POLICE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE STUDY

REPORT OF

VICTORIA POLICE OCCUPATION INTERVIEW

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PREFACE

The present project forms a component part of the on-going research program being conducted by the Criminology Department at the University of Melbourne into aspects of the police occupation. Specifically, it is designed to complement some of the areas of investigation covered by the extensive mail questionnaire on the policeman's occupational environment and health administered to Victoria, South Australian, Western Australian and U.S. police forces. mail questionnaire study will be fully presented in a further report, which will make use of the information gained from this present interview survey, and additional administrative and procedural material we have gathered on the Victorian, South Australian and Western Australian police. It was considered worthwhile to compile the present report as a separate document, because the results, while ultimately meant to be integrated into a broader police occupational study, hold some discrete value of their own as a descriptive study of the perceptions that police personnel hold concerning aspects of their working environment.

The project was carried out with the permission of the Chief Commissioner of the Victoria Police and with the co-operation of the Victoria Police Association.

I would like to thank Stephen James who is primarily responsible for this report and the four interviewers, Helen Harbison, Margaret Mitchell, Diana Shuvayev and

Genevieve Breen for their advice and help in the construction and wording of the interview schedule, for their thoroughness and diligence during the difficult process of interviewing, and for their help in coding the responses. The assistance of Dr Austin Lovegrove and his useful comments on design is appreciated.

Kerry L. Milte,
SENIOR LECTURER IN CRIMINOLOGY.
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INTRODUCTION

There is now a considerable body of research work dealing with the nature of the police occupation. More recently, there has been a concern with the effects of this occupation upon the individual police officer. Of particular interest has been the relationships between an individual's characteristics, the demands of the job and working environment, and the physiological, behavioural and emotional responses made by the individual. The bulk of this work has been concerned with those aspects of the police occupation which appear to bear relationships with worker dysfunction. The key concept, developed over the last decade or so from long established physiological research, has been that of "stress", with its physical and psychological implications for the efficacy of police work in general, and for the health and well-being of the individual officer.

Stress has been variously defined and researched, and the recent publication by Davidson and Veno should be referred to for an extended discussion of this concept in the context of the police occupation. It is wise, at this stage, to evade the complex issue of a definitive postulation of the stress notion; to do otherwise would be presumptuous for such an exploratory study as the present one. This essentially descriptive piece of research cannot hope to answer the fundamental questions raised by any firm etiological propositions regarding occupational stress. As will be described shortly, we view the present project as part of a conceptual and empirical mosaic; the integration of a sufficient number of additional pieces is

Davidson, Marilyn J and Veno, Arthur. <u>Multifaceted Aspects of Stress in the Police Service</u>. Australian Institute of Criminology, November 1977.

necessary if a sound causal model of occupational stress is to emerge. Briefly, we accept the 'reasonableness' of the proposition that in a specific occupation, there may be a process which develops from the presence of noxious factors("stressors") in the occupational environment to an arousal response("stress"), which may in turn leads to adverse reactions of a physiological and psychological nature if exposure to the stressors is consistent and long-term("responses to stress"). The complexities of such a process cannot be over stated, and an adequate clarification of it in theoretical terms would require a document at least as long as the present one.

Hence, we have set our sights in this particular study at a somewhat lower conceptual level. The interview survey is underpinned by an essentially non-etiological assumption that police officers will view their occupational environment and its impact upon themselves in certain identifiable ways. An implicit working hypothesis is entertained, of course i.e. at least some police perceptions will suggest an environment which is demanding, difficult and tension-inducing. These features are presumed to qualify broadly as "stressors", with proper specification, and we are relying upon previous research, to be described in some detail below, to draw stress-relevant implications from these perceptions.

In short, then, we are investigating the perceived presence of noxious agents (demands, events, situations, roles etc) in the policeman's working environment. Some additional investigation of reactions to stressors and stress arousal is also made, but, as will be emphasised, we do not accept these as definitive measures to the extent of justifying causal propositions. Such propositions will become more tenable when all the data at our

disposal are integrated in the forthcoming report.

The primary rationale for the approach we have adopted is contained in the empirical schema of Caplan et al. ² In their major study of occupational health, these researchers suggested that there are six areas of relevance which need to be studied if we are to understand the complexity of occupationally-related stress responses. They are:

- 1. The global objective environment. This refers to those features of the environment which exist independently of the individual's perceptions of them, such as the physical, social and cultural environment which can be objectively measures.
- 2. The subjective environment. This is part of the person's perceptions; it exists inside the person, as a result of his perceptions and cognitions of the objective environment. It is not open to direct observation, but must be inferred from behaviour and verbalisations.
- 3. Responses. These are the affective, psychological and behavioural responses of the individual to the environments defined above.
- 4. Health-illness. Measures of this variable are construed as the results of the responses to the individual's environments.
- 5. Social support. There are two kinds of social support: a) tangible help, such as medical services and financial aid, and b) emotional support, such as love, affection, sympathy, understanding, friendship, intimacy and so on, provided by another person or group.
- 6. The person. The last area of investigation is concerned with all those genetic or acquired characteristics of the individual which serve as conditioning variables for the person's propensity for stress responses.

These areas are not discrete entities, and obviously influence and overlap with each other. A theoretical model based upon these variables provided the analytic framework upon which the Job Environment and Health Questionnaire for Police Officers was developed and subsequently administered to Australian and U.S. police. A published prelimninary

Caplan, R.D., Cobb, S., French, Jr, J.R.P., Van harrison, R., and Prinneau, S.R. Job Demands and Worker Health, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. Publication No. (NIOSH) 75-160. U.S. P.O. Washington, D.C. 1975.

analysis of the U.S. sample is available, and unpublished data on the Australian samples have been prepared. 3

The present project is concerned with a further examination of those aspects of stress relating to the individual's perceptions of the occupational environment; that is, the second group of variables defined by Caplan et at., the subjective environment. Cooper and Marshall have suggested that the complex of stress factors in the occupational setting - physiological, psychological and sociological - requires a multi-disciplinary approach for appropriate examiantion; 4 consequently, different methodological strategies of investigation are necessary for different components of the working environment. Department, we are adopting this approach; for example, health data are being gathered from hospital and medical records; psychiatric reports are being examined to establish the extent to which police officers demonstrate mental problems associated with their occupation. Police regulations, legislation and executive orders are being used in order to define the objective police working environment. The project reported in this paper has examined, using an appropriate methodological strategy, the ways in which police officers perceive their working environment.

^{3.} Job Stress Among Police Officers - A Preliminary Analysis,
International Conference of Police Associations, National
Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Police Foundation, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. Cincinnati,
Ohio. December 1977.

^{4.} Cooper, C.L. and Marshall, J. 'Occupational Sources of Stress: A Review of the Literature Relating to Coronary Heart Disease and Mental Health'. <u>Journal of Occupational Psychology</u>. 1976, Vol.49. p.11-28.

INTRODUCTION - 2

SPECIFIC VARIABLES

Within the constraints of the survey technique adopted (to be described in the next section of the report), the present project was designed to elicit qualitative data on a number of variables which have emerged from previous research as likely stressor conditions in the subjective environment of the police officer. The broad terms, these can be categorised as:

- a) Perceptions of police work within the community (Community/Work Environment).
- b) Perceptions of the police officer's position in the social and familial community (Personal/Social Environment).
- c) Perceptions of confusion, ambiguity and conflict in occupational demands (Role Conflict/Ambiguity).
- d) Perceptions of the intensity and complexity of police work (Workload/Complexity).
- e) Perceptions of prior expectations of, and subsequent experience with, the nature of police work (Expectations/Reality).

In addition, attempts were made to measure a number of factors relating to the responses of the police officer to the occupation; these are:

- a) Satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the police occupation;
- b) Perceptions of the health consequences of the police occupation;
- c) Perceptions of the major problems involved in being a police officer;
- d) Perceptions of identification with the police occupation.

The second of these factors is not intended as a definitive measurement of job-related ill-health; data are being gathered elsewhere for this purpose. Rather it is designed to measure an important subjective element in the work environment, that of perceived consequence of job demand. The various response factors described above will be utilized in future analysis to discriminate amongst police officers in order to test specific hypotheses about the consequences of differing perceptions of the occupational environment.

COMMUNITY/WORK ENVIRONMENT

The particular element in the community/work environment to which the present investigation is directed is that of the general police relationship with the client-community; while this overall relationship is closely connected to the personal relationship each officer maintains with the community at large, it is useful at this stage to separate these areas for individual attention.

The ambience of community approbation or disapprobation bears obvious relevance to a service which takes its rationale and theoretical operating principles from the community. Subjective perceptions of the degree of support in the operating milieu are of considerable importance to the

quality of police work. More specifically, poor policecommunity relations have been cited as a significant stressor; Kroes, taking the position that in the American context there are demonstrably poor relations, claims that the ramifications in terms of job efficiency, social and occupational well-being and personality development are of particular concern. 5 Davidson and Veno suggest that the results of numerous studies support the contention that poor police-community relations are: 'instrumental in enhancing police alienation and subsequent increased stress'. 6 In the Australian situation, Chappell and Wilson say that perception of an unfavourable public image of the police can lead to loss of confidence, consequent deterioration of public relations, and adverse morale. Wilson and Western have pointed out that here is often a disparity between police perceptions of their public image and findings from public opinion; 8 the importance of this disparity is contentious. Banton believes that police perceptions of public relations tend to be more accurate, due to the greater experience of the police in dealing with the public than vice versa; 9 Chappell and Wilson suggest that police may underestimate the level of respect shown by

^{5.} Kroes, W.H. Society's Victim - The Policeman. 1976. Springfield, Ill. Charles C. Thomas.

^{6.} Davidson, Marilyn J. and Veno, A. op.cit. p.20.

^{7.} Chappell, D. and Wilson, P.R. The Police and the Public in Australia and New Zealand. 1969. St.Lucia. Univ. of Queensland Press.

^{8.} Wilson, P,R, and Western,J.S. The Policeman's Position Today and Tomorrow. 1972. St.Lucia. Univ. of Queensland Press.

