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Police, culture, and ethics: toward an understanding and expansion of police culture and ethical research

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Police, culture, and ethics: toward an understanding and expansion of police culture and
ethical research

by

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

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Chapter I

Introduction

Because of the unique role police officers play in American society, many criminologists and sociologists have stressed the importance of understanding the institution of policing. Continuing this tradition, this examination questions officer attitudes and ethics. Primarily, the goal of this research is to examine and integrate the current state of knowledge within police culture and police ethics research. The most recent outline of police culture research is that of Paoline (2004), outlining seven typologies of officers. Paoline's (2004) typology is tested in order to determine whether support can be found for this outline. Finally, police culture research is hoped to be expanded upon by integrating data on police ethics. It is hoped to integrate a consistent pattern of ethical responses, according to officer typology, to further the current state of knowledge of police culture research.

Policing research has many facets. This examination, however, focuses on those aspects of policing research which could influence police officers' attitudes. Specifically, job satisfaction, stress, police culture, police socialization, media portrayals, and public perceptions of police are examined because of their potential influences on police officers. Further, police ethical research will be examined. It is believed that such variables could strongly influence police officers' attitudes, and consequently, their responses to typological and ethical prompts. In order to understand and integrate typology and ethics research, one must first have an understanding of the variables which could influence these findings. Police culture research is especially highlighted due to its important influence on officers. Further, this analysis will examine and expand upon police culture research to incorporate data on police ethics. The culture found in police departments could have large effects on the

behavior of officers. Therefore, it is important to determine whether the ethical orientations of officers vary according to officer types; only then can officer behaviors be fully examined and understood.

Police culture typologies, such as those outlined by Paoline (2004), are considered to be ideal types. Therefore, some variability may be found among individual-level data; that is, individual officers may not conform exactly to the typology to which they are assigned. Instead, ideal type characterizations allow for some variability among individual officers while still accurately distinguishing common traits or characteristics. Although individuals may have some variability from the ideal type characterization, this type of description allows for accurate descriptions overall. Further, the ideal type characterization of police officer typologies allows for continued scientific study and research into the institution of policing.

This study of the institution of policing has several research goals. Among these, this analysis hopes to expand upon the current state of knowledge of police culture and police ethics. An expanded understanding of how other factors, such as stress, job satisfaction, media portrayals of police, public perceptions of police, police socialization, and police culture, may have on ethics is intended. Primarily, however, the goal of this research is to answer the following research questions:

- (1) Is variation found within officer responses to the police culture variables of views toward citizens, supervisors, selective enforcement, guidelines, and aggressive tactics?
- (2) If variation in culture is demonstrated, is support found for Paoline's (2004) categorization of officers?

- (3) Do police officers respond to ethical questions in a homogenous fashion or is there variation?
- (4) If variation is found, how do Paoline's (2004) typologies respond to hypothetical ethical situations? That is, can a distinguishable trend be found for typological responses to ethical concerns?

In order to best answer these questions, this research has employed secondary data analysis using data obtained from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. A continuous data cluster analysis has been used in order to group officer responses; the groups were then analyzed according to the research questions outlined. Variation was expected to be found among officer responses to cultural variables as well as ethical prompts. That is, a typological view of police culture was expected to be supported as well as variation in officer responses to ethical considerations. Further, typologies holding certain characteristics, such as positive orientations toward aggressive tactics, negative views of procedural guidelines, negative views of supervisors, or negative views of citizens, were expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than their counterparts.

To understand the attitudes and ethics of officers, it is important to understand the variables that could influence officers. Entitlement theory, as advocated by Kingshott, Bailey, and Wolfe (2004), provides a useful means of understanding how police culture develops and how the culture perpetuates. Entitlement theory itself is a theory of attachment. People, according to entitlement theory, learn to hide unacceptable beliefs and their internal selves in order to maintain attachment to others. Because individuals desire to maintain attachment to other individuals, they may choose to hide their authentic self in order to be

more acceptable to others. Based on the levels of attachment people form throughout their lives, individuals come to develop a sense of entitlement. Individuals can become under-entitled, meaning the person believes he or she has no right to care from others. The under-entitled individual views the world as unsafe and without goodness; under-entitlement may produce two outcomes: the individual connects with others by only serving others or the individual compensates by focusing entirely on the self while ignoring others, developing a sense of over-entitlement. Police culture promotes over-entitlement through the experiences, environments, and training of police officers (Kingshott et al., 2004). The training of officers, promoting a militaristic form of humiliation and psychological sado-masochism (Conti, 2009; Kingshott et al., 2004), encourages a sense of over-entitlement. Officers then seek out power relationships with spouses, children, and the general public (Kingshott et al., 2004), increasing levels of stress, anger, cynicism, mental health issues, and physical health issues. Officers may be further affected by variables such as culture, socialization, media, stress, public perceptions, and job satisfaction. The ethics of an individual officer, then, could be affected by these variables. If impacted negatively, the legitimacy and effectiveness of officers may be threatened.

Policing has maintained a position within academic research for many years; in fact, policing research seems to have expanded for the past several decades. The expansion of policing research is important for several reasons. First among these, police officers play a unique role within society; they alone have the expectation of “solving” crime while having legal authority to use deadly force. Therefore, it is important to understand the behaviors and attitudes of police officers. Further, it is important to understand the environment and context in which police officers must work; the environment of policing may have substantial

effects on the performance of officers' duties. If officers are affected negatively by the environments in which they must live and work, the legitimacy and effectiveness of the institution is threatened. Only through continued research into the area of policing can this essential institution be significantly improved.

Chapter one has outlined the goals, direction, and importance of this examination. Chapter two will outline the current state of knowledge on many areas of policing research. As stated, this literature review will focus on those factors which could influence officer attitudes. Chapter two is divided into five sections: media portrayals of police, public perceptions of police, police culture, police socialization, and stress, job satisfaction, and ethics. Chapter three discusses the data and methodology used in this analysis. Chapter four examines the results of the analysis. Chapter five draws conclusions from the results of the study and discusses the limitations of this study.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Media Portrayals of Police

According to Dowler and Zawilski (2007), the “majority of public knowledge about crime and justice is derived from media consumption” (p. 193). Media sources are also said to transmit cultural messages and ideologies (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). Strong cultural beliefs and ideologies, such as a belief of police as heroes, are transmitted through media. In fact, media outlets often serve to reinforce and strengthen existing cultural beliefs. This is especially prevalent throughout media messages of crime and the criminal justice system. Most individuals do not have direct or sustained contact with actual crime or the criminal justice system; it is through the media, then, that many individuals get their information or understanding of these institutions. Therefore, any message that media outlets transmit concerning these institutions is taken as accurate and representative of the real-world; existing ideologies are then strengthened and taken for granted.

Because media sources can have such a vital influence on public perceptions of police, it is critical to examine the types of messages media outlets may be intentionally or inadvertently sending. Often, however, media messages concerning crime and the justice system are flawed or misrepresentative of reality. Instead of being truly accurate, media outlets often present a representation that serves only to strengthen cultural ideologies. In reality, however, these conditions may not be accurate. Flawed media representations are important due to the power media messages send. Most individuals get their information concerning crime and the criminal justice system through the media rather than direct contact; flawed messages, then, reinforce a flawed understanding. This has implications

because it prevents change but also, and perhaps more importantly, it could have serious consequences for members of the public. Those who enter the justice system or encounter actors within the justice system (police, for example) with a flawed understanding may face serious consequences. At any given point in the justice system, an individual may face serious consequences for inaccurate beliefs. During an encounter with a police officer, an individual may face the revocation of their freedom and autonomy; during an encounter with the courts, an individual may face incarceration and complete dependence on the state. Further, an individual who serves on a jury, but with a flawed understanding of their roles and duties, may inadvertently provide poor services. Any of these scenarios can have important implications for the individual or for another.

Flawed media messages can be found in many places. As an example, a magazine article in *Christian Science Monitor* appears to communicate that police are corrupt and tend to target minorities; furthermore, the article suggests there exists a large division between minorities and police (Marks, 1999). Loaded phrases are found throughout the article; these include: “cop...viciously attacked,” “threatening the racial harmony of cities,” “well-publicized incidence of excessive use of force against black suspects,” “racial profiling lies behind much of the distrust,” and “police have targeted minority communities” (Marks, 1999). While this is only one example, it is an indication of the types of messages media outlets may send to audience members. Further, such messages, intentional or not, send very direct meanings to audience members.

The literature regarding media portrayals and imagery relating to police has generally agreed that media messages and the reality of policing are very different. Media depictions of police, fictional and reality television shows in particular, are quite dissimilar from reality.

However, such shows are meant to be formatted like reality; that is, the television show is meant to show events as though they are real-time or similar to real life. This type of formatting, often accomplished through editing, is done to convince viewers of the show's realism and accuracy (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007; Doyle, 1998; Eschholz, Mallard, Flynn, 2004; Kasinsky, 1994; Prosis & Johnson, 2004). Because viewers come to believe these depictions are indeed realistic and accurate (Doyle, 1998; Kasinsky, 1994), the great differences between media depictions and reality are highly significant.

Cops and criminals.

Some media messages are not accomplished through editing or time-series portrayals. Instead, many messages concerning police and criminals are accomplished through depictions of the police role, police officers themselves, criminals, and how adequate policing is accomplished. Depictions of police in media sources appear to be centered on particular themes. Popular stereotypes include the detectives of the 1950's and 1960's, the blue-collar ethnic cop of the 1970's, and the social worker type cop of the 1980's and 1990's (Kasinsky, 1994). More recent stereotypes and images of police include police officers as heroes and role models, police as villains, and police as fools (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007; Kasinsky, 1994; Prosis & Johnson, 2004). Still, the police officer as a courageous, competent, moral hero (Prosis & Johnson, 2004) remains a popular depiction. Further, fictional police departments are depicted as a unit or family with close personal bonds (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007). Police work is shown as exciting, free, always right, and in control (Doyle, 1998; Prosis & Johnson, 2004). Police "hunches" are always correct; however, the "rightness" of police is obvious to audience members due to the perspective of hindsight (Prosis & Johnson, 2004). This creates a situation where officers are obviously

correct because the audience knows outside circumstances or has accepted the message that the officer is always correct and moral; however, real police work lacks the advantage of hindsight and is not always correct simply because the officer believes it to be. Further, because suspects are always guilty, according to depictions of policing, any police stop or action is legitimate and appropriate (Prosise & Johnson, 2004). Again, this depiction is clearly not always accurate in real-life.

In direct contrast to depictions of police are depictions of criminals. Whereas police are moral heroes, criminals are immoral, dangerous, insane, noncredible, irrational, non-remorseful, selfish, opportunistic, desperate, drunken, guilty animals who simply blame innocent victims (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007; Prosise & Johnson, 2004). Crime results from individual pathology which “they” choose; their choice requires that they are arrested and punished (Prosise & Johnson, 2004). Furthermore, crime is a routine threat to “us” and our morals (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007); it is because of this threat that retribution, harsh punishment, and possibly police abuses, are justified.

When examining who was depicted as criminals and police officers in media outlets, Oliver (1994) found blacks and Hispanics were more likely to be depicted as criminals than as police officers in reality based television shows; whites were more likely to be shown as police officers than as criminals. Furthermore, black and Hispanic suspects were more likely than white suspects to receive unarmed physical aggression from police (Oliver, 1994). Compared to government statistics, blacks were underrepresented as police officers while whites were overrepresented as police officers (Oliver, 1994).

Messages concerning who is a police officer (whites) and who is a criminal (minorities) are often unintentional; however, these messages are still highly powerful

indicators of ideologies and power struggles within society. Because whites are more likely to be depicted as police officers (and therefore, the “good guys”), the role of the white individual as a dominant and controlling power within society is reinforced. Further, messages depicting minorities as criminals (and therefore, the “bad guys”) serve to visually justify racial segregation and differential power relationships.

Asian peoples have been found to be depicted more often as “bad guys” than “good guys” on police dramas (Scharrer, 2001). Depictions of minorities as criminals and whites as police officers only serve to reinforce racist views. Importantly for officers, these depictions undermine the authority and legitimacy of police—especially from the viewpoint of minority citizens. Police officers, through racially loaded media depictions, come to be viewed as racist and against the interests of the minority individual. It should be no wonder, then, as to some reasons why minority individuals are more likely to perceive a problem of police misconduct or bias (Brewer, 1988; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Weitzer et al., 2008) more likely to hold negative opinions of the use of force in arrest (Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998), or are less supportive of police than white individuals (Brewer, 1988; Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998).

Police role and behavior.

Many images of police and crime reflect the law and order ideology. These frames, however, often go unnoticed by audience members simply because they reflect the dominant cultural view (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007). The law and order ideology has many characteristics: society is in crisis because of high crime, most notably street crime; due process is problematic because it restricts true justice; police are restrained by liberal policy; society needs more police, especially police who are allowed to “get tough”; the world is us

v. them—“them” as evil criminals; and criminal justice needs to be punitive and retributive (Doyle, 1998). Finally, the law and order ideology has been linked to racism and classism due to its focus on a street criminal “them” with lower moral standards, often those of lower social standing (Doyle, 1998).

Television media depictions of police and police roles can be unrealistic in many respects, supporting the law and order ideology. When compared to actual crime statistics, violent crime is highly overrepresented in televised media depictions of crime (Cavender & Deutsch, 2007; Doyle, 1998; Eschholz et al., 2004; Oliver, 1994; Prosis & Johnson, 2004; Ready et al., 2008; Scharrer, 2001). To counteract the levels of violent crime in television, officers are portrayed as crime fighters (Kasinsky, 1994). Further, clearance rates of television shows greatly outnumber actual clearance rates of police departments (Doyle, 1998; Eschholz et al., 2004; Oliver, 1994).

Depictions of violent crime and cleared cases can create unrealistic expectations upon new and potential police officers. Individuals may become involved in policing expecting the high profile criminal activity that is always quickly solved by the crime-fighting, gun-wielding, super-cop. Instead, new recruits will quickly learn much of police work is spent performing administrative duties (Kasinsky, 1994). Further, the police role, in contrast to media depictions of the duties of police officers, is often not focused on crime-fighting. Instead, police officers must often face the less glamorous duties relating to service or order maintenance. When officers do perform crime control duties, they may have to control their levels of aggressiveness. Media depictions of crime fighting may encourage officers to become an overly aggressive super-cop, however, real life seldom warrants this level of behavior. Depictions of police officers as aggressive crime fighters also create unrealistic

expectations among members of the general public; citizens come to expect officers to control every instance of crime or disorder within their community. Further, citizens come to expect officers to “do something about it”, even when the officer is not in a position to use their authority.

