EDUCATION AND POLICE ATTITUDES

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Submitted to the Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts.


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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. EDUCATION AND THE WORKING PERSONALITY OF THE POLICEMAN</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ASSESSING THE WORKING PERSONALITY</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Characteristics of the sample population.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scores on F-scale.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scores on R-scale.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scores on R.I. scale.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Repeated measures design (Hotelling's $T^2$)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. F-distribution scores comparing groups by individual scales.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Proportion of questionnaires sent, returned, and spoiled.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Proportionate means and modes for age and years of experience.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Group two by functional assignment.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Group three by functional assignment.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Functional assignment of total sample population.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>University graduates by functional assignment.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Non-university sample by functional assignment.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Comparison of group means by attitude scales.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND THE WORKING PERSONALITY
OF THE POLICEMAN

In today's modern "mass society" (31, p.41) characterized by mass assembly line production, mass transportation, mass education, and mass take-over of social services by government, it is not uncommon to label people. These labels may stem from the individual's association with a specific group or from his chosen style of life. Thus, people with long hair and beards are frequently called "hippies" and people who do not have regular employment or stable places of residence are often classified as "hobos" or "bums". In addition, the label implies peculiar values, attitudes and beliefs. The hobo is irresponsible and lazy; the hippie rebellious and parasitic. Sometimes the individual labelled does not contribute to the values, attitudes, and beliefs attributed to him but the attribution may make him undergo psychological change and begin to think he is really what he has been labelled. He may have a change in attitude and become what society has labelled him. Thus, the long haired, bearded individual, after being continually called hippie and treated as one, may see himself as rebellious and parasitic.
Continual contact with common ideas and experiences, combined with expectations by the rest of society in a real or assigned role gives the individual an orientation which makes him like others in a similar situation and unlike others in dissimilar ones. Thus, occupational groups possess special features that characterise them and even isolate them. Funeral directors or medical interns, for instance, may learn to accept death as "part" and "parcel" of everyday experience (24, p. 50). School teachers and clergy, as a result of occupationally related moral commitments, may tend to be a bit prudish and intolerant, limiting their contact with "outsiders" to superficial or inconsequential matters (26, p. 5). Identification with a profession for which a person has been trained is not uncommon. This happens to everyone and the policeman is no exception. Law enforcement training can produce unconscious expectations of violence and crime. This does not mean that the police officer will magnify or deprecate the possibility of violence. It does mean, however, that the officer may come to accept crime and violence as a familiar part of his daily routine. The acceptance of this behaviour as a part of personal experience, in turn increases the ability or readiness to perceive violence and crime when clues to them are only potentially available (17, p. 51). This readiness for either mental or physical action is commonly referred to as one's attitude (13, p. 60; 18, p. 450). It is
a predisposition to respond either favourably or unfavourably to a stimulus (26, p. 222). Attitudes are relatively enduring predispositions which give continuity to behaviour over time. They are learned, not innate.

In his daily life the policeman is constantly confronted with a variety of regularly repeated situations. How he will behave in these situations will depend to a large extent upon his attitude, and, his ability to respond to future like situations will depend upon how he behaved in these earlier ones. Each situation helps to reinforce his attitudes, modifying and altering them occasionally to permit him to adapt and adjust to changing situations. Attitudes, thus help the policeman, like all others, to anticipate and to cope with recurring events. They are a part of a psychological economy which can be described as a "least-effort" principle: application wherever possible, of past solutions to present problems (26, p. 223). They give the policeman a distinctive "working personality" which has led to the imputation of rigidity, authoritarianism, conservatism (25, p. 4, 5; 5, p. 25) and traditionalism (20, p. 133) to him, and resulting in his inability to apply new solutions to present problems and leading first to poor police-community interaction and then to continual charges of ineptness by the public (27; 2, p. 129).
Traditionally the police have been trained to do a specific task. This task was of an enforcement nature inherent to the traditions of the adversary system of law which is mainly concerned and characterized by the division of the system into various areas of responsibility. Although some inroads have been made into improving the classical police training, the preparation of a policeman is still largely military in nature. At "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) training division, the police recruit undergoes twenty-six weeks of basic training. Forty-three percent of the total 899 hours of over-all instructions is allotted to academic courses, ranging from the Canadian Federal Statutes to typing. Only 5.4 percent of the total training period is spent on human behavioural subjects. The remainder of the program includes such topics as driver training, foot drill, physical training, small arms, and other non-academic courses.

Today as society becomes increasingly complex, depersonalized and often dehumanized (2, p. 129) the police are forced to take on tasks which they are not qualified to handle and which are outside the realms of law enforcement. Situations demand of the policeman the adoption of the role of social worker, mediator in "heated" family disturbances, supervisor of public demonstrations, civil disturbances, and numerous
other unstable settings where a high degree of skill and
sensitivity in human relations is required. These activities
have fallen upon the police through default. Their instant
availability, night and day, coupled with the unavailability
of other agencies at the crucial moment (2, p. 129) has made
them appear the logical choice for the performance of a wide
array of service activities. A Syracuse study (32, p. 18)
indicated approximately 67.6 percent of the policeman's time
is spent on order maintenance and service activities, as
opposed to 10.3 percent for law enforcement. Maintenance and
service activities call for the exercise of discretion and
require sound and balanced judgment. Improper and hasty
decisions by the police in this sphere of activity have resulted
in riots (25, p. 206) and exacerbated unrest (12, p. 897).
The situations they have to deal with are sometimes complicated
and explosive (14, p. 147), and the proper reaction to them
calls for a thorough understanding of diadic and group
relations of human and personal behaviour, an understanding
of what makes people act as they do, and an appreciation of
the impact that their actions will have upon others (32, p. 127).

Education, it has been suggested, is one way whereby
police officers may be made aware of some of the many ramifi-
cations involving human behaviour (30, 26, 27, 10, 23(a), 14).
Education, it has been contended, would enable the policeman
to be better prepared to evaluate a difficult and sensitive situation to arrive at a more sound and balanced judgment. It would, it has again been contended, help to alter his working personality and his attitude. There is some evidence suggesting that education does change attitudes. Klingerhofer (1965) in a study of students at Sacramento State College concluded: "The results seem clearly to show that students who do persist through the first two years experience change in their behaviour. These changes appear to take slightly different directions - the men seem to become less truculent, grow more aware of the complexities involved in solving political and social problems, and to not weigh order and authority as heavily as they once may have done. They are better able to recognize complexities and tolerate ambiguity as college sophomores than as new high school graduates."

In his Bennington Study, Newcomb (1943), studied the pattern of change in political and economic attitudes of a population of girls. As freshmen, the girls generally remained fairly conservative in their views, but as they progressed to higher-class status, their views became progressively liberal. Again, a study of students at the University of California, Berkeley Campus (19, p. 51) showed support for civil liberties increasing as the student increased his years at college. When students were classified on the basis of their attitudes
on such issues as refusing a passport to a socialist, the proportion of "highly libertarian" was 21 percent among freshmen and 40 percent among seniors.

The bulk of the evidence seems to suggest that the more educated are lower in stereotyped beliefs about minorities and less prejudiced than people with less education. The change results partly from specific awareness and knowledge, and in part from being socialized to new perspectives through contact with faculties and other students (3, p. 352). The extent of prejudice, however, tends to vary according to the students subject major. Social sciences or humanities majors, for example, tend to be less prejudiced and more civil libertarian than majors in business administration and engineering (3, p. 352).

Opinions relating to the philosophy for higher education for the police have ranged from a focus upon the negative effects of academic advancement to those which see higher education as essential to the alleviation of some of the problems of the increased complexity of police work (4, p. 18-20). On the negative side, there are dissenting voices largely claiming that college education for law enforcement personnel is irrelevant, unnecessary, and essentially impossible to achieve (5, p. 272). The basic philosophy of police progress within the academic community is a strongly
held belief that the results of academic training in areas other than traditional police science, police administration, and traffic control will ultimately produce more efficient policemen (8, p. 2). The hope has been that the different attitudes and knowledge to which the academic community exposes the officer to will supplement his initial police training. Germann (7, p. 417) has charged that in most instances the idea is "archaic and insane".

Then, again, there are, in addition, those who see a distinctive dichotomy evolving between college and non-college police based on resentment and distrust (8, p. 3). Niederhoffer (16, p. 26) states, "there are signs of a growing and abrasive rift between the advocates of higher education standards and those who oppose any form of professional treatment that is based on academic accomplishment." Others are concerned with the police "working personality" and the diverse effects it may have on the educational process (8, p. 4). If, as research suggests, "police tend to be more suspicious, conventional, cynical, prejudiced, and exhibit greater distrust of what they consider 'ivory tower intellectualism', is society wasting its time exposing these officers to the perspectives and methodology of the academic community"? (1, p. 112).

