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**FACTORS OF POLICE OFFICER OCCUPATION
SOCIALIZATION AS THEY AFFECT THE INJURY
OF SUSPECTS IN POLICE ENCOUNTERS**

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**FACTORS OF POLICE OFFICER OCCUPATION SOCIALIZATION AS THEY
AFFECT THE INJURY OF SUSPECTS IN POLICE ENCOUNTERS**

By

Hilary Frost Carter

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

FACTORS OF POLICE OFFICER OCCUPATION SOCIALIZATION AS THEY AFFECT THE INJURY OF SUSPECTS IN POLICE ENCOUNTERS

By

Hilary Frost Carter

Police use of force is not a new topic. It has been researched for decades, yet some aspects have been focused on more than others. Moreover, the types of officers recruited, higher education levels, and changes in policing philosophy may contribute to behaviors and attitudes that contribute to the use of force. Of the prior research on police use of force, the majority of studies attribute injury to factors such as race/ethnicity and gender. This study will focus on the factors that contribute to suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force. The present study will look at occupational socialization as a contributor to suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force and will examine whether or not variables such as race/ethnicity and gender are reliable predictors of suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force. Specifically, it is hypothesized that organizational socialization is the main contributor to suspect injury during a non-deadly use of force confrontation and not variables such as race/ethnicity and gender. Survey data collected by researchers from Rutgers University and Arizona State University through the Phoenix, Arizona Police Department in 1994 are used to determine the factors of police/suspect encounters that contribute to suspect injury to determine the effect of occupational socialization.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Police use of force is not a new topic. It has been researched for decades, yet some aspects have been focused on more than others. Moreover, the types of officers recruited, higher education levels, and changes in policing philosophy will likely influence behaviors and attitudes that contribute to the use of force. Deadly use of force research, for example, is far more prevalent than non-deadly use of force research. In addition to issues regarding law, ethics and good police practice "the research on deadly force has typically examined only instances where deadly force was used and ignored similar instances where no force or serious but not deadly force was used" (Garner, 1995:146).

Arrests by police officers involving non-deadly use of force often focus on specific areas. Individual officer characteristics, individual suspect characteristics, and situational factors are all focused on in much of the literature (Crawford and Burns, 2002). Many variables within these areas have been associated with police use of non-deadly force and a myriad of complicated findings arise. Despite conflicting results, many trends have emerged.

Some research suggests that a "clash of cultures" between the culture of a police officer and that of a suspect will result in a higher probability that more force will be used against a suspect and that it will also result in a greater likelihood of injury. Indeed, a significant amount of the literature related to racial profiling suggests that "young black and Hispanic males are at an increased risk for citations, searches, arrests, and uses of force after other extralegal and legal

characteristics are controlled” (Engel and Calnon, 2004:49). This is an illustration of a “clash of cultures.”

Research has indicated many different factors influence the extent of police use of force. Skolnick (1966) believed that officers often responded to individuals based on their ethnicity, language, or economic status. These factors, along with lifestyle and education, are indicative of cultural factors influencing both suspects’ and officers’ assessments of citizen-police interactions. Preiss and Ehrlich’s (1966) study of state police officers found attitudes focused on departmental loyalty, self-sacrifice and unquestioned acceptance of orders. The combination of cultural forces and departmental loyalty leads to the prediction that many acts of police deviance, including police use of non-deadly force leading to injury, are attributed to occupational socialization. For example, the findings in previous research that suspect impairment from alcohol or drugs, and findings that suspect injury relates to officer injury, may reflect both cultural influences and occupational norms related to perceptions of threat and the need to exert force.

This research will focus on variables that have been linked to police use of force in previous research and will attempt to find commonalities with organizational socialization. Suspect injury, a dependent variable representing non-deadly force during a confrontation with police officers, will be analyzed with suspect and officer demographic information, suspect impairment, and whether or not the officer was injured. The results will be compared to organizational socialization, in particular, Arthur Niederhoffer’s (1964) research on the subject.

Statement of the Problem

The focus of this research will be to study the factors that contribute to suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force. Of the prior research on police use of force, the majority of studies attributed injury to factors such as race/ethnicity and gender. In addition to those factors, this study will look at occupational socialization as a contributor to suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force. The study will test whether variables such as race/ethnicity, gender, and indicators of occupational socialization are reliable predictors of suspect injury resulting from police use of non-deadly force.

The hypotheses the research will test are:

- H₁ – There is no significant relationship between officer injury and suspect injury.
- H₂ – There is no significant relationship between the race of the suspect and suspect injury.
- H₃ – There is no significant relationship between suspect impairment with alcohol and suspect injury.
- H₄ – There is no significant relationship between suspect impairment with drugs and suspect injury.
- H₅ – There is no significant relationship between officer age and suspect injury.
- H₆ – There is no significant relationship between officer gender and suspect injury.

Purpose of the Study

Currently, many law enforcement organizations are subject to criticism from the public for prejudices of race, gender, and socioeconomic status. Racial profiling is a heated topic and numerous incidents have been attributed to racial profiling. If occupational socialization theory can adequately explain police use of

force resulting in suspect injury, as opposed to force being the product of race/ethnicity, gender, and class, it will show that theories involving race, gender and socioeconomic status do not affect the outcome of a non-deadly use of force situation. Law enforcement organizations need to understand the factors that contribute to police use of force situations that result in suspect injury in order to decrease the occurrence of such situations.

The research will discuss socialization; how people think differently, communicate differently, and have culturally-based values attitudes and beliefs. For example, it is reasonable to think that a younger officer would have less experience and poorer judgment than a more experienced officer. It will be shown how humans do not always communicate well, think differently and develop culturally based views and attitudes.

Human socialization is also influenced by gender and tends to change over time with age. Some previous research found that males are more likely to use force than females. Research has also discussed age as a determinant of use of force. Some existing research has found that when an officer is younger, he or she is more likely to use poor judgment in confrontational situations as a result of limited life experiences. Re-socialization occurs as he or she gets older and gains life experience, therefore resulting in a lesser likelihood of using force. The association between the age and gender and use of force will be discussed further in the literature review.

A person's occupation also leads to socialization; or *occupational socialization*. A police officer undergoes occupational socialization¹ and begins to take on attitudes, values, and beliefs of his or her police department that are different from other social groups. Law enforcement socialization varies, but some results are more common than others.

Attitudes such as the "John Wayne" Syndrome, "Wyatt Earp" Syndrome and being "badge heavy" are more common in the law enforcement community. New officers become immersed in the law enforcement culture and can overreact because their primary occupational values are those of the law enforcement community. As the officer gains experience and grows older, occupational values will become more moderate.