A popular television series, “Cops,” has been the focus of many sociologists and criminologists. This show has been found to encourage identification with police while discouraging audience members from identifying with suspects; identification with police officers, without any context or characterization of suspects and bystanders, reinforces an “us v. them” mentality and the law and order ideology (Doyle, 1998). If audience members are never able to identify with characters other than police officers, they have no reason to identify other characters as “regular” people. Instead, the story is only told from the point of view of the officers, framing them as heroes (Doyle, 1998; Prosis & Johnson, 2004).

Officers are not depicted as heroes simply due to point of view. Rather, “Cops,” like many other television shows, is edited to rarely depict anything that could reflect negatively upon officers; this is done for practical purposes as the series requires cooperation from police departments (Doyle, 1998). “Cops” only depicts suspects as clearly guilty (Doyle, 1998; Prosis & Johnson, 2004); this is done through editing to simplify the storyline and provide audience members with closure. Television shows like “Cops” are wildly popular (Doyle, 1998); the wide audience base encourages an acceptance of messages concerning the law and order ideology and other cultural ideologies. Even individuals who have never seen “Cops,” or view it only occasionally, are familiar with the show and others like it. Again, this reinforces existing cultural beliefs and ideologies; further, the level of acceptance of these types of series is evidence that media messages often reflect existing cultural beliefs.

If every suspect is guilty, it is simple for audience members to conclude all suspects must be guilty. Again, this could have negative consequences for officers. As members of the television audience, police officers may be influenced similarly to the general public. Officers may come to view all suspects as guilty, consequently losing perspective of their role and the citizens they serve. This, in turn, could lead to potential burnout and officer abuse, bias, or misconduct. Reality television series, such as “Cops,” may have other effects on police officers as well as would-be police officers. Officers may tailor their behaviors for the show (Doyle, 1998). Further, the everyday attitudes and behaviors of officers could be affected by media depictions (Doyle, 1998; Kasinsky, 1994). Audience members may interpret the series’ depictions as the objective reality of police work. Citizens may then aspire to be police officers in order to be like the officers on “Cops”; that is, exciting, effective, and dangerous (Doyle, 1998; Prosis & Johnson, 2004). Similarly, audience members may experience learned aggression (Scharer, 2001) or legitimize controversial police practices (Prosis & Johnson, 2004).

Research suggests imagery and stereotypes advanced in media are often unrealistic or exaggerated. Imagery can become skewed in several ways, including editing and manipulation of content; editing can be done for practical purposes, to create a storyline, or to simplify content (Doyle, 1998; Kasinsky, 1994; Prosis & Johnson, 2004). Most media outlets are not intentionally editing content in order to skew representations of police and crime; however, the effect editing can have on audiences is real, regardless of intention.

Not all media messages may be transmitted through fictional storylines. Instead, messages concerning police may be depicted using actual footage through news media outlets. This is not to say that all media outlets are anti-police or that all media outlets

intentionally target police for negative messages. Instead, studies have demonstrated police and media sources often have a very unique relationship (Doyle, 1998; Kasinsky, 1994; Ready, White, & Fisher, 2008). Police and news media often use each other in order to satisfy their own interests; that is, police and news media outlets often must work together to satisfy their own needs while controlling the disclosure of information (Kasinsky, 1994; Ready et al., 2008).

One video shown on news outlets depicted police officers twice using pepper spray on the suspect, struggling with the suspect on the ground, then kicking and punching the suspect during an arrest (Jefferis, Kaminski, Holmes, & Hanley, 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998). Videos of police use of force may have a negative impact on public perceptions of the use of force during arrest situations; however, this effect has been found to be greater among minorities than among whites (Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998). Real-life police videos can have important consequences for police legitimacy. Although some videos are not exaggerated and depict negative police action, other videos of police conduct are often without context, edited, or exaggerated to depict only questionable police actions. In an age where anything can be uploaded to public websites such as YouTube, the potential for accusations of police misconduct and discrimination is great. Further, the popularity of police videos may threaten the police role, police legitimacy, and public confidence in officers.

Characteristics and variables related to audience composition can have effects on media portrayals of police. More specifically, some audience members may be more receptive to certain media messages from various media outlets. Dowler and Zawilski (2007) found heavy viewers of network news were more likely to believe police misconduct was a

frequent occurrence. This finding was especially true for minorities; minorities who viewed network news often were more likely to believe whites received preferential treatment by police (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). Heavy viewers of police dramas were more likely to believe wealthy individuals received preferential treatment while heavy viewers of crime solving shows believed the wealthy did not receive preferential treatment (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007).

Clearly, media outlets may have strong influences on individuals and individuals' perceptions of police and the police role. Officers too, then, are not immune to the influences media sources may have; like other members of the public police officers or would-be officers may internalize the messages media outlets transmit. Because media sources may influence officer attitudes and views, the typology an officer identifies with may be affected. Further, the typologies prevalent within police departments may be influenced by the transmission of messages by media outlets. This could help explain any type of shift or trends in the prevalence of certain typologies within police departments.

Media outlets may also influence the ethical orientations of officers or would-be officers. If officers internalize the negative and often distorted messages media send, such as "others" and minority groups as heartless and violent criminals, ethical choices may be effected. That is, officers may behave in questionable and unethical ways due to the internalization of inaccurate media messages. Further, would-be officers may join the police force expecting the high-profile, fast-paced action of crime fighting depicted by the media. Once these individuals discover policing is largely comprised of administrative duties, the officer may engage in questionable behaviors due to boredom or a desire to create the excitement depicted by media sources.

Public Perceptions of Police

Research concerning public perceptions of police generally views the public as holding a positive view of officers and police legitimacy. Indeed, public opinion polls between 1984 and 1996 demonstrated that a majority believed governmental agencies were spending too little on law enforcement (Ackerman, Anderson, Jensen, Ludwig, Montero, Plante, & Yanez, 2001). Between 1993 and 1997, one-fourth to one-third of Americans reported a “great deal,” “quite a lot,” or “some” confidence in police. Conversely, only ten percent of those polled reported “very little” or “no confidence” in police (Ackerman et al., 2001). Such findings appear to demonstrate the level of general approval and acceptance of police officers and the role of policing. Findings similar to those of Ackerman et al. (2001) are generally taken to represent a general level of approval among the public, as a whole, referred to as diffuse support (Brown, Benedict, & Wilkinson, 2006).

However, research concerning public perceptions of police also has a general view that many members of the public hold a negative view of police. Findings of negative views of police are often specific to individuals, neighborhoods, contexts, or other specific characteristics or capabilities. This type of support is referred to as specific support and is often meant to mean “an evaluation of specific capabilities, effects, or practices” (Brown, Benedict, & Wilkinson, 2006, p. 160). Often, research that purports a generally negative view of police is characterized by examinations specific to race, education, or other types of lower-levels of abstraction.

Specific support.

Among articles which examine specific support, many variables have been determined to influence public perceptions of officers. Neighborhoods and other contextual

variables have been examined as well as psychological and individual variables, such as demographics. Indeed, many of these variables have been found to shape public perceptions.

Individual characteristics.

Many individual characteristics have been found to affect public opinion concerning police. Officer uniforms and appearances, for example, were found by Johnson (2001) to affect public perceptions. Perceptions of competency, status, authority, professionalism, and ability, in particular, may be strongly influenced by officer appearances (Johnson, 2001). Johnson (2001) relies heavily on psychological findings to stress the importance of individual officers on public perceptions; even small changes to officer appearance, Johnson (2001) argues, can play a vital role in public perception.

Officer appearance.

Dark colored uniforms may elicit negative perceptions of officers while also inciting aggression from officers; negative perceptions may then cause individuals to act violently toward officers (Johnson, 2001). In addition to uniform characteristics, Johnson (2001) claims conditions of officer uniforms may influence public perceptions of police. For example, dirty or badly worn uniforms may encourage violence toward officers because individuals may perceive these shortcomings as weakness (Johnson, 2001). Distinguishable uniforms, however, may serve to increase legitimate authority due to their easily recognizable police characteristics (Johnson, 2001).

Demographics.

Research concerning public perceptions of police has often focused on differences due to demographic characteristics such as age, race, class, and educational attainment. Although demographic characteristics appear to have been generally agreed to correlate with

public perceptions of police, some studies have not found evidence of any such correlation. After analysis, Wells (2007) found no evidence to suggest demographics played an important role in determining public perceptions of police. Similarly, Bridenball and Jesilow (2008) examined demographic factors including age, gender, ethnicity, level of education, occupation, and number of years at current address; of these characteristics, only age was found to be associated with perceptions of police. “Concentrated economic disadvantage,” comprising residents with incomes under the poverty level, households on public assistance, unemployed residents, residents under 18 years of age, and family households headed by women, too, was found not to be associated with public perceptions of police once other variables were included (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008).

Instead of focusing on perceptions of minority respondents, Hickman and Piquero (2009) examined the racial composition of the department. Similar to other studies which have found race to be unrelated to perceptions, Hickman and Piquero (2009) found the number of minority officers in a department to be unrelated to the complaint rates or number of complaints sustained by a department.

Many studies have, however, found support for the suggestion that demographic variables influence public perception. Weitzer et al. (2008) found that blacks and those with less education were more likely to perceive a problem of misconduct (Weitzer et al., 2008). Perceptions of high levels of crime and disorder were both found to correlate with negative perceptions of police for blacks; for whites, only perceptions of disorder were found to have this relationship (Weitzer et al., 2008). Similarly, Johnson and Kuhns (2009) found race differences in use of force scenarios. The race of the offender, as well as the race of the respondent, was found to influence approval levels of officer use of force.

Indeed, race has been demonstrated to correlate strongly with perceptions of police by many studies (Ackerman et al., 2001; Brewer, 1988; Jefferis, Kaminski, Holmes, & Hanley, 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998; Macdonald & Stokes, 2006; Sharp & Johnson, 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Weitzer et al., 2008). Blacks and Hispanics have been found to be more likely to believe misconduct and bias are problems within policing agencies (Brewer, 1988; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Weitzer et al., 2008). Blacks and Hispanics are also reported to be more likely to report either personal experience or second hand experience with police misconduct (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Minorities have been demonstrated to hold more negative opinions of the use of force in arrest (Hickman & Piquero, 2009); similarly, younger individuals and divorced or separated individuals are more likely to believe police use excessive force when making arrests (Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998).

Overall, minority groups are often less supportive of police, less satisfied with police, and less trusting of police than white individuals (Brewer, 1988; Huebner, Schafer, & Bynum, 2004; Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998; Sharp & Johnson, 2009; Smith, 2003); further, whites are less likely to acknowledge the existence of racism in society (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). These findings are supported by research using public opinion polls; Ackerman et al. (2001) found public opinion polls in 1995 reflected only 25 percent of minorities responded they believed police had “high or very high” honesty and ethics compared to 44 percent of whites. In the same polls, 32 percent of minorities reported believing police had “low or very low” honesty and ethics compared to only 11 percent of whites (Ackerman et al., 2001).

White individuals appear to hold a sort of utopian view of officers and policing; indeed, from the viewpoint of whites, police certainly fill the role of “good guys”. While minorities may hold less supportive views, many whites believe police agencies to be unbiased (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Over three-fourths of whites sampled by Weitzer and Tuch (2005) were found to believe whites and minority groups are treated equally; furthermore, the majority of whites were found to believe all neighborhoods are treated equally. Only a small number of whites believe police use racial profiling or believe police agencies are prejudiced.

Race alone, however, does not fully account for variability in public perceptions. Gender, class, and educational attainment have also been found to be related to perceptions of officers. Thompson and Lee (2004), for example, found women to be more likely to disapprove of the use of force than men. Weitzer and Tuch (1999) found class to influence attitudes among blacks toward the criminal justice system, police protection of neighborhoods in general, and police racism on a global scale. Interestingly, class did not influence attitudes among blacks concerning micro-level personal experiences or police in their own communities (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Similarly, higher educated black individuals were found to be more critical of the criminal justice system than higher educated whites (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Still, higher educated whites were more likely than less educated whites to perceive discrimination against blacks; higher educated whites did not, however, report beliefs that police racism was a widespread occurrence (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999).

A study conducted by Macdonald and Stokes (2006) sought to examine the influence of social capital on trust of police among blacks, independent of class. ‘Social capital’ refers

to relationships that exist among individuals functioning to facilitate obligations, expectations, trust, and norms (Coleman, 1988 as cited by Macdonald and Stokes, 2006). Social capital was found to be a strong predictor of trust in police; low levels of perceived social capital contributed to high levels of distrust for police (Macdonald & Stokes, 2006). Further, social capital mitigated the effects of education and income on trust. However, social capital did not mediate the effect of race (Macdonald & Stokes, 2006).

Environment and context.

Personal and demographic characteristics, however, cannot account for all variability among public perceptions of police. With this in mind, some studies have examined the influence of environmental and contextual characteristics including police encounters, second hand information, and evaluations of procedural justice (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Cooper, Moore, Gruskin, & Krieger, 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Wells, 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2008).

Both personal experiences and second hand experiences with police misconduct can contribute to public perceptions of police as corrupt and ineffective (Cooper et al., 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Weitzer et al., 2008). This is especially true considering most perceptions concerning police are formed not through direct contact but through second hand experience and word of mouth (Cooper et al., 2004). Brewer (1988) states community members who do come into contact with police often view them as corrupt and discriminatory; however, more recent studies have found only mixed support for this assertion.

Bridenball and Jesilow (2008), for example, found any contact with police increased the probability of both positive and negative comments concerning police. Similarly, Wells

(2007) found citizen perceptions of procedurally fair treatment to be the most important predictor of later positive evaluations of police. Wells (2007) argues if police use procedurally fair practices, such as politeness, explanations of actions, and giving attention to the citizen, citizens come to believe they are valued and protected; this, in turn, creates a positive opinion of officers. Even when police contact resulted in an unfavorable outcome for the citizen, a perception of the use of procedural justice still resulted in positive evaluations of officers (Wells, 2007).