It would appear that arguments presented against higher education for the police dwell upon stereotype police
characteristics and his "working personality". It is suggested, these characteristics create internal role-conflict (police-student) for the police, thus impeding the learning process. This role-conflict is described by the seemingly greater lack of ability among police students to disassociate themselves from their occupation while in a classroom situation (8, p. 8). Henkin continues, "this lack of role-distance has proven dysfunctional to the learning process in that it reinforces defensiveness that seriously hampers the student's ability to critically examine the material and to benefit from class lectures and discussion (8, p. 8). It would appear that the "working personality" does create difficulties for the policeman. If this is the case maybe society, police administrators and the police themselves should make a conscious and consorted effort to alter this "working personality". The appropriate question, it seems, is: Should the police "working personality" be changed?

On the positive side of higher education for the police, there is in addition to voluminous general opinions (1, 17, 20, 5, 8) some research to support this claim. Smith, Locke, and Fenster (23, p. 313) in comparing college and non-college police, concluded that "the completion of a baccalaureate program results in a notable diminution of authoritarian attitudes". They conclude, in view of the present
social unrest, "the provision of an opportunity for a college education for the police appears to be a socially advisable course".

A rather unusual, yet interesting effect of college education for police has been demonstrated in Ventura, California. In this city a four-year college degree is mandatory for recruitment and hiring. Before requiring a college degree, the local juveniles described the officers as "fuzz" and "dumbcop" (6, p. 59). Now, with over three fourths of the patrolmen college graduates, local citizens go out of their way to point with pride to local standards of employment for their police. A further startling discovery is that the over-all crime rate is down 2.96 percent per thousand population (6, p. 60). Is this decrease in crime rate due to greater respect and increased confidence on the part of the citizenry towards the college "cop"? To provide an answer at this time, would only be conjecture and supposition, yet it would appear that college education was successful in a two-way attitude change - police and public - leading to further necessary police community relations.

An additional answer suggested may reflect changes within the officers themselves. They were not as threatened by abusive citizens, appeared to rise above the insults, and did not overact as much as their counterparts - the non-college
policeman. People who had a wide variety of contact with the department assumed that courteous treatment, or the solution of a crime was due to the "college cop's" increased know-how and ability (6, p. 60-61). Could it also be that the policeman is living up to the more liberal labels which have been attached to him?

Although there is an obvious absence of empirical research to evaluate the effects of university education on police performance the studies cited tend to support college education for the police.

This present study is an attempt to examine the effects of a university education on the attitude or working personality of a policeman. It has been postulated by some (9, p. 89; 3, p. 203) that the police "working personality" originates from the authoritarianism instilled in the recruit during the period of training. This hypothesis would be tested by the comparison of the attitudes of a group of recruits immediately prior to and after their initial period of training. If a change in attitudes exists this could be attributed to the training. The influence a university education has on the working personality of the policeman would be tested by comparing the attitudes of the group of recruits after training with those of a group of young university graduates who have already been trained. The possibility exists
that the working personality results from years of police work rather than from the training. This hypothesis would be tested with the comparison of attitudes of the group of recruits with those of experienced senior policemen. If a difference exists it could perhaps be concluded that experience plays the most important role. University education, it has been hypothesized would influence the working personality of the policeman. This fourth hypothesis would be tested by comparison of the attitudes of university graduated policemen who received their education after completion of several years of active enforcement duties with those held by a matched group of officers who have not attended university. The existence of a difference would support this hypothesis. Finally, the attitudes of young university graduates would be compared with those of the senior officers who have obtained a university degree to determine what influence years of experience may have on education. This hypothesis is to test whether the period at which the policeman receives his university education has an effect on the resulting change in attitudes.
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CHAPTER II

ASSESSING THE WORKING PERSONALITY

Allport defines an attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness exerting a directive influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (1, p. 810). Katz defines it as the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol, object or aspect of his world in a favourable or unfavourable manner (7, p. 329). As a consequence, attitudes are not something that could be observed directly, as McDavid and Harari stress: they must be inferred from what the individual says or does (13, p. 129). Yet a number of attempts have been made to measure attitudes and scales have been constructed to make this measurement more precise.

There exists essentially two approaches for the construction of attitudes scales: the logical or theoretical and the empirical or phenomenological. In the logical or theoretical approach, the researcher makes a priori theoretical assumptions about the existence of certain attitudes based, no doubt, on previous research or personal knowledge. A suitable instrument containing items psychologically related to that attitude domain (15, p. 160), purporting to measure the domain is then selected or
constructed. In doing this, the researcher selects and imposes his own parameters and restrictions on the respondents of his research.

The success of this approach depends upon the subjects under study holding attitudes, which the measuring instrument was designed to measure (6, p. 104).

The empirical or phenomenological approach is utilized in situations in which the researcher does not have sufficient knowledge of the attitude held by his sample and when theoretical assumptions cannot be made. In this approach, MacLeod reports that the researcher sets out to determine "without regard to conventional attitudinal categories, exactly what there is for the person, what structure, with what properties and related in what way" (12, p. 196).

Both approaches to scale construction proceed with data obtained from verbal behaviour or responses. This may not always be the case as there are many nonverbal approaches for studying attitudes. The tradition of relying on verbal responses is probably due to two factors. First, they permit for much more convenient and effective data collection than do other methods. Second, in the study of social attitudes the level of theoretical development is not so well advanced as to require specific types of behavioural manifestation for the definition of variables (3, p. 107).

When the verbalised response approach is used there are three types of attitude scales that may be employed.
They are: (1) the summated rating or Likert type scale; (2) the equal appearing interval or Thurstone scale; and (3) the cumulative, or Guttman scale.

A summated rating scale is a set of attitude items, all of which are considered of approximate equal "attitude value", and to each of which subjects respond with degrees of agreement or disagreement (intensity) (9, p. 484). The scores of the items of such a scale are summed and averaged to yield an individual's attitude score (9, p. 484). This score is interpreted as representing his position on a scale of favourable-unfavourable attitude toward the object (19, p. 366).

The equal appearing scale does essentially the same thing as the summated rating scale but, in addition, it scales the attitude items (9, p. 485). These items are arranged in terms of importance on an interval scale where the units, or intervals of measurement are equal (19, p. 183). The position of each item on the scale is predetermined by some kind of ranking or rating procedure performed during the construction of the scale.

Cumulative scales, like the summated rating and equal appearing intervals scales, are made up of a series of items with which the respondent indicates agreement or disagreement. In this scale, the items are related to one another in such a way that, ideally, an individual who replies
favourably to one item is one who has replied favourably to the preceding items as well. Thus, all individuals who answer a given item favourably should have scores on the total scale higher than the individuals who answer that item unfavourably (19, p. 371). The individual's score is computed by counting the number of items he answers favourably. This score places him on the scale of favourable-unfavourable attitude provided by the relationship of the items to one another.

Of the three types of scales, the summated rating scale seems to be the most useful in behavioural research (9, p. 487). It is relatively easy to construct and it yields about the same results as those which are more difficult to construct. It allows for expression of degrees of agreement or disagreement, usually in five or six categories ranging from "strong agreement" to "strong disagreement" and, as such, induces the respondent to commit himself one way or the other, a possibility which does not exist with other scales requiring an "all" or "nothing" response. It is relatively easy to score and it is so constructed as to permit easy tabulation of the internal properties such as validity and reliability, which is not the case with other measuring instruments (13, p. 422).

Several disadvantages are also common to this type of scale. While the scale makes the ranking of individuals
in terms of the favourableness of their attitude towards given object possible, it does not provide a basis for saying how much more favourable one is than another. Then, the score of an individual has little clear meaning since many patterns of responses to the items may produce the same score.

In the construction of an attitude scale, the dimensions of structure and disguise are two important attributes that must be considered. They assist in eliciting responses from the subjects and ensure proper operation. The dimension of structure is concerned with the extent to which the scale may limit the types of responses that may occur. An unstructured device is one that permits the maximum variety of responses. Here the subject is permitted both free association and the luxury of expressing his own opinions (13, p. 416). He can draw from past experiences and his present physical surroundings to assist in responding. There are no boundaries or limits on the number of possible responses. Highly structured scales, on the other hand, limit the response. Among the most highly structured devices are those to which the respondent may simply respond to "yes" or "no" or "agree" or "disagree". These scales are thought to have the greatest reliability (13, p. 416).

