POLICE SOCIALIZATION: AN EMPIRICAL ASSESSMENT OF JOB

ATTITUDE CHANGES DURING THE INITIAL EMPLOYMENT PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

This research documents attitude changes reported by police recruits
as they moved through the series of experiences and adventures associated
with their early careers. Questionnaires were administered longitudinally
to newcomer's in a big-city department and concentrated upon the motivation,
commitment and satisfaction of patrolmen. The analysis indicated that re-
cruits entered the department highly motivated and committed to their newly-
adopted organization. However, their motivational attitudes declined swiftly.
Some evidence is presented which suggests the less motivated patrolmen are
perceived by their relevant supervisors as better policemen than their more
motivated peers. Commitment attitudes also dropped over time, although ex-
pressed commitment remained relatively high compared to several other occu-
pational samples. A positive association was present between superior eval-
uations of performance and commitment attitudes. Need satisfaction remained
fairly constant across time and a positive relationship was detected between
evaluations of performance and reported satisfaction. These findings denote
the speedy and powerful character of the police socailization process resulting
in a "final perspective" which stresses a "lay low, don't make waves" approach
to urban policing.

POLICE SOCIALIZATION: AN EMPIRICAL ASSESSMENT OF JOB

ATTITUDE CHANGE DURING THE INITIAL EMPLOYMENT PERIOD[1]

This study examines longitudinally the job attitudes of noviate

police officers in a large, urban police department. As such, the research

belongs to a growing class of empirical investigation concerned broadly

with what theorists' have dubbed "organizational socialization" (Caplow, 1964;

Berlew and Hall, 1966; Wheeler, 1966; Schein, 1968, 1971; Kolb, Rubin and

McIntyre, 1971; Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon, 1972). Fundamentally, organ-

izational socialization refers to the process by which a member learns the

required behaviors and supportive attitudes necessary to participate as a

member of an organization. The process may be characterized as resulting in

a "psychological contract" linking the goals of the individual to the constraints

and purposes of the organization (Schein, 1968). In a sense, the "psycho-

logical contract" is actually a modus vivendi between the individual and the

organization representing the outcomes of the socialization process.

Recognizing that organizational socialization occurs at all career stages,

this research effort was directed primarily to the consideration of the person's

entry into the organization. During this "breaking-in" period, the organiza-

tion may be thought to be most persuasive for the individual has few, if any,

guidelines to direct his behavior. A wide range of studies indicate that early

organizational learning is a major determinant of one's later organizationally-

relevant attitudes and behaviors (Hertzberg, 1957; Schein, 1965, 1971; Den-

hart, 1968; Berlew and Hall, 1966; Dunnette, Avery and Banas, 1969; Vroom
and Deci, 1971).

The critical nature of a person's early organizational experience can
be related to the developing theory of adult socialization in the following
manner. When a neophyte first enters an organization that portion of his
lifespace corresponding to the specific role demands of the organization
is blank. Depending upon a person's general values and motivations, he may
feel a strong desire to define the expectations of others (i.e., the organ-
ization, the work-group, the supervisor, etc.) and develop constructs relating
himself to these perceived expectations. One researcher has called this process,
"building a mental map of the organization" (Avery, 1968).

This examination of the organizational socialization process focuses
upon the attitudes of young men entering the police world. As others have
noted, police organizations have been woefully neglected by researchers' in-
terested in the relationships between man and his work (Neiderhoffer, 1967;
President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice,
1967; Bayley and Mendelson, 1969; Sterling, 1972). What little data we
presently have regarding the police socialization process comes predominently
from either the work devoted to examining certain hypothesized dimensions
of the police "personality" (e.g., cynicism, alienation, dogmatism, author-
itarianism, etc.) or opinion surveys aimed at describing police attitudes
toward certain audiences (e.g., groups, juveniles, court officials, etc.).
As a result, little more than cross-sectional snapshots of the police social-
ization process exist. Using a dramaturgic metaphor, these studies have con-
centrated upon the description of the actors, stage setting and "on stage"
performance of the police production. Little attention has been paid to the

developmental orientation of the performers to their particular role viewed

from a "backstage" perspective. Clearly, for any production to materialize

there must be inducements, involvements and satisfactions provided the actors

to insure their continued participation in the performance.

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW:

This research represents an initial probe into police recruits' percep-

tions of three analytically distinct aspects of their relationship with their

organization--motivation, commitment and satisfaction. The theoretical per-

spective combines an "expectancy" approach to work motivation (Fishbein, 1963;

Vroom, 1964 and Porter and Lawler, 1968) with conceptions of organizational

commitment (Kanter, 1968; Patchen, 1970 and Porter and Smith, 1972) and need

satisfaction (Maslow, 1954; Porter, 1961, 1962 and Hall and Nougaim, 1968).

The primary objective was to obtain a substantial amount of descriptive

data with the above attitude areas selected on the basis of their presumed

utility for understanding the psychological terrain of any particular organ-

izational or occupational environment. As such, the study was decidedly non-

hypotheses testing in nature. The attitude mapping was accomplished via

questionnaires administered overtime to departmental initiates. The longi-

tudinal emphasis is particularly important since the literature provides little

in the way of directly applicable findings. To suggest behavioral implications

connected to the attitude landscape, independent judgments were collected on

the recruits' job behavior. The main concerns are listed below in the form

of two research questions.

> 1. What are the job-related attitudes of police recruits
>
>   when they first encounter the department and in what manner
>
>   do these attitudes change as the recruits pass through their

formal academy training and their early experiences "on
the street"? Relatedly, how do these attitudes compare
with the attitudes of more experienced patrolmen in the
department?

2. To what degree are the job-related attitudes of the
police recruits associated with independent assessments
of their behavior in the "field"?

CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS:

This study took place in "Union City", a large, urban municipality, be-
tween April, 1970 and January, 1971.[2] The Union City Police Department is
considered typical of most big-city departments and employs well-over 1,000
uniformed personnel. Like all paramilitary organizations, the Union City
Police Department is highly centralized with bureaucratic authority vested
in formalized positions stressing the importance of the command structure
for controlling subordinate behavior. In general, the organizational context
values technical efficiency and pressures the officers to produce.

The police officer selection process in Union City was similar to that
of most other large police departments in the country. The applicant must
pass progressively the: civil service examination, "background" investigation,
medical examination, physical strength and agility test, oral interview and
a psychiatric examination. The process is time consuming, often taking over
six months to complete. If the applicant is successful, he is hired into
the Department on the basis of authorized openings. Normally, a recruit's
first assignment is with the Training Division. Here, the novice first en-
counters the police milieu as presented to him at the Police Academy.

In Union City, the formal training program for recruits apparently does
not serve an additional screening function. Although recruits are told that

they must achieve a minimum standard of competence, virtually all recruits

graduate from the Academy despite their performance. Of the four recruit

classes sampled in this study (N=136), only three subjects failed to graduate

with their respective classes.