When contacts were initiated by officers, Weitzer et al. (2008) found citizens were more likely to perceive police misconduct to be a problem. However, officer actions appear to minimize negative evaluations; once community policing was implemented, perceptions of police misconduct decreased (Weitzer et al., 2008). These studies indicate that an interaction between police and citizens, by itself, does not account for positive or negative evaluations of officers. Instead, the character of the interaction determines the outcome of public opinion.

Other environmental characteristics can influence public perceptions of police officers; this includes environmental characteristics of the encounter as well as environmental characteristics of the department. Organizational and administrative features of police departments have been found to be related to citizen complaints (Hickman & Piquero, 2009). Departments with internal affairs units and higher crime rates were found to have higher rates of use of force complaints; the percentage of those complaints which were sustained was found to be higher among departments with greater levels of formalization (Hickman & Piquero, 2009). Indeed, perceptions of the appropriateness of force can influence public approval as well (Johnson & Kuhns, 2009). If the context is perceived as

threatening to an officer, citizens are more likely to approve of the use of force by officers (Thompson & Lee, 2004).

Neighborhoods.

Citizens' perceptions of crime and disorder can influence appraisals of police officers within cities and neighborhoods. In fact, city-level characteristics can influence trust among members of the public (Sharp & Johnson, 2009). Similarly, perceptions of neighborhood problems have been found to be associated with perceptions of police (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008). Because citizens feel police are responsible for controlling crime and disorder in their neighborhoods, signs of crime and disorder can lead to negative opinions of or distrust in police. If disorder is present in a community, police are perceived as not performing adequately and thus to blame for problems within the neighborhood (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). Further, perceptions of neighborhood disorder have been found to lower confidence in police while increasing perceptions of police misconduct (Weitzer et al., 2008).

Unlike most careers, police officers face a role in society where officers are constantly scrutinized by outsiders. Members of the general public constantly monitor and critique the actions of officers both on-duty as well as off-duty. Although in most cases this does not create problems or stress for individual officers, this high level of public scrutiny does create potential for strain on officers. Officers who feel high levels of pressure or strain due to the large amount of public oversight may identify with typologies which hold negative views of citizens. Further, officers feeling stress due to public oversight may engage in unethical behaviors due to the levels of burn-out and cynicism sometimes associated with negative views of citizens (Paoline, 2004). An officer who feels frustrated due to the high

levels of public oversight or who feels he or she is perceived negatively by the public may react by breaching ethical standards due to high levels of frustration. Further, an officer who views citizens negatively may be more likely to behave in an unethical manner during interactions with citizens because they believe they are not respected. This is supported by Van Maanen's (1978) finding that a citizen designated as "an asshole" by officers is most likely to receive street justice.

Police Culture

Police culture is commonly characterized as "widely shared attitudes, values, and norms that serve to manage strains created by the nature of police work...and the punitive practices of police management and supervision" (Paoline, 2004, p. 207). This conception of police culture has long-standing roots in the literature. In fact, the conceptual understanding of police culture has not changed significantly since Westley's (1970) study of police culture and violence.

Research has defined two broad conceptualizations of police culture—the traditional view of police culture as a single, homogenous entity or police culture as segmented into various typologies. Research into this area of policing seems to reflect an evolving view of police culture. That is, early research into police culture demonstrates a history of a large, single police culture (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970) while more recent research reflects a view of a segmented culture with various styles, patterns, and characterizations (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Muir, 1977; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Walsh, 1977; White, 1972).

Police culture is said to develop in response to the environment and strains of police work; officers face conditions and experiences unique to policing which place police men and women in a position of stress and anxiety (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Walsh, 1977; Westley, 1970). The environments of police work, organizational environment and occupational environment, each have specific outcomes for police officers. The occupational environment is one filled with danger; any citizen could potentially be dangerous. Officers often face an ambiguous role in society while trying to accomplish the unattainable goal of solving crime. Further, the ability of police alone to use coercive authority places them in a position of social isolation while reinforcing group loyalty (Herbert, 1996; Paoline, 2003; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976).

The organizational environment of officers refers to the patrol relationship to supervisors. Officers are subject to unpredictable and punitive scrutiny by supervisors; that is, officers may find themselves disciplined by supervisors, without regularity to critique, rather than encouraged. Further, police officers must take on many roles but only the role of law enforcement is reinforced or rewarded by the organizational structure; officers are expected to complete many responsibilities, law enforcement and service to name a few, but only law enforcement functions are supported by rewards or promotions (Brown, 1988; Paoline, 2003; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976; Wordon, 1989). This role ambiguity further perpetuates the social isolation and group loyalty experienced by officers. To cope with the occupational environment of police work, many officers become suspicious and seek to “maintain the edge” (Paoline, 2003; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, Manning, 2003; Westley, 1970). In addition, the “cover your

ass” mentality and focus on the law enforcement role result from the pressures of the organizational environment (Paoline, 2003; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, Manning, 2003).

Traditional view of police culture.

The traditional view of police culture demonstrates an understanding of police culture as a unifying force among officers; that is, all police officers within a department adhere to a single culture characterized by particular norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors. The monolithic view of police culture, that culture is a large, single force, was first advocated by Westley (1970) and inspired much later research into police norms and values. Westley (1970) characterized police officers as placing a strong value on in-group loyalty and secrecy among officers. In fact, Westley (1970) characterizes the blue wall of silence as the number one rule for officers. The value on silence is equated, claims Westley (1970), with group loyalty and solidarity. Any officer who breaks this norm faces numerous consequences, the most important of which results in the officer being ostracized from the group (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Toch, 1976).

Loyalty among officers is clearly a dominant value within the traditional view of police culture (Brown, 1988; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970). Other values of the traditional police culture include an “us v. them” mentality in which officers are seen as a single group forced to face the out-group of “others”—citizens and offenders—and suspicion of outsiders (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970). Once officers are challenged by a

member of the outside group, officers are expected to outperform the others they face; officers must always dominate the situation, command respect, and best the offender or face ridicule from their peers (Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Westley, 1970).

Officers rely on one another for support and are expected to back up one another (Brown, 1988; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Westley, 1970). This refers to support and backing in the line of duty but, more importantly, emotionally and personally. Because citizens are viewed as disrespectful, suspicious, evil, or not trustworthy (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976; Westley, 1970) while supervisors are viewed as unsupportive, unrewarding, and out of touch with patrol conditions (Brown, 1988; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Van Maanen, 1975; Walsh, 1977), officers are forced to look to one another for support, validation, and encouragement.

Officers are often found to socialize only with one another (Walsh, 1977; Westley, 1970), furthering in-group loyalty and alienation from the broader community. This also solidifies the police culture because officers begin to simply reinforce one another's behaviors and impressions of the culture. Procedural guidelines are viewed as a hindrance to the police role and ultimate objective; policy guidelines and legal restrictions such as due process simply get in the way of a police officer's duty to uphold the moral code, maintain order, and fight crime (Herbert, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003).

The traditional police culture stresses law enforcement and crime fighting as the primary roles and duties of the “good” police officer (Brown, 1988; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003). Any other roles or duties, such as service or order maintenance, are seen as unimportant, boring, and irrelevant to the officer’s primary role (Paoline, 2004; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003). Real police work, to the traditional police culture, is conducted with aggressive tactics and selective enforcement of the law (Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976). Minor violations and service and order calls are not deemed important or worthy of enforcement; that is, felonies and dangerous situations are the primary concern of officers.

Citizens are evaluated based on their potential threat to the officer (Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000); the officer then determines if the situation is worthy of his or her attention. However, because officers face a citizenry and supervisors who are believed to not understand true police work, officers are forced to face criticism both from the public and the organization (Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Van Maanen, 1975). This leads to a “cover-your-ass” mentality which discourages officers from contact with citizens or supervisors (Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Walsh, 1977).

Officers face many pressures to conform to police culture; this pressure supports an overwhelming police culture that newcomers must match (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970). Strong expectations and pressures to conform prevent the effects of the police culture from diminishing or rogue officers from breaking the existing patterns. In fact, one existing value within the police culture is that of maintaining respect for police (Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Westley, 1970). Any officer which

tarnishes the reputation of police is seen as disrespecting other officers and damaging their reputation as well.

The traditional view of police culture appears to encompass many popular conceptions of policing. However, the traditional view does not explain the variation found in many studies. Further, the traditional view of police culture does not compensate for the many changes made to the institution of policing in recent decades. Changes such as the professionalization of policing, increasing standards for education, increasing numbers of female and minority officers, and the implementation of community policing have certainly changed the face and values of policing (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Toch, 1976; White, 1972). Norms, values, and attitudes within policing organizations have been altered by the changes in policing, restructuring the police culture as more fragmented (Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004). The fragmentation of the police culture has led to variations in police style and attitudes; essentially, a typology of police culture has been developed by recent research (Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004).

Typology view of police culture.

In response to criticism that traditional police culture research has been too limited and short-sighted, typology research has investigated police culture under the assumption that culture is variable rather than static (Mastrofski, 2004). Typology studies have indeed found variation among the so-called police culture; that is, instead of all officers adhering to a homogenous culture, recent studies have demonstrated multiple types or styles of policing. Values, norms, and attitudes among officers appear to have become more fragmented. It should be noted, however, that the traditional model of police culture has not been

eliminated. Instead, typology studies have incorporated the traditional model as one of several styles (Paoline, 2004).

The variation in police culture is due to several factors. As noted, changes in policing philosophy, professionalization, education, sex and race have changed the face and values of policing (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Toch, 1976; White, 1972). Further fragmentation comes from organizations, rank, and individuals (Paoline, 2003). Officers of differing ranks may develop their own cultures for their position within the police bureaucracy (Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Walsh, 1977). Also, individual officer styles may develop due to differences in interpretation of situations, morality, learning, and experience (Herbert, 1996; Paoline, 2003).

Differences in culture may result from other factors as well. Reuss-Ianni (1983) asserts differences in culture may result from differing definitions of the means to accomplish the goals of policing while Walsh (1977) states variability is the result of individual characteristics, goals, and experiences on the force. Brown (1988) asserts that variability in the traditional police culture is a result of the police culture itself. Because the traditional culture places an emphasis on individualism, officers are allowed to develop their own policing styles as long as they adhere to other facets of the officer code (Brown, 1988). Differing typologies, then, may result from many factors outside of individual characteristics.

Some researchers have hypothesized demographics may influence the fragmentation of police culture. However, research has found little support for such assertions; instead, much of the literature on police culture has found culture to overpower demographic and individual characteristics. Brown (1988) found officer demographics to be unrelated to the development of officer style. Instead, psychological attributes and socialization were found

to be more important (Brown, 1988). Similarly, Van Maanen (1975), Paoline, Myers and Worden (2000), Poteyeva and Sun (2009), and Britz (1997) found demographics to be unrelated to police attitudes. These findings suggest police culture strongly molds officer attitudes and overpowers the influence individual demographics may have.

Researchers have hypothesized male police officers would be unwelcoming to the increasing number of females joining the forces. Some have found male officers making claims of females as having lesser physical capabilities, inability to handle violent situations, and excessive emotionality (Britz, 1997; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Toch, 1976). Britz (1999) even found claims that female officers would be more likely to exchange sexual favors for promotion. Despite these claims, Britz (1999) found that demographics did not have an effect on occupational solidarity. This finding suggests that even though some male officers may dislike the increasing female proportion of police officers, the unity of the organization has not suffered.

Categorization of police into typologies has evolved. White (1972) discussed four typologies—Problem Solvers, Tough Cops, Crime Fighters, and Rule Appliers. Muir (1977) also references four typologies of police based on their levels of passion and perspective. Professionals were characterized as having both passion and perspective while the three Nonprofessional types of officers had varying combinations lacking either passion or perspective. Muir (1977) described Enforcers as having passion without perspective, Reciprocators as having perspective without passion, and Avoiders as lacking both passion and perspective. Brown (1988) characterizes Old-Style Crime Fighters, Clean Beat Crime Fighters, Professionals, and Service Officers.

Walsh (1977) classifies officers into Street Cops, Action Seekers, or Middle-Class Mobiles, each with its own values, goals, acceptable behaviors and ideologies. Walsh's (1977) Street Cop is focused on keeping his/her record clean without placing a high value on arrests. Instead, the Street Cop focuses primarily on avoiding trouble, solving problems, interacting with the community, and deterring potential criminals. Middle-Class Mobiles view policing as a means to better their social status; as such, they are focused on promotion and administration (Walsh, 1977). Action Seekers value the law enforcement role and high profile arrests (Walsh, 1977). Reuss-Ianni (1983) categorizes officers similarly, stating culture is based on rank. According to Reuss-Ianni (1983), Street Cops hold differing cultural attitudes and goals than Management Cops.

More recently, officers have been categorized into seven typologies—Traditionalists, Law Enforcers, Old-Pros, Peace-Keepers, Lay-Lows, Anti-Organizational Street Cops, and Dirty Harry Enforcers (for a more detailed discussion, see Paoline, 2004). Traditionalists, similar to Tough Cops, hold negative views of citizen cooperation, supervisors, and procedural guidelines. Traditionalists focus on the law enforcement role and report somewhat favorable views of aggressive tactics and selective enforcement. Law Enforcers, similar to Clean Beat Crime Fighters, have negative views of citizens and supervisors while focusing on the law enforcement role of policing. Law Enforcers have positive views of aggressive tactics but, unlike Traditionalists, view procedural guidelines positively.

Old-Pros are seen as the attitudinal model for policing organizations. Old-Pros hold positive views of citizens, supervisors, and procedural guidelines. This typology is accepting of multiple roles of police officers and hold positive views toward aggressive tactics and selective enforcement. Old-Pros are similar to Muir's (1977) Professionals. Peace-Keepers

are similar to Problem-Solvers and hold positive views of citizens, supervisors, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement of laws. Further, Peace-Keepers have the lowest orientation toward crime fighting; instead, Peace-Keepers focus on order maintenance functions and view aggressive tactics negatively. Lay-Lows, similar to Avoiders, hold positive views of citizens, sergeants, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement. This typology does not support the use of aggressive tactics and has the lowest views of order maintenance and community policing. Instead, Lay-Lows engage only in the unavoidable duties of law enforcement.