There is however, a danger that a scale that is too highly structured will offer the respondent alternatives
unacceptable to him.

The technique of disguise is used when the investigator believes that the respondent may distort their responses. To overcome this possibility, the investigator attempts to conceal, from the subjects, the area of concern or the behaviour in which he is truly interested. Various devious and misleading means are used to distract the subject's attention away from the focus of concern (13, p. 416). Undisguised techniques are those in which the respondent is aware of the attitude under discussion and is able to consider it openly. The diadic interview is an example of this type.

As far as structure and disguise are concerned, there are four possible combinations. The unstructured-undisguised represents the most direct and simplistic approach to attitude measurement. Respondents are simply asked in a straightforward manner to express judgement about a particular object or issue (13, p. 418). The major advantage of this technique is that they are straightforward and direct. However, this permissive approach also permits the respondent to stall and even to avoid the issue. The open-ended interview and the sentence completion technique are examples.

The unstructured and disguised technique is used when the respondent is reluctant to express his judgements freely and truthfully. Here the intention of the attitude scale is disguised but no restriction placed on the ways of
response. The projective personality tests such as Rorschach inkblots and Thematic Apperception Test are examples. In general, this technique is wasteful in that much of the subject's response may be irrelevant to the attitude being studied (13, p. 419).

The structured and disguised techniques are used where there is a necessity of limiting the subject's judgemental responses as well. This is done by presenting the subjects with a supposed test of general information as in the error-choice technique developed by Hammond (1948). In this case both answers are factually wrong, and the respondent's choice is assumed to reflect his attitude towards the issue with which the question is concerned (13, p. 419). An additional example is the Syllogistic Reasoning technique developed by Thistlequait (1950).

Finally, the structured and undisguised technique the most widely used approach to the measurement of attitudes is direct but limits the ways of response. The cumulative scaling by Guttman, the equal appearing intervals by Thurstone, and the summated rating scales all fall in this category. Briefly, these scales involve a number of written items to which the respondents are asked to express their degree of agreement or disagreement. The items are presented in such a way as to be essentially neutral so that
they are understood and interpreted in the same manner by all the respondents.

Whatever the type of scale might be, the value of the information obtained depends on two characteristics of the instrument: reliability and validity. Reliability is commonly defined as the accuracy with which a test measures whatever it does measure. It is used by social scientists in the sense of stability or reproductibility of empirical results. It is established when the same or similar results are obtained when the same or similar object is measured on a second or subsequent occasion by the same or similar instrument.

Validity has to do with what a test measures and how well it measures what it purports to measure. There are several types of validity of which content and construct are the most important. Lennon describes content validity thus:

"Content validity is indicated by a description of the universe of items form which selection was made, including a description of the selection process".

and

"Content validity is evaluated by showing how well the content of the test samples the class of situations or subject matter about which conclusions are to be drawn". (11, p. 295).

The simplest and most direct evidence of content validity, according to Ebel is obtained from examination of the test itself by a competent judge (5, p. 273). "A cursory
inspection, skimming the test", he says, "is better than no
inspection at all". But, he explains, if the judge is
seriously interested in determining the relationship between
what the test asks an examinee to do and what the typical
user expects of a test of that sort, he should take the test
himself. Only by this means can he give sufficiently close,
careful attention to the individual items of the test.

Construct validity, on the other hand, is an attempt
to answer the question, "Does this test measure the traits
it was designed to measure?" The concept of construct
validity was introduced to account for problems in which the
assessor has:

"no definite criterion measure of the quality
with which he is concerned, and must use indirect
measures. Here the trait or quality underlying
the test is of central importance, rather than either
the test behavior or the scores on the criteria".
(13, p. 91).

The fundamental characteristic of construct validation
is the validation of the test itself and of the trait that
is under investigation.

The rationale underlying this study centred in the
occupational responsibility of the police officer, which has
led to a distinctive "working personality" for that police
officer. It has been stated that the "working personality",
characterized by rigidity, conservatism, authoritarianism
and traditionalism, may have detrimental consequences. To
assess the "working personality" of the different groups of police officers, attitude scales measuring these characteristics have to be developed. Attitude scales used to study authoritarianism, and, conservatism - liberalism do exist. Levinson (1949) developed an Ethnocentrism Scale that was used by Adorno in 1950 (17, p. 402). Adorno (1950) called it the Authoritarian Scale and he found the scale to differentiate known groups such as penitentiary inmates, female extension class students, psychiatric clinic women, psychiatric clinic men, and, working class men and women. It has been reported that the scale will have a reliability coefficient above .80. Levinson (1949) reported reliabilities in the neighbourhood of .90 (17, p. 402).

A Social Attitude Scale (1967) has been developed by Kerlinger to measure attitudes on a dimension of liberalism - conservatism (17, p. 322). It is composed of 26 modified Likert-type items that were selected by factor analysis. Kerlinger (1965) reported the split-half reliability estimated (corrected) to be .78 (liberalism) and .78 (conservatism), based on a sample of 168 unidentified subjects. He administered this scale along with a number of other instruments to 161 and 168 subjects used to assess reliability. The liberalism and conservatism items fell on different factors as he predicted, indicating construct
validity. The conservative items loaded .86 on one factor and hardly at all on any other factor. The liberalism item loaded .57 on a different factor and .29 on a second factor. The scale has adequate validity (17, p. 323).

Additional studies conducted by Kerlinger (1970) produced further evidence on reliability and validity. The questionnaire administered to samples in four states, and utilizing item and factor analysis, revealed the following results. The alpha (reliability coefficients) reliabilities are satisfactory: they average about .78. Repeat reliabilities obtained with a separate group of 50 graduate students of education to whom the scale was administered twice at a 3-month interval, were .85 for liberalism and .84 for conservatism. The two subscales appear to be reliable (10, p. 379).

These two scales have been chosen for use in this study. They measure with sufficient accuracy the two most important characteristics attributed to the policeman - authoritarianism and conservatism. The Authoritarian Scale was developed for use in the United States and it contains words that do not have the same significance in the Canadian setting. These words had to be changed for use here. "Negroes" of the original questionnaire have been changed to read "Canadian Indians" and in every instance the word "Negro" has been replaced by "Indians". In Part C, "other
minorities and patriotism", a dated issue, namely "Zoot suiters", in question number five, has been replaced with "hippies". "Filipinos", in question number one has been replaced with "Negroes".

All items in the scale are negatively phrased. Hence, weights are assigned to response alternatives for all items from +3 (strong agreement) to -3 (strong disagreement). A constant of 4 is added to make all values positive. The person's score is the sum of the weighted alternatives endorsed by him. High scores reflect negative (authoritarian) attitudes.

In the case of the Social Attitude Scale no such alterations were found necessary. For liberal items, response alternatives are weighted from +3 (agree very strongly) to -3 (disagree very strongly). Weights for the response alternatives for conservative items are reversed. The subjects score is the sum of the weighted alternatives endorsed by him. Higher scores are indicative of liberalism.

In addition to the two attitude scales, there is a third that could be called the Role Interpretation Scale. This scale was constructed specifically for this study. It consist of eleven different criminal offences that should be familiar to all policemen. Each respondent is asked to arrange the offences in order of priority as he sees them.
Once this has been done, he is asked how he would handle or dispose of the offence - warn or charge, and, if he should charge, would he arrest or issue a summons.

This scale was devised partly as an attempt to validate the other two in respect of this study. A policeman scoring high on authoritarianism and conservatism, it is surmised, would demonstrate a high propensity for arrest and, consequently, score high on the Role Interpretation Scale. Authoritarian and conservative officers are expected to charge and arrest more than the officers who are less authoritarian and more liberal. Rokeach (1950) contended that a person with a given attitude tends to demonstrate overt behaviour to that capacity. This scale was also to assess the probable overt behaviour of an officer in the attempt to determine whether a university education does have an effect on it.

Scoring is done by assigning an integer to the responses made by the respondents. A value of +1 is assigned to the most severe alternative - arrest - and -1 to the least severe - warning. The decision to issue a summons is assigned a score of 0. The respondent's final score is the sum of the weighted responses made by him. Higher scores are indicative of high arrest behaviour. The reliability and validity of this scale has not been determined.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

During past decades police administrators, government departments, educators, and the public at large have come to disagree as to the best and most useful training program for police recruits. This controversy has led to the production of two very distinctive groups. On the one hand, utilizing the rationale that police officers represent authority and are continually exercising this authority, are those who believe that training should be military oriented along rigid authoritarian lines. It is believed that the highly stressful training would better equip the recruit to react effectively when he got into a stressful situation on the job.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that effective reaction to a stressful situation is dependent on a sound knowledge of society and human behaviour. They insist that recruit training must include courses in sociology, psychology, criminology, and the other related behavioural fields at a university level (6, 8, 11).