SAMPLE:

Four regularly scheduled recruit classes were selected for the longi-

tudinal portion of this study. All recruits in each of the classes received

questionnaire packets on the first administration--a total of 136 recruits.

Each recruit group represented a different stage in the formal social-

ization process. Originally, the study was designed to approximate a modi-

fied version of Solomon's (1949) four-fold group design, but certain unpre-

dictable circumstances intervened to prevent this more rigorous design.

For example: training facilities became overcrowded and one group was pre-

vented from following its planned sequence; maintenance of "goodwill" between

the researcher and the Department required that certain changes be made in

the study design; training policies were altered after the research was begun;

and so on. However, since the major research problem, access, had already

been solved, the operational difficulties were considered to be of minor im-

portance.[3] Furthermore, the study was exploratory in nature and, as such,

sophisticated research design could hardly be regarded as an inflexible condition.

The formal recruit training process consisted of a rigorous eighteen

week program. First, the newcomers attended a twelve week "Basic Training

School" characterized by harsh discipline, didactic instruction and detailed

regimentation. Following graduation from the Union City Police Academy,

the recruits were introduced to the veritable complexities of policing by

an experienced patrolman called the Field Training Officer. After completing

this six week apprenticeship, the recruits were assigned permanent patrol

partners and considered to be "real" (albeit "rookie") policemen.[4]

Table 1 presents the basic survey design according to administration

number (1 through 5) and according to the length of Departmental experience

for each of the recruit groups (0 months through 9 months). To the left of

the group designation is the date of the first administration--the remaining

questionnaires for each group were administered on the same date in each of

the four following months.

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INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

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Each set of questionnaires was accompanied by a letter from the re-

searcher requesting each person's cooperation in the study. However, it was

pointed out that their participation was voluntary and, in no way, would the

Department pressure them to cooperate. The letter also stressed that the

information supplied would be held strictly confidential and no one in the

Department would ever see anyone's individual responses.

As Table 2 indicates, the response rates were somewhat dissappointing--

notably from the group most advanced in the socialization process. The

attrition was due almost entirely to individuals leaving the study but remain-

ing with the organization. Due to the low response rates, data collected

during the eighth and ninth month of police experience has been deleted from

the analysis.

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INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

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A detailed description of each examined demographic dimension is not
presented here. However, from the reported recruit characteristics, a coarse
profile of the "typical" Union City recruit can be constructed. The Union
City "green pea" is about 24 years old, white, married, in excellent health
and was raised in or around Union City. There is a positive likelihood that
he has attended college, although it is doubtful he has a degree. The "average"
recruit's family background is decidely (and somewhat surprisingly) middle-
class. However, most of his work experience has been in occupations distinctly
below the middle class level and required little in the way of supervisory-
type duties. If he has performed leadership functions, it is probable that
such experience resulted from his enlistment in one of the armed services.
Without question, the "typical" Union City recruit appears far more similar
to police recruits from other departments than he is dissimilar--see Van Maanen
(1972a, b) for a more elaborate discussion. If anything, the Union City Police
Department appears to be attracting a slightly better recruit than other de-
partments--from the perspective of the police professed "professional" ideal
which stresses education and class background.

Cross-sectional data were gathered from veteran officers with two, five
and ten years experience. Within each "tenure grouping", questionnaire packets
were mailed in December, 1970 to all officers graduating from the police
academy in 1969, 1965, and 1960 (N=151). Only 54% of these questionnaires
were returned. However, since over 85% of the policemen in the five and ten-
year groupings were not patrolmen, only the two-year group will be used in the
following analysis (N=42, representing 72% of that particular subsample--
veteran). The demographic characteristics of the two-year group did not differ
in any important way from those of the recruit sample.

ATTITUDE MEASURES:

The attitude questionnaires concentrated upon the police subjects' perceptions and affective responses toward different features of their work situation. Each of the instruments focused upon one of three related, but conceptually different attitude areas. All measures were pretested in a small pilot study. Specifically, the respective questionnaires contained 88 items relevant to aspects of the police officers' perceived organizational ecology.

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE QUESTIONNAIRE:

The measurement of motivation was based upon expectancy theory. In simplified fashion, the theory as used in work-related research, assumes the strength of the tendency for an individual to behave in a particular manner is a function of: (a) the degree to which he expects certain outcomes to result from the particular behavior (Expectancy); times (b) the attractiveness to him of the expected result (Valence). A number of studies have indicated the general usefulness of expectancy theory for understanding individual behavior in organizational settings (Georgopoulos,Mahoney and Jones, 1957; Vroom, 1964; Galbraith and Cummings, 1967, Porter and Lawler, 1968; Mitchell and Biglan, 1971; Gurin and Gurin, 1970).

The specific work attitude data used to determine motivation were obtained by means of a 60-item questionnaire. The two-part questionnaire was developed by this researcher and modeled along the lines of an instrument constructed by Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon (1972).

(Part I: Expectancy Beliefs) This part of the questionnaire was designed to measure the person' beliefs concerning the probability of effort leading to the obtainment of various job-related outcomes and contained 35-items. Each item asked the respondent to indicate on a seven-point Likert-type scale

(ranging from "very true" to "not at all true") whether "working especially

hard" on a particular activity would lead to one of five outcomes. The out-

comes were:

1. Receiving favorable responses from the community

2. Receiving favorable responses from the Department

3. Receiving favorable responses from the supervisor

4. Receiving favorable responses from peers

5. Receiving greater personal satisfaction

Seven activities were designated to represent the major areas of the

total job-related activity space for patrolmen--field investigation, routine

control, inspection, administrative, service, community relations and self-

development activities. Each of these activities was defined fully in the

questionnaire instructions, and, based on the results of the pilot study,

meaningful to patrolmen.

(Part II: Values of Outcomes) This part of the Motivational Force Ques-

tionnaire contained 25 items dealing with the value the individuals' placed

on the particular job-related outcomes. The respondents were asked to rate

each outcome on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Like very much"

to "Dislike very much". Five of the outcomes were identical to those listed

in Part I and were the only ones used in the computation of motivational force.

(Motivational Force) An overall measure of motivational force was deter-

mined by summing the belief strength times the outcome value across the 35

relevant pairs of items. Furthermore, the general formulation of expectancy

theory allows for the calculation of a summary motivational force score for

each of the five rewards--summed across the seven different activities.

Similarly, a summary motivational force measure was calculated for each of

the seven activities--summed across the five rewards. The multiplicative

motivational force score could range from a negative eighteen to a positive

eighteen. Thus, a higher belief times value score (MF) indicated greater

motivational force. The summed motivational force score was interpreted as

the operational definition of performance motivation--the degree to which an

individual wants to work especially hard to gain desired outcomes (i.e.,

rewards).