Paoline (2004) adds two typologies of police officers. Anti-Organizational Street-Cops hold very low opinions of supervisors and very high views of citizens. Also, this group has positive orientations toward the law enforcement role, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement. Negative views are held toward order maintenance and community policing as well as aggressive tactics. Finally, Dirty Harry Enforcers have high views of aggressive tactics, supervisors, and selective enforcement. This typology accepts the multiple roles of police and community policing. However, Dirty Harry Enforcers distrust citizens and hold negative views of procedural guidelines.

Besides simply grouping officer attitudes, values, and norms, researchers have attempted to determine if a relationship exists between officer typology and observable behavior. Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) found groups of officers who were most similar to the traditional culture used force most often while groups of officers most dissimilar to the traditional culture were least likely to use increased levels of force. Chambliss' (1994) depiction of a rapid deployment unit appears to categorize officers as behaving according to culture unlike the broader culture found in the organization.

Chambliss (1994) describes officers who disregard procedure and legalities while employing excessive force and verbal abuse; other officers outside the rapid deployment unit describe these officers as “Dirty Harrys and very serious bad-ass individuals” (p. 177). Chambliss’ (1994) study reflects the variation in officer typology and behavior; importantly, this finding could support Walsh’s (1977) or Reuss-Ianni’s (1983) findings that subgroups of similar rank or categorization develop typologies and behaviors separate from the larger organization.

Worden (1989) found actual officer behavior to be inconsistent with attitudes; however, behaviors and attitudes were more likely to correlate when situational pressures were consistent with existing attitudes. Overall, Worden (1989) concluded attitudinal variables explained only a small portion of officer behavior. This finding suggests that although officers may hold a particular belief system, the typology categorization may not translate easily into observable behaviors.

Research concerning officer demographics has also examined influences on police behavior. Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found officer characteristics to influence officer behavior; inexperienced and less-educated officers were found to use increased levels of force. It is possible that attitudes accepted through police culture may not influence behavior in all occasions. In times of strain, officers may revert back to individual interpretations of situations rather than relying on accepted traditions.

Police Socialization

Socialization involves the formal and informal methods through which an individual obtains the specific cultural and social traits of a group (Alain & Grégoire, 2008). Applied to police, socialization involves all of the formal training (e.g., academy training) and informal lessons an officer receives pertaining to the police culture and police society. Socialization is

how a police officer learns “what the job is about”; he or she learns the values, behaviors, norms, and skills of the department (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). Socialization is characteristic of any social system; however, socialization takes a special role in the unique professional environment of policing. Because policing is viewed as a profession with unique characteristics (Westley, 1970), the socialization of officers into the police culture has become of great interest. Further, the effects of socialization develop quickly (Tuohy, Wrennall, McQueen, & Stradline, 1993), thus meriting the attention of researchers.

Van Maanen (1975) has been cited often and has been recognized as one of the key figures in police socialization research. Unlike others who view socialization as a fluid and constantly evolving process, Van Maanen views socialization as a stage-based process. Instead of socialization being constant and continually influencing an officer’s career, as those who view socialization as fluid would claim, stage-based proponents view socialization as rigid, static, and having defined phases. Van Maanen (1975) describes four stages of police socialization—entry, introduction, encounter, and metamorphosis. Within the entry stage, applicants are forced to endure a long screening process in the hopes of becoming a police officer. The impression of exclusivity this creates, coupled with positive attention given by family or friends, generates positive feelings toward the policing occupation. The entry stage is characterized primarily by bonding the recruit to the occupation and his or her peers. During the introduction stage, argues Van Maanen (1975), the attitude of the recruit changes drastically. The recruit becomes dissatisfied with the academy while motivation and commitment levels decrease. The recruit comes to identify with the group while trying to avoid negative attention.

Van Maanen's (1975) next stage is encounter. While the introduction stage would be the time in which the recruit is in the academy, encounter could be characterized by field training and/or probationary periods. At this point, the recruit learns the attitudes and behaviors of the group while trying to avoid trouble through minimizing his or her activity. Overzealousness, according to Van Maanen (1975), is discouraged by the recruit's senior officers. Commitment, on the other hand, is highly encouraged. Finally, metamorphosis occurs when the recruit comes to hold the attitudes characteristic of the police organization. At this stage, the individual may begin to characterize outsiders as not recognizing the worth of the policing occupation; that is, negative attitudes toward citizens begin to develop.

Recently, some researchers have claimed police socialization is much more dynamic and variable than previously conceived (Chan, 2001). Instead of viewing rookies and new recruits as unquestioning receptacles for police culture and information, Chan (2001) claims new recruits are active participants within the socialization process. Recruits actively reflect upon the information they receive, using experiences with what they perceive to be "good" policing and "bad" policing to inform their judgment about the type of officer he or she would like to be (Chan, 2001). Further, researchers who view socialization as a fluid process claim socialization does not have clear-cut stages or endings as Van Maanen (1975) suggests. Instead, socialization as a fluid process would contend that socialization continues throughout an officer's career; therefore, a rookie could experience a socializing event similarly to a veteran.

Socialization and traditional culture.

This is not to say, however, that police socialization has become one in which all types of behaviors and ideologies have become accepted. Instead, the vast majority of

research has stressed that socialization within policing stresses conformity to accepted norms, values, behaviors, and ideals within the department (Britz, 1997; Chan, 2001; Conti, 2006; Conti, 2009; Conti & Nolan, 2005; Fielding, 1984; Fielding, 1988; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Toch, 1976; Tuohy et al., 1993; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970). That is, socialization stresses adherence to police culture.

Particularly, police socialization has been thought to transmit the traditional police culture. Police departments commonly use some combination of schooling (such as through an academy), field training with an experienced officer, and probationary status for new recruits. These measures pass along the accepted ideals of the department. New recruits do not create their own culture within the department; instead, recruits often align themselves with the existing ideals (Britz, 1997; Conti, 2006; Conti & Nolan, 2005). Further, new recruits are taught not to question the practices of the training officers (Chan, 2001; Westley, 1970). Because experienced officers train recruits, the traditional police culture is allowed to be passed from one generation to the next through measures of informal socialization (Conti & Nolan, 2005; Fielding, 1988; Haarr, 2001; Paoline, 2003; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Sun, 2003; Toch, 1976).

Entry.

Prior to obtaining a position within a department, potential recruits themselves participate in the socialization process. Fielding (1988) describes ‘anticipatory socialization’ in which the potential recruit imagines and rehearses their conception of policing. The individual receives information from outside sources and reference groups in order to establish their idea of policing; often, however, this information simply reflects the traditional view of policing. He or she begins to identify with police officers and envision

themselves as police officers. Individuals envision themselves in a life of excitement—chasing criminals and enforcing the law—while unknowingly furthering the traditional model of policing.

During the entry phase, departments select candidates for hire. Conti (2006) argues departments only select candidates they deem as best able to conform to the existing culture. By passing the examinations given in the selection process, candidates demonstrate their willingness to conform to the existing standards of the department. Conti (2006) expands on Van Maanen's (1975) entry phase by describing three stages of recruit candidates: civilian stage, contestant phase, and anticipatory recruit phase. During the civilian stage, the individual tries to associate with and identify with police officers; the anticipation of this stage may increase identification with officers while decreasing satisfaction with the civilian self. Next, during the contestant phase, the individual must endure a series of examinations in order to move to the next phase of hiring. At this point, Conti (2006) describes the extreme measures some individuals take to try to conform to the standards and expectations in each phase of testing. This act demonstrates the level of conformity to police culture that individuals are already willing to accept. If the individual is able to pass these examinations, he or she shifts into the anticipatory recruit phase. At this time, the individual is finishing the testing phases and begins to anticipate entrance into the academy. Upon reaching this stage, the individual has become so indoctrinated into the police culture that he or she is able to easily conform to the ideology they will later learn in the academy and the department.

Academy and introduction.

Academy training is also a means of passing along the traditional police culture. At this stage, recruits strongly identify with police and police culture, fully accepting informal

socialization into traditional ideals (Westley, 1970). Academies stress the importance of obedience to authority through a structure of shame and honor (Conti, 2006; Conti, 2009; Conti & Nolan, 2005; Paoline, 2003). This teaches recruits to simply obey the authority of the police hierarchy while conforming to acceptable standards. Recruits eventually begin to internalize the standards of the academy; they begin to evaluate themselves and their peers based on the perspective of the senior staff (Conti, 2009).

Academy instructors themselves are more experienced officers. Again, this allows for the passing along of traditional culture from one generation to the next. Further, the curriculum of the police academy indoctrinates recruits into traditional police culture. Haarr (2001) found academy training to reinforce the traditional model of policing while Conti and Nolan (2005) found ethics training within academy settings to stress conformity to traditional police culture and views of the police role.

Field training and encounter.

Van Maanen's (1975) encounter stage is often characteristic of field training or probationary periods for rookies. Field training is the first stage in which the rookie is socialized through their home department (Haarr, 2001). During this phase, rookies often experience a "reality shock" of the demands of real-world police work; this is the stage, according to Westley (1970), that rookies truly begin to become emotionally involved as a police officer. Field training employs methods of formal socialization, such as learning proper procedure, as well as methods of informal socialization through interaction with the rookie's peers (Paoline, 2003). Often, rookies begin to model their elder peers, learning the accepted behaviors, norms, and values of the department (Brown, 1988; Westley, 1970).

Many officers focus on field training and probation as particularly important times of socialization. This is due to the high value placed on experience. Officers focus on direct experience as the primary means of learning how to become an officer; “expert” police officers are viewed as those with the most experience (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; Britz, 1997; Chan, 2001; Conti & Nolan, 2005; Fielding, 1984; Fielding, 1988; Westley, 1970). Field training itself is based on the assumption that rookies must learn through experience (Sun, 2003); field training and probation give the rookie the opportunity to learn how to be a police officer in real-world settings while still under the supervision and guidance of a more experienced officer. It is at this time that many officers develop a view that academy training is useless and out of touch with “real” policing (Chan, 2001). Bayley and Bittner (1984) claim the experiences rookies have during training teach them about the goals, tactics, and presence of policing. That is, experience teaches rookies about the expectations of supervisors and the department, how to best implement skills and force, and how to maintain a level of internal alertness.

Acceptance and metamorphosis.

During the final stage of socialization, metamorphosis, officers undergo a major shift in attitudes and values (Chan, 2001). Officers become fully integrated into the police culture and completely identify with the department; at this point, many ideals of the traditional model are expressed. New officers identify emotionally with fellow officers; instead of having knowledge about police, individuals share knowledge with police (Westley, 1970).

Westley (1970) describes four mechanisms to the rookie’s full acceptance of the culture—expediency, categorical reaction, application of sanctions, and maintenance of personal integrity. It is because of these four variables that rookies come to fully accept the

socialization process and the police culture. Expediency describes the need for a way to behave; this leads to the acceptance of behaviors available to the rookie. It is because of expediency that rookies begin to model field training officers and other peers with high levels of experience. Categorical reaction describes the rookie's response to being stereotyped by the public. These stereotypes lead to self-identification with the group—in this case, police officers. The application of sanctions is the means whereby rookies are rewarded or punished for their behaviors and attitudes, encouraging group identified acceptable behaviors and attitudes. Finally, the rookie seeks to maintain self-esteem through his or her identification with the group; he or she will accept the new values of the organization to maintain their personal integrity.

Variability in socialization.

Although many view the socialization process as a uniform mechanism serving to reinforce traditional models of police culture, some have demonstrated variability in socialization (Chan, 2001). For example, Reuss-Ianni (1983) demonstrated rank may lead to different means of socialization for officers, thus allowing entry level officers to be socialized differently than upper level management. Variability within the mechanisms of socialization could lead to variability within the policing style eventually adopted (Walsh, 1977). This, then, could potentially be one means of the fracturing of the police culture (Paoline, 2003).

Differences in socialization.

Gender.

Research has examined whether personal attributes could affect the process of socialization; that is, could personal characteristics lead to different mechanisms of

socialization. Fielding (1988) did not find evidence of gender differences leading to variability within socialization. Instead, Fielding (1988) found women were simply accepting the masculinity roles attributed to police officers; further, women were found to have accepted the established views of police culture. Similarly, Poteyeva and Sun (2009) found gender to be unrelated to attitudes of officers; this finding suggests gender does not have a strong influence on socialization.

Prokos and Padavic (2002), however, found men and women to be socialized differently within the academy setting. According to Prokos and Padavic (2002), the explicit training of the police academy is gender neutral; however, the implicit training encourages adoption of highly gendered attitudes. Prokos and Padavic (2002) found academy socialization to encourage women to be treated as outsiders, unqualified, inferior, objectified, and not commanding respect. Female officers, then, are forced to adhere to stereotyped femininity, accept the masculine culture, or reject the conception of masculinity as competence (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). The findings of Prokos and Padavic could suggest the women studied by Fielding (1988) compensated for gender differences by simply accepting the dominant views.

Race.

Conti (2006) examined the effects of race on socialization. Conti (2006) did, in fact, find divisions within the organization primarily along racial lines. However, other authors have not found evidence of variability in socialization due to personal attributes (Haarr, 2001; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975). According to these authors, the influences of socialization and culture have much stronger effects than individual characteristics. These findings suggest more research is

needed to better assess the effects of personal attributes. Because the majority of these studies have examined the effects of personal attributes during what Van Maanen (1975) characterizes as metamorphosis, more research is needed to determine the effects of personal characteristics on the various stages of socialization. Prokos and Padavic (2002) found socialization during the introduction stage to be variable according to gender. It is possible, then, that the effects of variable socialization have waned by metamorphosis. Indeed, more research is needed to determine the influence of personal characteristics during individual stages of police socialization.

The socialization of officers may have large impacts on officers' identification with typologies and their later ethical behaviors. Clearly, the socialization of officers greatly influences the attitudes, perceptions, and actions of officers. If the socialization of an officer leads to an acceptance of unethical behaviors, the officer will continue the negative cycle of police misconduct. If officers internalize an acceptance of misconduct or abuse, unethical behaviors will clearly result. This threatens the legitimacy as well as the efficacy of police officers.

Stress, Job Satisfaction, and Ethics

Police culture can encourage many characteristics within officers. Among these, masculinity, an "us v. them" mentality, separation from outsiders, socialization with other officers, group solidarity, and group loyalty are strongly encouraged (Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004). These characteristics are not simply stressed within the police culture; they are introduced early in the socialization process and strengthened throughout training and work environments (Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004). Naturally, officers may develop high stress levels and/or experience fluctuations within levels of job satisfaction.