This study is an attempt to study the "working personality" of the policeman with the use of three attitudinal scales, and the diverse effects a university education may have upon it. The hypotheses to be tested
have already been outlined and the instrument to be utilized to measure attitudes described. The study calls for the examination of four groups: 1. Policemen who have just been recruited - non-university graduates - tested twice; once before the initial training period and once after; 2. University graduates who have already been trained; 3. Senior officers who have had several years of experience and a university education; and 4. Senior officers who have had no university education.

In Canada, the British North America Act gave responsibility for matters of law enforcement to both the federal and provincial governments. As a result, no single police force is responsible for the whole of Canada. Consequently, there are three main police forces - municipal, provincial and federal. The municipal forces range in size from large urban police departments to smaller agencies that police towns, villages, and rural municipalities. At the provincial level only the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario have provincial police forces. The federal police force is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) which has jurisdiction in the entire country. In addition to the federal duties, provisions have been made for the R.C.M.P. to carry out provincial and municipal duties under contract agreements with the governmental bodies concerned. This permits the R.C.M.P. to assume responsibilities in those areas for
federal, provincial, and municipal laws.

All groups for this study have been selected from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The selection was made from the R.C.M.P. for a number of reasons. It is the Police Force of Canada performing not only special duties but the "hum drum" regular duties as well, servicing not only a part of Canada but Canada in its entirety. It has a regular modern police training program designed to help the force adapt to present trends in law enforcement. During the recent past it has adopted an active program to up-grade educational standards both by sending men already in the force for a university training and by alternating their recruitment procedure so that university graduates could be among the recruits. All these characteristics permitted the selection of the four groups needed for this study from this one force.

At the time the data for this study was to be collected there were troops undergoing initial training at the training division, Regina, Saskatchewan. One such troop was Troop 21 comprising of thirty-two men and possessing no special qualities which would distinguish it from any other troop training at "Depot" Division, at the time. Neither did this troop undergo any training which was not a part of the general training program provided to all recruits at "Depot". This troop was selected to constitute the first
group of this study as a matter of convenience. It permitted the completion of two testings - before and after initial training - before the completion of the summer of 1972.

The second group required was one of senior personnel who had, after years of service, undergone university training. As the major concern of this study is the working personality of the policeman it was thought that this group should comprise of university graduates employed with operational law enforcement duties. With this limitation it was discovered that only twenty-one qualified for inclusion in this group. As this number was considered too small a sample the work assignment qualification was removed and an additional eighteen persons were found. These persons had administrative responsibilities at the time of the study. The total sample population was thirty-nine. The thirty-nine exhausted all persons qualified for inclusion in this group.

The twenty-one with operational enforcement duties comprised of eight persons with a Bachelor of Arts degree, eight persons with a Bachelor of Commerce degree (one with an additional Master in Public Administration), three with a Bachelor of Laws degree, and two with a Bachelor of Business Administration. The eighteen persons with administrative duties comprised of sixteen with a Bachelor of Arts degree (one with an additional Master of Arts and two with an additional Bachelor of Civil Law) and two with a Bachelor
of Law degree.

The third group is a matched sample of the second except for the educational qualifications. For each person in the second group a person with a similar number of years of experience, in similar areas of specialty, and employed with similar duties, was found. The only pertinent difference was their educational qualifications. This method of selecting this group was adopted because it was felt that it provided for the best comparison to test the contention that university education for law enforcement personnel helped in the development of less authoritarian and rigid attitudes.

Current and pertinent information of the type required for use in this selection process on members of the R.C.M.P., is indexed for easy reference in a large volume, or catalogue, which is commonly referred to as the "parade state". This information was not available on magnetic tapes or other similar devices to permit mechanical retrieval, a procedure that would have facilitated the selection of this group. In its absence the task had to be performed by human resources. The selection was done by first identifying these officers who would qualify for inclusion with this group on the basis of years of service. Here the use of regimental numbers made the task relatively easy.

On recruitment into the R.C.M.P. the individual is
issued with a regimental number which represents an ordinal count of all recruits ever. He is the sole possessor of that number and it remains his throughout the duration of his service. Once his services are terminated by any means his number becomes obsolete or inactive, never to be reissued. Relatively close numbers consequently signify approximately the same numbers of years of experience. Once this identification was accomplished a comparison was made as to work assignment, and then a comparison of ranks and positions. The individual most like his counterpart in the second group was chosen for inclusion in this group. This method continued until all members in the second group had a close match.

Twenty-one members performing operational enforcement duties and nineteen performing administrative duties were found. This task it should perhaps be pointed out was performed by a serving member of the R.C.M.P.

The fourth group required for this study was to constitute young university graduates who had been recruited into the force. As they were to be compared with Group One they should have been ideally persons just recruited and about to undergo training so that they too could have been tested before and after the initial training. The small number involved did not permit this. Consequently a compromise was necessary and this group was made to comprise
of members of the force who had obtained their university education prior to enlisting in the R.C.M.P. They had served as "on the line" policemen for some years, but the mean years of service of this group is sufficiently low to regard them as new members, as the recruitment personnel have gone into the university community to recruit potential members only in recent times.

At the time of selection there were forty-nine members who met the requirements of this group. Thirty-two of them were randomly selected to constitute this group. In this group were five persons with a Bachelor of Commerce degree and twenty-seven with Bachelor of Arts degrees. One person with a Bachelor of Commerce degree had a Bachelor of Education degree as well, and one person with a Bachelor of Arts had a Master of Science in Chemistry.

When attitudes are being investigated, the best results are obtained when anonymity of response is established. This appeared to be of particular relevance to this study as the attitude of the policeman was a subject of current concern and controversy. The questionnaires were distributed to the respondents through the official R.C.M.P. channels. Return of the completed questionnaire through these channels could possibly mean a review of the answers by senior officers or working colleagues, which may have altered the responses
thus respondents were requested and required to mail the completed questionnaires direct to the researcher at his home. In addition, the anonymity of the response was stressed by reference to it in an instruction sheet which accompanied the questionnaire. The paragraph relating to anonymity was as follows:

"You will notice that I am not asking for your name. I do not want to know who you are. What I want to know is your honest response and first reaction to each question. You have my assurance that no attempt will ever be made to identify you with your completed, returned questionnaire. As an additional safeguard to your complete anonymity you will notice that the completed questionnaires are to be returned direct to me, at the address indicated below, and no 'through channels'".

This was the procedure adopted in the case of all groups except the first. This group was tested as a group at "Depot" Division, Regina, Saskatchewan, in both the "before" and "after" testing. At the testing, members of this group were given the questionnaire together with the instruction sheet. There was no verbal exchange of information during their response period. For the "before" testing, the researcher proceeded to Regina where he was responsible for administering this aspect of the test. At that time a member of the training staff was instructed as how to proceed with the "after" training testing.

To differentiate the returned questionnaire and to facilitate assignment to the proper groups it was necessary
to mark each questionnaire prior to distribution. This marking was done by allotting each group a predefined colour which appeared on each questionnaire for that particular group. The administration sample, in addition to the group colour, was also allotted a second colour. The returned questionnaires were then simply placed in the group coinciding with that colour.

When a study involves the comparison of groups, the individual items must be combined into some composite figure for interpretation. The proportion of a group possessing the relevant characteristics is the simplest figure for this purpose. The procedure involved in converting it - tabulation and conversion to percentage - is relatively simple but it has critical restrictions and limitations from a statistical point of view. The characteristics of the group can also be described with measures such as means or averages, variances, and standard deviations, of the sample or group distribution. These too are simple "statistics" but from them it is possible to proceed with more complex statistical procedures, such as the analysis of variance in significance tests, regression lines, and correlations which are helpful in interpretation. From a frequency distribution, or ordered arrangement of the measures or scores it is possible to determine the mean and the dispersion of the groups and with them construct a curve which describes the group. Comparison of this curve with a
normal distribution curve - a theoretical or hypothetical curve which serves as a "norm" against which comparisons are made - reveals how meaningful similarities and differences are.

When more than two measuring instruments are used and comparisons are made between correlated groups, using the scores on these instruments, a special design is necessary. This design is established to answer the question, "Do the mean values, considered simultaneously, differ between the two populations?" It is especially structured to decrease error variance by avoiding the repetitious calculations, or compounding, of the individual's error variance on the measuring instrument. By reducing the error variance, precision of the measuring instrument is increased. One technique which has been constructed for this purpose is the Hotelling's $T^2$.