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT:

The measurement of organizational commitment was accomplished through

the use of a 15-item questionnaire developed by Porter and Smith (1970). This

instrument focused on various components of overall commitment: i.e., willing-

ness to put forth extra effort to help the organization succeed, loyalty to

the organization, concern about the fate of the organization, willingness to

recommend the organization as a place to work, and so on. Each of the 15-

items was phrased in terms of a statement to which the respondent was asked

to rate his agreement on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly

agree" to "strongly disagree". The individual's level of organizational com-

mitment was computed by averaging across the items answered on the question-

naire--the higher his score, presumably the higher his commitment.

NEED SATISFACTION:

Need satisfaction was measured by a 13-item questionnaire developed by

Porter (1961) and based upon Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs. Each item

contained a short statement describing a job characteristic followed by ques-

tions concerning that particular characteristic.

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The analysis of the data was based upon responses to two questions asked of each characteristic. The two questions asked the person to indicate on a seven-point Likert-type scale:

A. How much (of the characteristic) do you now have in your job?

B. How much (of the characteristic) should you have in your job?

The difference between the response to the second question (B) and the response to the first question (A) was taken as a measurement of need dissatis-faction. Hence, the lower the difference score, the less dissatisfied the individual. On the other hand, if the difference between the "should be" and "is now" was high, the greater the person's dissatisfaction with the par-ticular characteristic. The respondent's level of dissatisfaction was opera-tionally defined as the mean difference score on either: (1) a cluster of characteristics representing a particular need; or (2) all need-related char-acteristics (total need dissatisfaction--13 items).

JOB BEHAVIOR MEASURE:

A primary concern of this research was with the multifaceted aspects of a police officer's performance on the "street", hence, global ratings, as opposed to some summary index based on a number of specific behaviors, were used. Aside from convenience considerations, the choice of global ratings appeared appropriate since police organizations typically devote few resources toward either the "subjective" or "objective" evaluation of its members.

The rating forms were distributed in December, 1970 to the immediate supervisors (sergeants) of all participants in the study. Thus, each ser-geant had an opportunity to observe a particular recruit for at least two months. 92% of these forms were returned. The forms asked each sergeant to

rate his subordinate on: how well the officer was performing on the job; and how much effort the officer was putting forth on the job. The ratings were made on an eight-point Likert-type scale ranging from "outstanding" to "does not meet minimum requirements". As with the attitude questionnaires, care was taken to assure each sergeant that his responses would be kept strictly confidential.

The Pearsonian correlation between the effort and performance ratings was +0.87 (N=118) for the recruit sample. Since this correlation was so high, the remainder of this report will be concerned solely with the performance ratings and ignore correlations between attitudes and effort ratings (which, for all substantive purposes, were the same).

All participants were also ranked according to their final standing in their respective academy training classes. These rankings were obtained from the Training Division and represent the evaluation (by the training staff) of the individual's performance in his respective Basic Training class. For the most part, these rankings are based on the recruit's overall classroom or "academic" performance (i.e., test results).

The obtained rankings were converted to standard scores for the purpose of data analysis. Interestingly, the correlation between the individual's Academy rank and his sergeant's evaluation of his field performance was +0.02 (Spearman Rank Difference Coefficient). The lack of significant asso-ciation between "street" performance and Academy rankings indicates the cri-teria on which the Training Division evaluates and rates police recruits do not correspond to the criteria used by the field sergeants.

Finally, although the superiors' evaluations do not approach the type of "objective" measurement represented by the Academy rankings, both are en-grossing measures. The sergeants' evaluations are particularly significant

from the perspective of factors which may affect a patrolman's later career--
promotions, transfers, terminations, etc.. The "academic" rankings are of
interest because they represent one of the few bases on which the individual
may compare himself with others in the department. Furthermore, the Academy
evaluations are indicative of the extent to which the recruit is familiar
with certain technical aspects of his job (e.g., criminal codes, first aid
procedures, traffic laws, etc.).

(DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA ANALYSIS METHODS)

The significance of differences in group means on the attitude question-
naires across time were determined by use of a simple analysis of variance.
This technique provided a relatively clear-cut test regarding the likelihood
of the change in group means over time. For the purpose of this study, if
the F-ratio was significant at the .05 level, the implication was that the
between-time variation was greater than could be expected on the basis of
chance.

To assess the degree of relationship among the numerous variables ex-
amined in this study, the Pearsonian correlation coefficient was used. In
most cases, the significance of correlation was tested by use of a t-statistic.
Hence, if a sample t reached the .05 level of confidence, the conclusion was
drawn that the relationship was not a chance deviation from zero--implying
some degree of association existed between the two variables.

RESULTS

The job attitudes of those recruits who quit the study were compared with
those who remained in the study. The examination revealed very few signifi-
cant differences between "leavers" and "stayers". These differences furthermore

were not consistent on any of the questionnaire measures or time periods,
nor did they appear to have theoretical importance. Thus, no empirical basis
was present upon which to separate the two groups. With respect to the
available data, the job attitudes of those recruits who participated con-
scientiously in the study were indistinguishable from those recruits who
did not, except of course when it came to returning questionnaires.[5]

In general, the correlations among the demographic characteristics and
the job attitudes (motivation, commitment and satisfaction) indicated few
significant associations. Those relationships which did appear significant
occurred early in a recruit's career and were shortlived, playing an insignifi-
cant role in the subjects' attitude responses after the accumulation of sev-
eral months of experience. Those with military experience tended to report
more motivation, commitment and satisfaction at t_0 and t_1, than those without
such experience. In fact, for the veteran officers, there were no significant
correlations between attitude and demographic dimensions. Consequently, unlike
several previous studies which postulated a strong compatibility between
certain background characteristics and subsequent adaptation within the police
milieu (Rokeach, Miller and Snyder, 1971; Wolfe, 1970; Rapaport, 1949), this
study found no evidence to assert that the recruits' "demography" was in any
way related to their eventual attitude profile.

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE

(Changes over time) The motivational force scores for the recruits and
veteran officers are shown in Figure 1. As illustrated, the newcomers'
motivational attitudes became significantly less positive over time. Further-
more the motivation reported by the experienced patrolmen was significantly
lower than the level reported by the recruits at any time period.

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INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

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This overall decrease in motivation was primarily due to decreases in the expectancies. The attractiveness of the outcomes remained relatively constant for all the examined time periods. This would certainly seem to indicate a growing perception on the part of the recruits that "working especially hard" was linked to few, if any, of the system rewards.

In terms of the reward categories (rewards which presumably may result from "working especially hard"), four of the five fell rather sharply from their level at day one--beliefs regarding favorable reactions from the department, the supervisor, the community and fellow officers. Only recruit motivation associated with greater personal satisfaction failed to decline significantly. The attitude picture for the veteran patrolmen was for all intensive purposes identical to that reported by the recruits at t_7.

