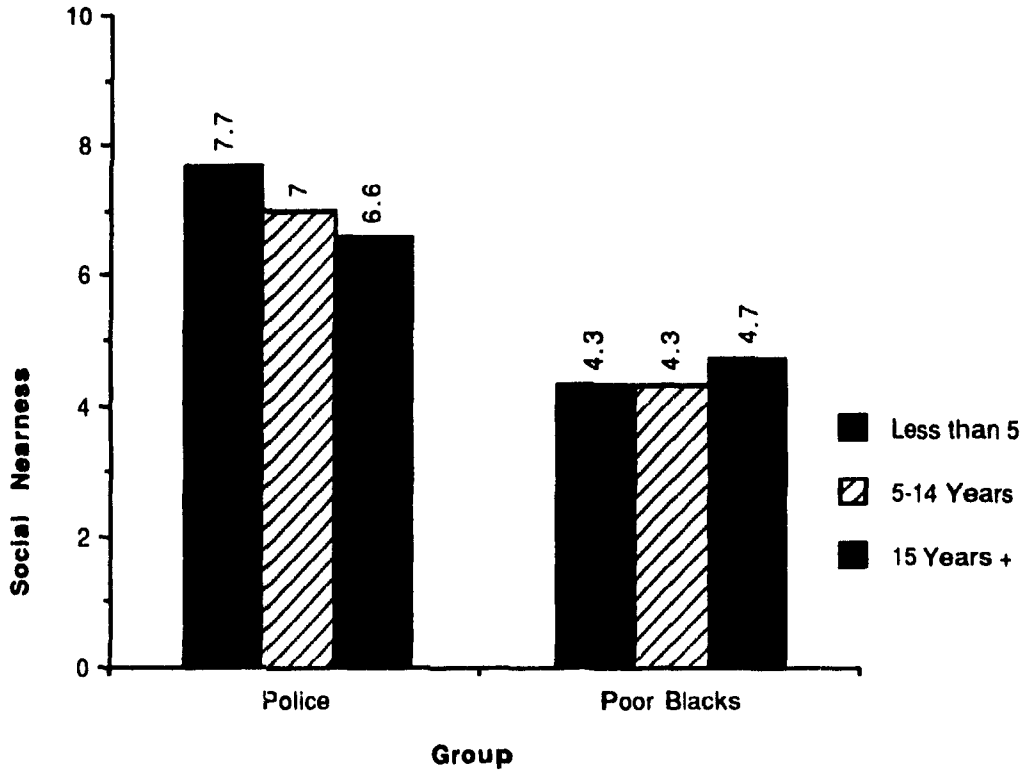

Figure 10- Group X Years Service Interaction

thinking would be supported by increasing nearness to the community with the longer serving officers. However, there were no service effects on degree of nearness to the outgroups.

Another possible explanation is that the longer serving officers may have become disenchanted with the influx of young better educated officers, who may be better suited to adapt to the relatively novel "community policing" style of police service. In other words, older officers may resent recent changes in the mandate of the police, and younger officers may be regarded as representative of those changes. In short, longer serving constables may feel minimally alienated from their younger colleagues. This interpretation is also consistent with the previous finding that the longer serving group of officers are less satisfied with their jobs than are the less than five year group. However, it is also plausible that strong ingroup identification may be particularly important for the less secure newer officer trying to break into the cliquish and closely knit police subculture.

With the foregoing in mind, it is not surprising that a significant Years of Service main effect exists when the police are the ingroup and police managers are the outgroup [$F(2,117) = 4.98$, $p < .01$]. Collapsed across the Group variable, the mean scores were 6.5, 5.7, and 5.5 for the less than five years, five to fourteen years, and the fifteen years and over groups respectively. This result demonstrates a significant tendency for the two longer service groups to be more alienated from their co-workers, whether they be other officers or managers. The finding in this analysis suggests that the long service officers at the 5-14 year and 15 year plus groups place more distance between their colleagues and police managers than do the more junior officers. There may be pressure for the newest officers to define their identity in terms of closeness to their immediate supervisors as well as their peers.

Community Alienated versus Socially Integrated Officers

Many of the findings in this study were unexpected and counterintuitive. Unquestionably, the most surprising general finding was that the police are not particularly ethnocentric. Due to the important implications of this finding, it became a desirable objective to exploit the available evidence regarding this question to the greatest extent possible. Consequently, as another test of the ethnocentrism hypothesis versus the social diversity hypothesis, a subsample of officers alienated from the community but close to their peers were compared to their more community integrated colleagues on the dependent measures of authoritarianism, stress, job satisfaction, and alienation/solidarity. The rationale was that if police officers were actually ethnocentric, that highly ethnocentric officers would likely be captured at the extremes of closeness to the police ingroup, and alienation from the community outgroups. Median splits were utilized to achieve this end. To be deemed community alienated, an officer had to score in the top half of nearness to police and in the bottom half of nearness to each of the outgroups (in order to be comprehensive, analyses were also conducted with police managers as the outgroup). Socially integrated officers included police members who were in the top half of nearness to the community and managerial groups, and in the bottom half of nearness to their peers. Comparisons were conducted for each of the outgroups. As might be expected, this classification captured highly select subsamples, including on average about 20 officers for each of the comparison groups.

Although t-test comparisons showed that the community alienated officers generally scored higher on the alienation/solidarity variable than did the more socially integrated officers, the remainder of results were unremarkable The failure to find differences on the other outcome measures, suggests that either this subsample is not ethnocentric, or if ethnocentric, that this quality is not accompanied by negative consequences (e.g., being

more highly stressed). These findings further throw into question the stereotypical view of the ethnocentric and stressed police officer.

Summary and Conclusions

The findings presented in this chapter served two general purposes. First, the data was used to describe the characteristics of the sample, particularly in terms of the social identity pattern of the officers. The social identity pattern of the sample of officers was described in terms of social nearness of the officers to specific ingroups and outgroups. Results showed that officers make social distance distinctions in the community on the basis of both class and race. Additionally, the officers seem to view the genesis of police-community tensions as lying more with the community than with the police officers themselves. Surprisingly, officers were found to be neither more authoritarian nor more stressed than normative samples. It was concluded that either existing stereotypes of the police are not based in fact, or that there is something unique in this sample of officers. It may be the case that the city from which the sample was drawn is a "gentler" city as compared to major Canadian and American urban centers, leaving its officers relatively more immune to the rigors of police work. However, this explanation is suspect in terms of ongoing racial tensions in the city, particularly as evidenced by the recent race riot. Descriptive results also showed that level of education, length of service, and degree of occupational satisfaction are associated with these identity patterns. .

The second purpose of the study was to test the ethnocentrism versus social diversity hypotheses. Results throughout both directly and indirectly challenged the legitimacy of the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Although the results could not be explained singularly on the basis of the social diversity hypothesis, findings were nonetheless consistent with a social diversity view. At first glance, the marked differences between groups in terms of social nearness ratings suggested an ethnocentric pattern. However, a

closer inspection of the data rendered the adoption of the ethnocentrism hypothesis as premature. First, and most convincing, are the significantly positive correlations between ingroup and outgroup ratings. Rises in ingroup identification are accompanied with rises in outgroup identification. Although undetermined by the available data, increasing social nearness to the outgroups may reflect enhanced tolerance and acceptance of cultural diversity in the community. Second, is the absence of remarkable levels of authoritarianism and perceived stress in the sample. It was predicted that high levels of authoritarianism and stress would accompany an ethnocentric pattern. Additionally, those officers who are higher in authoritarianism do not reflect this bias in their judgements of social proximity to ingroups and outgroups. Level of stress and degree of general alienation also failed to show differences in social distance judgements. Finally, an attempt to identify a small sample of highly alienated and ethnocentric officers failed to show this group to be either more or less authoritarian, stressed, or satisfied with their jobs than their more integrated peers.

Clearly, the present results challenge commonly held stereotypes of the working personality of police officers. A priori assumptions regarding stress and authoritarianism were unwarranted with the present sample. Reports of high police ingroup solidarity were supported, but rather than being a negative phenonomen, rises in ingroup identification were accompanied by greater levels of outgroup empathy and probably outgroup acceptance. Consequently, societal alarm with the legendary fraternity of police officers is not justified on the basis of the present results. Rather, it would appear that those officers who are closest to their peers (or to middle class whites) are also those officers closest to societal outgroups. Hence, ingroup identification can be seen as a positive process which enhances police-outgroup relations.

Chapter 3

Implications: Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions

In Study 1, the analysis of data helped to establish the social identity pattern of a sample of police officers. To accomplish this, police officers were solicited to indicate their views and perceptions of issues that were believed to be salient to the day to day functioning of the officers. However, what was not examined was the link between these perceptions and actual police performance attitudes or behavioral intentions in response to circumscribed police calls and duties (e.g., apprehension of an impaired driver, response to a call of a major disturbance). In other words, does a police officer's social identity pattern have an impact on attitudes and behavior related to specific police calls? The present study was designed to examine the performance and perceptions of the police in response to a number of actual police call scenarios. It was important that the situations be typical and representative, although not exhaustive, of the types of challenges faced by police officers during their tours of duty.