Different organizations have different socializing effects. This study will review the works of researchers such as Arthur Niederhoffer that focus on the impact of occupational socialization.² Using data from a research project involving the Phoenix, Arizona Police Department focusing on police use of non-deadly force, this research will compare socializing effects with those found in research three decades ago.

¹ Throughout this thesis, "occupational socialization" and "law enforcement socialization" are used interchangeably.

² During the era that Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) conducted research, female police officers were scarce, or non-existent. In this study, if a police officer is referred to as a male, it is due to era of citation.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Police officers have completely different responsibilities and powers than the average citizen. Officers are given the power to arrest and discretion regarding the use of force when dealing with the public. "We entrust to police a capacity we give to no other institution in domestic society: a general right to use coercive force to resolve problems that may require its use" (Klockars, 1995:28).

Police use of force, deadly and non-deadly, has been an important topic for law enforcement for many years. Law enforcement officers and citizens are aware that it is a great responsibility and should only be used when necessary but excessive force should never be used. One difficult aspect of "use of force" is defining it. Carl Klockars defines police use of force as "the application of physical strength for coercive purposes. It includes occasions when the use of that strength is multiplied and amplified by weapons" (1995:12). Klockars also notes the distinction between force and authority, power and persuasion. Excluded from his definition are verbal and non-verbal threats, pleadings, warnings, or commands (Klockars:1995).

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) use of force project defines use of force as "that amount of effort required by police to compel compliance from an unwilling subject" (IACP, 2001:1). Even more specifically, IACP defines excessive use of force as "the application of an amount and/or frequency of force greater than that required to compel compliance from a willing

or unwilling subject” (IACP, 2001:1).

Some research addresses various factors thought to influence police use of force such as officer training, amount of job experience, age, gender and race/ethnicity. A police officer can be involved in a wide variety of situations throughout a day on the job. Preparation for those situations is the best way to understand how to handle any problems that occur. Use of force training covers issues such as legal issues, ethical issues, cultural diversity, firearms, and appropriate uses of force (Rahtz:2003).

Communication is also a very important aspect of use of force training. Effective communication can help avoid confrontational situations that are more likely to result in use of force. Socialization is essential for the renewal of culture and the perpetuation of society. The individual and society are mutually dependent on socialization (VanderZanden:1986).

In the past, suspected actions such as racial profiling, have been seen as a “clash of cultures.” Racial profiling is a highly debated issue with regards to use of force. An aggregate study conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (2001) found that of the reported incidents, 44% of incidents involved white officers using force on African American subjects, compared to 39% on white suspects. Geiger-Oneto and Phillips (2003) found that a driver’s race, gender, and social status all influence police behavior. African American men and Hispanic men experienced more social control than white men. While a good deal of supportive research exists for racial profiling, much of the available racial profiling research neglects to consider factors such as the driver’s social

status, the influence of gender and race, and whether or not drugs were involved (Geiger-Oneto and Phillips, 2003).

Socialization

In order to begin understanding why police use force, human behavior, such as socialization, needs to be conceptualized. "Society refers to a group of people who live within the same territory and share a common culture" (VanderZanden, 1986:29). Socialization is "a process of social interaction by which people acquire the knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviors essential for effective participation in society...the process of becoming a social being" (VanderZanden, 1986:60). The socialization process significantly helps form attitudes, values, and beliefs.

Occupational Socialization

Socialization also occurs with regard to an individual's occupation; or occupational socialization. Occupational socialization explains how people develop new values, attitudes, and beliefs associated with occupation. Core socialization factors will remain but are often modified in the occupational environment. New values, attitudes, and beliefs associated with the occupation are developed. Law enforcement has its own unique culture and tends to be more conservative than social culture.

Law enforcement socialization begins at the police academy. The Police Academy is a "total institution" where a recruit is constantly reminded of his new

role – “a new role that soon comes to dominate his personality” (Niederhoffer, 1967:41). “The core binding the rookie to the civilian world is clipped at the Police Academy, where the beginner is taught the fundamentals of his job” (Niederhoffer, 1967:40). While at the Academy a recruit “masters, and simultaneously succumbs to, the web of protocol and ceremony that characterizes any quasi-military hierarchy” (Niederhoffer, 1967:42). Subconsciously, the recruit learns the details of police work, for example, when to be cold and authoritative or when to be open and sympathetic. In a study conducted by Arthur Niederhoffer, “the typical police recruit starts his career without a trace of cynicism, after a short time at the Academy, the alert student begins to realize that the professional atmosphere that surrounds him is partly a sham” (Niederhoffer, 1967:43).

The transition an officer goes through when first on the job is difficult. Prior to becoming an officer, certain behavior may have been appropriate, however, once on the job the same behavior may become inappropriate. “The Academy curriculum stresses ethics, ideals, and professionalism” (Niederhoffer, 1967:44). To the recruit, this idea can be very different than what he knew firsthand as a lower-class citizen, which causes doubt to what the instructor says. As the recruit begins to meet more experienced police officers, he is told that “in order to become a real policeman, he will have to forget everything he is learning at the Academy” (Niederhoffer, 1967:44). Eventually, a rookie officer learns to neglect formal rules and norms and turns to other sources for direction.

Police Officer Behavior

A person's behavior "is directed toward satisfaction of personal needs and goals, and yet people come to organizations with widely varying backgrounds: their education and experience differ, as do their exposures to previous and current environments, psychological and biochemical makeups, behavioral repertoires, and perceptual styles." Organizations attempt to limit these natural variances but some differences still remain (Briscoe, 1980:71). Researchers and practitioners have found some factors to be more influential for behavior than others. Biographical variables such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and level of education have been found to be important to a person and his or her work organization. In addition, the significance of authoritarianism has also been discussed (Niederhoffer, 1967; Briscoe, 1980).

Organizational members enter a job with reasonably well-established work and occupational attitudes that come from their education and type of experience. Despite a person's development of attitudes, values and beliefs in life, once that person joins an organization, occupational socialization influences new attitudes, values and beliefs associated with the organization.

The occupation of police officer is unique and has a culture all its own. Many occupational groups attempt to legitimize their activities and standards of performance through collective actions, such as professional associations. Police officers do not have a significant association such as this. Instead being a police officer is seen as a privilege, not a right and is controlled by safety boards and civilian commissions. Other people set the conditions of employment for

officers, not necessarily officers themselves (Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966).