(Relationship to job performance) The motivational force measure and the supervisors' evaluation of performance showed a rather interesting pattern of association across time. Although only five of the nine correlations reached significance, the directionality of the relationships reveals some rather surprising results. As depicted in Table 3, the positive association between motivation and the evaluation of "field performance" which was evident during the recruits' very early career stages (t_0 and t_1) vanished rapidly. In fact, by the seventh month, the relationship became inverted, with those recruits having the least favorable--although possibly more realistic-- attitudes being rated as better performers. Apparently, this indicates that those police officers who cling to high expectations are least likely to be

perceived as good performers in the field by their particular patrol sergeants.

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INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

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When the recruit sample is divided into high (superior evaluations of

five and above) and low (superior evaluations of 4 and below) rated groups,

the dramatic shift in attitude is readily apparent. It would seem that a

work ethic involving high motivation does not characterize the "better"

Union City patrolman, as judged by his patrol sergeant. (see Figure 2).

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INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

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The above trend is not observable when Academy rankings of performance

are correlated with the motivation attitudes. Along this dimension, none of

the correlations across time even approached statistical significance. Indeéd,

the only variables examined in this study which were significantly related

to the Academy rankings were demographic ones, level of education and prior

police experience. Yet, such correlations are hardly unexpected in light of

the construction of the Academy rank--based entirely upon results of periodic

exams stressing federal, state and local statutes, first aid, patrol procedures,

use of firearms, and so on.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT:

(Changes over time) Figure 3 shows the significant decrease in the or-

ganizational commitment reported by the recruits across time. This decrease

is relatively steady except for a small, non-significant increase at t_5.

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INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

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Some perspective on the absolute level of the reported commitment is provided by several other studies conducted with the same instrument (Dubin and Porter, 1971; Porter and Smith, 1971; Boulian and Porter, 1971). Results of these investigations reveal that the Union City recruits and veteran patrolmen responded with mean commitment scores significantly higher than five other occupational samples (first level managers (N=43); public utility employees (N=600); personnel managers (N=130); hospital employees (N=142); and bank employees (N=131)--see Figure 3). While the inappropriateness of these norm groups is recognized, the comparison does suggest certain occupational characteristics noted in previous police-related research (e.g., in-group solidarity, strong departmental loyalty, cohesiveness) may have an attitudinal analog in the form of the commitment variable examined here.

(Relationship to job performance) Organizational commitment scores and the patrol sergeants' evaluations of job performance in the field showed a uniform positive relationship across all examined time periods. As Table 3 points out, the four correlation coefficients which achieved statistical significance correspond to the t_3 through t_6 time periods. In other words, the relationship appeared tied most closely to the "apprenticeship" stage of the socialization process--the recruits' early "street" experiences with their respective Field Training Officers. Figure 4 depicts the mean commitment scores for the high and low rated subject groups.

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INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE

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The relationship between Academy performance and organizational commit-
ment did not reach significance at any of the particular time periods. How-
ever, the directionality between the two variables seems to suggest that, if
anything, those recruits who do well "academically" are likely to report
lower commitment to the organization than those recruits who are doing less
well.

NEED SATISFACTION

(Changes across time) The expressed level of satisfaction related to
all five needs remained relatively constant across time. Recruits appeared
most dissatisfied during their early Academy training and least dissatisfied
during their early field experiences. The difference between the highest
and lowest levels of satisfaction, however, only approached statistical signifi-
cance (p $<$ .10).

Upon examining the composition of this measure, a somewhat paradoxical
situation was found. On the one hand, the level at which the recruits re-
ported their needs fulfilled increased dramatically (and significantly) fol-
lowing their Academy training. At the same time, however, the recruits in-
creased significantly their desired level of need fulfillment. As a result,
the need satisfaction index remained relatively stable.

When the needs were examined individually, the self-actualization and
social clusters were viewed generally as the most satisfied. Most dissatis-
faction was indicated with the fulfillment of the officers' esteem, autonomy
and security needs. In fact, security needs from t_4 on, were the least satis-
fied--significantly less than the degree to which the recruits' social or
self-actualization needs were presumably satisfied.

(Relationship to Job Performance) A persistent negative association be-

tween need <u>dissatisfaction</u> and field evaluations is depicted in Table 3.
This relationship is negative and indicates the higher-rated subjects were
more satisfied than their lower-rated counterparts. The examination of the
individual parts of the dissatisfaction index revealed that none of the iso-
lated needs were related significantly to the ratings--although most were
negative. It was only when all needs were combined that the association was
significant.

Dissatisfaction expressed by both recruits and experienced officers was
related generally in a positive manner to the Academy rankings--although the
correlations fluctuated widely. Again, needs taken separately showed no
association with the Academy rankings.

POSTSCRIPT ON THE RESULTS:

While the attitude measures used in this study can be shown to be asso-
ciated with one another, they were by no means synonymous (i.e., the inter-
correlations among instruments ranged from .02 to .58 for the various admin-
istration periods). Some correlation among instruments was expected on purely
a theoretical basis. For example, one would predict that those subjects who
express more motivation would also report less need dissatisfaction (see
Porter and Lawler, 1968). Yet, the attitude intercorrelations were relatively
low--intercorrelations for the veteran officers were somewhat higher, but
by no means perfect. Consequently, there was enough variation among question-
naire responses to indicate that the variables were conceptually and, to some
extent, empirically distinct.

DISCUSSION

In this brief section, the findings of the questionnaire analysis are
located within the larger context of the police culture as experienced by this
researcher in the role of participant-observer in Union City.[6] This tactic

emphasizes routine occurences in the recruit socialization process and provides the reader with a particular "feel" for the structural and situational dimensions responsible for the unique attitude mapping just presented. Therefore, rather than directing attention specifically to the statistically significant separate findings, this discussion highlights the consistent "themes" appearing throughout the results.

Progress along the "socialization continuum" in the police world can be seen as the gradual development of an "in the same boat" collective consciousness stressing a "don't make waves" occupational philosophy. This process by which initiates acquire the motives, sentiments and behavioral patterns of the occupational culture can be characterized as a three stage socialization process. The phases are labelled introduction, encounter and metamorphosis and, while only analytically distinct, serve as useful markers describing the routine traversed by police recruits.

(Introduction) Most policemen have not chosen their career casually. The nature of the long, arduous selection procedure virtually assures that those who enter the occupation will have strong positive attitudes concerning their new job. The attitude portrait of recruits at day-one supports this position. Indeed, Union City was able to attract and select men who entered the organization with a reservoir of favorable attitudes toward hard work and a strong level of organizational support.

For the recruits, their first real contact with the environment occurs at the Police Academy. Surrounded by thirty to forty contemporaries, the newcomer is introduced to the often arbitrary discipline of the organization. A man soon learns that to be one minute late to class. to utter a careless word

in formation, to relax in his seat or to be "caught" walking when he should
be running may result in a "gig" or "demerit" costing him an extra day of
work or the time it may take to write a long essay on, say, "the importance
of keeping a neat appearance". Only the recruit's classmates aid his struggle
to avoid sanction from a punitively-oriented training staff and provide him
with the only rewards available during the long days. Yet, these rewards are
contingent upon his internalization of a "no rat" rule which protects fellow-
recruits from departmental discipline.