In this procedure, using a linear discriminant analysis a correlation matrix is constructed. By inverting this matrix and proceeding with various statistical procedures a value is obtained for Mahalanobis $D^2$. This value is then transformed into a variable with an F-distribution which enables for the testing of the hypothesis. The over-all procedure is called the Hotelling's $T^2$ test for a repeated measures design. A test of this nature was utilized for this
In addition to the Hotelling's $T^2$, the "t" test and F-Ratio tests of significance were also used. The "t" test, using the variance as a means of computation, examines in standard error units the distance of the obtained difference, from the mean of the sampling distribution. The F-Ratio, unlike the "t" test is not a test of a difference but a test of a ratio of the two variance estimates. Unlike the "t" test, which is concerned with obtaining the difference between two means, the F-Ratio concerns itself with obtaining significant differences among three or more means. It is also proper to use this test with only two means as well.
REFERENCES


4. HENKIN, Janet (1972) Cops in College: Observations on Teaching Criminology to Police. Paper, delivered to 2nd Inter-American Congress of Criminology, Caracas, November.


CHAPTER IV
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This study involved five groups of policemen totalling 139 persons. Two of these groups, as has been pointed out earlier, comprised university graduates and two of non-graduates. Most of the university graduates had a baccalaureate degree, however, a few had a Master's degree as well. These two groups differed from each other in that the one comprised of relatively senior and the other of relatively junior police officers. Their age distribution and their years of experience distribution differed. Originally, there were 39 police officers in the senior graduate group (Table 1) of which thirty-two (82%) returned the completed questionnaire. Of these 1 was spoiled, leaving 31 for final analysis. Their ages ranged from 32 to 44 years with a mean of 34 and a mode of 39. Their years of experience ranged from 11 to 23 years, with a mean of 17 and a mode of 13. Fourteen of them were performing administrative duties, 13 investigating commercial fraud, 2 investigating in the Criminal Investigation Branch while 1 was assigned to general duties and another to highway traffic duties. The junior graduate group contained originally 32 persons. Only 26 (81%) responded. None of the completed questionnaires were spoiled so that the group comprised of
26 persons in the final analysis. Their ages ranged from 22 to 29 years, with a mean of 25.5 years and a mode of 25. Their years of experience ranged from 1 to 4 years with a mean of 2.5 and a mode of 1. All of these were performing general duties.

The non-graduate groups also differed from each other in age range and years of experience. One group comprised of relatively senior officers and the other of relatively junior officers. The educational achievement of the senior non-graduate group ranged from Grade 10 to one year in university. Those with one year university achievement are presently attending university extension courses on their own time. The age range of this group was 31-45 years old: the mean 38 and the mode 33. Their service experience ranged from 12-24 years with a mean of 18 and a mode of 13. Eighteen of them were performing administrative duties, 5 general duties and 8 were investigating commercial fraud. The group originally comprised of 40 officers. Thirty-three of them (82%) responded. Two of the completed questionnaires were spoiled leaving the group to comprise of 31 in the final analysis. The junior non-graduate group comprised of recruits who were tested twice: once before and once after their initial training. There were a total of 32 in this group. Two did not respond. Five of the completed questionnaires for the before testing were
### Table 1. Characteristics of the Sample Population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Senior Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Graduates</th>
<th>Senior Non-graduates</th>
<th>Junior Non-graduates Before</th>
<th>Junior Non-graduates After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Responding</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Spoiled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Educational Achievement

- **Range (a)**: 4U-6U 3U-6U G10-1U G11-3U
- **Mode**: 4U 4U G12 G12

#### Age (b)

- **Range**: 32-44 22-29 31-45 20-27
- **Mean**: 34 25.5 38 23.5
- **Mode**: 39 25 33 20

#### Years of Experience (b)

- **Range**: 11-23 1-4 12-24 0 0.5
- **Mean**: 17 2.5 18 0 0.5
- **Mode**: 13 1 13 0 0.5

#### Assignment of Duties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senior Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Graduates</th>
<th>Senior Non-graduates</th>
<th>Junior Non-graduates Before</th>
<th>Junior Non-graduates After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruits</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Duties</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highway Traffic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Investigation</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Fraud</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- (a) G: High School Grade
- U: Years of University
- (b) To the end of 1972 rounded to the previous whole number
Figure I: Proportion of Questionnaires Sent, Returned, and Spoiled.

Junior non-
graduates "before" 32 - 18.5% 30 - 20.0% 5 - 45.4%

Junior non-
graduates "after" 32 - 18.5% 30 - 20.0% 4 - 36.4%

Senior graduates 39 - 22.3% 32 - 21.2% 1 - 09.1%

Senior non-
graduates 40 - 22.3% 35 - 22.0% 2 - 09.1%

Junior graduates 32 - 18.4% 26 - 16.8% 8 - 00.0%

Total 175 - 100% 151 - 100% 12 - 100%
Figure II: Means and Modes for Age and Years of Experience.

- Mean Mode
- Mean Mode
- Age
- Experience

Junior non-graduates "before"
Junior non-graduates "after"
Senior graduates
Senior non-graduates
Junior graduates
Figure III: Group Two by Functional Assignment.

Key: G.D. - General Duties
     H.T.S. - Highway Traffic Section
     C.I.B. - Criminal Investigation Branch
Figure IV: Group Three by Functional Assignment.

- Administration: 58.06%
- General Duties: 16.09%
- Commercial Fraud Section: 25.80%
Figure V: Functional Assignment of Total Sample Population.

Key: H.T.S. - Highway Traffic Section
C.I.B. - Criminal Investigation Branch
Figure VI: University Graduates by Functional Assignment.

General Duties
49.2%

H.T.S. 2%
C.I.B. 2%

Commercial Fraud
22.2%

Administration
24.6%

Key:
H.T.S. - Highway Traffic Section
C.I.B. - Criminal Investigation Section

Figure VII: Non-university Sample by Functional Assignment.

Recruit
45.6%

General Duties
8.8%

Commercial Fraud
14%

Administration
31.6%
spoiled and four from the after testing, so that in the final analysis this group comprised of 25 in the before testing and 26 in the after testing. Their educational achievement ranged from Grade 11 to 3 years of university education with Grade 12 as the mode. Their ages ranged from 20-27 years with 23.5 years as the mean and 20 years as the mode. At the conclusion of training they had completed 0.5 years of service.

The main hypothesis being tested in this study is that the working personality of a policeman is affected by an university education. The working personality of the policeman is conceptualised here in generic terms as the attitude adopted by the policeman in the performance of his duties. This point is stressed here because the working personality can be and has been described in specific terms as an attitude of authoritarianism, conservatism and traditionalism which is supposed to characterise the policeman (2, p. 25. 7, p. 133). In the testing of the attitude of the policeman three scales were used - the authoritarian (F-scale), the social attitude (R-scale) and the role interpretation (R.I. scale). These scales carry the implicit assumption that the specific working personality of the policeman is essentially an attitude of authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism. Though it is not conceded that this view is correct, the scales have nevertheless been used because it appears to be the crucial
area of contention. Adverse police public relations have been attributed to this specific working personality (1, p. 129). The superiority of the university graduate police officer in making inroads into overcoming this working personality has also been recognized (3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12). This specific working personality has been attributed by some (4, p. 25, 26; 11, p. 3) to a supposed attraction that police work has for people with such a personality. Others (4, p. 30-33) have thought that it is instilled into the police officer during his training, while still others (6, p. 42) have contended that it is acquired by the policeman as an integral part of the experience he gathers. If policemen comprise a homogeneous group, the conceptualisation of the working personality in specific terms would have meaning. If they do not, the specific working personality of the policeman is a stereotypic picture bearing little or no relationship to fact.

Considering all the policemen who comprised the five groups together, the mean score of 52.1 on the F-scale, of 109.95 on the R-scale, and of 2.13 on the R.I. scale suggest that the authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism picture is an accurate representation of the working personality of the policeman. On the F-scale the representative maximum conformation to this picture is 140, while the minimum
Figure VIII: Comparison of Group Means by Scale.