It could easily be argued that policing is a highly stressful occupation; however, some have questioned whether police officers are truly among the most stressed (Hart, Wearing, Headey, 1993). For this reason, it is important to consider whether officers are indeed among the most stressed within occupational groups; also, factors which may contribute to officers' levels of stress must be considered. It is further important to consider factors which may contribute to reducing stress levels for officers. Job satisfaction must be evaluated, especially in terms of the influences of stress. Finally, officer ethics must be measured due to the strong influence officer behaviors may have on police legitimacy. It will be argued that officer stress levels as well as job satisfaction influence officer ethical considerations.

Stress and job satisfaction.

As stated, one could argue policing is among the most stressful of occupations. However, Hart, Wearing, and Headey (1993) questioned whether officers are truly among the most stressed of occupational groups. In fact, the authors' findings suggest officers may not have the highest levels of stress of the occupational groups studied. Further, Martinussen, Richardsen, and Burke (2007) found officers' levels of burnout were low when compared to other occupations. These findings are hopeful for police officers and officers' families, especially in light of the numerous accounts of stress-related consequences related to policing. Indeed, policing has been associated with high levels of physical health issues, mental health issues, divorce, suicide, and alcoholism (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995; Crank & Caldero, 1991; Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004; Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007; Miller, Mire, & Kim, 2009). Further, high levels of stress and job dissatisfaction can affect officers' performance, legitimacy, professional relationships,

organizational commitment, and job quality (Crank & Caldero, 1991; Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007; Miller, Mire, & Kim, 2009).

Many factors have been identified as contributing to high levels of police stress; organizational issues are particularly noteworthy for their influence on officers' levels of stress and satisfaction (Crank & Caldero, 1991; Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1993). Crank and Caldero (1991) found, in a survey of officers, organizational issues were most likely to be selected as a source of stress; specifically, problems with supervisors was found to be the most cited stressor among officers. Also relating to organizational hassles, shift changes was the second-most selected source of stress. Although one would assume the level of danger, or at least the potential for danger, inherent in policing would be a high source of stress for officers, occupational danger was found to be the variable least likely to be identified among officers (Crank & Caldero, 1991). This finding suggests daily, routine activities present more strain for officers than the abstract potential for danger. It is possible that the little focus placed on danger is because of the relatively low likelihood of danger within many police organizations or because of a psychological defense mechanism officers use to cope with the possibility of serious harm or death.

Hart, Wearing, and Headey (1993) identified 19 categories of 'daily hassles' contributing to stress; these categories were grouped into two domains: organizational experiences, which develop from the day-to-day organization, and operational experiences, which develop from the tasks of officers. Again, organizational hassles were found to correlate with job satisfaction and perceived quality of life stronger than operational hassles (Hart, Wearing, Headey, 1993). This suggests the organizational environment of police officers may indeed have the strong influence on job satisfaction implied by much of the

police culture research. Culture and police stress research suggests supervisors are viewed as unsupportive, unrewarding, and out of touch with patrol conditions (Brown, 1988; Crank & Caldero, 1991; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Van Maanen, 1975; Walsh, 1977). Further, cultural research has suggested that procedural guidelines are often viewed as a hindrance to the police role and ultimate objective of maintaining the moral order while fighting crime (Herbert, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Paoline, 2004; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003). It is, therefore, highly important that police organizations create an environment where supervisors and policy are viewed positively; if organizational aspects are viewed positively, one can predict that officers are likely to have higher levels of job satisfaction and quality of life.

Four coping mechanisms have been reported by police stress research: problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, religiosity, and rugged individualism (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995). However, not all of these coping mechanisms have been helpful in officers' dealings with stress. In fact, the rugged individualism coping mechanism was found to have a detrimental effect for officers; religiosity had no evidence of being either helpful or harmful (Beehr, Johnson, Nieva, 1995). Officers' coping mechanisms appear to have a strong influence on their social and psychological health. In fact, officer drinking has been found to become worse with the use of the rugged individual coping mechanism. Further, drinking, divorce, and suicidal thoughts were all found to be improved by emotion-focused coping mechanisms (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995).

High stress levels have strong implications for police job satisfaction. High levels of stress can, eventually, lead to high levels of burnout among officers. The demands and resources of policing, in addition to the work-family pressure, were found to be associated to

burnout among officers (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007). Importantly, burnout affects both individual outcomes and work outcomes; psychosomatic complaints, level of life satisfaction, level of job satisfaction, intent to quit, and level of organizational commitment were all found to be associated with burnout (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007). Again, this finding supports the implication that policing can strongly affect officers' job quality and quality of life. Levels of burnout are significantly related to how officers interact with the public, how officers view violence, officer behavior during conflict, as well as number of days officers do not come to work (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007). All of these variables contribute to the officers' level of job quality. An officer who is stressed or burnt-out simply cannot perform at a high level legitimacy or quality.

Because officer stress and burnout can have such impacting consequences, it is important to understand which factors may serve to reduce levels of stress and strain. As stated, emotion-focused coping mechanisms may serve to improve the levels of drinking, divorce, and suicidal thoughts reported by officers (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995). Further, religiosity of officer spouses has been correlated with positive benefits for both the spouse and the officer (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995). These results indicate that some coping mechanisms already used by officers appear to be beneficial and help to improve reported levels of stress.

Similarly, Hart, Wearing, and Headey (1993) identified 12 dimensions of 'daily uplifts' occurring for police officers; these categories were classified into organizational or operational experiences. The authors found that organizational uplifts were correlated more strongly than operational experiences with job satisfaction and perceived quality of life (Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1993). Similarly, Boke and Nalla (2009) found perceptions of positive

management support, citizen cooperation, social cohesion, and job challenges to correlate with increased job satisfaction. Thus, although organizational factors, such as supervisors, hierarchy, and departmental policies, may negatively influence job satisfaction and strain, these same factors may also serve to increase job satisfaction and lessen strain. It is, therefore, important for departments and those within supervisory positions to establish a positive view of the organization. These factors may serve to lessen the stress officers experience, thereby having a positive impact on individual officers' physical and mental health while simultaneously increasing the quality of work of the officers.

As stated, organizational factors play a large role on influencing officers' stress levels (Crank & Caldero, 1991; Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1993; Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007; Miller, Mire, & Kim, 2009). In fact, Boke and Nalla (2009) found organizational characteristics to be better predictors of job satisfaction than individual factors. Some studies, however, have found individual factors to have been associated with officers' stress and job satisfaction. Race was found by Boke and Nalla (2009) to be a significant predictor of job satisfaction among officers; non-white officers were less likely to be satisfied. Similarly, other studies have found age, rank, and experience to be correlated with job satisfaction (Hoath, Schneider, & Starr, 1998; Miller, Mire, & Kim, 2009). Further, Hoath, Schneider, and Starr (1998) found position tenure to be negatively related to job satisfaction while investigative and administrative personnel reported higher levels of job satisfaction than patrol officers.

Yet, individual characteristics have only had mixed support among research findings. Although Boke and Nalla (2009) found race to be correlated with job satisfaction, Miller, Mire, and Kim (2009) found race to be unrelated. Similarly, gender was found to be

unrelated to job satisfaction and burnout among officers (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007; Miller, Mire, & Kim, 2009). In contrast to the findings of Hoath, Schneider, and Starr (1998), Martinussen, Richardsen, and Burke (2007) found age to be only slightly related to officer burnout. Finally, Boke and Nalla (2009) did not find support for the assertion that higher education among officers led to higher levels of job satisfaction; senior officers were also not found to hold higher levels of cynicism. With these findings in mind, it is still questionable whether or not individual officer characteristics do, in fact, influence levels of officer stress, burnout, and job satisfaction. Clearly, more research is needed in these areas to tease out the reasons why research has had such mixed results.

Ethics.

High levels of stress and burnout among officers can, as stated, affect officers in many ways. Importantly for police organizations, officer job quality and legitimacy may suffer. According to entitlement theory, individuals come to expect, early in life, a certain level of care and consideration from others in order to form attachments (Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004). Individuals who develop a sense of under-entitlement come to believe they have no right to expect care from others; these individuals come to devalue themselves, see the world as lacking goodness, and see the world as unsafe. Two reactions to under-entitlement may develop: focusing entirely on serving others while ignoring the self or focusing entirely on the self and ignoring others (reacting by developing a sense of over-entitlement). Thus, under-entitled individuals may come to react to their true feelings by developing a sense of over-entitlement; they begin to marginalize others and view others without empathy. According to Kingshott, Bailey, and Wolfe (2004), police culture

promotes a sense of over-entitlement among officers; experiences, environments, and training all serve to support a sense of over-entitlement.

A common reaction to over-entitlement includes seeking out power relationships with others in order to demonstrate one's own superiority. In the case of police officers, the individuals who are often most marginalized are spouses, children, and the general public. Among citizens, women, minorities, and other secondary groups especially receive this type of power differential behavior (Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004). Over-entitlement becomes a vicious cycle among officers and police organizations. The focus on over-entitlement and power relationships, while simultaneously trying to hide one's true identity, contributes to stress, anger, cynicism, mental health issues, and physical health issues (Kingshott, Bailey, & Wolfe, 2004). These emotions then feed into themselves to continue the cycle of anger, cynicism, and power relationships eventually leading to more anger, frustration, job dissatisfaction, and burnout.

Officers who experience high levels of stress, frustration, burnout, or over-entitlement may continue to react in a negative fashion. However, because of the officer's role in society, he or she is in a position to make substantial decisions. An officer experiencing signs of burnout or over-entitlement may be more likely to make questionable ethical decisions, promote lack-luster ethical behaviors within the department, or tolerate unethical behaviors within the organization.

Ethical dilemmas and questionable ethical practices may develop for many reasons. A common reason officers may participate in questionable ethical behavior may relate to organizational pressures or status relations. For example, many police organizations, and often the organization's culture, demand that officers measure performance through numbers

of arrests; this demand encourages and creates a situation where mistakes can be easily covered up and success exaggerated in order to gain status (Westmarland, 2000).

Police culture encourages conformity to existing standards, practices and beliefs (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Toch, 1976; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970); the focus placed on secrecy and loyalty, along with pressures of conformity, encourage officers to participate in, or at least tolerate, unethical behaviors (Alain & Grégoire, 2008; Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007; Westmarland, 2000). Other cultural traits, such as masculinity and an “ends justify the means” mentality, further encourage an acceptance or tolerance of unethical behavior (Alpert & Noble, 2009; Westmarland, 2000). Any officer who appears willing to report unethical behavior threatens this sense of protection and loyalty offered by the police culture (Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007). The officer would then face the consequences of the group—being ostracized, not being trusted, and not having other officers willing to work with the individual (Goldschmidt & Anonymous, 2008).

Socialization may also play an integral role concerning the adoption of unethical behaviors. Early socialization, that found in the academy for example, may reinforce the idea that recruits must always conform to police culture (Conti & Nolan, 2005). Again, this allows socialization and training to reinforce the existing police culture; recruits, therefore, may be forced to accept, participate in, or at least tolerate unethical behaviors. Alpert and Noble (2009) suggest officers learn behavior scripts, learn behavior through modeling, or act through unconscious reactions; if unethical behavior is reinforced or modeled, then, the officer continues the behavior. Other authors have suggested that shifts in ethical standards occur within the early stages of socialization due to a lack of integration between formal training, stressing ethical behaviors, and actual police work (Alain & Grégoire, 2008). In

other words, Alain and Grégoire (2008) claim the training officers endure, which stresses high ethical standards, and the actual nature of police work, which may be dangerous, hostile, and/or implement negative aspects of police culture, may not be identical.

Because socialization and culture play such an important role in officer behavior, some organizations have attempted to place restrictions on officer discretion to control or prevent the occurrences of unethical behavior. However, many of these types of efforts have been met with strong resistance from patrol officers (Mastrofski, 2004). This has led to an emphasis among police organizations to implement proactive controls on police discretion rather than simply reactive or punitive controls (Mastrofski, 2004). Further, scholars have called for police organizations to embrace a strong ethical stance during the early stages of officer socialization and training (Westmarland, 2000).

Officers may also face ethical dilemmas simply due to the unpredictable nature of police work. Clearly, police officers often come into contact with members of the general public; these individuals may have some sort of connection to or relationship with the officer. Because of this, Coleman (2005) has claimed conflict of interest is an unavoidable problem within policing. A police officer may come into contact, due to a police matter, with an individual he or she has a relationship to; similarly, the financial dealings of an officer or the religious and personal beliefs of an officer may create a conflict of interest while on duty (Coleman, 2005). Some officers may be tempted to, or even unconsciously, act in an inappropriate or biased manner; in other occasions, an officer's unbiased judgment may be hindered (Coleman, 2005). Although many police officers successfully navigate these situations within their official capacity, other problems may arise. Even when an officer does not act in a biased or inappropriate fashion, the simple presence of a potential conflict of

interest may create the appearance of bias (Coleman, 2005). Thus, even when police officers act appropriately, their legitimacy may be threatened.

Beyond outside judgments of officer morality and ethical behavior, it is important to understand how officers themselves view ethics. This is especially true considering the focus on insider knowledge promoted within police culture. Kingshott, Bailey, and Wolfe (2004) found officers to promote an idea that the general public does not understand policing, police issues, or police ethics; therefore, according to the officers, only police officers have the right to decide ethical dilemmas. Outsiders, such as members of the general public, simply have no right to judge an officer's behavior because they have no understanding of the nature of policing.

When officers were asked about unethical behavior and dishonesty within the line of duty, many officers expressed a belief that they were, in fact, acting in the best possible manner (Goldschmidt & Anonymous, 2008). During in-depth interviews, Goldschmidt and Anonymous (2008) found officers to justify and rationalize unethical and dishonest behaviors in many ways. Citing a noble cause, such as serving the greater good, acting in a certain manner because it is "what is right", self-preservation, or acting to deter crime at all costs, were often cited by those interviewed. Other justifications included denying a victim (ex-they deserved it), denying responsibility (ex-the courts and department procedures are too demanding; criminal justice system is ineffective), and claiming that chaos would result if officers did not occasionally act dishonestly. However, officers were divided as to whether their peers influenced dishonest behavior (Goldschmidt & Anonymous, 2008). Officers claimed they were not uncomfortable behaving in a deviant or dishonest manner because they had already justified their behaviors. Most officers cited personal limits to deviant

behavior and stated dishonest behavior was driven by the seriousness of the crime. The more serious the crime was, the more officers were accepting of dishonest behavior; however, officers stated they would not be willing to risk losing an important case due to dishonest or unethical behavior (Goldschmidt & Anonymous, 2008).