It is apparent that the early stages of the person's police career are
marked by some rather vivid attitude changes (t_1 through t_3). First, motiva-
tional attitudes drop considerably. Only personal rewards remained associated
with "working hard". This would certainly seem to indicate a growing realiza-
tion on the part of the recruits that indeed a hard work ethic was not linked
to most of the system rewards. Second, organizational commitment fell sharply;
yet, remained relatively high vis-a-vis several other occupations. Relative
to later phases of the socialization process, the recruits were somewhat dis-
satisfied with their experiences at the police Academy. Apparently, the de-
grading nature of the role recruits were expected to play during the Academy
"stress" training serves to detach the newcomer from his old attitudes. In
short, the Academy impresses upon the recruit that he must now identify with
a new group--his fellow patrolmen. Furthermore, he learns that when "The
Department" notices his behavior, it is usually to administer a punishment,
not a reward. The solution to this collective predicament is to "stay low
and avoid trouble".

(Encounter) Following the classroom trianing period, a novice is intro-
duced to the complexities of the "street" through his FTO. It is during this

period of apprenticeship that the "reality shock" encompassing full recognition of being a policeman is likely to occur. Here he learns what attitudes and behaviors are appropriate and expected of a patrolman within the social setting. This traditional feature of police work--patrolmen training patrolmen--insures continuity from class to class of police officers regardless of the content of the Academy instruction. In large measure, the flow of influence from one generation to another accounts for the remarkable stability of the pattern of police behavior.

Importantly, those recruits who were least motivated to "work hard" tended to be ranked as better patrolmen. Clearly, while some zealousness may be tolerated early in one's career--maybe even expected--such attitudes must soon be altered if the recruit is to "make it" within the police milieu. Furthermore, the "rookie" discovers few connections between his efforts and the system rewards. In fact, he soon learns that the best solution to the labyrinth of hierarchy, the red tape and paperwork, the myriad of rules and regulations and the "dirty work" which characterize the occupation is to adopt the group norm stressing "staying out of trouble". And the best way to stay out of trouble is to minimize the set of activities he pursues.

Inversely, sergeants tended to perceive those recruits who expressed more commitment to the organization to be the "better" officers. This association was particularly apparent during and following the recruit's initial "street" experience (t_3 through t_5). This finding appears of major import since high commitment implies a relatively unquestioning belief and acceptance of the organizational system. The pertinent literature has speculated that loyalty and dedication--as behavioral correlates of a so-called "conformance to authority" syndrome--are the principal characteristics an initiate police-

man must demonstrate if he is to be accepted within the system (e.g., Skolnick, 1966; Neiderhoffer, 1967; Ahern, 1972). Thus, empirical verification of this psychological dimension is provided and seemingly has important consequences vis-a-vis one's organizational career.

As expected, the recruits reported slightly more need satisfaction once they began to actually act as policemen. This is not surprising in view of the limited opportunities to satisfy certain needs in the Academy. In general, the job satisfaction literature indicates that as one is accepted into the work group, his satisfaction increases. However, the newcomers were still relatively deprived. Although the recruits reported more fulfillment, they concomitantly expressed a desire for higher levels of fulfillment. This may well be an indication of the "street-learning" experience when the recruits are first exposed to the "policeman's lot".

(Metamorphosis) Here we are concerned with what Becker et al. (1964) labeled "the final perspective". As such, the interest here is upon the characteristic attitudes recruits eventually come to hold regarding the "back-stage" aspects of their careers.

One of the more salient observations resulting from this research is the rapidity with which the "final perspective" arises. Indeed, by the sixth month of police experience, the job-related attitudes of the recruits begin to approximate those of their more experienced colleagues. Apparently, the adjustment of the newcomer follows the "line of least resistance". By becoming similar in attitude and behavior to his peers, the recruit avoids censure by the department, his supervisor and, most important, his fellow-patrolmen. Quite clearly, the police system does produce major changes upon

virtually all who enter.

To what attitude pattern is the recruit expected to conform? In the area of motivation, it appears that after a short time on the job the only activity in which the patrolmen perceive any substantial likelihood of receiving valued rewards is through their "field investigation" activities. Within the context of this study, field investigation activities were defined as "those activities which usually result in an arrest". As others have pointed out, it is precisely these activities which account for the smallest amount of the patrolman's time (Webster, 1971; Reiss, 1971). Service and administrative activities—which account for the largest amount of working time—were viewed in this "final perspective" as the areas in which effort was least likely to lead to favorable rewards.

What seems to account for this motivational pattern would be a peculiar interdependent combination of: (1) punishment-centered and particularistic supervision concerned primarily with "mistakes" made by patrolmen; (2) institutionalized rewards having little to do with the everyday world of policing; (3) perceived public hostility of the police; (4) subcultural ethos emphasizing the "keep a low profile" dictum; (5) an internalized and narrow perception of "real" police work consisting of only "preventing crime" and "apprehending criminals"; and (6) conflicting role demands placed on patrolmen in which successful or good performance is viewed differentially by the various audiences which witness police work.

Expressed organizational commitment, while declining somewhat during the early months of employment, still remains relatively high and presumably is an object of concern for both one's supervisor and his colleagues in the patrol division. Perhaps by committing one's self to the department, a re-

cruit has demonstrated his willingness to share the risks of police work,
his attachment and concern for the welfare of his fellow officers and his
appreciation and involvement for the expressed goals of the organization.

Apparently, the police occupation offers one of the best opportunities
to satisfy social and self-actualizing needs. This finding would seem to
be consistent with a picture of patrol work as embodying intense social bonds
and providing primarily personal satisfactions--involving subjective feelings
of performing an important and worthwhile task. The fact that esteem needs
are considerably unfulfilled would indicate that the patrolmen do not perceive
others as recognizing the worth of their occupation.

On the surface, the dissatisfaction reported by the patrolmen with the
degree to which their autonomy needs are fulfilled would seem to contradict
much of the literature which portrays the patrol task as requiring an inor-
dinate amount of discretion in the field. However, most patrolmen feel "hand-
cuffed" or constrained by a variety of audiences--including their own depart-
ment. The independence the recruit once felt would characterize the job
soon becomes limited perceptually in far too many ways.

Finally, the low degree to which the security needs were satisfied repre-
sents an interesting exception to Maslow's (1954) theory. To policemen,
security needs represent a curious combination of both physiological and
psychological factors. While the physiological aspects are well satisfied in
terms of pay and job security, the psychological aspects--involving the danger
characteristic intrinsic to the occupation--can never be guaranteed completely.
Furthermore, the danger factor of the work setting is an important variable
relating to the individual's evaluation of the challenge and importance asso-
ciated with his role. While the general usefulness of Maslow's theory is

not questioned, the ordering of the needs perhaps depends more upon situa-
tionally-specific job features than upon underlying predispositions common
to all individuals.