In addition to the unique contributions of Study 2, data was collected to validate several of the Study 1 findings. The questionnaire used in this second study was again designed to allow for the identification of police ingroups and outgroups. However, this follow-up study used a more succinct measure of social distance than was used in Study 1. Additionally, in order to further test the ethnocentrism hypothesis versus the social diversity hypothesis, the correlations between ingroup and outgroup ratings were again examined. Finally, the relationship between social identity patterns and the mediating variables of education and length of service were explored.

While previous studies of the police have examined reactions to broadly defined areas of police functioning (e.g., Jermier et al., 1989; Kroes et al., 1974), documentation of police performance in response to specific calls is sparse. Consequently, the purpose of

this study was to examine attitudes, perceptions, and behavioral intentions of police officers in response to specific situations as defined by brief performance scenarios presented in the form of vignettes. It was important to select scenarios which captured the breadth of situations encountered by the typical "front line" officer. In this regard, the study was designed to be relevant to the day to day experience of uniform patrol officers, rather than being concerned with obscure and hypothetical situations. The situations described ranged from the mundane (e.g., issuance of a traffic ticket), to more serious crime fighting situations (e.g., break and enter). The situations also varied as to the amount of discretionary leeway police officers have in their decision to arrest or not arrest. For example, while an officer may decide not to lay charges for simple possession of marijuana, he or she would be almost certain to arrest a pedophile. Finally, some vignettes were designed to evoke empathy for the offender (e.g., a repentant impaired driver), while other offenders were described as hostile and disrespectful of the police (e.g., an obnoxious drunk at a loud party). Whenever possible, the perception and behavioral intentions of police officers in regards to the situations will be linked to the social identity findings of Study 1.

The focus of the study was to investigate the relationship between the type of police call or duty and several outcome measures. For example, officers were asked to rate how stressful it is to act in each type of call. Also, officers were requested to rate separately how socially significant and how personally satisfying police response is in the different situations. Although one might expect these ratings to be closely linked, there are likely situations in which these scores would diverge dramatically. For example, although responding to a call of an abused child may be socially significant, the individual officer may derive little satisfaction from the experience. Similarly, although the issuance of a traffic ticket to an obnoxious motorist may be satisfying for an officer, it is hardly a socially significant event. Officers were also asked to indicate for each of the hypothetical vignettes the degree to which peers, police managers, and the public would approve of

police action taken in each of the situations. In view of the high ingroup solidarity demonstrated thus far, it was hypothesized that the level of support for police action would be significantly higher from other police officers than from police administrators and the public as a whole. It is also of interest how these approval measures correlate. If the police are indeed not ethnocentric, it would be expected that officers would perceive public and managerial approval to correspond closely with peer approval. Hence, strong positive correlations between approval ratings would indicate a perception of shared purpose between the police, police managers, and the public as a whole.

As a measure of behavioral intention, officers were asked to rate how likely they would be to discharge an offender without making an arrest or laying charges. Specifically, they were asked "How likely are you to clear this situation informally without laying charges?" While higher scores on the 11 point scale reflect a greater likelihood of not arresting, lower scores imply an increased probability of arresting. The inclusion of this measure serves two purposes. First, it allows for an examination of when and under what circumstances an officer will lay charges. Second, an examination of the association between this measure and the various approval measures sheds light upon police perceptions of what type of action is approved of by peers, police managers, and the public. For example, a negative correlation with the public approval measure might suggest a desire on the part of the public that the police take punitive action. Interestingly, nonsignificant correlations would suggest a "hands off" philosophy where the public extends approval (or support) to the police independent of what police action is taken.

The question related to the decision of the police to arrest or not arrest has been previously examined in two studies by Powell (1981, 1990). In this research, the factors associated with the exercise of police discretion were explored. To accomplish this, police officers were asked to indicate their likely response to different action scenarios for four different groups of offenses. Half of these vignettes included black offenders while the other half included white offenders. Response options for each of the vignettes included

five possible avenues of action for the surveyed officers. The vignettes included situations of domestic violence, public intoxication, speeding, and driving while impaired. Of particular interest in both studies was the reported differential treatment of black and white offenders, with the police being more likely to arrest black offenders. In the first study conducted in American northern cities, results showed that the officers were more likely to arrest blacks than whites in three of the four major categories. The exception was found with the domestic disturbance call where the officers were marginally more likely to arrest a white suspect. In the more recent study conducted in the American south, the results were somewhat different. Police reported that they were more likely to arrest blacks than whites for domestic disturbance complaints, but were marginally less likely to arrest blacks for speeding offenses. There was essentially no difference across race in behavioral intention to arrest in the impaired driving scenario.

Of particular interest in Study 1 were the mean ratings of police nearness to specific community groups. Officers were found to make distinctions on the basis of class and race. What is not known is whether attitudinal race distinctions translate into differences in actual police behavior. As was the case in the Powell study, it is of particular interest whether police officers are more or less likely to arrest members of specific ethnic groups. Consequently, one of the vignettes in Study 2 was designed to investigate possible differential treatment of several ethnic groups at the hands of the police.

Hypotheses

1. Police officers perceive varying levels of alienation from the community on the basis of both the class and the race of the specific group.

2. Police officers' perception of relative alienation results in the identification of specific occupational and community ingroups and outgroups. The ingroup most highly identified with is police peers.

3. Increasing identification with ingroups is accompanied by increasing acceptance and tolerance of outgroups.

4. Police officers' social identity patterns are empirically related to the attitudes and behavioral intentions associated with specific police calls and duties.

5. Police officers perceive highest peer, managerial, and public approval when responding to the "crime fighting" situations as opposed to "community service" situations. Crime fighting duties are also perceived to be the most socially significant.

6. Police officers derive their greatest source of approval for their actions from other police officers.

7. Police officers' decision to arrest or not arrest is associated with the ethnicity of the offender.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were sworn police personnel drawn from the same sample pool as in Study 1. The pool was somewhat smaller than in Study 1 due to attrition, vacation leave,

and sick leave. Of 222 questionnaires distributed, 129 forms were returned completed representing a response rate of about 58%.

Measures and Procedure

The data from this follow-up study were collected during the last two weeks of August, 1990, nearly one year prior to the recent escalation of black-white tensions in the city of question. The research instrument used in this second study was also a survey questionnaire. The questionnaire distributed required the officers to provide demographic information such as level of education and length of service. Following this, officers were again asked to rate how socially near they were to several community groups, police managers, and other police officers. Additionally, officers were asked to rate how close they were to the community as a whole. Unlike the first study, the present study required only one item per group to assess social distance. For example, the sole question assessing social distance between poor blacks and the police was, "Overall, how close would you rate the relationship between you and poor blacks to be?" Responses were on an 11 point Likert scale from "not at all close" to "very close."

Eight action vignettes followed the alienation judgements. With the exception of the domestic violence vignette, the order of the questionnaire was counterbalanced to some extent by administering the action scenarios in four different randomly determined sequences. The four different sequences of vignettes were distributed in turn to respondent officers so as to achieve as equal a distribution as possible. The domestic violence situation was included as the last vignette in all sequences as it contained an experimental manipulation. The manipulation was designed to assess possible differences in behavioral intention to arrest based on the ethnicity of the offender. The situation was presented to the officers with the male perpetrator variously described as white, black, Lebanese or Greek.

The four versions were evenly distributed to the sample of officers. The order of the situation vignettes in the four sequences were as follows:

Sequence 1- loud party, abused child, break and enter, impaired driver, traffic ticket, possession of marijuana, major disturbance, and domestic violence.

Sequence 2- possession of marijuana, impaired driver, traffic ticket, break and enter, abused child, loud party, major disturbance, and domestic violence.

Sequence 3- break and enter, abused child, major disturbance, possession of marijuana, traffic ticket, impaired driver, loud party, and domestic violence.

Sequence 4- major disturbance, break and enter, traffic ticket, abused child, impaired driver, possession of marijuana, loud party, and domestic violence.

The actual vignettes utilized follow:

Loud Party

Two officers arrive at an apartment building in response to a complaint of a loud party. They are successful in locating the tenant from the problem apartment who assures the officers that she will take steps to quiet the party down. At this point one of the party goers, who is obviously intoxicated, comes to the door and begins to loudly challenge the authority of the two officers. The officers, as well as the apartment tenant, politely but firmly encourage this person to go back inside. He refuses to go inside, asserting his "right" to do what he wants in a "free country." The officers inform him that he is liable to be arrested for being drunk and disturbing the peace. This man appears not to heed the warning, and instead continues to argue with the two officers.

Abused Child

An officer meets with a female complainant who claims that her four year old daughter has been sexually molested by her common-law husband. The child reported to her mother that her step-father had fondled her genital area on at least one occasion. However, the little girl was quite shy and would not relate the incident to the officer. It is quite clear that there would be problems in having the child testify in court. Nonetheless, the officer locates the suspect and questions him at the police station. After a prolonged interview, the suspect breaks down crying and admits to sexually assaulting his step-daughter two separate times. He claims to be remorseful for his behavior, and assures the officer that he intends to seek out professional counselling.