Similarly, officers' judgments of others' unethical behaviors and willingness to report is often determined by the seriousness of the offense. Officers claim minor offenses are least likely to be reported while offenses perceived as most serious are most likely to be reported; those offenses considered to be "in the middle", then, are those which are most questionable (Ekenvall, 2003; Maher, 2003; Westmarland, 2005).

In a survey that asked officers to rank which offenses they perceived as most serious, officers classified situations involving money and goods to be most serious and the offenses they would be most likely to report; other situations, including brutality and protecting fellow officers were viewed less seriously than transference of money and goods (Westmarland, 2005). Similarly, Ekenvall (2003) found officers to be highly intolerant for issues of theft and bribery; moderate tolerance was found for issues of excessive force, and high tolerance was found for issues perceived to be minor. Further supporting the idea of the strength of the police code of silence, the percentage of officers willing to report a behavior was found to be much lower than the percentage that recognized a behavior was a violation; even smaller was the percentage of officers who believed their peers would report the behavior (Ekenvall, 2003).

Similar to other reports of the ease of participating in unethical behavior, Maher (2003) found officers to report that sexual misconduct was both common and easy to do. Interestingly, officers perceived the majority of sexual misconduct to be not serious, rarely

violent, and mostly consensual. None of the departments examined had a policy regarding sexual misconduct by police officers, supporting the idea that police culture and organization often tolerates and even encourages unethical behavior. Again, officers stated their willingness to report the behavior was related to their perceptions of seriousness of the offense (Maher, 2003).

If, in fact, these departments had procedural guidelines, suggest Rothwell and Baldwin (2007), officers may have been more willing to report unethical behaviors. In fact, a policy to mandate “whistle-blowing”, in addition to supervisory status, has been found to be the most consistent predictors of officer reporting. That is, officers within a supervisory position are more likely to report violations because it is expected and accepted among supervisors. Yet, mandatory reporting policies have been found to be related to willingness to report peers’ unethical behaviors; the frequency of reporting, however, is not associated (Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007). It is possible that the consequence of breaching the cultural code is too great for officers to translate willingness to report into actual reporting behavior.

The findings by Rothwell and Baldwin (2007) suggest there may be differences between groups or ranks of officers concerning ethical behaviors. However, research on this question has been mixed. Whereas Rothwell and Baldwin (2007) and Catlin and Maupin (2002) have found differences between groups, Ekenvall (2003) did not. Catlin and Maupin (2002) found recruits to hold more idealistic character dimensions while experienced officers held more relativistic ethical dimensions. Ethical idealism refers to the belief that “right” actions result in the best possible outcome while ethical relativism refers to the belief that there are no universal ethical truths and that what is right or wrong varies (Catlin & Maupin, 2002). Ekenvall (2003), on the other hand, found no evidence to suggest ethics instructors

(which, by definition, are more experienced) held different views concerning ethics than rookies.

Individual characteristics, however, have been identified by some studies to influence officers' perceptions of ethical behavior. Goldschmidt and Anonymous (2008) found officers to cite personal beliefs as a deciding factor on ethical dilemmas. Similarly, Westmarland (2005) found officers to make claims of individual circumstances and context as influential on ethical decisions. In regards to individual qualities, Catlin and Maupin (2002) found education to be significantly related to ethical orientation—ethical relativism decreased as education increased.

Chapter III

Method

Research in police culture has examined many facets of attitudes and values of police officers; however, noticeably missing is a discussion or elaboration of how these typologies fit into our understanding of police ethics. For example, is a Traditionalist type officer more or less likely to be accepting of questionable ethical acts than a Peace-Keeper? These types of questions have largely gone unanswered. It has been the intention of this examination to expand upon the typology research of police culture. The goal of this research was to evaluate data on police officers' responses to ethical questions in relationship to various typologies of police. This approach utilizes a deductive approach; when deductive reasoning originates with theory, then empirical evidence is tested against the preconceived theoretical framework. Criminological research has a strong theoretical foundation. In fact, many early sociologists, such as Durkheim (1895), examined crime in the pursuit of a broader, macro level theory of modern society. Later sociologists continued to build criminological theory by conducting research with theoretical foundations (Deflem, 2006).

Kingshott, Bailey, and Wolfe (2004) use entitlement theory to explain police culture. According to entitlement theory, people learn to hide unacceptable beliefs and their internal selves from others; this is done in an attempt to maintain attachment to others. Kingshott et al. (2004, p. 193) state "the ways in which a person's particular needs are met from the start form belief structures about how that person can expect his or her needs to be met throughout life." In other words, individuals desire to maintain attachment to other individuals and in order to do so, people may hide their true, authentic self in order to be more acceptable. It is through these attachments that individuals meet their basic needs; whether or not the

individual is accepted in their early life dictates how they expect to form attachments throughout their life.

Based on levels of attachment, individuals come to develop a sense of entitlement; entitlement refers to “the expectation of care and regard from others” (Kingshott et al., 2004, p. 193). If an individual comes to believe he or she has no right to expect care from others, he or she is said to be under-entitled. This individual devalues their true self while focusing entirely on presenting the false self. The world is seen as unsafe and without goodness. Under-entitlement can then lead to one of two outcomes: the individual tries to connect with others by only serving others or the individual compensates by focusing only on the self while ignoring others. The latter leads to a development of over-entitlement; over-entitled individuals view others without empathy. According to Kingshott et al., police culture promotes over-entitlement through the experiences, environments, and training of police officers. Training is conducted in a militaristic form focusing on humiliation (Conti, 2009) and psychological sado-masochism (Kingshott et al., 2004); further, recruits are taught to deny their feelings and any weaknesses. These structures serve to encourage a sense of over-entitlement, leading officers to seek out power relationships with spouses, children, and the general public (Kingshott et al., 2004). Over-entitlement increases levels of stress, anger, cynicism, mental health issues, and physical health issues among officers, further supporting these negative aspects of the existing police culture. Although individual officers may not suffer from over-entitlement prior to becoming a police officer, claim Kingshott et al., training and police culture will encourage its development.

This research uses the perspective of entitlement theory as advocated by Kingshott et al. (2004) as a theoretical framework for understanding the maintenance and perpetuation of

the police culture within individual officers. Paoline's (2004) typology of police culture is then used to categorize the various characterizations of police culture; that is, research concerning police culture typologies has been used to determine the various outcomes of officer entitlement. From this framework, this research is meant to build upon the existing knowledge regarding police typologies. An explanatory approach has been utilized; therefore, the goal of this study is to explain the relationship between police typologies and ethical considerations.

The research question pursued was: do variations occur within officers' responses to ethical concerns? More specifically, the questions this research sought to analyze were:

- (1) Is variation found within officer responses to the police culture variables of views toward citizens, supervisors, selective enforcement, guidelines, and aggressive tactics?
- (2) If variation in culture is demonstrated, is support found for Paoline's (2004) categorization of officers?
- (3) Do police officers respond to ethical questions in a homogenous fashion or is there variation?
- (4) If variation is found, how do Paoline's (2004) typologies respond to hypothetical ethical situations?

Variation was expected to be found among officer responses concerning the police culture variables outlined by Paoline (2004). Further, ethical responses were expected to vary according to the typology categorization of the officer. Variation among officer responses to ethical considerations was expected due to evidence of variation within police ethical attitudes (Catlin & Maupin, 2002). Along the same line, typologies which reflect

positive orientations toward aggressive tactics were expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than typologies which hold negative orientations toward the use of aggressive tactics. Typologies which are accepting of aggressive police tactics were expected to accept more ethical breaches for two reasons:

- (1) Support for aggressive tactics indicates, for many, an acceptance of the crime fighter image (Paoline, 2004); a belief in the crime fighter persona could indicate an attitude that the ends justify the means when controlling crime.
- (2) Strong levels of support for aggressive tactics could indicate a desire to uphold the crime fighter image of police; an officer who does not accept aggressive tactics, then, is not a “real” cop. Aggressiveness as a means of demonstrating masculinity could result in higher acceptance of behaviors which breach standards of ethical behavior.

Typologies reflecting negative views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens were also expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than typologies reflecting positive views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens. This is due to the levels of burn-out and cynicism sometimes associated with these views (Paoline, 2004). An officer frustrated with uncooperative citizens, unsupportive supervisors, and procedural obstacles was expected to breach ethical standards in response to their high levels of frustration. Also, an officer who views citizens, supervisors, or guidelines as hindrances may be more likely to “take it out” during occasions when they perceive they are not respected. This is supported by Van Maanen’s (1978) finding that a citizen designated as “an asshole” by officers is most likely to receive street justice.

Secondary data analysis was employed for this examination as this form of analysis maximizes resources while minimizing the necessity for further data collection. Because databases containing officer responses to hypothetical ethical situations already existed, the efficiency of the research design was maximized while also reducing ethical concerns. Confidentiality was able to be maintained due to the lack of individual level data concerning original participants; indicator information, such as number of years serving a department, gender, and age, was not reported. Ethical integrity was also maintained because the original data was not misused or distorted in any way by this research. Although secondary data analysis has many benefits, there are some limitations to this research design, many associated with the fact that data was not collected by the author. However, this research has assumed the benefits of the secondary data analysis methodology outweigh the potential limitations.

Data from Greene and Piquero's (2002) study of the Philadelphia Police Department was obtained from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. Therefore, all operationalizations of the original study have been maintained. Greene and Piquero (2002) utilized a simple random sampling technique of the January 2000 population of 3,810 officers within the Philadelphia Police Department, including the ranks of police officer, sergeant, and lieutenant. Five officers (.009% of the sample) refused to participate, leaving a sample of 499 officers. Participants were asked to complete a survey concerning attitudes toward ethical issues and officer cynicism. No significant differences in the demographic characteristics of the population and sample were found (Hickman, Piquero, & Greene, 2000). Greene and Piquero (2002) utilized measurements which included Regoli's

(1976) modified cynicism scale, a modified version of Krejei et al.'s (1996) attitudes toward ethics scale, and several five-point Likert-type scales within the survey instrument.

External validity was supported by Greene and Piquero's (2002) use of simple random sampling techniques. This technique allows for each officer within the Philadelphia Police Department to have an equal chance of being selected for the sample; therefore, a random sample is most likely to represent the population of interest accurately. Further, this sampling technique allows for the process of randomization to eliminate the influence of extraneous variables. As demonstrated by Hickman, Piquero, and Greene (2000), the sample collected did not differ significantly from the population; this finding supports a strong level of external validity.

Internal validity was supported by Greene and Piquero's (2002) use of Regoli's (1976) and Krejei et. al.'s (1996) scales. Because these scales are accepted within the academic community, face validity was established. Further, the use of previously accepted scales helps to establish content validity and construct validity. Content validity refers to the full representation of a construct examined within a scale. Because both Regoli's (1976) and Krejei et. al.'s (1996) scales have been widely used and accepted, support has been given to the representativeness of all aspects of the conceptual definitions examined, helping to establish the content validity of the study. Construct validity refers to scales with multiple questions within the scale. Both Regoli's (1976) and Krejei et. al.'s (1996) scales demonstrate construct validity, more specifically convergent validity, due to the grouping of similar responses between questions. Criterion validity was also supported because each scale is associated with theory, demonstrating concurrent validity. To date, five articles have been published using this data (Greene, Piquero, Hickman, & Lawton, 2004; Hickman,

Piquero, & Greene, 2000; Hickman, Piquero, Piquero, 2004; Hickman, Piquero, Lawton, & Greene, 2001; Lawton, 2007), further supporting the validity of the original study.

Paoline (2004) distinguishes officers into seven typologies according to responses toward views of citizens, supervisors, procedural guidelines, selective enforcement, aggressive tactics, and role orientation:

- (1) Traditionalists: Negative views of citizens, supervisors, and procedural guidelines. Focus on the law enforcement role and report somewhat favorable views of aggressive tactics and selective enforcement.
- (2) Law Enforcers: Negative views of citizens and supervisors while focusing on the law enforcement role of policing. Positive views of aggressive tactics and view procedural guidelines positively.
- (3) Old-Pros: Positive views of citizens, supervisors, and procedural guidelines. Accepting of multiple roles of police officers and hold positive views toward aggressive tactics and selective enforcement.
- (4) Peace-Keepers: Positive views of citizens, supervisors, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement of laws. Hold the lowest orientation toward crime fighting; focus on order maintenance functions and view aggressive tactics negatively.
- (5) Lay-Lows: Positive views of citizens, sergeants, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement. Does not support the use of aggressive tactics and has the lowest views of order maintenance and community policing. Engage only in the unavoidable duties of law enforcement.

(6) Anti-Organizational Street Cops: Very low opinions of supervisors and very high views of citizens. Positive orientations toward the law enforcement role, procedural guidelines, and selective enforcement. Negative views held toward order maintenance, community policing, and aggressive tactics.

(7) Dirty Harry Enforcers: Positive views of aggressive tactics, supervisors, and selective enforcement. Accepts the multiple roles of police and community policing. Distrust citizens and hold negative views of procedural guidelines.

Following the description of each typology outlined by Paoline (2004), officers' responses were grouped into one of the seven categories; however, the variable of role orientation was not used due to a lack of information present in the data set. Because the characteristics of Peace-Keepers and Lay-Lows are identical with exception of their views toward role orientation, these typologies were condensed and regarded as one type. A possible limitation developed due to condensing these two typologies. Another limitation of this study was the inclusion of all officers assigned to patrol, including officers, sergeants, and lieutenants, within the data set. Reuss-Ianni (1983) demonstrated that variation may occur between ranks of officers. It is possible, then, that some variation may be present between ranks (Reuss-Ianni, 1983); however, because the data is comprised mainly of patrol officers, the inclusion of sergeants and lieutenants within the dataset was not expected to have a strong effect on the results.

Following Brown's (1988) example, responses were to be coded according to mean baseline information. A mean baseline was established for responses toward views of supervisors, citizens, procedural guidelines, selective enforcement, and aggressive tactics. Each case was to be categorized according to the typologies described by Paoline (2004).