The foregoing delineation of the recruit socialization process, while
necessarily a drastic condensation of a much more complex process, does
strike upon the more important aspects of becoming a policeman. Overall,
the adjustment is epitomized in the "lie low, hang loose and don't expect
too much" advice frequently heard within the Union City Police Department.
This descriptive report would indicate that the following tip given by a
Union City veteran represents a very astute analysis of how to insure con-
tinuance in the police world. He suggested:

> "There's only two things you gotta know around here.
> First, forget everything you've learned in the academy
> because the street's where you'll learn to be a cop;
> and second, being first around here don't mean shit.
> Take it easy, that's our motto."

TABLE 1

BASIC SURVEY DESIGN

Date (1st Adm.)	Group	Adm. No.	Months in Department										
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
June 10	I							1	2	3	4	5	
June 10	II						1	2	3	4	5		
June 10	III					1	2	3	4	5			
July 20	IV		1	2	3	4	5						

TABLE 2

RESPONSE RATES

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	ADMINISTRATION NUMBER				
		1	2	3	4	5
I	41	73%	60%	56%	33%	31%
II	16	100%	94%	69%	75%	63%
III	39	93%	80%	100%	88%	76%
IV	40	100%	85%	83%	78%	62%
Total Number of Subjects		136	134	133	133	131
Total Returned		90%	78%	80%	68%	57%

(NUMBER OF SUBJECTS column bracketed as "Percentage Response")

FIGURE 1
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE
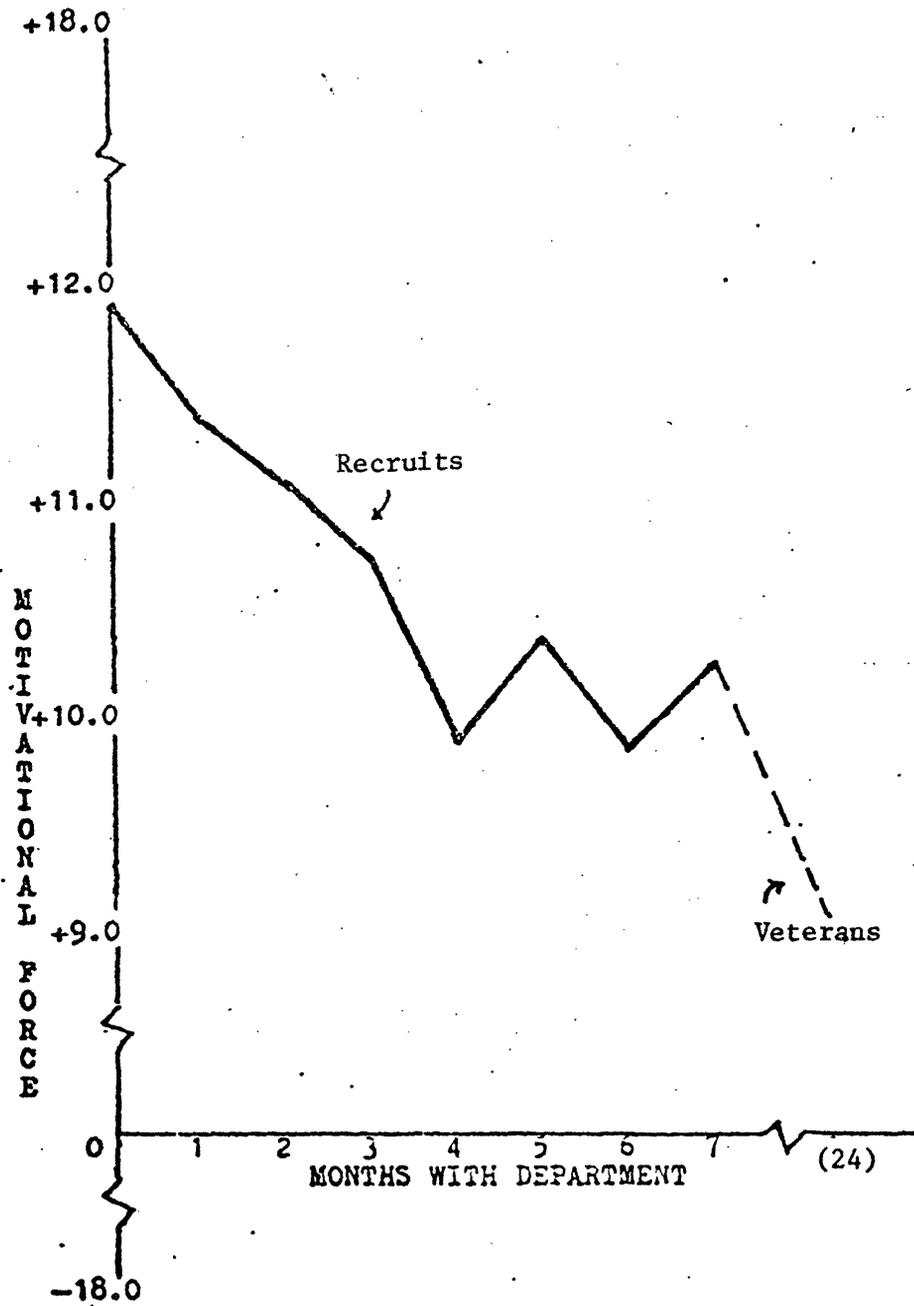
TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG JOB-BEHAVIOR
MEASURES AND JOB-ATTITUDES AS A
FUNCTION OF TIME IN THE ORGANIZATION

A. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN JOB ATTITUDES AND SERGEANTS EVALUATION
OF JOB PERFORMANCE IN THE FIELD

	RECRUITS								VETERANS
	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE	.36**	.21	.17	-.06	.04	-.09	-.22*	-.41**	-.10
COMMITMENT	.05	.24	.23*	.30**	.30**	.32**	.27**	.21	.33**
DISSATISFACTION	-.02	-.19	.13	-.19*	-.25**	-.41**	-.33**	-.56**	-.23
N =	35	30	62	72	70	68	60	32	42

B. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN JOB ATTITUDES AND ACADEMY RANKINGS OF
PERFORMANCE

	RECRUITS								VETERANS
	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE	.01	-.11	.03	-.07	.02	-.12	.01	.01	-.17
COMMITMENT	-.24	-.21	-.21	-.07	-.09	-.07	-.10	.10	-.12
DISSATISFACTION	-.01	-.08	.29**	.07	.31**	-.19*	.07	-.14	.19
N =	40	34	69	78	78	74	65	34	42