Key:
- T1 - Junior non-graduates "before"
- T2 - Junior non-graduates "after"
- 2 - Senior graduates
- 3 - Senior non-graduates
- 4 - Junior graduates
Table 2. Scores on F-Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senior Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Graduates</th>
<th>Senior Non-Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates Before</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates After</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>60-69</td>
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<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 139

Mean 52.1
Standard Deviation 16.89
Table 3. Scores on R-Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score Range</th>
<th>Senior Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Graduates</th>
<th>Senior Non-Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates Before</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates After</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>100-104</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>105-109</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>110-114</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115-119</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120-124</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125-129</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>130-134</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135-139</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 139

Mean 109.95
Standard Deviation 11.08
Table 4. Scores on R.I. Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Senior Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Graduates</th>
<th>Senior Non-Graduates</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates Before</th>
<th>Junior Non-Graduates After</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 139

Mean 2.13
Standard Deviation 2.68
conformation is 20. The respective scores on the R-scale are 182 and 26, and on the R.I. scale 11 and -11. The coefficient of skewness of the score distributions: 0.728 in the case of the F-scale, -0.166 in the case of the R-scale, and 0.672 in the case of the R.I. scale, also support this contention. Also supporting the contention even further is the fact that on all scales the scores indicate the working personality in terms of the stereotypic one differing for the different groups. On the F-scale the mean scores range from 45.73 to 60.92; on the R-scale from 104.71 to 112.00; and, on the R.I. scale from 1.27 to 3.42. The conceptualisation of the working personality defined in general terms as the attitude with which a policeman operates, has a multitude of advantages. The major advantage is that it avoids the error of stereotyping yet permits its description and study in terms of deviations from a stereotype.

The junior non-graduate group (recruits) were tested twice, before and after their initial training. The purpose of this double test was to test the hypothesis that the initial training policemen receive was responsible for the working personality. Comparison of the before and after scores showed no significant difference when the repeated measures design was used. The F-distribution was equal to 0.14163, which is small and statistically insignificant.
When the comparisons involved separate consideration of the scales these showed rather interesting results. At the completion of training the authoritarian scores had decreased, the liberalism scores had increased, and the arrest rate on the role interpretation scale had declined. The difference in the arrest rate was significant on the F-distribution at the 90 percent level. The score was 3.26 (90% F 1, 60 df is 2.79). These results do not support the hypothesis, at least as far as the training of R.C.M.P. recruits have indicated. However, it does suggest that the training tends to reduce authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism. Although the differences in the two groups were not statistically significant except in the R.I. scale, the changes were all in the same direction that is, less authoritarian and more liberal. These differences could be attributed to the initial training because the two groups compared were comprised of the same men with an initial six months period of training as the sole difference.

The after responses of the junior non-graduate group has been compared with the responses of the junior graduate group. The junior graduate group, it will be remembered had a mean of 2.5 years of experience. In addition, there is a 2 year age span between the two groups. Comparison of all the scales combined revealed no significant differences.
On the individual scales, there were no significant differences, except on the F-scale. Here there was a significant difference at the 90 percent level with a score of 3.09 (90% F 1, 50 df is 2.79). The university graduates were less authoritarian than the comparative non-graduate group. On the conservative scale, the junior non-graduate immediately after training appears to be more liberal and has a lower arrest rate than the junior graduate. The over-all results suggest that the university graduate recruit given regular training is similar, in the conformity to or deviation from the stereotypic personality picture, as compared to the non-graduate recruit given the same training. These results are interesting as it suggests that there exists no real necessity to recruit from among university graduates. This does not mean, of course, that an university education is fruitless. It does mean however, that in the first few years of police work no beneficial effects of an university education obtained prior to recruitment, are apparent.

Comparison of the senior graduate group with the senior non-graduate group reveals several significant differences. On the combined repeated measures design the F-distribution was 3.65 which is significant at the 95 percent level (95% F 3, 58 df is 3.34). In other words, there is a difference between the graduate and non-graduate policeman
Table 5. Repeated Measures Design (Hotelling's $T^2$) Scores Comparing Groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>df$^\circ$</th>
<th>F-distribution score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>one - &quot;before&quot; : &quot;after&quot;</td>
<td>3,47</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>one &quot;after&quot; : four</td>
<td>3,47</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>two : three</td>
<td>3,58</td>
<td>3.66*(Significant at 95% level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>three : one &quot;after&quot;</td>
<td>3,52</td>
<td>5.94*(Significant at 99% level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>two : four</td>
<td>3,52</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: $^\circ$ = degrees of freedom = $n_1 + n_2 - p - 1$, where $p$ = number of scales
one = Junior non-graduates
two = Senior graduates
three = Senior non-graduates
four = Junior graduates
Table 6. Frequency Distribution Scores
Comparing Groups on Individual Scales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>df@</th>
<th>F-Scale</th>
<th>R-Scale</th>
<th>R.I. Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one - &quot;before&quot;:&quot;after&quot;</td>
<td>1,49</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>3.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one &quot;after&quot; : four</td>
<td>1,50</td>
<td>3.09*</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two : three</td>
<td>1,60</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>6.34*</td>
<td>6.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three : one &quot;after&quot;</td>
<td>1,55</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>8.35*</td>
<td>8.98*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two : four</td>
<td>1,55</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:  @ = degrees of freedom = n₁ n₂ - 2
* = significant
one = Junior non-graduates
two = Senior graduates
three = Senior non-graduates
four = Junior graduates
which is too large to be attributed to a chance happening. On the F-scale there was no significant difference, but the difference was in the predicted direction with the non-graduate group more authoritarian than the graduate group. On the R-scale there was significant difference at the 97.5 percent level. (97.5% F 1, 60 df is 5.29). The score was 6.34. Here again, the non-graduate group was more conservative than the graduate. The R.I. scale also showed a significant difference at the 97.5 percent level with the non-graduate group tending towards increased arrest. The score was 6.18 (97.5% F 1, 60 df is 5.29).

Comparison of the senior non-graduate group with the junior non-graduate group (after training) reveals several significant differences. Using the repeated measures design the F-distribution was 5.94 which is significant at the 99 percent level (99% F 3, 60 df is 4.13). Comparison of the means show the senior personnel as more authoritarian, more conservative, and more prone to arrest and charge than the junior group. There was, however, no significant difference on the F-scale. The R-scale showed a difference significant at the 99 percent level. The F-distribution score was 8.35 (99% F 1, 55 df is 7.08). When the R-scale was separated into liberalism-conservatism there was a significant difference within the liberalism cell with the senior personnel.
being more conservative. This difference was significant at the 99.5 percent level with the F-distribution score equal to 10.3 (99.5% F 1, 55 is 8.49). On the R.I. scale there was again a significant difference at the 99 percent level with a distribution score of 8.98 (99% F 1, 55 df is 7.08). The senior group tended to be more apt to charge and to arrest rather than to issue a summons.

Comparison of the junior graduate and the senior graduate groups showed the two to be similar. On the combined scales, using the repeated measures design, the F-distribution was 0.24. Similarity was also noted when the groups were compared on each individual scale.

The over-all comparisons of this study showed the following:

(1) the junior non-graduate were more liberal and less authoritarian after training than before;

(2) the junior non-graduates were no different than the junior graduates;

(3) the junior graduates were no different than the senior graduates;

(4) the senior graduates were more liberal and less authoritarian than the senior non-graduates;

(5) the junior non-graduates were more liberal and less authoritarian than the senior non-graduates.
In the interpretation of these findings it must be remembered that:

(1) The before and after testing was of the same group with a six month initial training as the only difference between the two;

(2) There was a small age and years of experience difference between the junior graduates and the junior non-graduates;

(3) There was a relatively large age and years of experience difference between the junior graduates and the senior graduates;

(4) The senior graduates and senior non-graduates were matched, and;

(5) There was a relatively large age and years of experience difference between the junior non-graduates and senior non-graduates.

In the light of these facts the findings could be interpreted thus:

(1) Initial training tends to reduce authoritarianism and increase liberalism;

(2) An university education does not assist in the process in the early years of service;

(3) Experience tends to make the police officer more authoritarian and less liberal;
(4) An university education successfully abnegates this effect.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was primarily concerned with the university graduated policeman and in the contention that he was superior to the non-graduate because his working personality was different. The police have been seen as having a distinctive "working personality", exhibited in the everyday performance of their duty, and identified as authoritarian, rigid, conservative, suspicious, and stressing responsibility. In contrast to the traditional "enforcing of the law", typified by charging and arresting, the police are now seen as providing a form of "helping and guidance". This approach demands skills the officer does not possess. It calls for an attitude alien to him. What is worse, he finds himself in sensitive and explosive settings when he must use superior understanding, rationale, and discretion.