A great amount of discretion is given to a police officer and it requires a great deal of responsibility. Discretion is necessary for the line of work but can also be influenced by the officer's behavior and occupational socialization.

"Given the wide array of tasks in which police engage, officers must interpret each situation in light of their own orientations and prejudices and their understandings of the occupational constraints under which they work, as well as choose the most suitable method for coping and policing situations" (Berk, 1981:322).

The longer an officer is involved in a law enforcement organization, the more cynical they become, to a point. The law enforcement organization provides plenty of opportunities to adopt deviant patterns of police conduct that have been passed down for years. Exposure to disagreeable individuals, forgetting policies and procedures learned at the academy, and the "brotherhood" atmosphere of a law enforcement organization can all lead to an overzealous and misguided approach to crime control (O'Connor, 2005).

The occupation of being a police officer has characteristics unique to occupational socialization. Skolnick (1966) discusses the police "working personality" in that certain elements, such as danger, authority, and efficiency come together in occupations like this. Skolnick also compares this to people in the military. Research suggests that police officers can easily be consumed by the job due to occupational socialization. One example of this is Skolnick's (1966) idea of "symbolic assailants." "The policeman, because his work requires

him to be occupied continually with potential violence, develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence” (Skolnick, 1966:45). Not all symbolic assailants are necessarily predictable; it is a vague indication to the officer based on appearance.

One example of socialization affecting a police use of force situation is one involving alcohol or drug impairment. A person under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol is often seen as a “symbolic assailant” by a police officer. Officers are taught that impairment poses a threat to the community and to them individually. They are socialized to believe that if an individual is impaired to approach him or her with greater caution. The officer knows that they must get the impaired person “off the street” to protect the community. When the officer enters the encounter with a higher level of preparedness, the visual and behavioral cues given to the impaired individual may indicate a confrontational situation, which may result in a more aggressive response.

For the most part, law enforcement deals with misdemeanor offenders that are treated respectfully, but at times, disrespectful and nuisance offenders have to be dealt with. When an individual is a public nuisance and treats the police officer(s) disrespectfully, further actions will be taken. The amount of stringent types of police actions, such as rough treatment used, depends on three things: how threatened he or she feels, the current attitude that city has toward the police, and the portion of the public that offender belongs to (Westley, 1970:119).

Actions such as these are a result of occupational socialization.

Various researchers have discussed the existence of a police subculture that supports, to varying extents, the use of force during arrests to maintain authority and enforce laws (Skolnick, 1966; Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley, 1970). The officer has a responsibility to maintain control of a confrontation with a suspect and that is taken very seriously. A study by Kavanagh (1997) found that “arrestee disrespect” was highly correlated with resisting arrest. As an arrestee resists, it indicates that an increase in use of force is likely because the officer involved must maintain control. “The power of the arrestee disrespect variable and the uncertainty about how disrespect promotes police-citizen violence suggests that additional research is needed in this area” (Kavanagh, 1997:26).

A study by Berk (1981) showed that “police interpretations of the situation, their prior experience, and the situation-specific rationales for decisions are all inherent in the policing enterprise. They do not constitute an *abuse* of discretionary powers; they are part of the *normal* exercise of duty (Berk, 1981:343). It is impossible for an officer to go into a situation completely neutral because of preconceived notions resulting from past experiences. Many times officers go into a situation expecting an excuse, an argument or an evasion. In anticipation to this, the officer may “get tough” in an attempt to gain more respect for the law (Westley, 1970). Both the suspect and the officer may then escalate their behaviors to a point that results in physical injury.

Cynicism and Authoritarian Police Personalities

Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) demonstrated that occupational socialization developed cynicism and authoritarian police personalities. "Generally, cynicism is learned as part of socialization into the police occupation, a process likely to take at least five years" (Niederhoffer, 1967:100). Police cynicism can fit under one of two categories; one is directed against people in general and the other is directed at the police system itself (Niederhoffer, 197:95). For some new policemen, that socialization into the police occupation is realizing that it is "literally impossible to enforce every law on the book" (Niederhoffer, 1967:59). Even if it was possible to enforce every law, the jails would be too small to hold the prisoners. At this point, police officers use discretion and determine whether or not to take action.

Cynicism is associated with Emile Durkheim's idea of anomie. "Anomie occurs particularly when the old values of a social system are being supplanted by a new code – exactly the case in the police organization" (Niederhoffer, 1967:91). Constant feelings of confusion, frustration, alienation, and despair and the absence of standards lead to cynicism. The results are "loss of faith in people, of enthusiasm for the high ideals of police work, and of pride and integrity" (Niederhoffer, 1967:91). One major reason for cynicism among patrolmen is that it results in an impressive arrest record. "The very cynical officer rejects the possibility of decent impulses in others" (Niederhoffer, 1967:72). He is very distrusting and he feels that his actions are justified. A high number of arrests also reinforce the cynicism by showing that the policeman is

efficient and has initiative (Niederhoffer, 1967:72).

“Cynicism may also be a by-product of anomie in the social structure... Anxious over a personal failure, the individual policeman often disguises his feelings with a cynical attitude, and thus negates the value of the prize he did not attain” (Niederhoffer, 1967:95). In other words, policemen frequently displayed cynicism toward people that had been successful where the officer had failed. As the policeman’s cynicism increases, so does his pessimism and it seems easier to lessen his commitment to the social system and its values (Niederhoffer, 1967).

The age and experience of a policeman are apparently related to cynicism. Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) discussed the different stages of cynicism and policemen. The stage of cynicism follows the occupational career of the policeman. The first stage, pseudo-cynicism, is present in recruits in training. At this point, recruits are idealistic and committed. The second stage, romantic cynicism, is reached in the first five years of the police career. The more idealistic a policeman is, the more disillusioned he is by actual police work and the more vulnerable he is to romantic cynicism. The third stage, aggressive cynicism, depends on the combination of individual cynicism and the subculture of cynicism. Resentment and hostility become obvious during this period, most commonly at the ten-year mark. During the last few years of an officer’s career, resigned cynicism occurs, which is a more latent form of cynicism. It occurs when an officer comes to terms with the flaws of the system and accepts it. The

various stages of cynicism represent ideal types and are not exact (Niederhoffer, 1967:99).

Features of an authoritarian personality can vary, especially in the occupational role of the police officer. "The police system transforms a man into the special type of authoritarian personality required by the police role. No matter what kind of person he was before joining, the system's brilliant success in creating authoritarian personalities is sometimes a source of serious trouble" (Niederhoffer, 1967:118).