^{9.} Banton, M. The Policeman in the Community. 1964, London, Tavistock.

the public. 10 While these contentions imply divergent remedial policies, we are not concerned in this report to resolve the issue; regardless of the objective validity of police perceptions of their public relations, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these perceptions are in themselves part of the stress matrix.

There are different aspects to the question of police-community relations which might be addressed; we have selected the area of general community attitude towards the police, and several specific issues concerning the respect in which the community holds police authority, expertise and occupational standing. In addition, the attitude which police hold towards the community is examined, as well as the levels of co-operation from the public which the police encounter.

PERSONAL/SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Banton has said: 11

The effectiveness of the policeman as a peace officer lies in his participation in the life of the society he polices there is evidence to suggest that the policeman's sense of participation varies considerably and that his performance of duties is related to these variations. p.168

Several writers in this field have asserted that the nature of police work inherently leads to a substantial degree of social isolation and consequent alienation from the community. Clark places this individual phenomenon in the context of contemporary and historical reactions of the

^{10.} Chappell, D. and Wilson, P.R. op.cit. p.56-57.

^{11.} ibid. p.168.

community to the specific persons who represent a policing authority; 12 the exercise of authority, with its inevitable interference into the pursuits, legal and illegal, of the citizens, leads to resentment at the general policing level, and social isolation at the individual police officer level. In addition, lack of consensus regarding the proper functioning of the police amongst police and the public contributes to this phenomenon. Skolnick, 13 Tauber, 14 Denyer, Callender and Thompson, 15 Cardno 16 and others have supported the general proposition of police isolation, with a wide range of theoretical explanations. We are concerned in establishing the existence of self-perceived social isolation as well as general social interaction, and do not propose etiological models at this stage. The implications of isolation, if such exists amongst police officers, lie with a variety of personal and social relationships; isolation may be termed a stress response, that is, a response to occupational demand and nature, and a stressor, in that it

^{12.} Clark, J.P. 'Isolation of the Police: A Comparison of the British and American Situations.' The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. 1965, vol.56,no.3. p.307-319.

^{13.} Skolnick, J.H. <u>Justice Without Trial</u>. 1966. New York, John Wiley & Sons.

^{14.} Tauber, Ronald K. 'Danger and the Police: A Theoretical Analysis'. Issues of Criminology. 1967. vol.3,no.1. p.69-81.

Denyer, R., Callender, R. & Thompson, D.E. 'The Policeman an Alienated Laborer'. <u>Journal of Police Science and Administration</u>. 1975 (Sept.). vol.3,no.3. p251-258.

^{16.} Cardno, J.A. 'Police - Problems of Public Relations'. Australian Police Journal. 1968 (Oct.) Vol.22. p.290-295.

may lead to occupational and health dysfunction. The degree of isolation may be reflected in family and peer group relations, social intercourse and friendship networks; these issues are addressed in the present investigation.

ROLE CONFLICT/AMBIGUITY

Kelling and Pate have suggested that 'role conflict' and 'role ambiguity' play an important part in the precipitation of stress responses; ¹⁷ by these terms, they mean, respectively, conflict in the demands placed upon them by the nature of police work and their own administrative hierarchy, and uncertainty in the scope of their responsibility and duties. Studies by French and Caplan, ¹⁸ Beehr, Walsh and Taber, ¹⁹ and Shirom et al., ²⁰ amongst others, have supported this contention with non-police samples. Kroes claims that in the police setting, role conflict and ambiguity are exacerbated because of the range of ill-defined duties and considerable responsibility for the safety and well-being of others. ²¹ Eisenberg proposes

^{17.} Kelling, G. and Pate, Mary Ann. 'The Person-Role Fit in Policing: The Current Knowledge and Future Research' in Kroes, W.H. and Hurrell, J.J. 'Job Stress and the Police Officer: Identifying Stress Reduction Techniques', Proceedings of Symposium, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1975. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

^{18.} French, J. and Caplan, R. 'Organisational Stress and Individual Strain' in Marrow, A.J. <u>The Failure of Success</u>. 1972. New York. Amacon.

^{19.} Beehr, T.A., Walsh, J.T. and Taber, T.D. 'Relationship of Stress to Individual and Organisationally Valued States: Higher Order Needs as a Moderator'. <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, 1976. vol.61,no.1. p.41-47.

^{20.} Shirom, A., Eden, D., Silberwasser, S., and Kellermann, J.J.

'Job Stress and Risk Factors in Coronary Heart Disease Among Five
Occupational Categories in Kibbutzim'. Social Science and Medicine.
1973. vol.7,no.11. p.875-892.

^{21.} Kroes, W.H. op.cit. p.17.20.

that the conflict inherent between enforcing the law and maintaining a service to the community in terms of peace-keeping can lead to dysfunction. Skolnick places this issue in the form of a major dilemma facing democratic societies: 23

Are the police to be principally an agency of social control, with their chief value the efficient enforcement of the prohibitive norms of substantive criminal law? Or are the police to be an institution falling under the hegemony of the legal system, with a basic commitment to the rule of law, even if this objective may result in a reduction of social order? p.1

Skolnick suggest that adoption of one policing philosophy over the other has major ramifications for the types of police service offered. Such considerations are well beyond the scope of this report; nevertheless, the potential for individual confusion and conflict over the appropriate police role is obvious. Consequently, this investigation looks at police perceptions of responsibility, the exercise of authority, appropriate police duties, the guideline structure for those duties, and the training for those duties.

WORKLOAD/COMPLEXITY

In 1972, Wilson and Western as a result of their investigation into the Victoria Police, developed a list of contemporary problems that they saw faced this law enforcement agency; ²⁴ in this list were included aspects of policework consequent upon an increased crime rate and

^{22.} Eisenberg, T. 'Labor-Management Relations and Psychological Stress - View from the Bottom'. Police Chief. 1974 (Nov.) vol.42,no.11. p.54-58.

^{23.} Skolnick, J.H. op.cit. p.l.

^{24.} Wilson, P.R. and Wester, J.S. op.cit. p.5-12.

the changing nature of some crime. In this latter category were changes in community and judicial attitudes towards those groups of offences known as 'crimes without victims', such as abortion, homosexuality, prostitution and drug addiction, and areas of technological and professional crime which have increased in both scope and sophistication. The quantitative and qualitative responses necessary to counteract workload and work complexity demands were viewed within the context of a police structure which had not made significant gains in the appropriate areas of recruitment, training, staffing, funding and administrative procedures of direction and control. Such a context of consequent 'work overload' has been cited as an occupational stressor (Margolis, Kroes and Quinn, ²⁵ Rubenstein, ²⁶ and Martin and Wilson²⁷).

Work overload, with its elements of quantitative and qualitative demands beyond the ability of the organisation and individual to respond effectively, may result from a variety of conditions: disproportionate increase in quantity of crime relative to police strength; disproportionate increase in those types of crime investigated by specialist squads relative to police strengths in those squads; increased sophistication in techniques of offence commission disproportionate with increase in police

^{25.} Margolis, B.L., Kroes, W.H. and Quinn, R.P. 'Job Stress: An Unlisted Job Hazard'. <u>Journal of Occupational Medicine</u>. 1974 (Oct.) vo.1, no.16. p.659-661

^{26.} Rubenstein, J. <u>City Police</u>. 1973, New York. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

^{27.} Martin, J.P. and Wilson, G. The Police: A Study in Manpower. 1969, London, Heinemann.

expertise; and so on. Data are being gathered elsewhere in order to develop objective indices of workload and complexity; for this report, police perceptions of workload and complexity have been investigated as an important part of the subjective environment. This is a valuable corollary of the objective indices, which have an inherent weakness in terms of measurement - a limited facility to establish the qualitative response to workload demands, i.e., the individual response each police officer makes to the intensity and complexity of the tasks demanded. Individuals differ in their capacity to cope with job demands, and objective measurements of those demands must be complemented by individual assessments of their intensity and complexity.

EXPECTATIONS/REALITY

Kelling and Pate have proposed a central concept in the occupational demand/response environment, that of the 'person-role fit': 28

In so central an institution as work, the "person-environment fit", or the degree to which the skills, aspirations, motivations and other social and psychological characteristics of an individual converge with the characteristics of the role that individual performs is an area of great importance to researchers, particularly in determining the effects of a person-environment "misfit" upon not only the individual but also upon the individual's family, social interactions and upon the organisation as well. p.120

Kelling and Pate are concerned primarily with the personrole fit, which 'involves the fit of the specific role to be performed within the organisation to both the skills and personality of the role player'. ²⁹ They suggest that the

^{28.} Kelling, G. and Pate, Mary Ann. op.cit. p.120.

^{29.} ibid. p.120.

lack of fit on either dimension can result in stress, dissatisfaction, boredom, alienation, low productivity and ultimately adverse physical and mental health. Research in this field, they propose, should attempt to measure background variables, personality dimensions, work-related attitudes and job performance. In fact, accurate measurement of these variables is problematical; criteria established by law enforcement agencies for the assessment of job performance vary considerably, while the selection and measurement of relevant background variables, personality dimensions and the like present formidable difficulties to the researcher. Nevertheless, efforts are being made in this Department and elsewhere to collect these sorts of The present project was seen as an appropriate strategy for the investigation of one component of the person-role fit, that of the perceived concordance or discordance between levels of expectation about the nature and demands of police work, and the actual experience of policing. Dissatisfaction with the occupation, with its consequences in terms of job well-being, would seem to follow if motivations for joining, knowledge of the nature of policing and career aspirations are unmet by actual experience on the job.

RESPONSE VARIABLES

For the purpose of presentation, the second group of variables examined in the present study have been termed response variables. This is to some extent an artificial classification, as the distinction between stressor and response variables cannot be definitive; responses to the

demands of the occupation, in both adaptational and dysfunctional terms, may well become the preconditions for further responses, thus becoming, in effect, mediating variables. For instance, the stressor condition of an inappropriate person-role fit might lead to occupational dissatisfaction, which in turn leads to maladaptive responses in terms of low morale and consequent task fulfilment inefficiency. The etiology of stress response is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and the specific isolation of stressor-response outcomes is problematical, given the variety of variable interactions. In this investigation we are dealing explicitly with the measurement of the subjective environment, only one component of the stress matrix; the response variables investigated should not necessarily be construed as the direct outcomes of the subjective stressor conditions described above. Nevertheless, perceptions of the sorts of outcomes studied play an obvious part in the individual's subjective evaluation.