Break and Enter

In response to a burglar alarm, two officers arrive a private home to discover that illegal entry had been gained. With the assistance of backup units, the house is sealed off and the two officers begin a search of the premises. Two culprits are located; one in a second floor closet and the other in a corner in the basement. A search reveals a large buck knif concealed on the body of one of the suspects. Both suspects are handcuffed and escorted to waiting police cars.

Impaired Driver

A lone officer has occasion to pull over a car on a routine check. The driver, a young male, is by himself and has been drinking. While the driver is not intoxicated, the officer believes he is likely to marginally fail a breath test. The driver acknowledges his present condition, and cites personal problems as the cause of his behavior. He states that this instance of drinking and driving is an isolated incident, and pleads with the officer to allow him to take a taxi home. A computer check reveals no previous record.

Traffic Ticket

An officer on routine patrol pulls a car over due to expired registration. A check of the appropriate papers reveal no other violations, but confirms that the plates have been expired for just over a month. The driver reports that he has been out of the province for a couple of months, and consequently was not able to renew his registration. He assures the officer that he will renew his registration as soon as possible. The driver is quite indignant about being stopped, and wonders aloud whether the officer might better spend his time in the pursuit of criminals.

Possession of Marijuana

While on night patrol, an officer checks behind some buildings in response to a suspicious person complaint. The suspicious person turns out to be a young man who had apparently gone behind the buildings looking for a private place to smoke some marijuana. In addition to the marijuana he is smoking, a body search reveals two more joints in his pocket. A computer search indicates that he has no previous criminal record

Major Disturbance

Two officers are dispatched to a local nightclub in response to a report of a major disturbance on the sidewalk in front of the club. The dispatcher alerts the officers, as well as a backup unit, to the possibility of the use of knives at the scene of the fracas. On arrival, the officers encounter a crowd of approximately 100 people surrounding two men engaged in a fist fight. There is also some jostling occurring between several people in the crowd. The officers are able to wrestle the fighters apart without serious mishap Neither of the combatants wish to lay complaints, and both advise of their wish to go home peacefully.

Domestic Violence

Two officers are dispatched to the scene of a domestic disturbance following a complaint of assault by the female occupant. The married couple at this address are known to the police as frequent combatants who have on several occasions summoned the police to intervene in their spousal disputes. On at least two occasions, the wife has failed to follow through on assault charges that she laid against her husband. On arrival, the officers find

the household in a state of disarray and the couple, who have both been drinking, are screaming at each other. A small child cries in the background. Some redness below the woman's eye is visible, but she is otherwise unmarked from the dispute. She demands that the officers arrest her husband for assault, and maintains that she will be certain to testify in court against him. She is generally abusive towards the officers, repeatedly berating them for their inaction. Her husband, a young white man, is somewhat calmer and assures the officers that the couple's differences can be resolved without police intervention.

Following the description of each of the situations, were eight questions relevant to the situation described. The questions were standardized for each of the vignettes and were answered on an 11 point Likert scale. The items queried the officers as to :

1. how stressful the situation is
2. the social significance of police action in type of call
3. personal satisfaction of police intervention in this type of situation
4. likelihood of clearing call informally without making an arrest or laying charges
5. public approval of action
6. managerial approval of action
7. peer approval of action
8. frequency of type of call

The administration of the stress item was of interest because it required a perceptual assessment of a specific situation. Most previous stress questionnaires require either a nonspecific assessment of the perception of stress (as was the case in the first study) or the endorsement of life events assumed to be stressful.

Results and Discussion

The following analyses served two general goals. First, this follow-up study was designed to provide a reliability check of several of the Study 1 findings. The social identity pattern of the police officers was assessed using the more succinct measure of alienation. As in Study 1, the impact of race and class of community group members on the social

identity pattern of the officers was investigated. The ingroup-outgroup identity patterns of officers were again examined in terms of the ethnocentrism and social diversity hypotheses. Additionally, an attempt was made to investigate the association between responses to the action situations and the social identity pattern of the officers.

The second major goal of this follow-up study was to examine the actual responses to the action situations independent of the Study 1 findings. The perceptions and attitudes emanating from the eight action scenarios were explored. Ratings of the frequency, social significance, personal satisfaction, behavioral intention to arrest, and perceived stress associated with each of the situations is discussed. Following this descriptive examination of attitudes and perceptions is a discussion of perceived approval ratings from police peers, police managers, and the public in relation to police performance. Next, the perception of increasing alienation and attitudinal responses to the eight situations was examined. Finally, potential differences in the probability to arrest members of different ethnic groups members in the domestic violence vignette were considered.

Reliability Analyses of the Police Social Identity Pattern

As previously indicated, Study 2 utilized only one measure of social distance for each of the community, managerial, and police groups. Consequently, there was no across perceiver distinction in the current analysis. Rather, officers were asked to rate their relationships on an "overall" basis. A brief inspection of the data again showed the sample of officers identify most highly with other police officers. In fact, the average score of nearness to peers ($\underline{M}$ = 1.0), was identical to the score in the first study averaged across both levels of perceiver. A correlated t-test showed that officers were closer to their colleagues than to all other groups including the middle class white ingroup ($\underline{M}$=6.2, $\underline{t}$ (97) = -2.89, $\underline{p} < .01$). Of the community groups, officers identified most highly with middle class whites and were most distant from poor blacks. Again, there was essentially no

difference between ratings of middle class blacks and poor whites. Overall, the ratings in this study were remarkably similar to the averaged across perceiver scores in Study 1. Apparently, the single social distance measure used in this study reflects a relatively balanced compromise by the officers between the two more differentiated across perceiver ratings observed in Study 1. The present study included one additional social distance inquiry not incorporated by the first study. Officers were asked to rate nearness to the community as a whole. Interestingly, the mean score for this measure ($\underline{M}$ = 6.2) was substantially higher than the averaged scores of the four community groups. More specifically, the overall community score was significantly higher than mean scores for poor blacks ($\underline{M}$ = 4.0), poor whites ($\underline{M}$ = 4.8), and middle class blacks ($\underline{M}$ = 4.7, $p <$ .001 in all comparisons). However, the difference between the community score and the score for middle class whites was nonsignificant.

The reason for the relatively high "community" scores is not immediately apparent, but at least three plausible explanations come to mind. First, it is possible that the officers equate the community with middle class whites. In other words, when forming impressions the officers may define "community" with reference to themselves and their own ingroup (middle class whites). An examination of the correlation between the community variable and the middle class whites variable shows this relationship to be significant (r= .42, $p <$ .001). However, this explanation is not satisfactory in view of the even stronger correlations between the community variable and the poor black, poor white, and middle class black outgroup variables.

Second, being close to the "community" as a whole may be psychologically necessary for a sense of purpose and collectivity. This finding raises a question as to what the term community means. In view of the discrepancies between "community" and specific community group ratings, it appears to include more than the sum of its parts. It may be the case that it is relatively safe for the typical police officer to distance him/herself from specific groups without disturbing the officer's self-schema to any great extent. On

the other hand, disassociating from the collective "community" may challenge the notion of the police service as a whole, and thus challenge the individual officer's sense of purpose and being. It should be noted that this rationale is contrary to an explanation offered in Study 1 where it was proposed that it was more role congruent for officers to report global alienation on the alienation/solidarity factor than to report alienation from specific groups.

Finally, the difference between the "community" scores and the ratings for the specific groups may more simply reflect a social desirability bias. Police officers may be acutely aware of the need to appear to identify with the "community" as a whole. More particularly, they may want to appear close to the community to validate their role in the relatively recent community-based approach to policing. On the other hand, there may be a perception that their public image may not be adversely affected by the concession that they are alienated from specific community groups.

1.The Identity Pattern of Broadband Community Groups

To empirically reaffirm the results of Study 1 in relation to race and class differences, a 2(Race) x 2(Class) ANOVA was conducted (see Figure 11). As expected, these analyses revealed significant main effects of Race [F (1, 96) = 59.09, $p < .001$] and Class [F (1, 96) = 49.72, $p < .001$]. These main effects were also subsumed by a significant two-way Race x Class interaction [F (1, 97) = 13.91, $p < .001$]. Again, it appears that social distance ratings vary relatively similarly on the basis of class or race, with both variables affecting ratings to a striking extent. Tests of simple main effects bear this impression out. The middle class was rated significantly higher than the poor at both levels of race, and whites garnered higher ratings than blacks at both levels of social class.