* Pearsonian correlation coefficient significant at the .10 level

**Pearsonian correlation coefficient significant at the .05 level

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FIGURE 2

## MOTIVATIONAL FORCE COMPARISON
(ACROSS TIME)
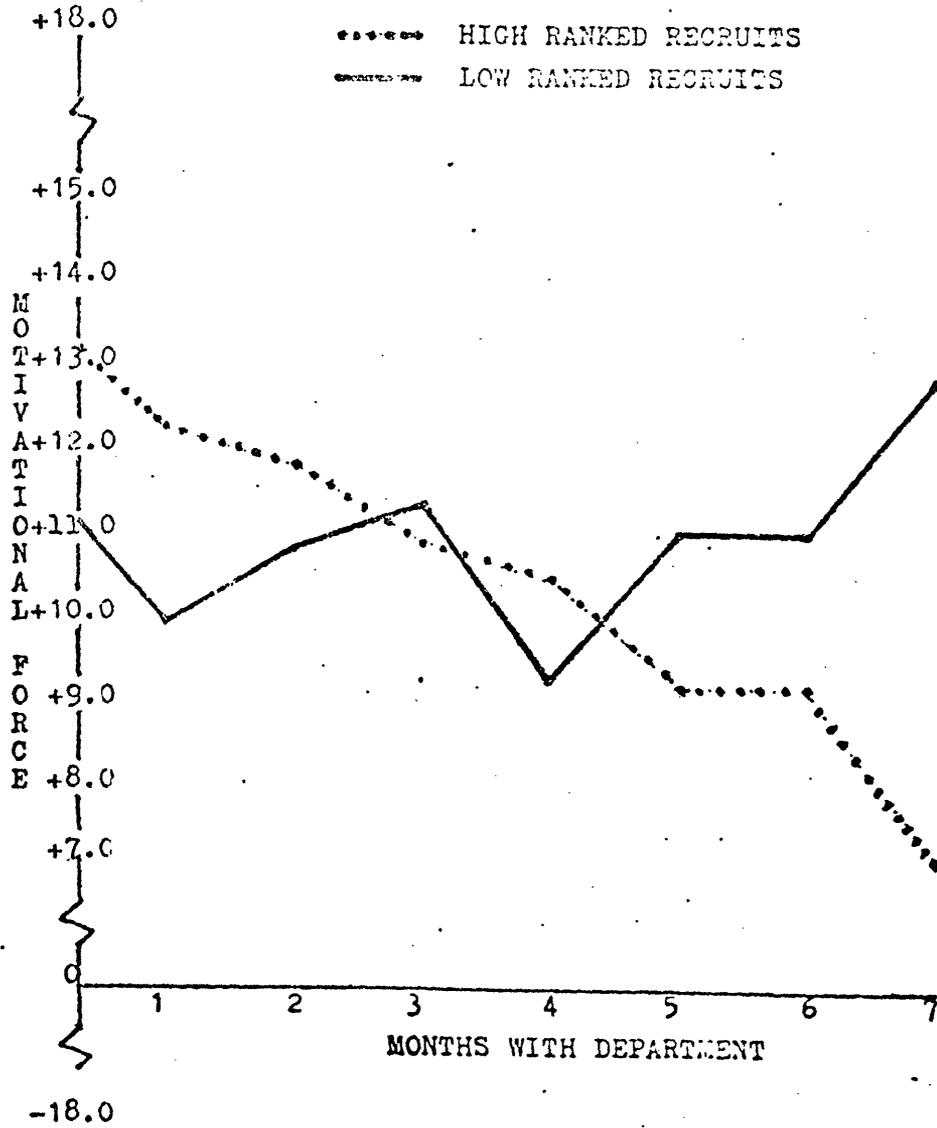
FIGURE 3

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT
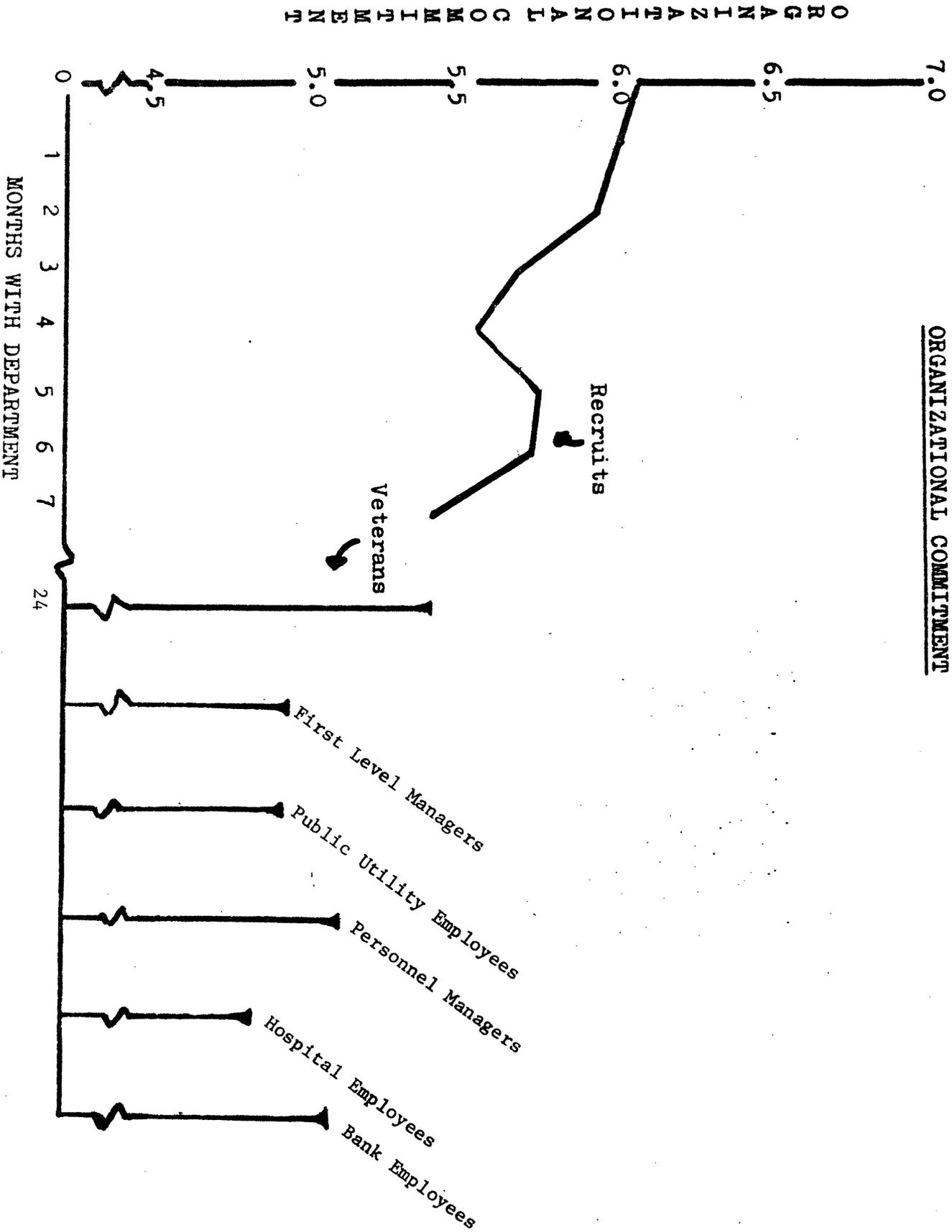
FIGURE 4