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

The satisfaction/dissatisfaction variable illustrates well the mediating response suggested above; it is an intuitively likely outcome of the resolution/irresolution of the subjective stressor conditions in the individual's occupational environment. At the same time, several researchers have posited this variable as a stressor condition of some importance (Davidson and Veno, 30 Niederhoffer, 31 and

^{30.} Davidson, M. and Veno, A. op.cit.

^{31.} Niederhoffer, A. Behind the Shield. 1969. New York. Doubleday.

Robinson³²). Davidson and Veno suggest that indices of job satisfaction be utilised in any comprehensive study of stress amongst police officers.³³ We have approached the measurement of this variable both directly, through a straightforward question, and obliquely, through an attempt to gauge the police officers' extended perceptions of the value and utility of police work for others close to them.

HEALTH CONSEQUENCES

It has been stated previously that self-reported health consequences of the police occupation should not be considered as definitive indices of the physical outcome of the stress environment; objective data must provide the substantive base for such measurements. Nevertheless, an important link in the establishment of relationships between stressors, responses and physical outcomes is the selfreport of the police officer concerning those aspects of the job which he considers have health consequences; while these perceptions may not have strict physiological validity they represent a significant element in the subjective environment, i.e., the person may perceive linkages of causal significance which correlational techniques cannot simply demonstrate. By complementing objective data on health with those gathered from self-report, we can begin to obtain a comprehensive picture of the relative effects of the

^{32.} Robinson, D. 'Predicting Police Effectiveness from Self Reports of Relative Time Spent in Task Performance'. Personnel Psychology. 1970, vol.23. p.1-7.

^{33.} Davidson, M. and Veno, A. supra.

various environmental components described by Caplan et al.

GENRAL POLICE-RELATED PROBLEMS

The inclusion of general police-related problems provides an opportunity for the police officers sampled to elaborate upon areas already examined, and to generate new problem areas not encompassed in the framework of our investigation.

IDENTIFICATION

The identification variable proposed in this study does not have a clearly defined traditional part in examinations of stress; it touches on several related variables such as isolation, professionalisation and role demands, but, to our knowledge, has not been systematically studied. Essentially, it is concerned with the extent to which police officers identify with their police role as a pervasive life style; it may be termed the '24 hour police' syndrome. This is not necessarily an affective state, although Kroes has devoted some time to describing the personality ramifications of the police occupation upon all facets of the police officer's life; 34 nor is it necessarily the direct consequence of feelings of social isolation which set the police officer in a state of perpetual wariness about the social implications of his occupation. It might be seen as the logical outcome of an increasing sense of professionalisation among police officers - Clark suggests that: 35

^{34.} Kroes, W.H. op.cit.

^{35.} Clark, J.P. op.cit. p.308.

The rapid growth of professional expertise in a complex industrialised society has had its effect upon policing. Modern crime detection techniques, police administrative procedures, techniques of handling mass demonstrations and riots, and communication networks have contributed to the increased differentiation of the role of policing. Good policemen must be trained and re-trained. To the extent that such socialisation creates an occupational structure with its own standards of behaviour and a body of specialized knowledge, this occupation may be thought of as a profession. p.308.

In common with other professions, it is reasonable to propose that police officers develop an occupational perspective which is not limited to the actual time spent officially performing police duties. Thus, as the physician does not cease to be a doctor upon leaving the surgery, nor does the police officer cease to be a law enforcement officer once going off duty. To some extent, the ramifications of such a pervasive occupational identification have been documented; Kroes et al. have suggested that bringing police dutyrelated issues and problems home after work has an adverse effect upon family life. This type of occupational effect has been investigated in the present study under the personal/ social environment variable. However, this is not inherently the sort of implication arising solely from an occupational identification; it may just as well be the result of workload factors. The professional identification syndrome is considered important in the present study because of the possible stress responses to the demands of the police task being extended beyond the working environment. police officer carries with him a pervasive police role

^{36.} Kroes, W.H., Hurrell, J.J. and Margolis, B.L. 'Job Stress in Administration'. <u>Journal of Police Science and Administration</u>, vol.2,no.4 (Dec.). p.381-387.

perspective into all spheres of his life, and if that perspective, according to the stress hypothesis, can lead to various dysfunctional responses, the possibilities for exacerbated adverse consequences are obvious.

This particular aspect of the investigation must remain exploratory; definitive measurement of role identification would need to encompass a wide range of occupational and social behaviours, and this is beyond the brief of this investigation. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to establish the degree of involvement police report in situations which would demand their attention if they were on duty; this is an admittedly crude index of a role identification syndrome, but lays the foundation for a discrimination amongst those officers who carry their perception of appropriate police activity into their wider social and private activities, and those who confine their police role to official duties. This type of discrimination is designed to allow further specific analyses of police responses to their environment.

One further device was included in the interview schedule. This was a 22 True/False item inventory designed by Dr. Alan Hughes of the Politics Department of this University in order to measure his construct of 'Personal Anomie'. While such a construct has some relevance to a discussion of police stress, Dr. Hughes is analysing the data from this measure, and the results are not available at this stage for inclusion in this report.

SUMMARY

The present study has as its aim the investigation of the police officer's subjective environment, following the conceptual framework elaborated by Caplan et al. obvious from the previous discussion that the examination of this component of the occupational environment cannot be considered a discrete analytical area; there is considerable overlap into those other components such as responses, social support, the person and the global objective environ-This is to be expected, as these areas interact with and impinge upon each other; certainly, as far as the subjective environment is concerned, there will be strong relationships between the external features of the environment and the subjective perceptions based upon those features. The major implication of the Caplan et al. framework lies in the necessity to adopt different methodological techniques to assess the selected variables. The subjective environment is not directly observable to researchers in the same way that actuarial indices of health and the incidence of marital stability are; indications of the perceptions which make up the subjective environment must rely upon the verbalizations of the individual. It will be argued in the next section that we have adopted an appropriate strategy for the investigation of this component of the police environment.

Given the complexity of the factors involved in the police occupation, a study which addresses only one component (albeit of major importance) of that occupation cannot draw conclusions about the causal links between stressors and

and responses; this necessitates the integration of programs covering all aspects of the stress matrix. In simple terms, the role of this study is to elicit from police officers descriptions of how they view the work and social environment in which they operate, and to relate these descriptions to previous research findings concerned with stress.

METHODOLOGY

It has already been stated that one of the aims of the present project was to examine further the theoretical concepts underlying the questionnaire survey administered in Victoria, South Australia and the U.S.A. That survey was conducted entirely by mail in Victoria and South Australia, and demanded forced-choice responses from the samples. The issues involved in choosing an appropriate survey method are complex, and for a general discussion of these issues, the reader should refer to a number of references. 37,38. In brief, the use of a mail questionnaire design for the major occupational environment study was dictated by the desire to canvas as many police officers as possible; in the case of Victoria and South Australia, the total police populations were surveyed, eliminating the possibility of interview designs for cost reasons alone. The present survey was not designed to replicate the major study, but rather to allow more detailed examination of certain facets of the police occupation. Consequently, it was decided to adopt that survey method which promises the most comprehensive investigation of a sample - the interview. According to Gardner, the interview survey allows a more personal approach to data gathering, the elicitation of more qualitative information; a more flexible and less restrictive format; greater motivation and ease of response; more complete data;

^{37.} Bailey, K.D. Methods of Social Research. 1978. New York. The Free Press.

^{38.} Gardner, G. <u>Social Surveys for Social Planners</u>. 1976. Sydney. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

standardized and controlled procedure; and offers potentially more validity of response than mail questionnaire surveys. ³⁹ However, the interview survey is a costly device, and in the present instance, resources required that the sample to be surveyed remained small.

1. Design of the Interview Schedule

Gardner classifies interview schedules according to a continuum of "Formal - Informal" designs; he deals comprehensively with the merits and disadvantages of the various types. 40 It was decided that for the present project, the advantages of a standardised procedure (which offers a reduction in interviewer bias and inconsistency, increased response reliability and greater quantitative analysis) outweighed the advantages of an informal design. Hence, it was decided to ask a set number of questions in a standard order. However, in order to maximise the qualitative content of the responses, the questions remained open-ended to allow the respondents to elaborate their answers in detail. Thus, the design conforms basically to Gardner's "Formal interview", while allowing flexibility of response.

The specific questions to be asked were drawn up following the prescriptions enumerated in the introduction to this report. In addition, a variety of biographical questions were included, in order to establish the composition

^{39. &}lt;u>ibid</u>.

^{40.} ibid.

of the sample of police officers interviewed.

Two forced-choice scales were included in the interview schedule; the first of these is concerned with the 'identification' concept described above, and is fully reported in an appendix. The second scale was included after discussion with the Policital Science Department of the University of Melbourne, which is developing a device to measure the psycho-sociological dimension of 'Personal Anonmie'; the responses to this scale are being analysed by that Department, and are not included in this report.

Questions were distributed throughout the interview schedule so that, as far as possible, items concerned with a particular variable were not answered in a set, but rather in alternation with items from other variables. interview schedule was pilot-tested using a non-random sample of one policewoman and three policemen in a group The object of this procedure was to screen the questions and format for ambiguity and comprehension. discussion was encouraged as to the perceived applicability and clarity of the schedule as a police occupation questionnaire, and as a result, some questions were modified and their order of presentation altered. In addition, new questions were framed in order to cover issues raised by the group. As a result of this preliminary administration and discussion, the final schedule was drawn up (Appendix A).

1. Interviewers

The interviewing staff consisted of four female graduates, with experience in interviewing techniques gained from undergraduate and professional work.