For example, cases with scores higher than the mean concerning views of citizens, supervisors, procedural guidelines, aggressive tactics, and selective enforcement were to be categorized as Old-Pro. However, this process of analysis did not conform adequately to the data; thus, because the data did not form meaningful categories, another approach was needed. Instead of simply categorizing according to mean information, a cluster analysis, using continuous variables, was employed. The use of cluster analysis using continuous variables allowed for the data set itself to dictate the categorization of officers.

Once clusters were established, these groupings were analyzed for their similarity to the characteristics of Paoline's (2004) typologies. However, the clusters did not fully conform to Paoline's (2004) typologies; instead, clusters which represented a strong similarity to Paoline's (2004) typologies were then to be categorized according to the typology they most represented. Still, this created difficulty in categorization because several clusters identified with the same typology. Therefore, Brown's (1988) example was again to be followed. A center point was determined for each cluster; once the center point was established, each cluster was examined for the percentage of the cluster that was above or below this center point. Following Brown's (1988) example, each cluster was categorized as above or below the middle point. Specifically, if 50 percent or more of the respondents were found to be above the center of the cluster, the cluster was categorized as holding positive views concerning the variable. If 50 percent or more of the respondents were found to be below the center of the cluster, the cluster was categorized as holding negative views concerning the variable.

Chapter IV

Results

Originally, officer responses to the survey instrument were to be coded following Brown's (1988) example; that is, individual responses were to be coded as positively or negatively oriented depending on whether they were above or below the mean baseline. However, this process did not form meaningful categories. Instead, cluster analysis, using continuous data, was employed; this formed seven clusters of officers with similar responses around a center point. Once clusters were established, these groupings were analyzed for their similarity to the characteristics of Paoline's (2004) typologies. However, the clusters did not fully conform to the characteristics of Paoline's (2004) typologies; clusters which represented a strong similarity to Paoline's (2004) typologies were then to be categorized according to the typology they most represented. Still, this created difficulty in categorization because several clusters identified with the same typology.

Instead, a center point was determined for each cluster, following Brown's (1988) example. Once this center point was established for each variable (views of citizens, views of supervisors, views of guidelines, views of aggressive tactics, and views of selective enforcement), the cluster was examined for the percentage of the cluster that was above or below the center point. Specifically, if 50 percent or more of the respondents were found to be above the center of the cluster, the cluster was categorized as holding positive views concerning the variable. If 50 percent or more of the respondents were found to be below the center of the cluster, the cluster was categorized as holding negative views concerning the variable. Each cluster was then categorized as holding positive or negative views for each variable.

Cluster centers for each variable can be found within Table One. As can be seen, the variable of views of citizens was found to have a highest center point in cluster one (3.21). Cluster three was found to have the highest center point in regards to views of aggressive tactics (4.00); cluster six had the highest center point on the variable of views of selective enforcement (3.60). Interestingly, cluster five was found to have the highest center point in both variables of views toward supervisors (3.03) and views toward guidelines (3.70).

Once a middle point for each cluster was established, the clusters were examined for the percentage of the cluster that was above or below this center point. Following Brown's (1988) example, each cluster was categorized as above or below the middle point.

Table 1: Cluster centers for continuous data

	Cluster						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
citizens	3.21	1.87	2.57	2.30	3.00	2.63	2.35
supervisors	2.69	1.90	2.69	2.45	3.03	2.19	2.29
guidelines	3.54	3.10	3.54	3.52	3.70	3.17	3.43
aggressive tactics	2.16	1.74	4.00	2.19	1.96	1.57	2.04
selective enforcement	3.15	2.89	3.20	3.41	2.34	3.60	2.40

As can be seen, there is variation among groups concerning each variable (views of citizens, views of supervisors, views of guidelines, views of aggressive tactics, and views of selective enforcement). Within Table Two, one notices that differences between groups for each variable are found to be significant; that is, there are significant levels of variability between groups found for each variable. For each variable (views of citizens, views of supervisors, views of guidelines, views of aggressive tactics, and views of selective

enforcement), the F statistic is significantly greater than the significance critical value. Further, each significance level is represented in the ANOVA table as .000, meaning it is statistically significant beyond the $p=.001$ level. Clearly, each F statistic (ranging from 27.678 in views toward guidelines to 124.141 in views toward citizens) is much past the critical value of 2.12.

This finding supports the assertion of recent typological research in police culture. Because this analysis indeed found variability within officer responses (seen in Table Two), the assertion of a homogenous, single police culture is not supported. Instead, more recent research which suggests that police culture has fragmented into several styles or types is supported (Britz, 1997; Frewin & Tuffin, 1998; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Toch, 1976; White, 1972). Specifically, the finding of variance between groups concerning each variable supports Paoline's (2004) finding of variability within police culture.

Table 2: ANOVA for continuous data

	Cluster		Error		F	Sig.
	Mean Square	df	Mean Square	df		
citizens	15.974	6	.129	485	124.141	.000
supervisors	8.965	6	.125	485	71.798	.000
guidelines	3.189	6	.115	485	27.678	.000
aggressivetactics	9.978	6	.145	485	68.617	.000
selectiveenforcement	16.948	6	.122	485	138.893	.000

Table Three characterizes the number of cases found within each cluster. Overall, of the total 499 cases found within the sample, 492 cases were assigned to a cluster.

As can be seen, there is a fair distribution of cases among the seven clusters. Cluster three, being the cluster with the least number of respondents, houses only nine respondents. The cluster which houses the most respondents is cluster four, characterizing 112 cases.

Obviously, this is a large range between groups. However, this discrepancy could simply reflect a typology which is not as common among the police department sampled rather than a typology which is not supported. Ultimately, this is not believed to have had a large effect on the results of the study and is not believed to have introduced a large amount of error into the findings.

Every police department will hold some variation among the numbers of individuals found within each typology within the department. This finding could represent a natural level of variation found within the sampled police department. Also, this finding could represent a typology that is not highly supported by the socialization or cultural practices of the specific department sampled. The possibility of variation within socialization and cultural practices of departments, leading to significant variability between prevalence of typologies between departments, could represent an important direction for future research. If significant variability is found between the prevalence of typologies across departments, it could mean that socialization practices and situational context are more important than currently thought. Further, such variability could indicate a police culture that is evolving more quickly, perhaps in response to changes in policing such as the professionalization movement and increases in women, minorities, and educational standards, than realized. It is also possible that this typology is one which is disappearing from police culture. However, only through further testing of the typologies, across many departments, could one test this hypothesis. This is perhaps one important direction for future research.

Table 3: Number of cases in each cluster for continuous data

Cluster	1	92.000
	2	69.000
	3	9.000
	4	112.000
	5	62.000
	6	68.000
	7	80.000
Valid		492.000
Missing		7.000

Following the analysis of the data according to a continuous variable cluster analysis, a dichotomous cluster analysis was employed in which the variable was broken into two parts. This was done simply for comparison purposes; the original methodology to be used employed a dichotomous dataset, therefore, a cluster analysis using dichotomous data was employed in order to ascertain whether differences would be found when compared to the continuous data cluster analysis. Again, seven clusters were assigned. Table Four demonstrates the number of cases found in each cluster when a dichotomous dataset was used. As can be seen, cluster two houses the most number of cases, with 117 identifying within cluster two. Cluster six has the least amount of cases, numbering at 16. Although the number of cases within each cluster varied between the use of continuous data and the use of dichotomous data, many cases were found to be in the same clusters within each analysis.

Table 4: Number of cases in each cluster for dichotomous data

Cluster	1	91.000
	2	117.000
	3	108.000
	4	39.000
	5	40.000
	6	16.000
	7	81.000
Valid		492.000
Missing		7.000

Appendix A demonstrates the finding that many of the cases were found to be within the same cluster for both continuous data and dichotomous data. For example, the percentage within continuous cluster one was 47.8% for continuous data compared to 48.4% for the percentage within that cluster for dichotomous data. Similarly, the percentage within continuous cluster seven was 10.0% for continuous data compared to 9.9% for the percentage within that cluster for dichotomous data. This trend of similar percentages within each cluster is found throughout the table found in Appendix A. Because many of the cases were found within the same cluster for each dataset, the use of continuous data cluster analysis is supported. An important difference was not found between using dichotomous data and continuous data; therefore, continuous data were used due to their ability for the data themselves to dictate cluster formation.

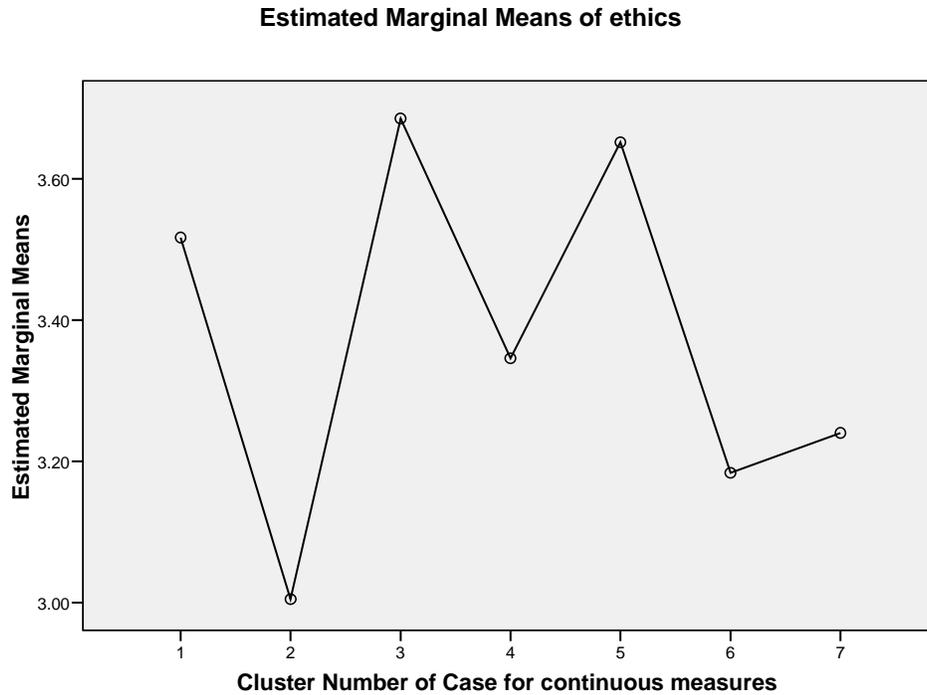
Table 5: Descriptive statistics for ethical responses

Dependent Variable: ethics

Cluster Number of Case for continuous measures	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	3.517	.056	3.407	3.626
2	3.005	.064	2.879	3.132
3	3.685	.178	3.335	4.035
4	3.346	.051	3.247	3.445
5	3.652	.068	3.518	3.785
6	3.184	.065	3.057	3.311
7	3.240	.060	3.123	3.358

Within Table Five, descriptive statistics, such as means and confidence intervals, can be found for responses concerning ethics and as can be seen, there was variation found in ethical responses. Importantly, much of the variation was found to be statistically significant. Cluster one was found to be significantly different from clusters two (mean difference of .5117), six (mean difference of .3329), and seven (mean difference of .2765). Cluster two was found to be significantly different from clusters three (mean difference of .6801), four (mean difference of .3408), and five (mean difference of .6465). Finally, cluster five was found to be significantly different from clusters four (mean difference of .3058), six (mean difference of .4677), and seven (mean difference of .4114). Thus, expectations of variation within ethical responses have been supported. Figure One presents the ethical responses of each cluster. Clearly, Figure One demonstrates the finding that ethical responses varied between clusters. This finding suggests that officers do not have a homogenous response to ethical dilemmas; instead, officers appear to respond differently to ethical questions.

Figure 1: Graph of ethical orientations according to cluster



As earlier noted, the responses found among respondents did not match Paoline's (2004) characterizations perfectly. Instead, a cluster analysis using continuous data was employed. However, Brown's (1988) tradition was able to be utilized after categorizing cases according to cluster. Clusters were categorized as holding positive views or negative views of each variable according to the majority response. Once clusters were categorized according to positive or negative orientations, the clusters were categorized according to which of Paoline's (2004) typologies they most resembled.

Cluster one was found to hold the following characteristics:

- (1) positive orientations toward citizens
- (2) positive orientations toward supervisors
- (3) positive orientations toward guidelines

(4) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics

(5) negative orientations toward selective enforcement

Therefore, this cluster most resembled Paoline's (2004) Peace-Keeper/Lay-Low categorization.

Cluster two did not hold positive orientations toward any variables. Instead it held the following characteristics:

(1) negative orientations toward for citizens

(2) negative orientations toward supervisors

(3) negative orientations toward guidelines

(4) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics

(5) negative orientations toward selective enforcement

Cluster two, then, was the most unlike any of Paoline's (2004) typologies. However, cluster two was found to be the exact opposite of the Old-Pro categorization.

Cluster three was found to hold the following characteristics:

(1) Positive orientations toward supervisors

(2) Positive orientations toward guidelines

(3) Positive orientations toward aggressive tactics

(4) negative orientations toward citizens

(5) negative orientations toward selective enforcement

Cluster three, then, most resembled Paoline's (2004) Law-Enforcers.

Cluster four held:

(1) positive orientations toward guidelines

(2) positive orientations toward selective enforcement

- (3) negative orientations toward citizens
- (4) negative orientations toward supervisors
- (5) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics

The Anti-Organizational Street Cop was found to be the most similar to this cluster.

Cluster five was characterized as having:

- (1) positive orientations toward citizens
- (2) positive orientations toward supervisors
- (3) positive orientations toward guidelines
- (4) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics
- (5) negative orientations toward selective enforcement

Paoline's (2004) typologies of Peace-Keeper/Lay-Low were found to most resemble this pattern.

Cluster six held the following characteristics:

- (1) positive orientations toward citizens
- (2) positive orientations toward selective enforcement
- (3) negative orientations toward supervisors
- (4) negative orientations toward guidelines
- (5) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics

Therefore, this cluster most resembled the Anti-Organizational Street Cop.

Finally, cluster seven held the following characteristics:

- (1) positive orientations toward guidelines
- (2) negative orientation toward citizens
- (3) negative orientations toward supervisors

(4) negative orientations toward aggressive tactics

(5) negative orientations toward selective enforcement

Paoline's (2004) Law Enforcer most resembled this cluster.