The interaction arises again from the "middle class whites" cell, where the average rating was higher than one would predict on the basis of class or race alone. In other words, officer ratings again make nearness to middle class whites ratings stand out from

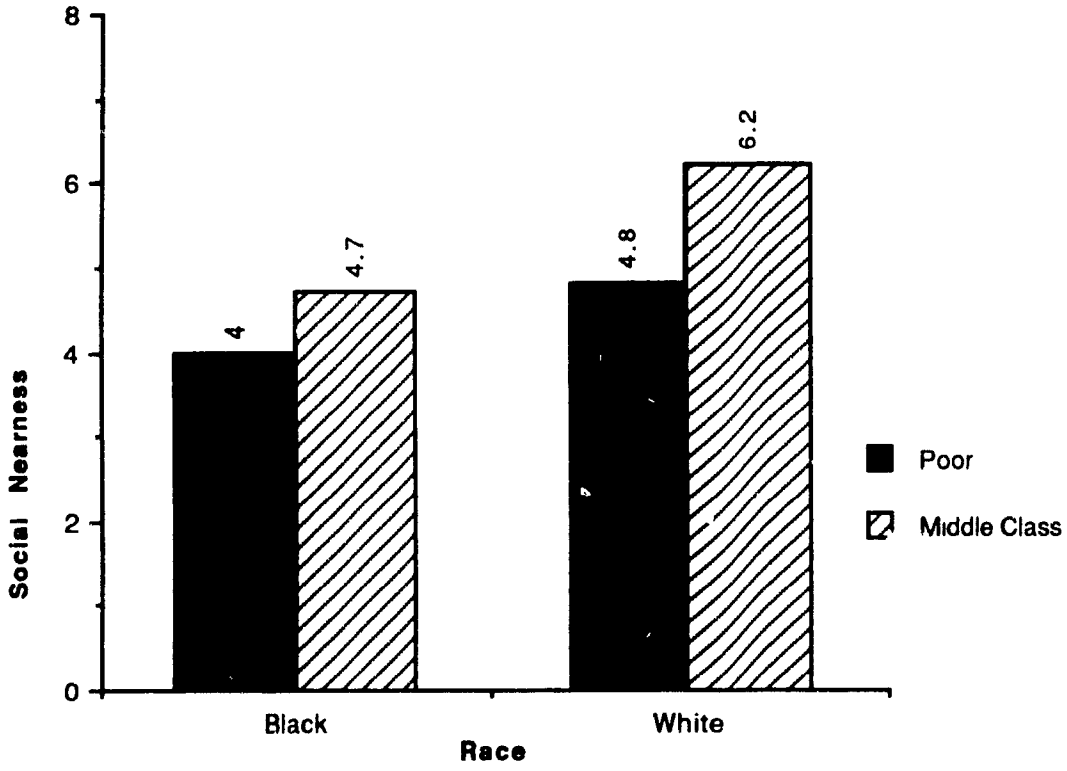

Figure 11- Race X Class Interaction (Study 2)

the rest. This interaction is remarkably similar to that found in Study 1, and suggests that the findings of the first study were robust. Consequently, it appears that middle class whites are a special group, probably due to the fact that it is the group to which mostly middle class white police officers believe they belong. These results further justify a line of thinking where middle class whites are viewed as a broad band ingroup.

2. The Identity Pattern of Narrow Band Occupational Groups

Not surprisingly, police officers again identified to a much greater extent with their peers than with police managers. As previously indicated, the sample of officers reported being nearer to their colleagues than to all other groups (M=7.0). The mean rating for police managers was substantially lower (M=4.9, $t(96) = 8.92$, $p < .001$). As in Study 1, the managerial ratings were not significantly different than those of poor whites and middle class blacks. Hence, the findings are consistent with those of Study 1 which showed that other police peers are clearly a narrow band ingroup for the sample of police officers while police managers are just as clearly a narrow band outgroup.

Ethnocentrism versus Social Diversity

In Study 1 it was argued that police officers are receptive to social diversity rather than being rigidly ethnocentric. This conclusion was supported by converging lines of evidence, with the most important piece of support being the finding of positive correlations between nearness ratings of ingroups and outgroups. To further establish this pattern the Pearson correlation coefficients between ingroups and outgroups were examined in this more recent study (see Table 3).

All ingroup-outgroup correlations were again in the positive direction. Most correlations were either similar to those in Study 1 or somewhat weaker. The correlations

Table 3- Ingroup-Outgroup Pearson Correlations (Study 2)

A. Police as Ingroup	Total Sample	Constables
Middle Whites	.22 **	.14 n.s.
Middle Blacks	.33 ***	.27 **
Poor Whites	.31 ***	.31 **
Poor Blacks	.25 **	.21 *
Community	.27 **	.34 **
Managers	.44 ***	.43 ***
B. Middle Class Whites as Ingroup		
Middle Blacks	.51 ***	.49 ***
Poor Whites	.47 ***	.52 ***
Poor Blacks	.41 ***	.41 ***
Community	.39 **	.42 ***

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$
Two-tailed significance

may have been attenuated somewhat by the use of a single measure of social nearness rather than the more stable composite scores that were utilized in the first study. One notable exception to the pattern was the nonsignificant correlation between the ratings of police and middle class whites in the constables only sample. This finding somewhat throws into question the supposition that middle class whites are a wide band ingroup. However, even this nonsignificant correlation was in the positive direction. The reason for this relative lack of association is not readily apparent. It is especially surprising when considering that middle class white ratings correlated with the police ratings more highly than any of the other outgroups in the first study.

These findings again suggest that feeling good about one's identity as an ingroup member is associated with acceptance and tolerance of members of outgroups. As in Study 1, these results are consistent with the social diversity hypothesis in demonstrating that between group distinctiveness coexists with positive ingroup-outgroup correlations. It is important to again emphasize, however, that these results do not provide solid evidence for the social diversity hypothesis due to the presence of other plausible competing hypotheses. As noted in the previous study, positive correlations may at least in part be a product of a biased positive response set. Concerns regarding a social desirability bias should be at least partially allayed by the fact that the officers were willing to report poor relations with specific outgroups (e.g., poor blacks).

Mediating Variables

Global measures of stress, authoritarianism, alienation/solidarity, and job satisfaction were not included in the second questionnaire. Consequently, tests of the mediating effect of each of these variables were not replicated. However, a measure of education was included in the questionnaire. Hence, the impact of education on each of the outcome variables could be tested. Of specific interest is whether university educated

officers again report being more alienated from poor blacks and poor whites than do their high school educated counterparts.

Consistent with the findings in Study 1, a series of 2(Group) X 2(Education) ANOVAs showed a significant interaction using poor whites as the outgroup [$F(1,95) = 4.43$, $p < .05$]. Unlike Study 1, the analysis conducted utilizing poor blacks as the outgroup failed to demonstrate a significant interaction. In the case of poor whites, the pattern of results was similar to that observed in Study 1, suggesting that high school educated officers are nearer to poor whites than are their university educated peers. However, a test of simple main effects showed that this difference was not statistically significant. Consequently, these reliability analyses failed to statistically support the Study 1 finding that university officers are more alienated from poor blacks and poor whites than are their high school peers. Nonetheless, the differences were in the same direction indicating the need for further research into this potential phenonomen.

The years of service variable failed to show a main effect of service or any significant interactions for any of the ingroup-outgroup pairings. Consequently, the Study 1 finding that police officers grow more detached from their peers over time was not supported. Nevertheless, the observed trend suggested that it was the 5-14 year group who were the most alienated from their peers rather than the 15 years plus group.

Predicting Attitudes and Intentions on the Basis of Social Identity

To further test the effects of alienation on police performance, nearness to the community, police managers, and police peers groups as well as the product (interaction) terms of these measures were used as predictors of the eight outcome variables for each of the eight vignettes (e.g., perceived stress associated with the loud party vignette social significance of the break and enter vignette). In total, 64 separate regression analyses were conducted predicting responses to the eight items following each hypothetical action

situation. Overall, the social identity measures as predictors captured relatively little variance. In fact, 26 of the analyses failed to reveal any significant predictors whatsoever. Most of the remaining analyses revealed single predictors accounting for relatively little variance (approximately 10% of the variance in most cases). A careful examination of these predictors showed no consistent pattern across the eight vignettes and eight outcome measures. Interestingly, all significant predictors were in the positive direction, again suggesting a response set bias. In general, these analyses failed to demonstrate a link between the social identity pattern of the officers and vignette outcome variables. These results were surprising in that it was expected and hypothesized that social identity would be associated with situation attitudes and behavioral intentions. In view of these inconsistent findings, the potential relationships between social identity and attitudinal and behavioral outcome measures will not be further elaborated upon.

Police Perceptions of Action Scenarios

The present study explored police perceptions and behavioral intentions in response to eight situations encountered by police officers. The ensuing discussion examines, in a descriptive way, responses to the action scenarios. Due to the the large number of variables under consideration, and the descriptive approach used to examine the data, tests of significance were not utilized. Table 4 shows relative frequency of occurrence of each type of call, the social significance and personal satisfaction associated with police action in each type of situation, and the likelihood not to arrest.