3. Sampling design

The choice of an appropriate sample size in the present project was restricted largely by resources; the time and space available for interviewing and the number of interviewers were limited by the pressure of committment to other work in the Criminology Department. These same restrictions required that the sample be drawn from the Melbourne Metropolitan area, rather than the State as a whole; consequently inferences from the responses to the survey can strictly only be drawn to police officers in the metropolitan area.

The sample size was determined at 200 police officers; this number was deemed sufficient for the purposes of the project, and was of a size manageable by the limited staff and facilities.

In order to obtain a sample from which inferences to the metropolitan population could be drawn, a random sampling design was adopted. The specific design used was a proportionate stratified random sample; 41 this entailed the random selection of police officers stratified according to the numbers of each police rank in the force as a whole. The total actual strength of the Victoria Police was taken from the most current Annual Report of the Victoria Police, that of 1976; a sample of 200 police officers represented a ratio of approximately 1:33 (survey sample to total strength). A file of members of the force, the 'Seniority List' was used to draw a one-in-thirty-three random sample of police officers, stratified according to rank, and excluding officers working outside the Melbourne area.

^{41.} Gardner, G. op. cit. p. 99 for a discussion of this design.

4. Contact

A letter of introduction, inviting the sampled police officers to participate in an interview concerned with the police occupation was mailed in early March, 1978; the letters were mailed to the police officer's workplace, as described by the Seniority List. Sampled members were asked to phone the Criminology Department to arrange an appropriate time for the interview. Two weeks later another letter was mailed to those members of the sample who had not contacted the department by that time; this letter included a stamped, addressed envelope, allowing those who did not wish to participate to explain their reasons. This was an endeavour to account for the anticipated non-response rate. The letters are appended to this report (Appendices B and C). The interview program was closed in the third week of May, and responses to the follow-up letter after that date were rejected.

5. The interview

All but three of the respondent sample were interviewed in a private room in the Criminology Department (situated at 23 Royal Parade, Parkville, off the University of Melbourne campus), attended only by the interviewer. It was stressed over the phone that this was the preferred locale, to ensure a standardised interview procedure, and to minimise interference during the course of the interview. The three respondents who did not attend the department were interviewed in their homes; they had found it impossible to arrange a convenient time to be interviewed in Parkville.

The interviews took between one and a half and two hours to complete.

6. Coding

The size of the interview schedule and the sample of respondents dictated that analysis of the data would best be performed by computor; hence it was necessary to code responses in order to make then machine-readable. Open-ended questions are difficult to precode, i.e. anticipate the type of response one is most likely to obtain and structure the interview schedule accordingly. It is generally necessary to post-code open-ended question responses and this was the case in the present study. Coding necessarily involves data reduction with open-ended question responses, and this has to be performed carefully so that valuable and complex answers are not reduced to meaningless simplifications.

Master sheets of the different responses to each question by the respondent sample were drawn up, and a panel of the interviewers and the project co-ordinator derived a range of common responses. A number was assigned to each of these responses, and a code-book was developed. With the aid of the code-book, the panel then went through every questionnaire in collaboration, and coded the responses by writing the appropriate code number in the space provided in the right-hand margin of the interview schedule. Questions were considered as discrete entities, except for those that were contingent upon a previous question, to ensure that as little interpretive bias as possible influenced the coding.

The data were analysed by means of an SPSS frequency

^{42.} For a valuable discussion of the issues involved in coding, see Bailey, K., op. cit. chapter 14.

package at the University of Melbourne's computor system. 43 In the following section, results are presented as percentage frequency distributions i.e. the percentages of those respondents who answered in a certain way. As the aim of the project is to present descriptive data of how a sample of police officers perceive their occupational environment, such a presentation is adequate.

^{43.} Nie, N.H., Hull. C.H., Jenkins, J.G., Steinbrenner, K. Bent, D.H. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Second Edition. 1975, McGraw-Hill, New York. See chapter 14.3.

RESULTS

1. Response

Table 1. presents the details of the sample response.

The following features should be noted:

- 1) The percentage of the sample drawn which was actually interviewed is 38.5%. The policewoman interviewed was eliminated from the respondent sample because it was felt that without a significant sub-sample of policewomen, to be analysed separately from the men, the inclusion of a single non-representative police officer was not warranted. In addition, a sergeant who was interviewed had just resigned from the Force, and his responses were similarly not included in the final analysis. Thus the usable response rate is 37.5%.
- 2) Ten members of the sample were either not contacted or were unable to be interviewed, suggesting that the actual response rate is 75 police officers out of a contacted/available total of 190, or 39.5% (of course the non-response sample may include members who were not contacted or who were not available to be interviewed, but we cannot be sure of the exact numbers).
- 3) The 21 members of the sample who made an appointment but did not keep it, or arranged a tentative meeting but did not confirm, were followed up by telephone; they were either unable to be contacted or continued to postpone an interview time until after the interviewing program was halted.
- 4) Few officers made use of the self-addressed envelopes to explain reasons for refusing to participate; comments made were generally vague, and it was not possible to draw any conclusions from this strategy concerning refusal.

TABLE | INTERVIEW SURVEY RESPONSES

RANK		SAMPLE	INTER- VIEWED	DID NOT KEEP APPOINT- MENT	DID NOT RING BACK AFTER INITIAL CONTACT	REFUSED	RETIRED/ RESIGNED	LETTER RETURNED	INDISPOSED	REPLIED AFTER CLOSING DATE	NO RESPONSE	
CHIEF SUPER.	1	lst letter 2nd letter			1							(1)
CHIEF INSPECTOR		lst letter 2nd letter				1					2	(3)
INSPEC- TOR	7	lst letter 2nd letter	5 2									(7)
SENIOR SGT.	13	lst letter 2nd letter	5 4						la		3	(13)
SERGEANT	40	lst letter 2nd letter	10f 10	1	2 b	1	3	1	lc	1	11	(40)
SENIOR CONST.	61	lst letter 2nd letter	14 7	4 4	1 b	3			₂ d	2	24	(61)
CONS- TABLE	65	lst letter 2nd letter	11	4 2	1	3		1			35	(65)
PGLICE- WOMAN	10	lst letter 2nd letter	<u>l</u> e		1	1	1				6	(10)
TOTALS 2	:00		77	15	6	9	4	2	4	3	81	200

a. Lives 38 miles out and could not get to dept.

b. These initially busy, said they would recontact.

c. Overseas for two years.

d. One man on holidays/one man off active duty for 18 months.

e. Policewoman who responded was not included in the final sample.

f. Sergeant who had resigned was not included in the final sample.

5) The higher the rank, to inspector level, the better the response rate.

The above points require some commentary. Concerning the last point, it seems that the often observed reluctance of police personnel to involve themselves in studies of police work conducted by non-police researchers may vary across ranks. On the other hand, the poorer response rate amongst the lowest ranks may simply reflect the greater problems these members might have in taking time off from work to attend an interview.

The response rate in general is lower than one would expect for an interview survey. While it is possible that this reflects a reticence to discuss police matters with 'outsiders', it should be remembered that the approach used to contact the sample resembles a mail questionnaire strategy i.e. an invitation by mail requesting that the respondent undertake a time consuming task, rather than by the high-response strategy of personally approaching the sample member and requesting an interview on the spot. Under these circumstances, a near forty percent response rate can be considered reasonable.

Of somewhat more concern is the assessment of the representativeness of that forty percent of both the sample drawn and
the Force as a whole. At the time the interview survey was
initiated, the Victorian Police Association was in the latter
stages of planning a wage rise submission for presentation to
the Victoria Police Service Board, the wage-setting tribunal.
Care was taken in the covering letters to omit any reference to
this submission, but it is possible that members were aware
of the impending case. Under these circumstances, it is possible
to suggest that those members who responded to the interview
invitation were more concerned with presenting their

occupational grievances than those who declined the invitation, resulting in a biased sample. Without a thorough investigation of the non-respondents, a strategy for which we did not have the resources, such a possibility cannot be absolutely rebutted; nevertheless, there are indications that this was not in fact the case. A wage-setting tribunal only has the power to adjust wages, not conditions of service, and one would expect that questions concerned with existing problems in the Force would result in responses emphasising inadequate pay if the respondent sample was biased by a concern with an impending wage claim.* As will be seen when the results of the interview are discussed, such a concern with pay did not emerge, when ranked against other aspects of police work(see the responses to questions 92 and 104 in tables 81 and 80). By itself, of course, such an observation is no guarantee of an unbiased response sample. Of more weight is a comparison of responses between those respondents who were interviewed as a result of the first mailed invitation, and those who were interviewed as a result of the follow-up letter. If in fact those who responded to the interview survey were biased by a concern with increasing their pay, one would expect a rough continuum of bias between the three groups consisting of those who responded quickly, those who responded only after prompting, and those who did not respond at all, ranging, respectively, from considerable bias through to no bias. We could not, of course, assess the non-respondents, but it was possible to compare the responses of the first two

A condition of the Association's involvement in the interview survey was that the results might be used to present to the Police Service Board a survey-derived description of operating conditions in the Victoria Police. This in fact occurred.

groups by the application of chi-square analysis to reduced contingency tables of responses. This modified technique of the 'serial groups' method resulted in significant differences(.05 level) in the responses to only four questions, none of which had any obvious relevance to the question of a biased concern with pay(questions 38, 49 and two intervention items). Once again, this cannot be considered absolute proof, given the relatively small sizes of these two samples, that the respondent sample was unbiased. Nevertheless, it does suggest that the total sample's responses were more consistent than one would expect if there was a significant uni-directional and damaging bias in the motivation to respond to the survey.

In terms of the respondent sample's representativeness of the Force as a whole, it must be admitted that 75 respondents represents a very small percentage of the number of metropolitan police officers. It has already been pointed out that the sample is over-represented at the sub-officer and inspector level. This feature is reflected in a comparison of the sample's age groupings and those of the Force generally. Nevertheless, bearing this constraint in mind, it should be reiterated that the sample was randomly chosen, and, for the reasons enumerated above, the response sample can reasonably be considered broadly representative of the sample drawn. As long as the data derived from the survey are not applied to metropolitan police officers with unwarranted precision, we consider it likely that the survey results illustrate, in the broad, legitimate features of the police officer's perceptions of his operating environment.