With the ever increasing awareness of human rights on the part of the citizenry, and the fast changing role of the policeman, it has been contended that the new demands of the police officer can only be met if there was a change in his attitude. In the United States many have argued that education is the one means whereby the policeman can become more aware of human behaviour. It is through a richer understanding of
human behaviour and a knowledge of why people think and act the way they do, that the police can live up to their new responsibilities. Several studies (2, p. 27; 3) have demonstrated how education has increased knowledge, changed attitudes towards social problems, helped recognize complexities, and tolerate increased ambiguity. These studies have also shown that with increased education the individual tends to become more liberal. Thus, it has been claimed that an university education is essential for modern day officers if they are to combat modern day enforcement problems.

Not everyone, however, agrees that education is the correct approach. It has been argued, first, that the working personality of authoritarianism and conservatism is necessary for the performance of traditional functions which is essentially what the police have to do. The new duties are not substitutes: they are additions which could be performed by a special branch or a different body. Second, the police are thought too authoritarian to reap the benefits of a liberal arts education. This authoritarianism creates a police-student role conflict in the classroom preventing the assimilation of academic material and even impeding the learning process. Third, it has been contended that education would result in the production of two polarized groups - one of university
graduates and the other, non-graduates. A rift of this nature could have catastrophic effects upon the entire police force, yet, the call for education is not only becoming louder and louder, it is being heeded.

Some police forces, like the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, for example, have responded to the call with a three-pronged approach. First, senior personnel are sent to university to study in the humanitarian and social science fields. Second, courses in human behaviour, with a certain degree of sensitivity training, are incorporated into the regular police recruit training program. Third, young university graduates are being recruited into the force. With these programs, some progress is said to have been made in preparing the police officer for many of today's sensitive social situations in which he finds himself.

It was with these approaches in mind that this research was conducted. The working personality of a policeman, conceptualised in general terms as the attitude a policeman adopts in the performance of his duty and measured in relative terms as a deviation or conformity to a stereotype picture of authoritarianism and conservatism, was utilised to compare four groups - the junior university graduates, the junior non-graduates, the senior graduates, and the senior non-graduates.
The data in this study showed that there was little or no significant difference between the attitude of the junior non-graduate before and after initial training. The scores on the attitude scales did however, show a difference indicating that the training tended to make the recruit less authoritarian, more liberal and likely to exercise discretion more frequently. This finding does not provide support for the much popularised hypothesis that the initial training given a policeman is designed to make him more authoritarian and less liberal. On the other hand it suggests that the factual situation is just the opposite. There is a possibility that the change in the nature of the training program - the inclusion of courses in human behaviour - may be responsible for the change noticed in this study. This must, however, remain a hypothesis. No attempt has been made to test it and no empirical evidence exists to substantiate or refute it.

There was also no significant difference between the attitudes of the junior graduates and the junior non-graduates. The differences in the scores on the different attitude scales do not indicate the one more or less liberal than the other. This finding can be interpreted as the importance of an university education to affect the attitude of policemen in the first few years of work. It is an important finding because it raises questions about the priority of recruitment of university graduates. Before it is concluded that
such recruitment is unnecessary, it should be pointed out that the empirical evidence only shows the absence of an attitude difference in the early years of his career. What would be the situation after years of experience remains unknown. This study, however, does provide some empirical evidence suggesting that the situation does not remain the same throughout.

Comparison of the junior non-graduates with senior non-graduates showed that the latter was more authoritarian, less liberal, and less likely to exercise discretion in the performance of his duties. This finding suggests that experience in police work does something to the policeman making him authoritarian, conservative, and rigid. The working personality of the senior non-graduate resembles most closely the attitudes that have been described as the working personality of the policeman. Though the identification of a working personality of a policeman in specific terms has been considered in the study as a stereotype picture that has no relationship to the factual situation, there appears to be some justification for it in that the majority of policemen are non-graduates. But this is only a resemblance of a justification for what appears pertinent to the working personality is not the mere fact of the absence of an university education but its combination with experience. If the working personality of a policeman is one of authoritarianism, conservatism, and
rigidity, that personality is the result of the combination of experience and the lack of an university education.

The attitude of the senior non-graduates and the senior graduates are markedly different. If the former is authoritarian, conservative, and rigid, the latter is non-authoritarian, liberal, and flexible. This finding suggests that an university education does have a beneficial influence. It prevents the development of an authoritarian, conservative, and rigid attitude. The attitude of the senior graduates was no different from that of the junior graduates. The absence of a difference here suggests that the effect of the initial training - the reduction of authoritarianism, conservatism, and rigidity - are more long lasting in the case of university graduates than non-graduates. But the senior graduates, it should be remembered, started his career as a policeman as a non-graduate and received his university training during his career and not before. There is a possibility that the effects of experience would be different on a recruit who has obtained his university training prior to recruitment. There exists no empirical evidence to support or refute this supposition. All that the data of this study shows is that an university training does prevent the development of an adverse attitude. At what time this training should be given remains undertermined. Should it be given before recruitment or during his career,
and if the latter, at what exact point, are questions that have to be answered with further research.

Both the university training and the initial training of recruits have more or less the same effect. This finding raises the question of whether it is the fact or the type of training that is pertinent. While this question also remains essentially unanswered, the type of training rather than the fact of training appears to be the more important. This contention has its basis in the fact that policemen are subjected to advanced in-service training programs. The effects of these programs have not been tested but their effect is not evident in the results. It is not suggested that the advanced in-service training programs are without value. The attitudes of the senior non-graduate group, however, suggests that the effect of these training programs, whatever it may be, is relatively transient.

The findings of this study suggest that the best strategy for the police to adopt is to recruit non-graduates, subject them to the initial training and after a period of time send them to university. This suggestion is made on the assumption that a non-authoritarian, liberal, and flexible attitude is required for the proper performance of police duties in modern society. While there exists some empirical evidence to support it, it must be pointed out that there does
exist a large body of thought against it. What the attitude of a policeman should be is a question beyond the scope of this study. The suggestion made here assumes that the better policeman is the one that is less authoritarian, more liberal, and less rigid. A possible difficulty in the implementation of this decision is the contention that the attitude of a non-graduate policeman prevents him from assimilating the knowledge presented him in the university. Though university teachers may have found this to be so, there is insufficient evidence for it. However, the results of this study have shown that even with this poor assimilation good results have been produced.

In concluding it is fair to say that the non-graduate senior police officers used in this study do possess the stereotype "working personality" characterized by authoritarian, conservative, and rigid attitudes. The early developmental stages of this personality does not appear to begin with police recruit training. It develops outside of this process. The development of this "working personality" is effectively hindered by an university education. This education tends to produce an attitude that is non-authoritarian and liberal, and conducive to discretionary law enforcement. The university graduate is better able to make use of discretion, resulting in "better" law enforcement practices and procedures. If
discretionary law enforcement is the means by which the police goal of maintaining law and order is best advanced (3, p. 189), an university education is sine qua non for policemen. Smith, Locke, and Walker contend:

"The proper policing of a community requires unusual qualities in people who perform this service, particularly in these days of tension and unrest. Day after day police are compelled to make instant decisions which could easily cause irreparable harm and damage to individuals and the community. They not only need a high degree of intelligence, judgment, courage, impartiality, and honesty, but also require a personality structure which is flexible enough to function judiciously and with understanding with respect to minority group unrest, mass demonstration, and riots."
(2, p. 440)

Is this person the senior non-graduate policeman?
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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTION AND INSTRUCTIONS

Enclosed you will find three test questionnaires with self-explanatory instructions preceding each test. Please be as accurate and complete as possible in answering each question. It is requested that you indicate your opinion by following the specific instructions at the beginning of each questionnaire. Your OWN independent views are what is wanted: do not let others influence your answers.

The groups being utilized are relatively small for research purposes, and therefore each individual member plays a vital part in the total outcome. You play an extremely important part in this research project.

You will notice that I am not asking for your name. I do not want to know who you are. What I want to know is your honest response and first reaction to each question. You have my assurance that no attempt will ever be made to identify you with your completed, returned questionnaire. As an additional safeguard to your complete anonymity you will notice that the completed questionnaires are to be returned direct to me, at the address indicated below, and not "through channels."

The third test (page four "4") may require additional
APPENDIX A

clarification. Since the construction of this test, Bill C-218, the Bail Reform Bill, has been implemented. This may lead to confusion if you attempt to interpret this test in a manner which you would have responded if this Bill had not been implemented. In other words, ignore the procedures of arrest as outlined in Bill C-218.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your time, effort, and co-operation in completing these tests. Without your participation this project could not continue towards a successful conclusion. You have played a very important and crucial part in leading towards that final success.
The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. There are no correct answers for these statements. They have therefore been set up in such a manner as to permit persons to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the idea expressed. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement as follows:

1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

Please mark each one. Do not spend too long on any one as your first reaction is what is wanted. Write in 1, 2, 3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in the case.