Not surprisingly, the most frequently encountered situation is that of the traffic ticket. It is interesting that in spite of spending so much of their time enforcing traffic laws, the police respondents rate this type of action to be the least socially significant. In other words, police officers spend most of their time performing a function that they don't believe to be important. Conversely, the officers spend relatively little time in a "crime

Table 4- Frequencies, Social Significance, Personal Satisfaction, and Behavioral Intentions

(Mean Scores)

	Frequency	Social Significance	Personal Satisfaction	Clear Without Arrest
Loud Party	6.8	4.9	4.9	3.7
Abused Child	3.1	8.9	5.6	1.5
Break and Enter	5.1	8.8	7.8	0.9
Impaired Driver	6.0	6.8	4.4	4.2
Traffic Ticket	7.1	3.4	4.6	3.1
Possession of Marijuana	4.2	4.3	3.8	6.0
Major Disturbance	6.9	6.4	4.4	4.7
Domestic Violence	6.5	6.2	3.3	4.1

fighting" capacity. In the present study, the "abused child" and "break and enter" vignettes could be considered crime fighting scenarios. The sample of officers reported, on average, encountering break and enter calls "sometimes" and abused child calls "rarely." These infrequently encountered situations are rated to be the highest in social significance.

These findings suggest the possibility that typical police officers spend much of their time performing duties which are not role congruent. This may be particularly problematic for officers who are firmly entrenched in a crime fighting or more extreme "John Wayne" mode of policing. These officers may experience cognitive dissonance when acting as providers of community service, and may find themselves especially alienated from the various groups with whom they have contact. Interestingly, they may even be alienated from their peers whom they may perceive do not share in their high ideals.

The vignettes which could be classified as "service" type calls include the "loud party," "major disturbance," and "domestic violence" scenarios. Although spousal assault is clearly a criminal offense, it is likely that officers perceive this to be more of a service call than a "crime fighting" call. The sample of officers reported encountering these service type calls on a relatively frequent basis. Not surprisingly, the "loud party" call was rated as not particularly socially significant. It is interesting that the "domestic violence" call was rated fifth in terms of social significance, being slightly less significant than response to the disturbance call. It appears that while the sample of officers believe that intervention into conjugal violence situations is important, other calls clearly have a higher priority. Nonetheless, it seems likely that efforts by groups to raise societal awareness to the problem of conjugal violence have had at least some impact on officers in sensitizing them to the seriousness of domestic violence. Hopefully, the development of police awareness to the problem of domestic assault may yet be at an intermediate stage and will evolve further yet with continued efforts to educate officers as to the limited options available to abused spouses.

In terms of personal satisfaction, it is again the crime fighting calls that received the highest ratings. However, the rating for the "abused child" call is substantially lower than that of the "break and enter" call. Relatively speaking, it appears that while it is very satisfying to arrest an offender for a break and enter, it is somewhat distasteful to arrest a pedophile. Of all the police calls, it is the domestic violence situation in which police officers receive the least satisfaction. This result suggests that in spite of the recognition that police intervention is important in this type of situation, police officers attain little satisfaction from acting in duties such as this.

Not surprisingly, the sample of officers was least likely to clear "break and enter" and "abused child" calls without making an arrest. This likely results from the perception that these are "good" arrests combined with the fact that societal expectations demand that officers arrest in these types of circumstances. The officers were least likely to arrest an offender for possession of marijuana. While possession of soft drugs remains a criminal offense, officers seem to believe that this is not a particularly serious offense. Additionally, the fact that the scenario evoked sympathy for the offender may have played a role in the low likelihood to arrest. Conversely, the relatively high probability of issuing a traffic ticket likely results from contact with a disrespectful citizen. In general, the results suggest, with the exception of the most serious offenses, that police officers have a great deal of discretionary power in their decision to lay or not to lay charges. The results also suggest that the police decision to take punitive action may in part be mediated by the demeanor of the offender.

Perhaps, of most concern is the relative likelihood not to lay charges against the man in the "domestic violence" situation. The sample of officers ranked the likelihood to arrest the spousal offender as fifth out of the eight vignettes. Notably, the officers were more likely to arrest a loud drunk and charge a belligerent traffic offender than they were to arrest the domestic assault suspect. Again, it should be pointed out that the vignette provided was biased to elicit empathy with the perpetrator, and that it is not surprising that

the demeanor of the offender would factor into the decision making process. Additionally, the rating may reflect a frustration on the part of the police officers due to the relatively low probability of having this type of charge proceed through the courts. Nonetheless, recent media attention to the problem suggests that the police response in this case is likely inconsistent with the wishes of the broader society. The discretion exercised is especially surprising in light of the fact that the Attorney General's Department in the city of question has laid out a mandate that charges be laid in all cases of domestic assault.

Perceived Stress

Given police folklore, the level of perceived stress associated with each of the eight vignettes was not surprising (see Table 5). The officers rated that response to an abused child call was the most stressful. Results here suggest that police officers are not completely hardened by their vocation, and are affected when dealing with particularly vile crimes. Nearly as stressful, were responses to the break and enter and major disturbance calls. The mean stress rating assigned to the "domestic violence" situation suggests that a response to this type of call is relatively stressful as well as distasteful. The "domestic violence" stress rating may reflect a perception of powerlessness on the part of police officers when acting in these types of situations. This sense of powerlessness may arise from the perception that the arrest of the suspect in many cases will not be supported by the victim or the courts. The relatively high stress rating associated with this type of call in conjunction with the low rating in terms of personal satisfaction indicate that domestic disturbance calls are an especially well defined source of negative police-community contact. At the other end of the perceived stress continuum are the "traffic ticket," "possession of marijuana," and "impaired driver" vignettes. The officers surveyed reported that response to these three categories of calls as being only "a little" stressful.

Table 5- Perceived Stress Ratings

	Stress Mean
Loud Party	4.3
Abused Child	6.7
Break and Enter	6.4
Impaired Driver	3.1
Traffic Ticket	2.8
Possession of Marijuana	3.0
Major Disturbance	6.4
Domestic Violence	5.9

It is interesting that the most meaningful calls are the same calls which provide greatest levels of perceived stress (i.e., break and enter, abused child). This result suggests that the crime fighting role is a stressful one. However, the high level of stress associated in particular with the break and enter call raises an interesting issue regarding the legitimacy of the ratings. Although it is likely that the sample of officers truthfully reported their perceptions of perceived stress in response to the vignettes, the interpretation of the results should be tempered with some caution. As suggested in the introduction, an increasing body of research suggests that negative relations with police managers and the community as a whole may be at least as stressful as dangerous and crime fighting police activities. Hence, one would expect, for example, for there to be much less discrepancy in stress ratings between the "break and enter" and "traffic ticket" situations. Undoubtedly, the issuance of a traffic ticket in almost all circumstances is a negative type of police-citizen contact, which is likely to generate feelings of stress given the high frequency of this type of activity. However, this is clearly not the case with the present sample of officers. Rather, stress ratings approximate those that might be expected under the assumption that crime fighting and/or dangerous calls are particularly stressful (e g , break and enter, major disturbance). Nonetheless, the officers appear to be cognizant, to some degree, of the impact of negative human contact as evidenced by the high stress ratings assigned to the "abused child" and "domestic violence" vignettes.

To further elaborate on these findings, it is important to note that the stress ratings associated with the break and enter call suggest that either the crime fighting role is highly stressful for the average police officer, or the officers have been socialized to believe that this role is stressful. In other words, the high stress rating associated with the break and enter call may be the result of the officers' perceptions as to what <u>should</u> be stressful. Alternatively, police officers may define stress in different terms than do many members of society. More particularly, the day to day occupational irritants that many people find stressful may not be included within the criteria police use to define what constitutes a

stressful event. Rather, the police officer's conception of stress may require being exposed to an element of danger (e.g., break and enter), or being privy to a depraved crime (e.g., abused child).

The relative frequency of the different types of calls may also play a role in the degree of cumulative stress experienced. For example, although responding to a break and enter may be highly stressful, this particular type of call is relatively infrequent. Conversely, while issuing a traffic ticket may not be as stressful, the cumulative impact of this frequently encountered type of police action may result in even higher levels of occupational stress. In any case, this line of reasoning remains speculative as the present research design did not allow for empirical investigation of this issue.

Approval Ratings

Mean approval ratings were compared to test the level of police, managerial, and public consensus as to the appropriate role of police in society. Discrepancies between levels of peer and managerial or public approval were examined in order to pursue the theme of alienation, as large discrepancies would reflect an absence of shared purpose between police officers and the other two groups. To assess the level of public approval, officers were asked "How favorably would the public as a whole view your actions in this case?" The questions regarding level of managerial approval and peer approval were posed the same way substituting "police managers" and "police officers" for "the public". Differences across the three "approver" categories were examined by means of one-way repeated measures ANOVAs and are presented in Table 6. The main effect was highly significant for all vignettes except the "break and enter" and "abused child" situations. The most striking feature of the results is that officers surveyed reported peer approval to be higher than managerial and public approval for all situations except the traffic ticket vignette. Setting aside the nonsignificant effects for the crime fighting vignettes, post hoc

Table 6- Public, Managerial, and Peer Approval Ratings

	Public Approval	Manager Approval	Peer Approval	F Value	Probability of F
Loud Party	5.3	5.8	6.6	16.52 (2,188)	p <.001
Abused Child	7.8	7.8	8.0	1.69 (2,188)	n.s.
Break and Enter	8.3	8.5	8.6	2.76 (2,192)	n.s.
Impaired Driver	5.8	5.1	6.4	12.67 (2,192)	p<.001
Traffic Ticket	4.1	6.1	6.1	36.19 (2,190)	p<.001
Possession of Marijuana	4.9	4.7	6.2	21.74 (2,192)	p<.001
Major Disturbance	5.5	5.4	6.8	24.68 (2,190)	p<.001
Domestic Violence	5.6	5.8	6.4	6.80 (2,188)	p<.01

(Newman-Keuls) comparisons showed these differences to be significant in five of the six remaining vignettes. The exception was with the traffic ticket vignette where managerial and peer approval ratings were essentially the same. These results are another clear indication of police solidarity and are consistent with the findings in Study 1. Without taking into account peer, managerial, and public approval of specific police action (i.e., making or not making an arrest), the findings show a general trend where the sample of officers perceive their greatest source of support as coming from their colleagues.