2. Biographical information

In the following presentation, the responses of two samples are provided; the Melbourne A sample represents the total sample of 75 policemen; the Melbourne B sample represents the Constables and Senior Constables of the total sample, a number equally 40 policemen. This separation was performed to enable us to draw comparisons with both Australian and U.S. results of the mail questionnaire survey, to be reported in a later document. The U.S. sample consisted only of those police personnel who carry essentially the same rank and perform the same duties as the two Victorian lower ranks. For the purposes of this report, it was considered interesting to determine if the more junior ranks tend to perceive features of their work environment which differ from the higher ranks' perceptions. However, this exercise has not been carried through with any great thoroughness, as it is ultimately necessary to separate out completely the responses of the junior and senior ranks, rather than have the junior ranks' responses buried in the responses of the sample as a whole.

Tables 2 to 14 present biographical data on the respondent samples. The following points should be noted:

- 1) Table 2 reflects the disproportionate response rate among the ranks.
- 2) Table 3 similarly reflects the response rate; the Melbourne A sample tends to be older than one would find in the Force as a whole.

TABLE 2 - RANK OF SAMPLES

PERCENTAGES

RANK	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Inspector	9.3	-
Senior Sergeant	12.0	-
Sergeant	25.3	-
Senior Constable	28.0	52.5
Constable	25.3	47.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

TABLE 3 - AGE OF SAMPLES

YEARS	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
18 - 20	1.3	2.5
21 - 24	16.0	30.0
25 - 29	21.3	35.0
30 - 34	18.7	17.5
35 - 39	10.7	2.5
40 - 49	17.3	7.5
50 - 59	14.7	5.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
AVERAGE AGE	35.5	29 . 6

TABLE 4 - YEARS IN FORCE

YEARS	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
- 2	2.7	2.5
2 - 4	22.7	42.5
5 - 7	9.3	17.5
8 - 10	12.0	15.0
11 - 13	13.3	12.5
14 - 16	6.7	-
17 - 19	10.7	5.0
20 +	22.7	5.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
AVERAGE	ll.6 years	7.2 years

TABLE 5 - PRESENT ASSIGNMENT

ASSIGNMENT	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Patrol	34.7	50.0
C.I.B.	14.7	15.0
Station supervisor	9.3	
Crime cars	5.3	2.5
Prosecution	4.0	2.5
Traffic	4.0	2.5
Communications	2.7	-
Records	2.7	2.5
Training/education	2.7	2.5
Duty officer	2.7	-
Staff planning	1.3	· <u>-</u>
Property	1.3	2.5
Drugs	1.3	2.5
Jail	1.3	2.5
Other	12.0	15.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 6 - BIRTH PLACE

PERCENTAGES

BIRTH PLACE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Melbourne	46.7	60.0
City/Town in Victoria	26.7	22.5
Rural Victoria	6.7	7.5
Other Australian City/Town	4.0	0.0
Unspecified Australia	1.3	0.0
U.K.	14.7	10.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7 - CADET

CADET	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	16.0	20.0
No	84.0	80.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8 - PREVIOUS OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No previous occupation	14.7	17.5
Professional, technical and related workers	4.0	2.5
Administrative, executive and managerial worker	rs 9.3	15.0
Clerical workers	21.3	20.0
Sales workers	5.3	5.0
Farmers, fisherman, hunters, timber getters and relat workers	ced 5.3	5.0
Craftsmen, producti process workers a labourers (not elsewhere classif	and	27.5
Members of armed forces, enlisted personnel	2.7	2.5
Other	1.3	2.5
Policemen (elsewher	ce) 4.0	2.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

TABLE 9 - MARITAL STATUS

PERCENTAGES

MARITAL STATUS	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Single	17.3	27.5
Married	77.3	65.0
Separated	2.7	5.0
Divorced	2.7	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 10 - EDUCATION UPON JOINING FORCE

EDUCATION	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Eighth grade or less	5.3	5.0
Some high school but not H.S.C.	73.3	72.5
H.S.C. from high school	5.3	5.0
Some tech.school, but not to final year	6.7	7.5
Final year tech.	4.0	2.5
Some C.A.E. but not completed	5.3	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 11 - ADDITIONAL EDUCATION SINCE JOINING FORCE

EDUCATION	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No additional formal education	73.3	80.0
Some high school, but not H.S.C.	4.0	2.5
H.S.C.	5.3	5.0
Some tech. school but not completed	2.7	5.0
Some C.A.E. courses but not completed		5.0
Graduate or diplomate from C.A.E.	1.3	. –
Some post-graduate courses at C.A.E./university	1.3	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 12 - FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE

BIRTHPLACE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Melbourne	24.0	30.0
City/Town in Victoria	22.7	22.5
Rural Victoria	8.0	10.0
Other Australian City/Town	10.7	10.0
Unspecified Austral	ia 10.7	10.0
U.K.	21.3	12.5
Europe	1.3	2.5
Other	1.3	2.5
TOTAL	100.00	100.0

TABLE 13 - MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE

BIRTHPLACE	MELBOURNE	A MELBOURNE B
Melbourne	20.0	30.0
City/Town in Victoria	28.0	27.5
Rural Victoria	5.3	5.0
Other Australian City/Town	9.3	7.5
Other Australian Rural	1.3	0.0
Unspecified Australi	ia 16.0	17.5
U.K.	17.3	10.0
Europe	1.3	2.5
Other	1.3	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 14 - CHILDREN

CHILDREN	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
N/A	17.3	27.5
No children	5.3	10.0
Boy or boys	12.0	12.5
Girl or girls	14.7	17.5
Boy(s) and girl(s)	50.7	32.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

3. COMMUNITY/WORK ENVIROMENT

Table 15 presents the responses to question 37 on the interview schedule.

Question 37: What sort of attitude do	TABLE 15			
you think the community has towards the police?	PERCENTAGES			
nus comutus ene porrec.	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B		
Majority positive attitude	56.0	52.5		
Community equivocal - tends to be apathetic unless specifically in need of police services	26.7	25.0		
Mjority negative attitude	14.6	20.0		
Do not know	2.7	2.5		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		

'Positive' attitude refers to the constellation of responses concerned with a majority of the public which approves, favours or has respect for the police; 'Negative' attitude is the converse. 'Community equivocal' refers to those responses which indicate that the public tends to hold a non-specific or apathetic attitude towards the police, except in times of need.

The majority of the respondent samples consider that the public has a favourable attitude towards the police. 44

^{44.} A similar question was asked of the police samples in the study conducted by Chappell and Wilson in 1969; they found that for their collective police sample, made up of police officers from Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania, 31% considered that the public had great respect for the police, 59% thought the public had mixed feelings and 9% thought that there was little respect for the police. The categories of response do not compare readily with those used in our study; the large percentage of responses in the 'mixed feelings' category probably reflects the unwillingness of the police to place public opinion into such a polarised framework; nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the Victorian sample views public opinion as less favourable, to the extent of being negative, than the 1969 samples in terms of 'little respect'.

SEE Chappell, D. and Wilson, P.R. op.cit. p.65.

While this suggests an operating environment which is broadly supportive, it is important to note that a quarter of the samples viewed the public as ambivalent or apathetic, a circumstance which may lead to a state of operational uncertainty. Nevertheless, the majority response to this general question of the public's attitude implies that the respondent samples do not consider the public as antipathetic as previous research would suggest.

The Melbourne B sample tends to view the public as less favourable to the police than the total respondent sample; to some extent, this finding supports Banton's contention that those closest to the police-public interaction perceive the relations somewhat differently than those further removed; while Banton was talking specifically about the police as against the public, the police force is hardly homogeneous in terms of public contact. Operational personnel, particularly those of the two junior ranks who routinely deal with the public, would be in a better position to assess the nature of the public's attitude than would a sample of the force as a whole, with its complement of senior ranks with limited operational contact.

Table ¹⁶ presents the response to questions 38 and 39 on the interview schedule.

Questions 38 & 39:	TABLE 16	
Do you think that this		
attitude has changed	PERCENTAGES	
in, say, the last three		
years?		
If so, in what way has	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
it changed?	***************************************	
Changed for the better	17.3	10.0
No change	32.0	35.0
Changed for the worse	41.3	42.5
Do not know	9.3	12.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

Changes for better or worse refer to increases or decreases in the level of public respect, favour, approval etc towards the police.

Despite the general consensus on the level of public approbation evident in the responses to question 37, the most popular response to the attitude change question lies with a deteriorating public relationship; this finding reverses the trend suggested by the results of the Chappell and Wilson survey in 1969, in which 41% of the police sample thought that the public had changed for the better in their opinion of the police over the last ten years, 29% thought that there was no change, and 23% thought that there had been a change for the worse. 45 While the time frame for the present survey was shorter, and the social and operating environment possibly different from that of the Chappell and Wilson study, the present finding indicates that police perceptions of their public relationship in developemental terms have altered from the position ten years ago. from the results of our survey, more police find themselves operating in a community environment in which public attitude towards the police is deteriorating than in an environment in which the relationship is improving.

^{45.} Chappell, D. and Wilson P.R. op.cit. p.59.

Table 17 presents the response to question 56 on the interview schedule.

TABLE 17		
PERCENTAGES		
MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
73.3	70.0	
13.3	15.0	
13.3	15.0	
99.9	100.0	
	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A 73.3 13.3 13.3	

The results of question 56 indicate that the police sample is confident that their police authority is held in respect by the community. That is, of course, a conceptually different issue to that of the public's attitude to the police in general; it refers specifically to the police officer's authoritative or enforcement role in the police occupation. It would seem that few policemen are concerned that the powers invested in them to exercise authority are not recognised (as legitimate) by the public.

Table 18 presents the responses to question 57 on the interview schedule.