The amount of authoritarianism a police recruit absorbs may be a result of the different impact of training, experience, and role models upon each individual. Officers that develop cynicism and authoritarianism due to occupational socialization possess tendencies associated with an increase in use of force. A police officer with a cynical attitude will be less likely to think a person is innocent of a crime, even if they are innocent. "It is the patrolman on the beat who is involved in most of the incidents that require a display of authority. It is precisely the patrolman on the beat who is most authoritarian" (Niederhoffer, 1967:130). Likewise, an officer with a more authoritarian attitude will be more likely to use force against a person. One reason being that "since the policeman feels justified and righteous in using power and toughness to perform his duties, he feels like a martyr when he is charged with brutality and abuse of power" (Niederhoffer, 1967:118). "Once a recruit becomes a part of the police system, occupational forces tend to transform him into an authoritarian agent of control" (Niederhoffer, 1967:130). For those policemen that do not want to be involved in

the control aspect, there is the possibility of obtaining an assignment that emphasizes service rather than control (Niederhoffer, 1967:130).

The level of authoritarianism has been linked to several factors. As Theodor Adorno's The Authoritarian Personality (1950) studies consistently show, more highly educated persons are lower in authoritarianism. More educated officers are more likely to be promoted due to increased knowledge and writing ability. "As they are promoted to the higher ranks, the less authoritarian, better educated policemen are drawn away from the lower echelons in the street" (Niederhoffer, 1967:130). The need remains to handle the tough, crime-ridden areas and police superiors are more apt to assign the toughest officers to these locations, "Thus, a high percentage of authoritarian types become concentrated in situations permitting unrestrained use of force (Niederhoffer, 1967:131). "In summary, there is a social process at work within the police system that precipitates the most authoritarian type into the authoritarian role at the lowest level of the hierarchy, pounding the beat" (Niederhoffer, 1967:131).

The basis of police authoritarianism is an unsolved topic. Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) believed that "authoritarianism develops after appointment as a result of socialization and experience in the police social system (Niederhoffer, 1967:132). The opposing viewpoint stated that authoritarian personalities were more attracted to police work. This, however, would attribute authoritarianism to the personality of the individual rather than social system factors.

The idea of age relating to socialization, such as the previously discussed Niederhoffer example of cynicism and authoritarianism, counters the aforementioned “John Wayne” syndrome. Depending on the research, each conclusion has been reached. “John Wayne” Syndrome (also known as “Wyatt Earp” Syndrome) is a common term in policing and it occurs as a result of the socialization process. During the process, “new members must replace values and beliefs with those of the subculture” (Holden, n.d.:29). It is generally believed that behavior such as this occurs earlier in a police officer’s career. According to this belief, younger police officers would be more likely to use force, which opposes Niederhoffer’s (1967) idea of cynicism and authoritarianism. This study will analyze the data to determine which school of thought; Niederhoffer’s cynicism and authoritarianism or law enforcement’s “John Wayne” Syndrome, is more supported.

Current Research on Use of Force

Many current studies on police use of force have found similar results as those of the past; however, conflicting results still occur. Numerous studies on use of force have found overall that use of force by police officers is a rare occurrence. Both Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) and the Phoenix Police Department study by Garner et al. (1994), discussed further in the following research study, found use of force to be rare and if it did occur, it was a lower level of force. Similarly, Worden (1995) found that “the use of force was

uncommon, and the use of improper force was rare as a proportion of police-citizen encounters” (42).

Of the myriad of measures tested as related to use of force, race is very commonly addressed. Some studies have found suspect race not significantly related to increased use of force (Worden, 1995; Engel et al., 2000; Garner et al., 2002). On the other hand, Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found that “even when numerous forms of suspects’ behavior are controlled, officers were still more forceful toward men, nonwhites, young suspects and lower-class suspects” (236). Worden (1995) also found the use of improper force to be somewhat more likely “if the citizen was black, male, or over 18” (47). In addition, Worden pointed out that in some research dealing with citizen race and demeanor, race had no effect when the demeanor of the citizen is controlled for.

Worden (1995) and Engel et al. (2000) both conducted research, which utilized observations from the Police Services study (Ostrom et al., 1977) to compare citizen demeanor and race to use of force. Worden (1995) statistically controlled for suspects’ demeanor and physical resistance and found the suspects’ race to have significant effects on the use of force. “That officers are more likely to use even reasonable force against blacks might suggest that officers are, on average, more likely to adopt a penal or coercive approach to black suspects than they are to white suspects” (Worden, 1995:50). Also found by Worden (1995) was that nearly half of the citizens subjected to improper force had displayed “a hostile or antagonistic demeanor” (46). Engel et al. (2000)

analyzed non-traffic incidents, which indicated that confrontations involving a suspect fighting with officers were predictors of police use of force.³

On the other hand, Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found that “suspects who displayed disrespectful behavior toward officers were no more likely to have force used on them than were those who were respectful (236). This finding counters much of the previous research that addresses police behavior in general. “It appears that police officers expect their authority to be observed equally by all suspects, and do not make distinctions based on race, sex, location, and the seriousness of the situation” (Engel et al., 2000:256).

Other influences of suspect and officer demographics on use of force have been researched, such as gender and age. Overall, Worden (1995) found officer characteristics to be unrelated to the amount of both reasonable force and improper force used against citizens. Some researchers, however, have found suspect gender to be related to use of force (Worden, 1995; Garner et al., 2002). Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found suspect’s age to be an influence on use of force but unfortunately officer age was not included in the study.

Many researchers have debated officer experience, and its effects on use of force. Worden (1989) found that less experienced officers were more likely to patrol aggressively in a confrontation with citizens. He assumed that officers whom engaged in those activities were more likely to use force. On the contrary, Niederhoffer (1967), as described previously, hypothesized that more experienced officers had a greater tendency to use force due to increased cynicism and authoritarian attitudes increasing over time.

³ Garner et al., 2002 found similar results.

Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found that officers' gender, race, and training were all unrelated to force, however, increased levels of officer education and experience tend to reduce the use of force during police encounters with citizens. A study on police use of force by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) in 2001 found that neither an officer nor subject was more likely to use force based on gender. Conversely, Garner and Maxwell (2002) found that male police officers in Phoenix were more forceful while on duty than female officers. "Until recently, there has been little support for the relationship between officers' gender and the use of force" (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002:238). One possible explanation for this is the fact that few female officers have been employed in the career in the past and have not been assigned to the street.