In terms of peer approval, the traffic ticket call received the lowest absolute rating, although several other vignettes received only marginally higher ratings. In spite of the relatively low peer rating for this call, it was also the call with the highest police approval-public approval discrepancy. This finding is consistent with the low rating the ticket call received on the social significance scale. In sum, it appears that the sample of officers don't believe this activity to be significant and perceive a relatively low level of public support for this type of police action. This is indeed ironic when considering the frequency of this type of action and the potential role dissonance which may be implicitly inferred by this result. Clearly, conventional wisdom holds that traffic enforcement is a friendless endeavor which holds little favour from the public at large. It appears that the individual officer is well aware of this absence of common purpose, and carries over this belief of low public approval in his or her assessment of what behavior garners respect from police colleagues. Interestingly, managerial support for traffic enforcement duty is perceived to be not significantly less than that of police peers. This finding may reflect a commonly held perception that police managers place a disproportionate emphasis on the enforcement of traffic laws.

Public approval for the possession of marijuana situation was also relatively low. This is somewhat surprising in view of the North American "war on drugs". In spite of the recent emphasis on drug enforcement and the "zero tolerance" policy adopted by many enforcement agencies, the sample of police officers share a perception that the public is not

desirable of aggressive enforcement at least in terms of "soft" drugs. Perhaps more surprising, was the even lower approval rating assigned to police managers for this drug enforcement situation. In the perception of the officers surveyed, police management does not see the prosecution of simple possession offenders as being a high police priority.

At the other end of the spectrum are the break and enter and abused child situations In these cases, the differences between public, managerial, and peer approval were nonsignificant. Additionally, absolute approval values are the highest for all of the public, managerial, and police peer groups. It seems likely that these calls evoke an impression of time spent "fighting crime," which the police find role congruent and meaningful They also seem to believe that the public approves of police intervention into these types of police situations. These results suggest that police officers feel best in a crime fighting role where they receive high levels of support from the public and police managers as well as from their colleagues. This interpretation is supported by the fact that officers rated these two calls as being clearly the most socially significant of all of the situations.

Approval Ratings Correlations

Setting aside actual mean approval ratings, it is also of interest to examine the correlations between the public and police approval ratings to see how closely associated the two measures are. These correlations further assess the sense of shared purpose between the police, police managers, and the public The correlations are presented in Table 7. In all cases the correlations were significantly positive, even in the case of the traffic ticket scenario. These findings demonstrate a perceived sense of mutual public-police and manager-police sanction for police actions across a variety of situations. While it seemed unlikely that the police would work completely at cross purposes, an ethnocentric pattern would suggest the presence of negative correlations.

Table 7- Peer, Public, and Managerial Approval Ratings Correlations

	Police-Public Approval Correlations	Police-Manager Approval Correlations	Public-Manager Approval Correlations
Loud Party	.27 *	.48 **	.66 **
Abused Child	.82 **	.77 **	.88 **
Break and Enter	.84 **	.91 **	.84 **
Impaired Driver	.55 **	.35 **	.73 **
Traffic Ticket	.36 **	.66 **	.32 *
Possession of Marijuana	.32 *	.28 *	.49 **
Major Disturbance	.41 **	.53 **	.67 **
Domestic Violence	.31 *	.33 *	.71 **

* $p < .01$
** $p < .001$
Two-tailed significance

Not surprisingly, the highest correlations are found with the break and enter and abused child situations. Consequently, these calls receive both the highest approval ratings and the closest correspondence between increments on the approval scales. This additional evidence further supports the conclusion that the sample of officers believe that they share common purpose in their crime fighting capacity with their superiors and with the public at large. In view of the accumulating evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that the police officers surveyed think that they should be fighting crime and further believe that police managers and the public think so too. Comparatively, there is much less consensus between peer approval and public approval in regards to what might be regarded as service calls (i.e., loud party, domestic violence). This is particularly interesting when considering that service calls are a central component of the community based policing concept.

Overall, the foregoing analyses demonstrate that while the police perceive that they receive the most support from other police officers, they generally believe that the public and police managers support them in their efforts as well. The significant positive correlations between the approval measures also suggests that there is a degree of consensus between officers, managers, and the public. Nonetheless, it is again important to note that correlations between the approval variables were likely influenced by a positive response bias.

Behavioral Intentions

Although the preceding discussion has been concerned with approval ratings and relationships between approval ratings, the nature of police action receiving the approval remains unknown. The question of interest is just exactly what behavior is being approved of? The correlations between approval and the likelihood not to arrest measures can shed some light on this issue. Table 8 reports the correlations between the measures of peer, managerial, and public approval and the likelihood of not arresting. Hence, positive

Table 8- Approval Ratings and Clear Without Arrest Correlations

	Peer Approval	Manager Approval	Public Approval
Loud Party	-.12 n.s.	.12 n.s	.15 n.s.
Abused Child	-.32 **	-.29 **	-.29 **
Break and Enter	-.46 ***	-.43 ***	-.34 **
Impaired Driver	-.01 n.s.	-.35 ***	-.20 n.s.
Traffic Ticket	-.04 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	.19 n.s.
Possession of Marijuana	.24 *	-.12 n.s.	.00 n.s.
Major Disturbance	.19 n.s.	.12 n.s.	.24 *
Domestic Disturbance	.17 n.s.	-.28 **	-.11 n.s.

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$
Two-tailed significance

correlations represent increasing approval of not making arrests, while negative correlations represent increasing approval of making an arrest.

Most striking is the number of nonsignificant correlations. The relatively weak correlations may in part be attributed to low variability on the measure of behavioral intention. Nonetheless, results suggest that in the perception of the officers surveyed, approval of police intervention in various situations exists independent of the actions taken by the individual officer. This was the case for all three approving groups. An inspection of the correlation coefficients suggests some uniformity across approval ratings. Again, it is the crime fighting calls that merit special attention. For all three approving groups, support increases with increasing probability of making an arrest on the abused child and break and enter calls. What is somewhat surprising is that the correlations are not higher, especially in terms of public approval. Perhaps the police feel that the public does not want to become enmeshed in police duties, but rather is desirous that the police intervene in these types of situations and take whatever action they deem to be appropriate. However, this argument is somewhat questionable in that it is difficult to conceive that many people would want discretion to be used with these types of offences regardless of the circumstances. The police perception that these offences are serious is confirmed by the relatively low likelihood of "not arresting" mean scores (break and enter, M=0.9; abused child, M=1.5). These values are clearly lower than scores for the remaining six calls.

At the other extreme is the possession of marijuana situation which showed a weak relationship between peer approval and not arresting the suspect. However, the perception of public and manager approval is independent of what action is taken. The police seem to at least partially agree with the supposition that possession of soft drugs is relatively acceptable in today's society. This position is supported not only with the presence of a positive peer correlation, but also by the fact that the sample of officers reported being most likely to discharge without arrest someone in possession of small quantities of marijuana (M=6.0).

Most interesting are the correlations associated with the domestic violence call. The sample of officers perceived that level of colleague and public approval is independent of whether or not they choose to arrest. The relatively high probability of discharging this type of offender in conjunction with the positive approval correlation is somewhat disturbing. It is particularly alarming when considering the efforts to sensitize the police to the seriousness of this type of offence (see Homant, 1985; Meeker & Binder, 1990), and the fact that police officers in the city sampled from are required by policy to arrest in cases of domestic assault (this fact seems to be reflected with the negative manager approval correlation). In terms of the public approval correlation, there may again be a perception that the public is satisfied with police intervention regardless of the nature of that intervention. This perception by police officers is somewhat alarming when considering the level of public consciousness that presently exists in regards to this issue.

In fairness to the police, it should again be noted that action in cases of domestic violence is especially frustrating due to a relatively low probability of having this type of charge processed completely through the court system. Additionally, the questionnaire vignette provided to the sample of officers was purposely biased to elicit empathy with the offender. In spite of these provisos, the results remain disturbing in that it appears that the police have as yet failed to recognize that this sort of offence is unacceptable.