Question 57: If not, what sort of groups do not?	CITE SPECIFIC GROUNDED RESPECT POLICE AUTONOMO N.B. Some responde one group.	THORITY.
	MELBOURNE A (N=47)	MELBOURNE B $(N=27)$
The young Criminals and those app	38.3	37.0
hended by the police	36.2	40.7
Academics/educated sect	ors 12.8	14.8
Political/religious rad	icals 8.5	3.7
Other groups	40.4	44.4

Both those respondents who consider that the majority of the public hold their police authority in respect, and those who think the reverse were given the opportunity to specify groups they consider do not entertain respect.

47, or 62.7% of the total sample, and 27, or 67.5% of the junior rank sample took this opportunity.

The ranking of the young as the major group holding police authority in disrespect tends to support the contention of Wilson and Western that this group represents a significant problem to the police in terms of control, management and understanding. 46

Table 19 presents the responses to question 64 on the interview schedule.

Question 64: Do you ever feel that	TABLE 19		
the community resents you exercising your authority?	PERCENTAGES		
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Yes	72.0	72.5	
No	25.4	25.0	
Do not know	2.7	2.5	
TOTAL	100.1	100.0	

While most respondents consider that their police authority is held in respect by the public, practically the same percentage feel that the community resents the exercise of that authority. It seems that the respondent sample distinguishes between the

^{46.} Wilson, P.R. and Western, J.S. op.cit. p.5-7.

perceived legitimacy of police authority, and the actual reaction to its exercise. This would seem to place the police in an anomolous situation; they operate in a sphere of public acceptance of their authority, one of the bases of successful job performance, while the exercise of that authority may well be adversely received.

TABLE 20

Question 65: If so, what sort of situations are you thinking of?

PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF RESENTMENT

N.B. some respondents cite more than one situation.

MELBOURNE A (N=59) MELBOURNE B (N=30)

Maintenance of law and order eg., demonstrations/domestic disturbances	37.3	23.3
Situations in which there is a 'conflict of wills' eg, police intervention in activities not deemed illegal or wrong by the actors	37.3	46.7
the actors	37.5	40.7
Traffic regulations enforcement	33.9	40.0
General situations of apprehension/charging	25.4	26.7
Situations of resent- ment because of any interventions of 'authority'	10.2	10.0

The first of the categories of response refers specifically to those police tasks concerned not with the apprehension of serious offenders, but rather with order maintenance functions which call for control strategies. While this category is not entirely distinct from the second one, the types of police response may well differ significantly; in the first class of event, enforcement of the law may be unnecessary or inappropriate, while the second class refers to the enforcement of generally or specifically unpopular The fourth category refers to situations in which an alleged offender takes umbrage at apprehension and being charged, but which do not specifically fit into the first three categories. The last category is concerned with those segments of the community who may be called 'antiauthority', perhaps best labelled in folk-terms, the 'Ned Kelly' syndrome.

It is perhaps surprising to note that the first two categories rank higher in terms of police perceptions of resentment than the fourth category; it is reasonable to expect that police contact with alleged offenders would give rise to much of the resentment engendered by the exercise of police authority. However, it appears that police locate resentment more particularly in those areas where enforcement is difficult, unpopular or inappropriate. The importance of domestic confrontations supports the findings of the mail questionnaire survey which ranked domestic disturbances high on the list of unliked and tension-provoking police interventions.

Table 21 presents the response to question 81 on the interview schedule.

mante 21

Question 81:	TABLE 21			
Do you receive as much co-operation from the public as you would	PERCENTAGES			
like in the course of your duties?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B		
1				
Yes - generally	28.8	33.3		
No - generally	60.1	53.9		
Do not know	11.0	12.8		
TOTAL	99.9	100.0		

The clear majority of the samples consider that they do not receive the desired level of co-operation from the public. This perception seems to place police operations in a public sphere which, although theoretically supportive (from the results in Table 15), in fact offers less than the desired level of actual help. This highlights an important difference in an abstracted favourable attitude towards the police and a community/work environment which is really facilitative in concrete terms.

The junior rank sample tends to perceive more cooperation from the public than the sample as a whole; the differences are, however, relatively slight.

Tables 22, 23 and 24 present the responses to questions 82, 83 and 84 on the interview schedule.

Question 82: If not, what sort of	TABLE 22			
groups do not?	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITED GROUPS.			
	N.B. Some responde one group.	nts cite more than		
	MELBOURNE A (N=53)	MELBOURNE B (N=28)		
No specific groups - an individual reaction to police	52.8	53.6		
Criminals and those apprehended by the				
police	28.3	35.7		
The young	18.9	28.6		
Class groups/ethnic grpups/demographic				
groups	18.9	14.3		
Others	11.3	3.6		
Question 83: (If not) why do you	TABLE 23			
think that is so?	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO CITE REASONS FOR NON-COOPERATION			
	MELBOURNE A (N=53)	MELBOURNE B (N=28)		
Generalized apathy/non-involvement	34.0	35.7		
Fear of trouble/ reprisals	24.5	21.4		
Hostility/lack of respect for police/ active avoidance of	•			
contact	22.6	21.4		
Do not know/Unspecified	18.9	21.5		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		

	tion			
(If	not)	đo	you	think
that	sit	uat:	ion h	nas
chan	ged :	in,	say,	the
last	thre	ee y	years	3?

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE	OF	THOSE	ERESPONDE	NTS WHO
ANSWERED C	UES?	CION 8	34	

last three years?	MELBOURNE A (N=53)	MELBOURNE B (N=28)
Change for the better	7.6	10.7
No change	60.3	64.3
Change for the worse	32.1	25.0
TOTAL	100.0	99.9

Some respondents who answered "Yes generally" to question 81 also answered questions 82, 83 and 84.

From Table 22, it seems the respondent samples do not locate those who do not co-operate with the police in specific groups to any extent, although it should be noted that some 29% of those in the junior rank sample who answered question 82 considered the young to be a significant group of non-cooperation. Nearly 25% of the sample respondents who answered question 83 thought that non-cooperation is borne of antagonism towards the police.

The responses to question 84 indicate that the level of co-operation perceived by the police has not deteriorated to the same extent as the general community attitude towards the police. Although the respondents to question 84 form only a sub-sample of the total sample, the findings strongly suggest that the police consider that undesirable levels of co-operation have either existed for some time or are getting worse. This perception by the police reiterates the point made above concerning the real levels of active support in the community; the police have been and are

operating in an environment with limited actual support.

Tables 25 and 26 present the responses to questions 78, 79 and 80 in the interview schedule.

Question 78:

TABLE 25

Do you think the police have changed in their manner to-wards members of the public?

the public?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	65.3	56.5
No	30.6	34.8
Do not know	4.1	8.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

The categories of responses in Table 26 are divided into three sorts of changes: perception of an improved police manner towards the public; perception of a developing wariness i.e., that collection of responses which do not place a value on the manner change, but rather suggest that police have become more wary or suspicious of policepublic interaction; and a perception of a change for the worse in the police manner. Almost all of the responses to questions 79 and 80 describe the same interaction phenomenon, that of an increased public awareness of the scope and limits of police power and authority, with the attendant need for police to modify their behaviour towards the public. The response categories for Table 26 illustrate the different values and reasons for this change perceived by the policemen interviewed.

COMMUNITY/WORK ENVIRONMENT

Question 79:	TABLE 26		
If so, in what way? Question 80: Why do you think this	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CONSIDER THAT POLICE HAVE CHANGED IN THEIR ATTITUDE		
is so?	MELBOURNE A (N=49)	MELBOURNE B(N=23)	
Change for the better - because the community i improving its understan ing of the police		8.7	
Change for the better - because of the positive (for police) effects of enquiries such as Beach Inquiry		17.4	
Become more wary - because of community changes	6.1	4.4	
Become more wary - because of the increase in civil liberties awar ness, complaints proced Beach Inquiry	e-	30.4	
Change for the worse - because the community i getting worse	10.2	13.0	
Change for the worse - because of the increase in civil liberties, awareness, etc.	22.5	26.1	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	
SUMMARY			
Better	35	26	
More wary	33	35	
Worse	33	39	

In general, there is little to distinguish the responses within each of the three major manner change categories, except that some respondents specifically mention public inquiries, increased public awareness of civil liberties and complaints procedures, while others referred to changes in community awareness and behaviour which, while presumably based upon these elements, are not described explicitly. Hence it was felt legitimate to sum the responses within each of the three catefories to provide an overall summary of response.

The majority of respondents consider that the police have changed in their manner towards the public. No retrospective time limit was imposed upon the question, so it is reasonable to propose that the difference in responses to question 78 between the two samples reflects the greater experience of the total sample in monitoring police attitude and behaviour.

Two-thirds of the total sample who answered questions
79 and 80 believe that police manner has become more wary
or worse towards the public; in most cases, the implication
is that the police manner is a reflection of the attitude
and behaviour of the public.

While less of the junior rank sample think that police have changed in their manner, nearly 75% of those who do think that there has been a change considered that the police manner has become more wary or worse.

Tables 27, 28 and 29 present the responses to questions 60, 70 and 71 on the interview schedule.

TABLE 2.7 Question 60: Do you think that the **PERCENTAGES** general public considers police work to be an occupation requiring MELBOURNE B MELBOURNE A skill and expertise? Yes 33.3 27.5 No 60.0 65.0 Do not know 6.6 7.5 TOTAL 99.9 100.0 TABLE 28 Question 70: Do you think that the police occupation has **PERCENTAGES** the job status that it deserves in the comm-MELBOURNE A MELBOURNE B unity? 30.0 28.0 Yes - generally 58.7 52.5 No - generally 17.5 Do not know 13.3 100.0 100.0 TOTAL TABLE 29 Question 71: **PERCENTAGES** If not, why not? MELBOURNE A (N=48) MELBOURNE B (N=24) Community ignorance of the nature of police work 33.3 25.0 Community considers police work menial/unskilled/ distasteful 20.8 20.8 Community resents police/ considers police image bad 16.7 20.8 Community reflects police

16.7

12.5

100.0

25.0

8.3

99.9

reality i.e. low pay, lack of professionalism

Unspecified

TOTAL

Some respondents who answered 'Yes - generally' to question 70 also answered question 71.