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT COMPARISON
(ACROSS TIME)
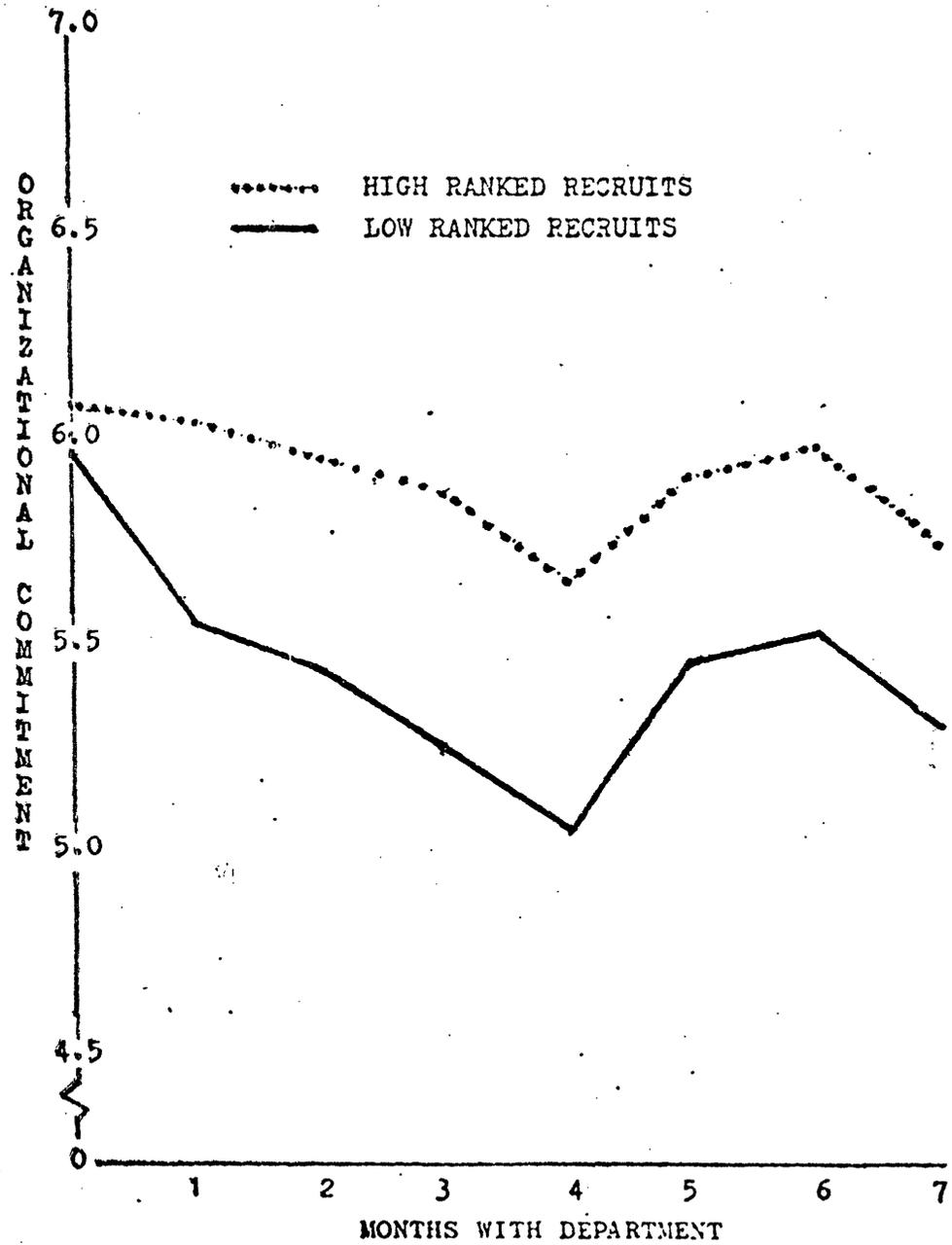
Notes

1. This research was supported in part by the Organizational

Behavior Research Center at the University of California, Irvine

and the Office of Naval Research (Contract Nonr. N00014-69-A-0200-

9001 NR 151-315). I would like to gratefully acknowledge my academic

colleagues, in particular, Lyman W. Porter and Mason Haire for their

insightful suggestions and assistance during various phases of this

research.

2. "Union City" is a pseudonym for a sprawling metropolitan

area populated by more than one million persons. The police department

is considered to be "professional", approaching the "legalistic"

category postulated by Wilson (1968). In a survey conducted in 1968,

Union City's police resources (per capita expenditures) were ranked

in the upper third among similar sized cities. Furthermore, the starting

salary for police officers ranked in the top quartile nationally --

entering officers could expect to make over $11,000 during their first

year on the force.

3. To note that access was not easy is something of an understatement.

As a case in point, I negotiated with over twenty urban police departments

for well over a year before finally gaining access to one of them in

order to carry out this rather small scale and low profile study. In

most cases, I was flatly refused without benefit of explanation.

4. The reader will note that all recruits are treated as if
they followed the same training pattern. Although this is a slight
distortion of the actual situation in Union City, the relative
homogeneity of the recruits' responses to the police environment
allows for the generalization of the data. For example, regardless
of whether or not a recruit returned to the Police Academy after
his FTO stage of training, his "street" experiences had a profound
impact upon his attitudes. Those recruits who did return to the
Academy (as part of their group's formal training program) were not
likely to revert to older attitude patterns. It was my observation
that the second stage of the Police Academy for the "street-wise"
recruit was a time of marked forbearance. In fact, most recruits
were "counting the days" until they could again return to "real"
police work.

5. Individuals were placed into either the "leaver" or "stayer"
group on the basis of the number of administration periods in which
they participated. A number of separate investigations were conducted
which compared all possible combinations of groupings. For example,
in one case the questionnaire responses of those who participated
in one or two administrations were contrasted with those who participated
in all five (i.e., for time periods in which both "leavers" and "stayers"
responded). In another case, the questionnaire responses of those who
participated in one, two or three administrations were contrasted with

the responses of those who participated in four or five administrations;
and so on.

6. A large portion of this study was devoted to the observation
of novice policemen _in situ_. To accomplish this task I became a
fully-participating member of one of Union City Police Academy recruit
classes. Following the training phase of the recruit socialization
process, I adopted the role of a "modified participant-observer"
and spent approximately three months as a "backseat" observer in patrol
units comprised of a recruit and his FTO. This experiential technique
proved extremely valuable and provided the background upon which this
analysis is based. For a detailed description of this aspect of the
study, see Van Maanen, 1972b.

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