Police-Public Approval Difference Scores

The difference between police and public approval ratings is an additional measure of shared purpose between the police and the public. Increasing gaps between these measures reflects a perception of a deepening lack of public approval for actions supported by police peers. It could also be argued that a large discrepancy in perceived approval ratings between the police ingroup and the public at large is an indirect measure of ethnocentrism. To assess the possible implications of an increasing perception of police-

public division as measured by the approval ratings, a difference score between these two measures was calculated for each of the eight scenarios and correlated with the other outcome measures for each of the situations (i.e., stress, social significance, personal satisfaction, likelihood not to charge).

Generally speaking, the correlations were quite low and of little interest. For example, none of the correlations between the difference scores and level of stress were significant. In terms of likelihood not to arrest, there were three marginally significant associations: two in the positive direction and one in the negative direction. Meaningful interpretation of these relationships is not warranted given the conflicting directions of the coefficients, their marginal significance, and the potential for spurious significance given the number of variables under consideration. The situation is somewhat different in the case of correlations between difference and social significance scores. Analyses showed significant negative correlations ranging from -.26 to -.35 for five of the eight situations. Exceptions included the abused child, traffic ticket, and major disturbance calls. These results suggest that increasing perception of police-public approval differences, correspond with a decreasing perception that the work of the individual officer is worthwhile and necessary. Consistent with these results, was the finding that increases in the approval gap were modestly negatively correlated with personal satisfaction derived from the break and enter and impaired driving calls.

Ethnic Group Distinctions

To test possible differences in the way the police treat ethnic groups, an experimental manipulation was conducted on the "domestic violence" scenario. Unknown to the respondents, four different versions of the scenario were distributed to the sample of officers. The male offender in the situation was variously described in the four versions as a white male, a black male, a Lebanese male, and a Greek male. Of particular interest was

potential differences between treatment of whites and blacks. However, the Lebanese and Greek groups were included as they culturally represent two substantial segments of society in the city where the research was conducted.

A one-way ANOVA with the four levels of ethnic group was conducted on each of the eight measures. In all cases the differences between the groups were nonsignificant. More particularly, the differences on the likelihood "to not arrest" index were not significant, suggesting relatively even handed treatment by the police. Hence, it would appear that the recognition of differences between ingroups and outgroups does not relate to discriminatory behavior.

Unquestionably, the comparisons of greatest interest are those between blacks and whites. In order to support or disconfirm the finding that there were no discriminatory behavioral intentions, a series of comparisons were conducted examining differences between the more specific white and black scenarios only. Race was one factor in the subsequent series of 2 X 2 ANOVAs. The other two level factor was determined by means of median splits, having categories of being "near to" or "far from" each of the police and community groups. Hence, each analysis contained a "Race" factor and a "Social Identity" factor. Analyses showed no significant main effects of "Race". Two significant interactions were not conceptually meaningful, and were considered unreliable given the multiple comparisons.

Although the lack of differences in police perceptions associated with this type of call are noteworthy, the absence of a difference on the likelihood not to arrest variable is of greatest interest. This result supports the one-way ANOVA findings, which indicated that there were no differences in behavioral intention to arrest on the basis of ethnic group. In view of present police-black tensions in the city of question and in view of the willingness of the sample of police officers to report poor police-black relations, the present results are positive and reassuring. These results, although too narrowly focused to be conclusive,

suggest that police arrest behavior is not differentially regulated by the perception of good or bad relationships with different ethnic groups.

To summarize, it must be emphasized that the findings were restricted to just one action scenario. Consequently, the results should be considered exploratory and in need of more broad based investigation. As suggested in Powell's first study of police discretion (Powell, 1981), there may be something unique about a domestic disturbance situation that results in officers being less likely to arrest a black suspect in that type of situation than would typically be the case. One possible explanation in the present context is that the police have less empathy for the victim in a domestic violence situation who perhaps may be black herself or considered in some other way to be deserving of her fate. This bias may close the gap for police arrest intentions between white and black offenders. However, this explanation remains untested and speculative, particularly in terms of the reversed phenonomen observed in Powell's more recent 1990 study. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude, at least tentatively, that the sample of officers show no proclivity to arrest black offenders over white offenders.

Summary and Conclusions

Study 2 was designed with two purposes in mind. First, it acted as a reliability check of the Study 1 findings, utilizing a more succinct index of social nearness. The results show that the findings of Study 1 were robust in demonstrating that the officers make social nearness distinctions on the basis of both race and class. Additionally, the presence of police ingroups and outgroups was firmly re-established in Study 2. Police officers identify most highly with their peers but also seem to identify to a lesser extent with middle class whites. In spite of clear contraidentification with certain community outgroups, analyses demonstrated positive correlations between the ingroups and outgroups. Hence, the hypothesis that increasing identification with ingroups is

accompanied by increasing acceptance and tolerance of outgroups was supported. A novel finding of this more recent study was that the sample of officers rated themselves as nearer to the "community" than would be expected on the basis of identification with specific groups. Apparently, the term "community" is perceived as being different from the average of a number of specific community groups. In other words, level of alienation from specific community groups is not equal to the degree of alienation from the "community." Alternatively, the high "community" ratings may simply reflect a social desirability bias. Overall, the findings in Study 2 further refute the ethnocentrism hypothesis, and are at least consistent with the social diversity hypothesis.

A fundamental goal of Study 2 was to examine the relationship between the social identity of officers as demonstrated in both studies and actual police performance as reported in Study 2. Regression analyses failed to show a clear relationship between the social identity pattern of a police officer and her/his response to performance vignettes. Nonetheless, responses to the vignettes provided a rich data base from which inferences about the officers' social identity could be drawn.

Mean public, managerial, and police peer approval ratings were examined to determine the extent of support the officers believe they have from these groups. Not surprisingly, the hypothesis that officers perceive more support from their peers than from police managers and the public they serve was supported. Nonetheless, support ratings were positively correlated representing some consensus between the public, police managers, and the police officers themselves regarding how they should be spending their time. This finding suggests that the police are not as defensive in their assessment of public and managerial mood as an ethnocentric pattern might suggest, lending further support to the social diversity hypothesis.

Special perception of peer, public, and managerial support accompanied police action on the break and enter and abused child vignettes. Ratings here suggest that in the perception of the sample of officers, peers, superiors, and the public most appreciate the

efforts of law enforcers when they are fighting crime. Findings throughout support the hypothesis that police officers prefer to see themselves as crime fighters rather than service providers, at least to the extent of perceived societal significance and support. A somewhat alarming finding is that perceived police peer approval is independent of whether or not the officers choose to make an arrest. A more general finding was that the police perceive a relatively high level of support for their actions from peers, managers, and the public on several of the performance situations independent of what that action actually is. The exception to this general finding was with the crime fighting calls where approval from the three groups was associated with making arrests.

In view of the lack of relationship between the social identity pattern of the sample and outcome variables, an attempt was made to obtain a measure of police-public consensus by examining differences between police and public approval ratings. Results generally indicated that this was either not a good measure of alienation, or that the impact of alienation on police behavior is minimal as suggested by the regression analyses. Nonetheless, the findings did suggest that increases in the discrepancy gap are accompanied by decreases in the perception of social significance in five of the eight calls.

To test potential discriminatory action against outgroups, police officers were asked to provide their likely responses, both attitudinal and performance, to a domestic violence call. The experimental manipulation involved embedding four different ethnic group offenders in four different versions of the domestic violence vignette. Findings here did not support the hypothesis that police officers make performance decisions on the basis of ethnicity. Rather, results suggest that police officers are unlikely to translate a perception of poor relations with certain community outgroups into discriminatory behavior in their response to this kind of service call.

General Summary and Conclusions

The two studies which comprise this thesis were complementary in that they first examined the attitudes of a sample of police officers and then investigated the relationship between actual police attitudes and behavioral intentions in response to actual situation vignettes. A primary purpose of the studies was to gauge societal alienation of the police from several specific community and occupational groups by means of a novel and more direct measure of alienation than has traditionally been used. Not surprisingly, in both studies, the sample of officers identified more highly with their peers than any other groups. The research was innovative in that it required officers to rate relations with racial and social class outgroups. Results showed that increases in alienation rise due to changes in race (white to black) and/or social class (middle class to poor). Across perceiver differences demonstrated that officers perceive the source of police-community tension as resting more with the community than with the police officers themselves. The social identity pattern established in the first survey was clearly validated in the second study, demonstrating the robustness of the results (across perceiver differences were not tested in the follow-up study). A manipulation designed to determine if these self reports of relatively poor relations with the black outgroups spill over into actual police performance demonstrated that the police were no more likely to arrest minority group members than they were to arrest whites.

Results suggesting that the police are no more authoritarian or stressed than normative samples were surprising in view of conventional wisdom. These null findings, while unexpected, have some limited corroborative support from selected recent studies. For example, as already noted, it has been argued that while policing is a stressful occupation, it is no more stressful than several other vocations (e.g. Anson & Bloom, 1988). Nonetheless, although policing may be just one of several stressful occupations, it would still be expected that police officers would experience higher levels of stress than

normative samples. The present results suggest that either police officers are not more highly stressed as the traditional literature indicates or the officers were unwilling to report psychological vulnerability. It was concluded that a combination of these explanations may account for the findings suggesting unremarkable levels of perceived stress in the sample.