It is clear from Tables 27 and 28 that the majority of the police officers interviewed do not consider that the public accords the police occupation professional and prestigous status. Thus, while we have noted that the respondent samples generally believe that the public's attitude towards police and respect for police authority is favourable, it seems that that this phenomenon is not based upon public respect for the occupation itself; it might be conjectured that the police believe their public image is derived from a basic committment by the community to the ideal of a law enforcement agency, and not from the actual personnel and occupational structure which comprise that agency.

The ambiguity of the notion 'job status' is reflected in the percentage of respondents who are not prepared to provide a definitive answer to question 70. This question was deliberately framed in this manner to allow the respondents to adopt their own definition of status. Nevertheless, the similarities in the response percentages evident in Tables 27 and 28 suggest that the samples tend to equate job status with a consideration of police work as skillful and expert; the major differences lie in the uncommitted category.

The response categories in Table 29 reflect various levels of community understanding of the police. The first category suggests that the community is generally unaware of the nature of police work, while the second category refers to actual misapprehension of what the police do.

The third category reflects a belief that the community thinks poorly of the police as a professional body because of a reaction to the police as an inefficient, corrupt or insensitive organisation. The fourth category places the community understanding of police on a plane the respondent considers accurate, reflecting the reality of an organisation which pays poorly, recruits with low standards and does not demand a high level of professionalism.

COMMUNITY/WORK ENVIRONMENT - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The responses of the samples to the questions concerning features of the community/work environment in which they operate suggest some complex perceptions. The general attitude of the public towards the police is seen as favourable, yet over 40% of the samples consider that this attitude has changed for the worse in the last three years. Police authority is perceived as respected by the majority of the public, but a large proportion of the respondents feel that the community resents the exercise of that authority. From the responses, it seems co-operation from the public is not encountered at desirable levels, and the police occupational status and professionalism are not highly considered by the community. Finally, a majority of the respondents consider that the police have changed in their manner towards the public, with this change largely perceived as an increased wariness or worsening in police-public interaction.

These perceptions are general, and obviously demand a good deal more specificity if firm conclusions are to be

drawn regarding the operating climate of the police. Nevertheless, they suggest a subjective community/work environment with some anomolous features. The police consider that they are operating in a public sphere with inadequate actual cooperation; little recognition of their professional status; a state of flux in both the public's attitude and in their own responses to that attitude; and a situation where the basis of their operations, police authority may be met by resentment from their client group. In balance, the environment is broadly supportive, and there appears to be little specific hostility directed towards the police. Whether these perceptions reflect an ambivalence in the community's attitude and level of support, or an ambivalence in the respondents' perceptions of the community is uncertain. As far as the perceptions are concerned, the major implication is that the community supports the police in an abstracted, non-involved fashion, but does not understand the force and its requirements, and is loath to commit itself to real cooperation. These considerations fulfil some of the conditions proposed by previous researchers as stressful.

PERSONAL/SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Do not know

TOTAL

Tables 30 to 36 present the responses to questions 43, 45 to 48 on the interview schedule.

Question 43: What did the following	TABLE 3.0	
people thing of you becoming a policeman: (If you were married when you first joined the force)	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO WERE MARRIED WHEN THEY FIRST JOINED THE FORCE	
Your spouse?	MELBOURNE A (N=	30) MELBOURNE B (N=16)
Happy/positive	50.0	62.5
Acceptable/neutral	36.7	18.8
Reservations	10.0	12.5
Unhappy/negative	3.3	6.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Question 45:	TABLE 31	
What did the following people think of you becoming a policeman:		HOSE RESPONDENTS WHO THEIR IMMEDIATE
Your immediate family?	MELBOURNE A (N=	52) MELBOURNE B (N=26)
Happy/positive	65.4	65.4
Acceptable/neutral	15.4	3.9
Reservations	5.8	11.5
Unhappy/negative	7.7	11.5

5.8

100.1

7.7

100.0

Question 45:	TABLE 32	
What did the following people think of you becoming a policeman:	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS SPECIFICALLY MENTION THEIR FATHE	
Father?	MELBOURNE A(N=22)	MELBOURNE B(N=12)
Happy/positive	59.1	58.3
Acceptable/neutral	4.6	8.3
Reservations	9.1	8.3
Unhappy/negative	27.3	25.0
TOTAL	100.1	99.9
Question 45: What did the following people think of you becoming a policeman:		OSE RESPONDENTS WHO
Mother?	MELBOURNE A(N=20)	MELBOURNE B(N=12)
Happy/positive	55.0	50.0
Acceptable/neutral	5.0	0.0
Reservations	15.0	25.0
Unahppy/negative	15.0	16.7
Do not know	10.0	8.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Question 46: What did the following	TABLE 34	
people think of you becoming a policeman:	PERCENTAGES	
Non-police close friends?		MELBOURNE B
Happy/positive	14.7	20.0
Acceptable/neutral	52.0	42.5
Reservations	4.0	5.0
Unhappy negative	6.7	5.0
Do not know	22.7	27.5
TOTAL	100.1	100.0

Question 47: What did the following	TABLE 35	
people think of you becoming a policeman?	PERCENTAGES	
Non-police acquaintances	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Happy/positive	8.0	10.0
Acceptable/neutral	37.3	37.5
Reservations	8.0	12.5
Unhappy/negative	8.0	10.0
Do not know	38.7	30.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Question 48: (If you have married	TABLE 36	
since joining the force) what did your spouse think of you being a	PERCENTAGE OF SINCE JOINING	THOSE WHO MARRIED THE FORCE
policeman?	MELBOURNE A(N	= 32) MELBOURNE B(N=13)
Happy/positive	50.0	46.2
Acceptable/neutral	34.4	38.5
Reservations	6.3	7.7
Unhappy/negative	9.4	7.7
TOTAL	100.1	100.1

The responses to question 44 were ommitted, as there were very few respondents who had children when they first joined the force. The responses to question 45 were elaborated from the original interview question as a number of respondents specified different members of their family for comment.

The four basic categories of response in these tables follow constellations of responses which indicated that the individuals described were: 1) favourable disposed towards

the respondent becoming a police officer; 2) uncommitted, unconcerned, indifferent or accepting of the respondent becoming a policeman; 3) concerned about the respondent becoming a policeman, but not to the extent of being actively unhappy or hostile; and 4) concerned to the extent of being unhappy or negative about the respondent becoming a policeman.

The majority of the respondent sample consider that all of the individuals concerned, with the exception of the non-police acquaintances, were either happy about or accepted the decision to join the force; in the case of their non-police acquaintances, the 'do not know' category is cited most frequently.

In the case of those respondents who specifically mention either their father or mother, the percentages who consider that there were reservations or negative responses are quite high; however, this is a very self-selecting sample, small in numbers and results should be viewed with caution.

The popularity of the 'do no know' category for friends and acquaintances probably reflects the level of consultation and concern regarding the decision to join the force demonstrated with these groups.

Tables 37 to 43 present the responses to questions 49 to 53 on the interview schedule.

Question 49:

How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS MARRIED (If married) your spouse? MELBOURNE A(N=62) MELBOURNE B(N=29) Happy/positive 33.9 37.9 Acceptable/neutral 16.1 13.8 Reservations 21.0 20.7 22.6 Unhappy/negative 17.2 Separated/divorced 10.3 because of job. 6.5 TOTAL 100.1 99.9 Question 50: TABLE 38 How do these people now feel about you being a PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS policeman? WITH CHILDREN (If you have children) your children? MELBOURNE A(N=44) MELBOURNE B(N=14) 40.9 57.1 Happy/positive Acceptable/neutral 40.9 28.6 Reservations 9.1 7.1 Unhappy/negative 9.1 7.1 99.9 TOTAL 100.0

TABLE 37

Note: several respondents with children did not answer this question as they considered their children too young to have feelings on this matter.

Question 51: How do these people now feel about you being a policeman?		F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE	
Your immediate family?	MELBOURNE A(N=48) MELBOURNE B(N=27)	
Happy/positive	62.5	66.7	
Acceptable/neutral	25.0	25.9	
Reservations	10.4	7.4	
Unhappy/negative	0.0	0.0	
Lost contact	2.1	0.0	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	
Question 51: How do these people	TABLE 40		
now feel about you being a policeman?		F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO MENTIONED THEIR FATHER	
Father?	MELBOURNE A (N=16) MELBOURNE B (N=9)		
Happy/positive	62.5	55.6	
Happy/positive Acceptable/neutral	62.5 18.8	55.6 33.3	
	-		
Acceptable/neutral	18.8	33.3	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations	18.8	33.3	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51:	18.8 6.3 12.5	33.3 0.0 11.1	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE O	33.3 0.0 11.1	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51: How do these people now feel about you	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFICALLY	33.3 0.0 11.1 100.0 F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51: How do these people now feel about you being a policeman?	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFICALLY	33.3 0.0 11.1 100.0 F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO MENTIONED THEIR MOTHER	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51: How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Mother?	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFICALLY MELBOURNE A(33.3 0.0 11.1 100.0 F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO MENTIONED THEIR MOTHER N=16) MELBOURNE B(N=11)	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51: How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Mother? Happy/positive	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFICALLY MELBOURNE A (62.5)	33.3 0.0 11.1 100.0 F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO MENTIONED THEIR MOTHER N=16) MELBOURNE B(N=11) 72.7	
Acceptable/neutral Reservations Unhappy/negative TOTAL Question 51: How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Mother? Happy/positive Acceptable/neutral	18.8 6.3 12.5 100.1 TABLE 41 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFICALLY MELBOURNE A (62.5 18.8	33.3 0.0 11.1 100.0 OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO MENTIONED THEIR MOTHER N=16) MELBOURNE B(N=11) 72.7 18.2	

Question 52: How do these people	TABLE 42	
now feel about you being a policeman?	PERCENTAGES	
Non police close friends?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Happy/positive	20.0	25.0
Acceptable/neutral	65.3	57.5
Reservations	4.0	5.0
Unhappy/negative	1.3	2.5
Lost contact	9.3	10.0
TOTAL	99.9	100.0
Question 53: How do these people now	TABLE 43	
	TABLE 43 PERCENTAGES	
How do these people now feel about you being a	PERCENTAGES	MELBOURNE B
How do these people now feel about you being a policeman?	PERCENTAGES	MELBOURNE B
How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Non-police acquaintances?	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	
How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Non-police acquaintances? Happy/positive	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A 14.6	20.0
How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Non-police acquaintances? Happy/positive Acceptable/neutral	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A 14.6 53.3	20.0 47.5
How do these people now feel about you being a policeman? Non-police acquaintances? Happy/positive Acceptable/neutral Reservations	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A 14.6 53.3 9.3	20.0 47.5 7.5

Originally, the response categories for these questions were divided into a more elaborate taxonomy, with provision for a change in sentiment from one category to another; it was felt that for ease of comprehension, this classification should be simplified to the present categories, as little information is lost.