Table Six lists the percentage of each cluster holding positive or negative views of each variable.

Table 6: Percentage of cluster holding positive or negative views of each variable

	Citizens	Supervisors	Guidelines	Aggressive Tactics	Selective Enforcement	Ethics
Cluster 1	100% + 0% -	75% + 25.0% -	63.0% + 37.0% -	38.0% + 62.0% -	43.5% + 56.5% -	57.6% + 42.4% -
Cluster 2	0% + 100% -	1.4% + 98.6% -	18.8% + 81.2% -	7.2% + 92.8% -	14.5% + 85.5% -	24.6% + 75.4% -
Cluster 3	44.4% + 55.6% -	66.7% + 33.3% -	66.7% + 33.3% -	100% + 0% -	44.4% + 55.6% -	66.7% + 33.3% -
Cluster 4	14.3% + 85.7% -	46.4% + 53.6% -	54.5% + 45.5% -	41.1% + 58.9% -	69.6% + 30.4% -	50.0% + 50.0% -
Cluster 5	79.0% + 21.0% -	96.8% + 3.2% -	82.3% + 17.7% -	21.0% + 79.0% -	0% + 100% -	72.6% + 27.4% -
Cluster 6	51.5% + 48.5% -	17.6% + 82.4% -	25.0% + 75.0% -	2.9% + 97.1% -	86.8% + 13.2% -	36.8% + 63.2% -
Cluster 7	28.8% + 71.3% -	31.3% + 68.8% -	51.3% + 48.8% -	25.0% + 75.0% -	0% + 100% -	45.0% + 55.0% -

Abbreviations: + positive - negative

Importantly, several problems were found with categorizing clusters according to Paoline's (2004) typologies. Most important, several of the clusters identified as the same typologies. That is, clusters one and five both resembled Peace-Keepers/Lay-Lows, clusters three and seven resembled Law Enforcers, and clusters four and six most resembled Anti-Organizational Street Cops. Therefore, categorization of clusters into Paoline's (2004)

typology was not possible. Further, cluster two was found to be the exact opposite of Paoline's (2004) Old Pro typology; thus, cluster two did not resemble any of Paoline's (2004) typologies closely. Instead, cluster two could only be characterized as being completely different than Paoline's (2004) categorizations. Even with the limitation of forcing clusters to fit Paoline's (2004) typologies, the similar translations of clusters into typologies prevented a meaningful result. Therefore, a typological view of police culture was supported, as well as literature supporting a fragmented, typological view of police culture (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Muir, 1977; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Walsh, 1977; White, 1972). However, Paoline's (2004) characterizations of police typologies could not be supported by this analysis. It is possible that Paoline's (2004) characterizations of police officers is flawed and needs revision. Another possibility is that these typologies simply were not found within the sampled department. However, a more likely explanation is that the typologies found within police culture have evolved since Paoline's (2004) analysis. This is especially plausible due to the vast and rapid changes taking part in the institution of policing such as increases in professionalism, increases in the number of female and minority officers and staff, and increased educational standards. Further, older police officers continue to retire and be replaced by younger officers, continuing a possible narrowing of the gap between police culture and the general culture. However, further research is necessary to test this hypothesis.

Significant variability was found, however, between clusters in response to ethical dilemmas (see Table Six). Clusters one, three, and five were found to report the most ethical responses (see Figure One). Overall, clusters one, three, and five were the only clusters to

have a majority percentage citing more ethical responses. As demonstrated by Table Six, cluster one reported 57.6% responding positively, cluster three reported 66.7% responding positively, and cluster five reported 72.6% responding positively. Cluster two reported 75.4% responding negatively, cluster four reported equal probabilities of positive and negative responses, cluster six reported 63.2% responding negatively, and cluster seven reported 55.0% responding negatively toward ethical dilemmas. Interestingly, cluster four was found to have equal proportions of ethical and unethical responses.

Clusters which reflected positive orientations toward aggressive tactics were expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than clusters which held negative orientations toward the use of aggressive tactics. However, this expectation was not supported. Only cluster three was found to have positive orientations toward aggressive tactics; however, cluster three was categorized as responding positively toward ethical dilemmas. Typologies reflecting negative views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens were also expected to show greater acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than typologies reflecting positive views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens. Three clusters were found to respond as expected as clusters two, three, four, six, and seven were found to hold negative views of citizens, supervisors, or guidelines. Clusters two, six, and seven responded as expected since they were found to also respond more negatively toward ethical dilemmas. It should be noted, however, that cluster four was found to have equal proportions of participants responding positively and negatively toward ethical dilemmas.

Overall, the research questions this article aimed to answer were:

- (1) Is variation found among police culture variables?

- (2) If variation in culture is demonstrated, can Paoline's (2004) typologies be supported?
- (3) Do police officers respond to ethical questions in a homogenous fashion or is there variation?
- (4) Can a trend be found between ethical responses and typological responses?
That is, if variation is found, how do Paoline's (2004) typologies respond to hypothetical ethical situations?

Typological police culture research was expected to be supported; specifically, Paoline's (2004) outline of typologies was expected to be supported by the data. Ethical responses were also expected to vary according to typology. Those typologies which held positive orientations toward aggressive tactics were expected to respond more negatively in response to ethical dilemmas. Finally, those typologies which held negative orientations toward procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens were expected to respond more negatively in response to ethical dilemmas.

Variation was, in fact, found among officers' responses toward police culture variables (views of citizens, supervisors, guidelines, aggressive tactics, and selective enforcement). This finding supports the assertion of a typological view of police culture rather than a single, homogenous culture. The finding of variation among officer responses supports a strong body of typological police culture literature (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Muir, 1977; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Walsh, 1977; White, 1972). However, this analysis could not find support specifically for Paoline's (2004) characterization of officer typologies. It is possible that Paoline's (2004) characterizations of police officers is flawed and needs revision. It is also possible

that these typologies simply were not found within the police department sampled. However, the most likely scenario is that the types found within police culture have altered since Paoline (2004) conducted his analysis. This is especially plausible due to the vast and rapid changes taking part in the institution of policing (i.e.-increases in professionalism, increased numbers of females and minority staff and officers, and increased standards for education) while older police officers continue to retire and are replaced by younger officers. However, further research is necessary to test this hypothesis. Variation was also found in officer responses to ethical dilemmas. This finding supports the expectations of this analysis and the findings of Catlin and Maupin (2002) who, similarly, found variation in officer ethical responses. Those typologies which held positive orientations toward aggressive tactics were expected to respond more negatively in response to ethical dilemmas. Further, those typologies which held negative orientations toward procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens were expected to respond more negatively in response to ethical dilemmas. However, neither of these expectations could be significantly supported.

Chapter V

Conclusion

Following data analysis, this examination did not find support for Paoline's (2004) categorization of seven typologies. Although seven clusters were outlined, the clusters were found not to conform to Paoline's (2004) characterizations. However, significant variability was found between clusters; this supports a view of police culture as fragmented and multi-dimensional rather than homogenous (Brown, 1988; Herbert, 1996; Muir, 1977; Paoline, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Walsh, 1977; White, 1972). Further, variability was found among responses to ethical prompts, supporting the findings of Catlin and Maupin (2002). This finding supports the assertion that police officers have various ethical orientations rather than responding in a homogenous fashion. Clusters which reflected positive orientations toward aggressive tactics were expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than clusters which held negative orientations toward the use of aggressive tactics. However, this expectation was not supported. Typologies reflecting negative views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens were also expected to respond with more acceptance of questionable ethical behaviors than typologies reflecting positive views of procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens. However, only three of the five clusters which had negative orientations toward procedural guidelines, supervisors, or citizens responded as expected.

Although support could not be found for Paoline's (2004) characterization of police typologies, this is not believed to completely discredit Paoline's (2004) typological outline as inaccurate or not useful. Instead, these typologies are taken as ideal types rather than absolute, individual-level characterizations. Although this research did not demonstrate

individual cases could be identified accurately by Paoline's (2004) typologies, it is believed that the typology structure provides an overall guideline to describe overall police types.

Because these typologies are ideal types then, rather than absolute characterizations, some variability is allowed for individual officers. Individual officers within each typology may vary slightly; however, the ideal type typology is still able to characterize the overall typology accurately.

Some variability within typologies and ethical considerations may be accounted for by other variables such as media portrayals of police, public perceptions of police, police culture, police socialization, stress, and job satisfaction. Media outlets may influence officers' and would-be officers' views, attitudes, and perceptions. Further, the messages perpetuated by media outlets may influence officers' behaviors and ethical choices. Public perceptions of police may influence officers' views of citizens as well as stress and exhaustion levels due to citizen oversight. This may influence the typology officers identify with as well as their behaviors toward citizens. Police culture and police socialization may both influence the typology officers identify with as well as their behaviors while on and off duty. Socialization helps to create and maintain the culture found within the department; in some cases, socialization and culture help to promote unethical behaviors such as police misconduct. Stress and job satisfaction may influence officers' identification with typologies because of the clear connection to views toward citizens, supervisors, procedural guidelines, aggressive tactics, and selective enforcement. Further, high levels of stress coupled with low levels of job satisfaction may lead to unethical behaviors, misconduct, or illegitimate behaviors. While entitlement theory helps to describe how police culture may develop and perpetuate, media portrayals of police, public perceptions of police, police culture, police

socialization, stress, and job satisfaction help to describe how some variation from the ideal type may develop.

One limitation of this analysis is that data was not collected directly by the author. However, it is believed that the benefits of secondary data analysis outweigh the potential limitations of not collecting data directly. Specifically, secondary data analysis can produce valid, reliable results without needing to expend additional resources collecting data that is already available. Because data on role orientation was not available in the dataset, Paoline's (2004) typologies of Peace-Keepers and Lay-Lows had to be condensed into one category. Again, this represents a limitation to this analysis. Finally, evidence has been found of variation occurring between ranks of police officers (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). The dataset used for this analysis, however, included the ranks of sergeants and lieutenants in addition to patrol officers. Therefore, some variation may have been introduced into the data. However, the dataset was largely comprised of patrol officers; therefore, the variation in rank was not expected to have a strong effect on the results of this analysis.

Another limitation of this analysis is that police culture could vary due to variables not accounted for by this analysis. For example, culture can vary due to factors such as department size, department type (e.g., university police department versus city police department), or department authority (e.g., city police department versus state patrol). Further research is needed to discover the impacts variables such as department size, department type, and department authority could have on typological and ethical findings. Because much research regarding policing has been conducted within large urban departments, a limitation of generalizability arises. Most police departments within the United States do not share the scale of these urban departments; instead, the majority of

police departments are of a much smaller size. Again, more research is needed in these varying types of departments to further our understanding of police typologies and ethics.

Future research should continue to test typological orientations of police culture. Specifically, future research should examine whether trends can be found among the prevalence of typologies within departments. That is, do police departments see shifting trends in the prevalence of some typologies? It is possible that the prevalence of some typologies is declining while other typologies, or new typologies, could be increasing, especially in light of the changes occurring within the institution of policing. Further, future research should continue to examine the relationship between officer type and ethical orientation. It is possible that future research could, indeed, find trends between ethical responses and officer typologies. Future research should focus, particularly, on studying many departments to determine whether support for Paoline's (2004) characterization of police typologies can be supported. It is believed that by studying many departments, support could be found for the ideal type characterization Paoline (2004) has introduced. Future research should also focus upon the relationship between officer type, ethical orientation, and officer behavior; to date, very little research has been conducted on the relationship between officer attitudes and actual behaviors. Finally, future research should consider the relationship between typological orientations and screening tests (such as MMPI findings) conducted during the hiring process.

This research has many policy implications. Because typological research has been supported, police departments should consider carefully screening for those typologies which are more or less desirable. Further, departments should consider carefully promoting the desirable characteristics of each typology. Further, police departments should take note of

the presence of variation within officer ethical considerations. Again, departments should carefully screen and continue to monitor officers' behaviors. Finally, departments should take special care to promote and socialize officers into ethical beliefs and behaviors which are most beneficial and promote a legitimate and effective police department.

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Appendix

Cluster number for continuous data by cluster number for dichotomous data

	Cluster Number of Case for dichotomous data							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Cluster 1 Count								
Number of Case for continuous measures	44	7	3	0	0	0	38	92
Expected Count	17.0	21.9	20.2	7.3	7.5	3.0	15.1	92.0
% within Cluster Number of Case for continuous measures	47.8%	7.6%	3.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	41.3%	100.0%
% within Cluster Number of Case for above/below mean measures	48.4%	6.0%	2.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	46.9%	18.7%
Adjusted Residual	8.0	-4.0	-4.8	-3.1	-3.2	-2.0	7.1	
Cluster 2 Count								
Number of Case for continuous measures	0	47	19	2	1	0	0	69
Expected Count	12.8	16.4	15.1	5.5	5.6	2.2	11.4	69.0
% within Cluster Number of Case for continuous measures	.0%	68.1%	27.5%	2.9%	1.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
% within Cluster Number of Case for above/below mean measures	.0%	40.2%	17.6%	5.1%	2.5%	.0%	.0%	14.0%
Adjusted Residual	-4.3	9.3	1.2	-1.7	-2.2	-1.6	-4.0	
Cluster 3 Count								
Number of Case for continuous measures	4	0	0	2	0	3	0	9
Expected Count	1.7	2.1	2.0	.7	.7	.3	1.5	9.0
% within Cluster Number of Case for continuous measures	44.4%	.0%	.0%	22.2%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
% within Cluster Number of Case for above/below mean measures	4.4%	.0%	.0%	5.1%	.0%	18.8%	.0%	1.8%
Adjusted Residual	2.0	-1.7	-1.6	1.6	-9	5.1	-1.3	
Cluster 4 Count								
Number of Case for continuous measures	9	10	44	32	9	5	3	112
Expected Count	20.7	26.6	24.6	8.9	9.1	3.6	18.4	112.0
% within Cluster Number of Case for continuous measures	8.0%	8.9%	39.3%	28.6%	8.0%	4.5%	2.7%	100.0%
% within Cluster Number of Case for above/below mean measures	9.9%	8.5%	40.7%	82.1%	22.5%	31.3%	3.7%	22.8%
Adjusted Residual	-3.2	-4.2	5.0	9.2	.0	.8	-4.5	