Numerous researchers have found suspect impairment with alcohol as a factor for increased use of force (Worden, 1995; Engel et al., 2000; IACP, 2001; Garner & Maxwell, 2002; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Worden (1995) found that the use of reasonable force and improper force was more likely if the citizen exhibited signs of drunkenness or mental disorder. "About half of the citizens against whom force was used showed evidence of drinking or drug use, and most of those were drunk" (Worden, 2000:46). Engel et al. (2000) found that, for non-traffic suspects, disrespectful suspects with evidence of drug or alcohol use were more likely to be subject to increased use of force, and the relationship was statistically significant.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

Phoenix [Arizona] Use of Force Project

The data utilized for this analysis were originally collected in 1994 for a study on the use of force by and against Phoenix police officers. Researchers from Rutgers University and Arizona State University in conjunction with the Phoenix Police Department designed and implemented a study that focused on describing the amount of force used in varying arrest situations and determining the extent to which officer, suspect, offense, and arrest situations can predict amount of force used. "Unlike much of the prior research, which is concerned with defining excessive force, the central concern of the principle investigators was to measure the amount of force used by and against the police officers in a sample of arrests" (Gamer, et al., 1994:iv).

The survey was developed in 1993 and was tested in February 1994 with a one-day feasibility study. Following the initial testing study, the survey was revised for use. A total of 1585 adult custody arrestees out of the total of 1,826 arrests (87 percent) were interviewed during the two-week period beginning June 13, 1994 and ending June 27, 1994. Two methods of data collection were used:

- Primarily a one-page, two-sided survey instrument was given to Phoenix police officers following most adult custody arrests.
- In addition, screening interviews about the use of force during the arrest were conducted with both officers and suspects to test the reliability of the officer surveys.

The officer surveys, officer interviews, and suspect interviews were voluntary and anonymous. "No officer or suspect identifiers were collected, and the only information obtained about the arrests came from the survey forms" (Garner, et al., 1994:v). This procedure for the study was used to encourage participation and truthful responses and to protect the anonymity of the research subjects. It did result in more complication when matching officer surveys with suspect interviews. "Future research could attempt to better integrate survey, interview, and official records of police and suspect behavior" (Garner et al., 1996:10).

Summary of Phoenix Police Department Study Results

The main concern of the original study was to describe the amount of force used in different arrest situations. In addition, the researchers wanted to determine the extent to which an officer, suspect, offense, and arrest situation characteristics are predictive of the amount of force used. Included in the study were types of force that could have been possibly used by the officer or officers and basic demographic information on officers and suspects. Also included were arrest descriptions and injury information (Garner et al., 1994). Rather than focusing entirely on severe uses of force, such as firearm discharges, serious injuries, or deaths, the original researchers collected data from a representative sample of arrests. By performing a more expansive survey, it was possible to examine a range of instances where some degree of force could be used (Garner et al., 1996).

One important finding that resulting during the period of the study was that, during that time, the Phoenix police used some degree of physical force⁴ in 22 percent of adult custody arrests. In addition, suspect use of physical force was measured as even less than the amount used by the police (about 16.7 percent). Furthermore, during encounters where neither police nor suspect or suspects used force, the overall levels were typically low (Garner et al., 1996).

Low forms of use of force, such as restraints were not used in the majority of custody cases. "Phoenix police officers are required to restrain only felony or belligerent suspects. In 20 percent of all adult custody arrests studied, officers opted to use no restraints" (Garner et al., 1996:1). The best predictor of police use of force was instances involving suspect use of force.

Race, of both the officers and suspects, was found to play no role in predicting police use of force. "The results did not support the notion that the race of officers or suspects directly or indirectly affects the amount of force used in adult custody arrests" (Garner et al.:10). Officer age and suspect age were also found to not be predictors of the use of force (Garner et al, 1996). Suspect impairment by drugs was also found to be inconsistent with regard to predicting police use of force in the analysis.

Some factors were found to consistently determine police use of force. Two consistent factors in determining use of force by police officers was the use of force by the suspect. Also consistent was suspect alcohol impairment.

⁴ "Physical force" was defined as "officer or suspect use of any weaponless tactic (such as kicking or shoving) or the threatened or actual use of any weapon. In addition, police use of physical force included the application of severe restraints, including cuffing suspects while were prone" and so on (Garner et al., 1996, 5).

Despite the inclusion of more possible instances when use of force would occur, the Phoenix Police Department study found results similar to previous use of force research. Of the adult custody arrests in Phoenix, it was revealed that no force, or only low levels of force, were used in the majority of cases (Garner et al., 1996).

While the study was not originally designed to specifically study non-deadly police use of force, it does offer information on non-deadly results from confrontations, which will allow the researcher to address the issue of use of force from another angle.

CURRENT STUDY

Much of the past research on police use of force focuses on either excessive use of force or deadly use of force. Non-deadly use of force, however, is not researched nearly as often considering it is a common occurrence. One explanation of use of force in past research is a “clash of cultures.” Racial/ethnic, gender, age, lifestyle and education are some factors that research shows leads to an increase in police use of force.

Currently, the public criticizes law enforcement officers for discriminating against people for differences in race/ethnicity, gender, age, and socioeconomic status. Racial profiling is an example of this. Numerous studies have been conducted that focus on racial profiling, yet the researcher believes that occupational socialization can more adequately explain the behavior of police officers.

Occupational socialization plays a very influential role in any occupation, including policing. The culture of an organization is very powerful in shaping the behavior of those in the organization as well as the members shaping the organization itself. The attitudes, values, and beliefs of individual officers is not as significant as the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the law enforcement organization the officer belongs to. Therefore, the researcher theorizes that factors historically attributed to police use of force, such as race/ethnicity, gender, age, and socioeconomic status, are not as influential as occupational socialization.

This study is limited by the data the collectors used. Most of the variables have missing data; however, the variables the researcher will be using for this study have a relatively good response rate. The variable with the greatest amount of missing data used in this study is suspect race (RECSRACE) with 151 (9.5%) missing, followed by officer age (AGE1) with 101 missing (6.4%). The remaining variables have 100% response rate; officer injury (INJCAT), suspect injury (SINJCAT), suspect impairment by alcohol (ALCOHOL) and suspect impairment by drugs (DRUGS).

Variables

Independent Variables: For this investigation, several variables will be combined to test occupational socialization as discussed in the literature (Table 1). The variables include basic demographic information that has been

previously associated with police use of force in addition to drug and alcohol use and officer injury.