The state of knowledge regarding authoritarianism in the police is more ambiguous. Nonetheless, although much police authoritarianism research has been characterized by methodological problems, the evidence on balance favours the conclusion that the police are in general an authoritarian group (Hageman, 1985). Hence, the finding of unremarkable levels of authoritarianism in the present study is noteworthy and contradicts the stereotypical view of police officers. One last potential reason for the unexpected levels of stress and authoritarianism in the sample may be related to a uniqueness in the sample and a uniqueness in the city of question. However, this explanation is purely speculative, especially in view of the fact that the officers surveyed deal on a daily basis with "big city" problems (e.g., racial tensions).

Officers demonstrating high versus low levels stress and authoritarianism were not different in terms of their social identity pattern. However, in Study 1, level of education, job satisfaction, and length of service were all associated with the police social identity pattern. The most surprising finding was that university educated officers were more alienated from poor blacks and poor whites than were their high school educated colleagues. No satisfactory explanation could be offered for this seemingly paradoxical finding. In Study 2, the impact of level of education on nearness to poor blacks and poor whites was statistically nonsignificant. However, the nonsignificant differences were in the same direction as those in Study 1, and should serve to stimulate further interest as to the role of education on social identity patterns. Finally, length of service did not impact on social identity in the follow-up study.

The supposition that the police officers share a sense of group solidarity with their peers was reflected not only by high social nearness ratings, but also by the finding that the

sample of officers derived more support from their colleagues than from the public in six of eight police situations. Variable levels of shared purpose between the police and the public were assessed by measuring discrepancies between public and police approval. Correlations between this index and levels of perceived stress and the likelihood to make arrests were nonsignificant. However, increasing discrepancies were negatively associated with level of personal satisfaction on two of the eight calls, and negatively correlated with the perception of social significance on five of the eight calls.

Results throughout this second study supported the hypothesis that the sample of officers see their crime fighting role as more meaningful than their role as providers of community service. Given the frequency of time spent on service calls, it seems reasonable to suggest that time spent fulfilling these more mundane activities is not role congruent for many police officers. Hence, police administrators as well as civilian bureaucracies (e.g., city hall), should make a concerted effort to establish the importance of service duties. Clearly, steps have been taken in this regard by the establishment of the community based policing concept.

Nonetheless, it is reassuring that the sample of officers place a high priority on their crime fighting activities. The sample of officers reported high levels of approval from peers, police managers, and the public at large while responding to these types of calls. Although data from police managers and the public were not collected, conventional wisdom suggests that these perceptions are likely based in a correct appraisal of managerial and public mood. Certainly, crime fighting should remain a top priority for the police as compared to day to day service calls. However, there is an increasing need to recognize that the great majority of police time is spent in service and "proactive" policing duties. Consequently, continued efforts should be made to impress upon the typical patrol officer that time spent on service calls is time well spent.

The most significant results in these studies tested the ethnocentrism hypothesis against the newly proposed social diversity hypothesis. To test these hypotheses, police

ingroups and outgroups were identified in both studies. While mean identification ratings were substantially different between the ingroups and outgroups, positive correlations existed between the measures. Although several hypotheses could be proposed to explain these relationships, the social diversity hypothesis represents one viable choice. From the social diversity perspective, results suggest that the better the officers feel about themselves and their ingroup, the more tolerant and accepting they are towards community outgroups. This evidence for the social diversity hypothesis was further supported by the finding, that in the officers' perception, the police and the public share common goals. This was especially true in the case of "crime-fighting" situations. With the exception of the crime fighting and "major disturbance" calls, the police perceived public support for their actions independent of what those actions actually are. Finally, the ethnocentrism hypothesis was challenged on the basis of results showing unremarkable levels of authoritarianism and perceived stress in the sample of officers.

Taken as a whole, the present results do not support the stereotype of the police officer as a stressed, inflexible, authoritarian, and ethnocentric individual. Rather, the present sample of officers appear to be open to cultural diversity and believe that they share common goals with the public they are serving. Police solidarity, which is often viewed as a negative phenonomen, appeared in these studies to be a positive force in police-community relations. Results showed that increases in police solidarity were accompanied by increasing acceptance of community outgroups. Although the issue of response bias detracts from the strength of the social diversity hypothesis, it nonetheless provides a conceptual framework for future research.

In view of present criticism of the police throughout North America, the present findings are somewhat refreshing and serve to instill confidence in the police function. Nonetheless, the present research findings maintain some concerns about police attitudes. In spite of the positive ingroup-outgroup correlations, it is still disturbing that the officers rate relatively poor relations with certain community outgroups which were apparently

defined on the basis of race and social class. Future research should concern itself with why the police feel especially alienated from certain outgroups. At a more practical level, researchers in the future may be well advised to examine the impact of recent administrative attempts to better educate police officers as to social and racial diversity.

Future Directions

The results of the present studies give rise to some future research directions. For example, more careful scrutiny of differences between officers hired since the inception of the Community Based Policing (CBP) model and more traditionally trained officers may well prove to be fruitful. In the present research, the CBP trained officers were those with less than five years of experience. While this group showed little difference from the other two groups in terms of their social identity pattern, results from the first study suggested that they were the group most satisfied with their jobs. While this may reflect their as yet unhardened approach to police work, it is also plausible that they are more comfortable in their role as service providers. Questions as to their comfort in the service role versus a crime fighting role could be asked directly and compared to the perceptions of their longer serving colleagues who received more traditional training. Differences between the two groups could have important implications for the implementation of ongoing inservice training programs for officers experiencing difficulty adapting to the needs of the modern police force.

Perhaps the most logical progression of the present research would be to investigate whether community attitudes toward the police coincide with police attitudes toward the community. Research has demonstrated that the perception of the relatively poor relationship between blacks and the police reported by the present sample of police officers is shared by the black community. There is ample evidence that blacks hold more negative attitudes towards the police than do whites (see Murty, Roebuck, & Smith, 1990). What is

not known is whether community groups such as poor blacks will demonstrate the same across perceiver phenonomen seen in the sample of officers. In other words, do community groups see themselves as less alienated from the police than they perceive the police to be to them? While common sense dictates that this is a likely phenonomen on both sides of police-community relations issue, there remains a void to be filled by empirical documentation.

Also related to community attitudes is the perception by blacks that the police are discriminatory in action. The *personal/group discrimination discrepancy* (see Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990; Taylor, Wright, & Ruggiero, in press), suggests that members of community outgroups will perceive more police discrimination directed toward their group than to themselves personally. Results from an investigation of this robust phenonomen could shed further light onto the nature of police-black interactions, and would have important implications in the understanding of perceived versus actual discrimination.

Contributions to Original Knowledge

Police research to date has made frequent reference to the presence of societal alienation in the police, suggesting that it may be a response to the rigors of police work. However, in spite of the complexity and diversity of the police experience, measurement of police alienation has remained unidimensional and questionable in terms of construct validity. For the most part, alienation has tended to be construed as a personality characteristic rather than as a response to interaction with specific occupational and community groups salient to the day to day experience of police officers.

The present research was novel in that it assessed police alienation in a more straightforward manner than has traditionally been used. Officers were asked directly to rate on a Likert scale continuum how socially near or alienated they were from several specific community and occupational groups. Through these ratings the social identity pattern of the officers was established and police ingroups and outgroups were identified. The alienation continuum employed in the study allowed for assessment of ingroup solidarity as well as outgroup alienation. The association between variables frequently studied in the police literature (e.g., perceived stress, level of education) and the social identity pattern of officers was also examined.

The assessment of across perceiver differences in alienation ratings also represented an original contribution to knowledge. These differences suggested that police officers see the root of police community-difficulties as resting more with the community than with the officers themselves. This finding has obvious implications for administrative policy designed to enhance police-community relations, and suggests that initiatives need to be taken by the community as well by the police to increase mutual understanding.

A further contribution to knowledge was the testing of the ethnocentrism hypothesis against the social diversity hypothesis. Results showed that increases in ingroup solidarity were accompanied by increasing acceptance of the various outgroups. Although positive

correlations between ingroup and outgroup ratings have been demonstrated in the intergroup literature, this phenonomen had never been examined as part of the social identity of police officers. Hence, police solidarity appears to be a positive rather than negative phenonomen. Additionally, the sample of officers was found to be neither more stressed nor more authoritarian than normative samples. Overall, results were consistent with the social diversity hypothesis and should serve to initiate a reassessment of the working personality of the police officer. More particularly, results suggested that officers are not the highly stressed, cognitively rigid, and ethnocentric group that is implied by the stereotypical image of the police.

As a final original contribution to knowledge, the present research attempted to link specific performance and situation specific attitudes to the social identity of the officers. Overall, there appeared to be relatively little association between the two. Nonetheless, results demonstrated that the police perceive high levels of support for their actions from their ingroup (police peers), police managers, and the public as a whole. Although they perceived their greatest source of support to be from other police officers, findings of perceived support from the public and police managers were consistent with the notion of social diversity. With the exception of the crime fighting situations, results generally demonstrated that the sample of officers perceive support in their duties independent of whether or not they exercise discretion in their decision to lay charges.

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