A. Jews

---1. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.
---2. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
---3. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
---4. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighbourhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
APPENDIX A

---5. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.

---6. There is something different and strange about Jews; it is hard to tell what they are thinking and planning, and what makes them tick.

B. Canadian Indians

---1. Indians have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.

---2. It would be a mistake to have Indians for foremen and leaders over whites.

---3. Indian musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Indian-white bands.

---4. Manual labour and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Indian mentality, and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

---5. The people who raise all the talk about putting Indians on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

---6. Most Indians would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.
APPENDIX A

C. Other Minorities and Patriotism

---1. Hippies prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.

---2. The worst danger to real Canadianism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.

---3. Since the United States has imposed restrictions on the World Trade Markets, Canada must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.

---4. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.

---5. Negroes are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls.

---6. Canada may not be perfect, but the Canadian Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

---7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.

---8. The best guarantee of our national security is for Canada to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secret of the atom bomb.
APPENDIX A

Given below are statements on various social problems about which we all have beliefs, opinions, and attitudes. We all think differently about such matters, and this scale is an attempt to let you express your beliefs and opinions. There are no right or wrong answers.

Please respond to each of the items as follows:

- Agree very strongly: 3
- Disagree very strongly: -3
- Agree strongly: 2
- Disagree strongly: -2
- Agree: 1
- Disagree: -1

For example, if you agree very strongly with a statement you would write 3 in the left margin beside the statement, but if you should happen to disagree with it, you would put -1 in front of it. Respond to each statement as best you can. Go rapidly but carefully. Do not spend too much time on any one statement; try to respond and then go on. Do not go back once you have marked a statement.

---1. Individuals who are against churches and religions should not be allowed to teach in colleges.

---2. Large fortunes should be taxed fairly heavily over and above income taxes.

---3. Both public and private universities and colleges should get generous aid from both provincial and federal governments.
---4. Science and society would both be better off if scientists took no part in politics.

---5. Society should be quicker to throw out old ideas and traditions and to adopt new thinking and customs.

---6. To ensure adequate care of the sick, we need to change radically the present system of privately controlled medical care.

---7. If civilization is to survive, there must be a turning back to religion.

---8. A first consideration in any society is the protection of property rights.

---9. Government ownership and management of utilities leads to bureaucracy and inefficiency.

---10. If Canada takes part in any sort of world organization, we should be sure that we lose none of our power and influence.

---11. Funds for school construction should come from provincial and federal government loans at no interest or very low interest.

---12. Inherited racial characteristics play more of a part in the achievement of individuals and groups than is generally known.

---13. Federal Government aid for the construction of schools is long overdue, and should be institutes as a permanent policy.
APPENDIX A

--14. Our present economic system should be reformed so that profits are replaced by reimbursements for useful work.

--15. Public enterprise like railroads should not make profits; they are entitled to fares sufficient to enable them to pay only a fair interest on the actual cash capital they have invested.

--16. Government laws and regulations should be such as first to ensure the prosperity of business since the prosperity of all depends on the prosperity of business.

--17. All individuals who are intellectually capable of benefiting from it should get college education, at public expense if necessary.

--18. The well-being of a nation depends mainly on its industry and business.

--19. True democracy is limited in Canada because of the special privileges enjoyed by business and industry.

--20. The gradual social ownership of industry needs to be encouraged if we are ever to cure some of the ills of our society.

--21. There are too many professors in our colleges and universities who are radical in their social and political beliefs.

--22. There should be no government interference with business and trade.
APPENDIX A

--23. Some sort of religious education should be given in public schools.

--24. Unemployment insurance is an inalienable right of the working man.

--25. Individuals with the ability and foresight to earn and accumulate wealth should have the right to enjoy that wealth without government interference and regulations.

--26. The United Nations should be whole-heartedly supported by all of us.
APPENDIX A

Given below are a number of offences which are familiar to members of any police force, yet their order of importance and the manner in which they are disposed of are unique to the individual policeman. In the margin to the LEFT of the offence indicate how you would rank order these offences in order of importance and seriousness as seen by you. Please respond by writing the rating number in the margin to the left of the offence, beginning with 1 as the most serious, and progressing numerically to the less serious. For example, if you see Theft Over $50.00 as the most serious, place 1 in the margin to the left; if you see common assault as being next in line, place 2 in the margin to the left. (1 Theft over $50.00; 2 Common Assault; and so on.) Go rapidly but carefully. Do not spend too much time on any one offence as your first reaction is what is wanted.

Common Assault ___ ___
Theft over $50.00 ___ ___
Vagrancy ___ ___
Assault on Peace Officer ___ ___
Possession of Marijuana ___ ___
Indecent Assault on Female ___ ___
Driving Offences under Criminal Code ___ ___
Prostitution ___ ___
APPENDIX A

Gaming and Betting
Possession of Property Obtained by Crime
Possession of Spring-knife

Now that you have rank ordered the offences, please proceed as follows: For each offence you have the option of either (1) charging; OR (2) warning the offender(s). In the margins to the RIGHT of the offences indicate which action you would take. If you select number 2, (warning) move to the next offence. If you have selected number 1, (charge) you may proceed either by (a) arrest, OR, (b) summons. Select only one. Your answer may appear:

1 Theft Over $50.00 1 (a)
OR " " " 1 (b)
OR " " " 2

Additional Information:

Date of Birth:
Date of Engagement with the Force:
Last Completed Grade at high school or university:
Nature of Duties: (i.e. C.I.B., C.F.S., etc.):
In his daily life the policeman is constantly confronted with a variety of regularly repeated situations. How he behaves in these situations will depend to a large extent on how he behaved in similar past situations. This application of past solutions to present problems has led the policeman to be seen as authoritarian, rigid, conservative, suspicious, and stressing responsibility. This personality, because of its implication of an inability of the policeman to adapt to the changing role of law enforcement has led to poor police-community relations, and to continual charges of ineptness by the public.

The new role of the policeman is seen as providing a form of "helping and guiding", in contrast to the traditional "enforcing of the law" typified by charging and arresting. This approach demands skill which the officer does not possess. It calls for an attitude alien to him and he often finds himself in sensitive and explosive situations where he must use superior understanding, rationale and discretion.

Education, it has been suggested, is one way whereby the police officer can become more aware of the demands made upon him by this changing role. It would also make him
better aware of some of the many ramifications involving human behavior, as well as help alter his working personality and attitudes. It has also been shown that with increased education the individual tends to become more liberal.

Not everyone, however, agrees that education is the correct approach. It would appear that arguments presented against higher education for the police dwell upon stereotype police characteristics and his "working personality". It is suggested these characteristics create internal police-student conflict, thus impeding the learning process. This role conflict is described by the seemingly greater lack of ability among police students to disassociate themselves from their occupation while in a classroom situation.

This study was primarily concerned with the university graduated policeman and in the contention that he was superior to the non-graduate because his working personality was different. To examine the effects of an university education on the attitude or working personality of a policeman it was necessary to test a number of hypotheses. The working personality of the policeman could originate from the authoritarianism instilled in the recruit during the initial training period. It could be the result of years of experience. It could be the personality of the individual before he is recruited. Consequently the following hypotheses were tested:
1. There is no difference in the personality of the recruit before and after initial training.

2. There is no difference in the personality of the trained recruit with a university graduate education and a recruit without such an education.

3. There is no difference in the personality of a non-university graduated policeman just recruited and a similar policeman with several years of experience.

4. There is no difference in the personality of a university graduated policeman just recruited and a similar policeman with several years of experience.

5. There is no difference in the personality of the experienced policeman with a university graduate education and a policeman without one.

This research was essentially in the form of an attitudinal survey. The study called for the examination of four groups: 1. Policemen who had just been recruited - non-university graduates - tested twice; once before the initial training period and once after; 2. University graduates who have already been trained; 3. Senior officers who have had several years of experience and an university education; and 4. Senior officers who have had no university education. The data collection was done by means of mailed questionnaires in all instances except for the recruits who were tested as a group at the training depot.

Statistical inferences were made by utilizing the Hotellings
$T^2$, a repeated measures design, and the F-Ratio test of significance.

The over-all comparisons of this study showed the following:

1. The junior recruit non-graduates were more liberal and less authoritarian after training than before.

2. The junior recruit non-graduates were no different than the senior officer graduates.

3. The junior recruit graduates were no different than the senior officer graduates.

4. The senior officer graduates were more liberal and less authoritarian than the senior officer non-graduates.

5. The junior recruit non-graduates were more liberal and less authoritarian than the senior officer non-graduates.