Table 1: Univariate Statistics for Independent Variables

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>Suspect's Race (SRACE2)</i>		
White (1)	730	46.1
Non White (0)	855	53.9
<i>Officer Injured (INJCAT)</i>		
No (0)	1566	98.8
Yes (1)	19	1.2
<i>Suspect Impairment-Alcohol (ALCOHOL)</i>		
No (0)	1178	74.3
Yes (1)	407	25.7
<i>Suspect Impairment-Drugs (DRUGS)</i>		
No (0)	1438	90.7
Yes (1)	147	9.3
<i>Age of First Officer (AGE1)</i>		
Under 21 (1)	5	0.3
21-25 (2)	267	16.8
26-30 (3)	552	34.8
31-35 (4)	305	19.2
36-40 (5)	163	10.3
41 and over (6)	192	12.1
Missing/unknown (9)	101	6.4
<i>Gender of First Officer (Q28O1SEX)</i>		
Male (1)	1321	83.3
Female (2)	132	8.3
Missing/unknown (9)	132	8.3

Officer injury (INJCAT), suspect impairment by alcohol (ALCOHOL), suspect race (RECSRACE) and suspect impairment by drugs (DRUGS) are nominal variables; in this case, a higher number would indicate a greater likelihood of injury and/or impairment. Officer age (AGE1) is an ordinal variable, and therefore if the variable increases it indicates an increase in the officer's age.

Dependent Variable: For this investigation, the researcher will use suspect injury as the dependent variable to measure police use of non-deadly force (Table 2). Suspect injury (SINJCAT) is a nominal variable and therefore as it increases, the likelihood of suspect injury also increases.

Table 2: Univariate Statistics for the Dependent Variable

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>Suspect Injury</i> (SINJCAT)		
No (0)	1497	94.4
Yes (1)	88	5.6

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Certain aspects of police use of force situations will be tested followed by a comparison with research on occupational socialization. One aspect the researcher will be testing is if the result of data analysis supports prior research regarding occupational socialization. If not, does the research support the ideas of race/ethnicity, age, gender and socioeconomic status influencing police use of force?

The data originally collected included information on the first and second officers involved in a non-deadly use of force situation. For the purpose of this study, when the researcher refers to an "officer," it will include information from only the first officer involved. Refer to Table 3 for the results of analysis of the variables.

Table 3: Variable Analysis Results

	Officer Injury (INJCAT)	Suspect Race (RECSRACE)	Suspect Impaired by Alcohol (ALCOHOL)	Suspect Impaired by Drugs (DRUGS)	Age of First Officer (AGE1)	Gender of First Officer (Q28O1SEX)
Suspect Injury (SINJCAT)	χ^2 64.127 df 1 p<.000	χ^2 4.442 df 2 p=.108	χ^2 19.094 df 1 p<.000	χ^2 4.874 df 1 p<.05	χ^2 16.010 df 5 p<.05	χ^2 .768 df 1 p=.381

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Officer Injury and Suspect Injury

H₁: There is no significant relationship between officer injury and suspect injury.

Occupational socialization of law enforcement entails many ideas regarding suspects. Depending on the suspect's demeanor the officer will come to conclusions about the actions of that suspect. An officer is likely to feel a need to get the suspect "off of the street" and needs to maintain control of the situation in order to do so. It is assumed that, if a suspect initiates force, an officer will do the same so that he or she maintains control. H₁ represents the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between officer injury and suspect injury.

The data show that the relationship between officer injury (INJCAT) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) during a confrontation is statistically significant as indicated by Chi-square analysis ($\chi^2=64.127$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Hence, it is known that officer injury and suspect injury vary together. Further, Gamma analysis revealed a strong association between the variables ($\gamma=0.887$, $p<.005$). The statistically significant relationship between officer injury and suspect injury indicates that if an officer is injured, it is likely that the suspect was also injured.

The amount of force used by an officer varies by situation. "The environment that is encountered by the law enforcement officer determines the manner in which force is used. Officers must be able to show capability, opportunity, and jeopardy when discerning force options" (Kinnaird, 2003:3). For example, if a subject is actively resisting an officer or officers and the crime is

serious, the amount of force an officer, or officers, use will be greater than if the subject peacefully submitted (Kinnaird, 2003). During a situation where police use of force is necessary, “officers should react to an offender’s aggression with the minimum amount of force necessary to achieve the lawful objective” (Petrocelli, 2005:22). Assuming this is the standard practice of most law enforcement officers, the amount of force the officer uses will increase as the amount of force the subject uses increases. Given the results of the analysis, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Suspect Race and Suspect Injury

H2: There is no significant relationship between the race of the suspect and suspect injury.

The race of a suspect and the amount of force is a controversial issue. Some existing research has found that minorities are subject to a greater amount of use of force than whites. Other research has found no significance between race and use of force. According to occupational socialization, use of force is not a result of race; it is a result of police culture and socialization. For example, if a police officer has been in that line of work for a long period of time, he or she may have become very cynical. That cynicism may lead to an increase in use of force; not the race of the suspect.

To address these issues, the relationship between suspect race (RECSRACE) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) was analyzed. The original suspect race variable (Q28SRACE) was collapsed into white, non-white, and missing,

resulting in the variable RECSRACE. The non-white variable included African American, Hispanic, other.⁵ The relationship between these two variables was not found to be significant with any test conducted ($\chi^2=4.442$, $df=2$, $p<.108$). Thus, race of the suspect was not significantly related to suspect injury⁶. Given the results of this analysis, the researcher fails to reject the hypothesis.

Suspect Impairment by Alcohol and Suspect Injury

H3: There is no significant relationship between suspect impairment with alcohol and suspect injury.

Occupational socialization plays an important role in whether or not an officer sees a citizen as threatening. One example of this is Skolnick's (1966) idea of "symbolic assailants." An officer is constantly reminded of the potential violence he or she may encounter on the job. Because of this, police officers begin to associate certain factors with a threatening person, such as certain gestures, language, and attire.

An individual whom is under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol is often seen as a "symbolic assailant" by a police officer. Officers are socialized to believe that impaired individuals pose a threat to the community and they need to be taken "off the street." When an officer encounters a citizen that he or she labeled as a "symbolic assailant," that officer will react with a higher level of

⁵ First officer race (Q28O1RAC) was analyzed with the same recoding and methods and it was not found to be statistically significantly related to suspect injury (SINJCAT).

⁶ Suspect race (white vs. black) and suspect injury and suspect race (white vs. Hispanic) and suspect injury were also analyzed and no statistically significant relationships were found.

preparedness to visual and behavioral cues given by the impaired individual, which may lead to a more aggressive response.

Suspect impairment by alcohol (ALCOHOL) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) were analyzed using Chi-square analysis. The analysis resulted in a statistically significant relationship ($\chi^2=19.094$, $df=1$, $p<.001$) between suspect impairment by alcohol (ALCOHOL) and suspect injury during a confrontation. Hence, it is known that suspect impairment by alcohol (ALCOHOL) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) vary together.⁷ Further Gamma analysis revealed an association between the variables ($\gamma= .439$, $p<.001$). Given the results of the analysis, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Suspect Impairment by Drugs and Suspect Injury

H4: There is no significant relationship between suspect impairment with drugs and suspect injury.

The relationship between suspect impairment by drugs (DRUGS) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) during an officer-citizen confrontation was statistically significant with Chi-square analysis ($\chi^2=4.874$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). Hence, it is known that suspect impairment by drugs (DRUGS) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) vary together. Further Gamma analysis revealed a weak association between the variables ($\gamma= .439$, $p<.001$). Given the results of the analysis the null hypothesis is rejected.

⁷ An additional variable for suspect impairment by alcohol (Q31ALCO) was available and resulted in similar results as ALCOHOL. However, the measures used were not uniform and could not, therefore, be accurately compared to the alcohol variable (ALCOHOL).

Officer Age and Suspect Injury

H5: There is no significant relationship between officer age and suspect injury.

When Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) discussed occupational socialization, he referred to the idea of cynicism and authoritarianism. According to these concepts, the longer an officer has been in that line of work, the more cynical and authoritarian he or she becomes. With an increase in cynicism and authoritarianism, comes an increase in police use of force. The amount of cynicism and authoritarianism levels out towards the end of the officer's career. According to occupational socialization, as the age of an officer increases, the likelihood of use of force with a suspect would increase.

On the contrary, the idea of "John Wayne" Syndrome (also known as "Wyatt Earp" Syndrome) states the opposite. "John Wayne" Syndrome centers on the thought that a new officer will be less experienced and the power of the position will go to his or her head. After the rookie has gained more experience, he or she will settle down and be less likely to use force. According to "John Wayne" Syndrome, the younger an officer is, the more likely he or she will use force.

Officer age (AGE1) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) during a confrontation were compared using Chi-square analysis. The results of this analysis showed a statistically significant relationship ($\chi^2=16.010$, $df=5$, $p<.01$) between officer age and suspect injury. The relationship indicates that suspect injury is more likely

during a confrontation with a young police officer⁸. In other words, as the officer's age increases, the likelihood of suspect injury decreases. Gamma analysis, however, was not found to be statistically significant.

These findings support the "John Wayne" Syndrome prediction rather than occupational socialization; however, some aspects of occupational socialization may still apply. Towards the end of an officer's career, he or she enters *resigned cynicism*, where he or she has come to terms with the flaws of the system and accepts it (Niederhoffer, 1967). During the *resigned cynicism* stage it would seem as though use of force would occur less frequently and that is supported by the results of this study. Given the results of the analysis the null hypothesis is rejected.

Officer Gender and Suspect Injury

H5: There is no significant relationship between officer gender and suspect injury.

The relationship between officer gender (Q28O1SEX) and suspect injury (SINJCAT) during an officer-citizen confrontation was not found to be significant with any test conducted ($\chi^2=.768$, $df=1$, $p=.381$). That is, the gender of the officer is not significantly related to suspect injury. Given the results of this analysis the null hypothesis is not rejected.

As discussed previously in the literature review, a substantial amount of research on police use of force finds no significant relationship between police

⁸ Pearson's r was negative (-.058) which lead the researcher to the given conclusion.

use of force and gender during a confrontation (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; IACP, 2001). One possible reason for this is the relatively short period of time that females have been officers.

Limitations

There are several limitations of this research that are worth mentioning. Many issues can be encountered with survey research, as Adams (1995) points out; people interpret words differently, people do not always tell the truth, some people refuse to answer, and others may give answers that they think other people want to hear. Remembering events or details can also be a problem.

Another limitation is that, despite being viewed as a classic, Arthur Niederhoffer's work dates back roughly thirty years and officers have changed since then. Education plays a great role in hiring, for example. Despite these advancements, Niederhoffer's description of police processes still ring true and will be a worthy source for years to come.

Niederhoffer (1967) does discuss education and policing, however, during that time it was less common for an officer to have a college degree. If an officer had a college education, he was more likely to pass the test needed to gain promotion. Some of the negative effects of education then were "the envy and hostility it is spreading among the old-timers who lack the formal education to meet the proposed standards..." (Niederhoffer, 1967:31).

Level of education was not included in this study; however, many studies do discuss level of officer education and use of force. Niederhoffer argued that

those with less education were typically more authoritarian, and the more educated received promotions more frequently. "Thus, a high percentage of authoritarian types become concentrated in situations permitting unrestrained use of force" (Niederhoffer, 1967:131). Given the increased role of education in police hiring and promotion, future research should consider the relationship between officer education and use of force.

The type and amount of training an officer received compared to use of force would also be a beneficial variable to include. Police use of force research, for the most part, does not address this issue (Terrill and Mastrofski, 2002). For example, a study by Garner et. al (1994) included variables such as, *number of years since last departmental training* and *number of years of academy tactics training*, and *number of years of non-police department training*, but did not account for the differences in officer training.

Some limitations are also present due to the use of indirect measures of occupational socialization. This study assumes that officer age will equate to greater occupational socialization. It would, however, be preferable to have direct measures of occupational socialization. For example, measures of authoritarian personality or cynicism would be valuable. The use of indirect measures may have resulted in the inconsistency between predicted relationships and actual findings. For example, it was previously discussed that occupational socialization predicts that as an officer ages, the likelihood that he or she will use force against a suspect increases to a certain point. This study found that the younger an officer is, the more likely he or she is to use force

against a suspect. This finding is not consistent with that of occupational socialization but is consistent with the “John Wayne” Syndrome. However, perhaps occupational socialization early in one’s training and professional experience results in the “John Wayne” Syndrome. This study cannot clarify the issue but future research would benefit from direct measures of occupational socialization.

Another drawback is the focus on a single in police department. It is difficult to generalize results from one department to others. Policies on police use of force vary, as does the community being policed. Various factors could affect how often an officer is in a use of force situation and organizational practices may affect reporting. For example, “even if officers were 100% compliant, estimates from use-of-force reports would not generate measures of the use of force that would be comparable across departments” (Gamer, et al, 1995:148). In addition, only those arrested were involved, so police – suspect encounters that did not lead to arrest are not included in the analysis

The original researchers requested, with the support of the Phoenix Police Department, that the survey be given only to officers in the patrol division and in two specialized units – drug enforcement and gangs. The officers were to complete the form following each arrest. Since the study did not include all officers and did include officers in units that may deal with use of force situations more frequently (drug enforcement and gangs) it may affect the results. For example, in this study, suspect impairment by alcohol and drugs is a variable, which is found to be statistically significant. The number of arrests that involve

drugs or alcohol would be expected to increase with the focus on officers dealing with drug enforcement and gangs.

The data for this study are imperfect because there are missing data. Also, the fact that the data were gathered over just two weeks in June from a department for one of the biggest cities in the United States makes it highly doubtful that the results will be directly applicable to any other jurisdiction in the United States (Gamer, et al.:1995). "Because this is only one study in one jurisdiction at one point in time, the results may not generalize to other jurisdictions and their relationships between citizens and police. There is no substitute for replication" (Gamer et al., 1996:10).

An ideal study in the future would have several alterations and additions. One of the weaknesses was the use of only one department, which was one of the largest cities in the country. Ideally, several departments representing various sizes of jurisdictions would be included. As mentioned above, the original study also took place over just a two-week period in the summer. Factors that would influence the types and amount of crime changed throughout the year, so a study that runs over the course of at least a year would be beneficial.

Additional data that should be gathered to test occupational socialization would be education, total amount of time as a police officer, and attitudinal variables measuring socialization. Education of the officers involved was not included, and according to occupational socialization, an increase in education results in a decrease in use of force. Similarly, the original study did include a

variable for the number of years employed by the Phoenix Police Department, however, that does not necessarily measure how long that individual has been a police officer overall. If someone transferred in from another department, the amount of years that he or she was employed by the Phoenix Police Department would not be a valid measurement of total time as a police officer. In order to better test Niederhoffer's idea of occupational socialization, the total amount of time as an officer would be optimal. Finally, given that occupational socialization is predicted to influence officer attitudes, survey items measuring attitudes toward policing, commitment to the police profession, use of force, and similar items would be preferred.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Implications for police training, policy, and practice in the use of force are present in this study. First, it does not support the popular focus of many researchers on race as an indicator of the likelihood of police use of force.

Secondly, the increase in likelihood of a suspect being injured if an officer was injured in a confrontation supports Arthur Niederhoffer's research previously discussed. During a confrontation, a police officer assesses certain factors and reacts accordingly. The amount of threat an officer senses, the current community perceptions of the police, and the portion of the public that the offender belongs to, influence the actions of the police officer (Westley, 1970). If, for example, the officer feels highly threatened and community perceptions of police officers at the time are negative, that officer will be more likely to use force if the confrontation warrants it. Under this assumption, it seems unlikely that officer injury would result from an incident that did not result in suspect injury.

Suspect impairment by alcohol or drugs was statistically related to suspect injury. When dealing with an unstable person, police officers tend to react differently. Kavanagh (1997) found a relationship between intoxication and resisting arrest.

A number of explanations have been advanced to explain the relationship between intoxication and violence. These explanations include a reduction of inhibitions against the use of violence that is induced by alcohol and some other controlled substances, impairment of the intoxicated person's decision-making process, a greater propensity for intoxicated persons to disrespect police

officers (or to perceived as disrespectful), an increased tendency for police officers to dehumanize, and consequently victimize, intoxicated persons, and, finally increased misunderstanding between officer and arrestee caused by the impairment of the arrestee's sensory and motor functions leading one party to erroneously perceive a non-threatening action by the other as being threatening.

(Kavanagh, 1997:28).

As previously discussed, Skolnick's (1966) idea of "symbolic assailants" helps explain the reason for the use of force. A police officer realizes that his or her job continuously exposes him or her to potentially violent situations. After coming into contact with violent individuals, that officer begins to construct an idea of what a "symbolic assailant," or threatening person, is to him or her. Certain gestures, language, and attire could be interpreted by an officer as a threatening person.

Arthur Niederhoffer's (1967) theory of cynicism and authoritarian police personalities, as previously discussed, discusses the different stages of cynicism that occur during a police officer's career. According to Niederhoffer, rookie police officers begin developing cynicism through law enforcement socialization; a process that typically takes at least five years. New officers realize that it is nearly impossible to enforce every law "on the book" and even if they did, the jails could not hold all of the arrestees. This constant feeling of confusion, frustration, alienation, and despair leads to cynicism. As an officer's cynicism increases, so does his or her pessimism and it seem to lessen his or her commitment to the social system and its values. Around the ten-year mark, resentment and hostility become more obvious (Niederhoffer, 1967). Under this

theory, the longer the officer is with the department, the more cynical he or she becomes.

This analysis of police use of force data showed that as the age of the officer increased, the likelihood of suspect injury decreased. This is consistent with the idea of younger officers having a greater tendency to show signs of “John Wayne” Syndrome. On the other hand, it does not support Niederhoffer’s idea of cynicism and authoritarian police behavior. Niederhoffer does, however, mention a final stage of cynicism for a police officer that occurs during the last few years of his or her career. During this time, *resigned cynicism* occurs where the officer “comes to terms with the flaws of the system and accepts it” (Niederhoffer, 1967, 99). This cynicism is more latent. During the resigned cynicism period, it would seem as though use of force would be less likely. This may explain the current findings on officer age and use of force.

During the course of a day on the job, a police officer’s role changes regularly. He or she can be a marriage counselor, children’s protective worker, a legal advisor, and so on. Along with this is the authority and responsibility to use force, which differs greatly from other professions. Officers must interact with the community and understand the cultural differences and human behavior and be able to communicate effectively with citizens (Rahtz, 2003). Police officer training potentially has an effect on the occupational socialization process. Proper training could possibly help officers obtain the necessary skills to communicate with community members, therefore, resulting in less need for use of force. The topic of police officer training as a potential method of reducing

police use of force has been discussed by researchers. The factors involved, however, have been largely unexplored (Terrill and Mastrofski, 2002).

For this study, police use of force data were compared with factors discussed with organizational socialization theory. This contributes to our understanding of police use of force and helps us understand those attitudes, values, and beliefs that may lead to police use of force. These ideas have the potential to be expanded and improved on and can perhaps influence training, policy, and procedures in the future.

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