There is a substantial change in the sentiment of wives concerning the respondent being a policeman. From

Tables 25 and 31, some 80% of spouses were happy or accepting of their husbands becoming or being policemen; this figure has dropped to around 50% when the respondents are asked about the current sentiment. This is an important finding, as the spouse may be regarded the closest person to the influence of the respondent's occupation other than the respondent himself.

In general, the other people concerned with the respondent have heightened their acceptance of him being a police officer.

Table 44 presents the responses to questions 40 and 41 on the interview schedule.

Questions 40 & 41: Do you regularly see many of the friends you made before you joined the force?	TABLE 44 PERCENTAGES	
If not, why is this so?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	36.0	42.5
Some/unsure/ambivalent	4.0	5.0
No - because of conditions of service, eg. transfers, shift work	30.7	30.0
No longer compatible because I am a policeman	12.0	15.0
Unspecified attrition	17.3	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

The fourth response category in this table refers specifically to those respondents who claimed that friends had dropped away because the fact of being a policeman inhibited companionship and communications between the respondent and the friend.

Despite the findings in Tables 42 and 43 that relatively few respondents consider that they have lost contact with old friends and acquaintances, Table 44 suggests that more than 50% of respondents no longer see old friends regularly. The general nature of the questions in the schedule make it difficult to explain this anomoly with any authority, but it might be conjectured that there is a qualitative difference in the sorts of friendships maintained after becoming a policeman. While total contact may be lost with only a few old friends and acquaintances, frequency and regularity of contact with those still seen may depend upon the level of approbation of the respondent's police status. Thus, those seen regularly are more likely to have accommodated positively to the respondent's occupation.

Table 45 presents the responses to question 42 on the interview schedule.

Question 42:
When you want to entertain at home, or go out to parties and other social gatherings, do you find that your companions are mostly fellow police, mostly non-police, or roughly an even mix of

the two?	PERCENTAGES		
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Mostly fellow police	36.0	42.5	
Mostly an even mix	25.3	32.5	
Mix with both groups separately	6.7	7.5	
Mostly non-police	21.3	12.5	
Mostly non-police deliberately to maintain			
a social balance	10.7	5.0	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	

The last of the response categories in this table reflects a quite specific answer to question 42; a number of the respondents replied that they went out of their way to mix in non-police circles in order to reduce their social dependency upon the police occupation with its pervasive ramifications.

Over a third of the total sample, and 40% of the junior rank sample tend to mix with fellow police. It is interesting to note that the sample as a whole tends to mix with non-police to a greater extent than the junior rank sample. In general, nevertheless, the samples demonstrate a balance of social interaction which does not denote undue isolation.

Table 46 presents the responses to question 55 on the interview schedule.

Question 55:

Do your non-police friends

generally mix socially
with your police
friends

TABLE 4 6

PERCENTAGES

	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No	41.3	35.0
Sometimes	8.0	10.0
Yes	49.3	52.5
Don't know	1.3	2.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

The responses evident in Table 46 appear to support the contention that the respondents demonstrate a social balance in their social interaction.

Tables 47 and 48 presents the responses to questions 98 and 99 on the interview schedule.

Question 98: What do you think are the major effects of being a policeman upon your relationships with: TABLE 47

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS

MARRIED

N.B. Some respondents cite more

than one effect.

(If married) your spouse?	MELBOURNE	A(N=60)	MELBOURNE	B(N=28)
No effect	5.0		7.1	
Shift work/irregular hours				
General negative effect	46.7		39.3	
Social life disadvantaged	25.0		21.4	
Not enough time spent together	20.0		14.3	
Induces irritability/ tension	15.0		7.1	
Home problems	8.3		7.1	
Sexual problems	8.3		7.1	
Child rearing problems	6.7		7.1	
Wife lonely	6.7		10.7	
Generalized police occupation/role				
Induces irritability/ tension	16.7		7.1	
Wife victimized because husband a policeman	13.3		10.7	
Wife frightened for husband/herself	13.3		7.1	
Family disrupted through policeman bringing problem home	ns 10.0		7.1	
Wife complains that husbar is undergoing personality change	nd 5.0		7.1	

Question 99: (For those who have children) Your children

TABLE 48

PERCENTAGES

N.B. Some respondents cite more than one effect.

	MELBOURNE A(N=55)	MELBOURNE B (N=23)
No effect	16.4	21.7
Shift work/irregular hours		
Not enough time together	41.8	30.4
General negative effect	32.7	39.1
Generalized Police occupation/role		
Children victimized		
because father a policeman	16.4	8.7
Father too authoritarian	7.3	0.0
Difficulty in "relating"	7.3	0.0
General negative effect	10.9	0.0
Positive effect	5.5	13.0

Several respondents with children did not answer this question, as they considered their children too young to be affected.

Responses to questions 98 to 100 suggested that two basic elements of being a policeman should be distinguished in terms of their effect upon relationships: the specific conditions of service related to shift work and the associated irregular hours worked; and a generalised classification dealing with the social and occupational features involved in being a police officer. This second element is specified by deduction from the nature of the effect upon the relationship. For instance, the response category: 'Wife victimized because husband a policeman' in

Table 47 suggests a problem caused by social stigmatisation of the police officer, with consequences of isolation, hostility, indifference for the spouse. The response category 'Wife frightened for husband/herself' reflects the spouses' fear of danger for the husband during the course of his duties, or danger to herself through retaliation by those hostile to police. Several of the categories overlap, of course; response allocation was guided by the primary description of the respondent.

The response category 'General negative effect' refers to responses where the respondent did not specify the nature of the effect other than to say that it was adverse to the relationship.

Very few of the respondents who are married considered that there are no effects arising from being a policeman.

A substantial percentage of the samples suggests that there are negative effects.

Those respondents with children claim that the major problem is that they can not spend enough time with their children, due to the shift work they perform. A greater percentage of the samples considers that there is no effect upon their children through being a police officer than is the case for their spouses. In addition, a few respondents consider that being a policeman has positive effects upon the relationship with their children.

Reproduced below is Table VI from the article 'Job Stress in Policemen' by Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell. 47

^{47.} Kroes, W.H., Margolis, B.L. and Hurrell, J.J. 'Job Stress in Policemen', Journal of Police Science and Administration. 1974. Vol.2, No. 2. p.145 - 155.

Responses of 81 Married Policemen to Question, "How Police Work Affects Homelife"

Problem	Number of policemen mentioning a specific problem	Percentage
Retards nonpolice friendships	48	59.3
Don't see enough of children	25	30.9
Miss weekends and holidays with family (unable to plan social events)	19	23.5
Pressures of job taken home	11	12.3
Wife worries for safety of husband	11	12.3
Poor public image of policemen affecting wife and kids	7	8.6
Wife dislikes being home alone at night	6	7.4
Hardens emotions, so less sensitive to family	2	2.5
No effect on homelife	2	2.5

The similarities between the responses to the questions in the present study and those reported above are marked, and suggest a homogeneity of perceptions of work effect amongst Victorian and U.S. police officers.

Tables 49. to 51 present the responses to questions 100 to 102 on the interview schedule.

Question 100: Your immediate family?	TABLE 49 PERCENTAGES	
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No effect	49.3	47.5
Shift work/irregular hours	<u>5</u>	
General negative effect	13.3	15.0
Social life disadvantaged	9.3	10.0
Not enough time together	8.0	7.5
Generalized police occupation/role		
General negative effect	6.7	7.5
Positive effect	4.0	7.5
Don't know	9.3	5.0
TOTAL	99.9	100.0
Question 101: Close friends?	TABLE 50 PERCENTAGES	
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No effect	42.7	40.0
No effect because friends are policemen	6.7	10.0
Negative effect - social life disadvantaged	45.3	42.5
Ambivalent	5.3	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

PERSONAL/SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Question 102: People you have not TABLE 51

met before?

PERCENTAGES

	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No effect	18.7	15.0
Negative effect due to hostility/wariness demonstrated by strangers	38.7	37.5
Negative effect due to stereotyping demonstrated by strangers	5.3	5.0
Ambivalent effect due to combinations of hostility curiosity demonstrated by strangers		40.0
Positive effect due to curiosity/interest demonstrated by strangers	6.6	2.5
Don't know	1.3	0.0
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

It appears from the responses evident in Tables 49 and 50 that the further removed the individuals specified are from the immediate influence of the respondent's occupation, the less effect the fact of being a police officer has upon the relationship. Nevertheless, over 40% of the samples considered that being a policeman has a negative effect upon social life one enjoys with close friends.

It is clear from Table 51 that a considerable number of the respondents encounter difficulties in their relationships with strangers, due to negative or ambivalent responses to their being policemen. The trend towards a perception of no effect evident in the two previous tables becomes reversed with encounters between the respondents and those they have not met before.

Table 52 presents the responses to question 54 on the interview schedule.

Question	54•	TABLE 52		
When you	are asked what	PERCENTAGES		
	r a living, ou usually say?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Policeman	- always	60.0	57.5	
	sometimes.public servant	18.7	15.0	
	sometimes.some other	16.0	20.0	
	iceman - always r occupation	5.3	7.5	
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	
Summary:	Always policeman	60%	58%	
	Not always policema	n 40%	42%	

Some 40% of the respondents do not always say that they are police officers when they are asked what they do for a living. The respondents whose replies to this question are contained in the middle two categories generally elaborated that their answer to such a query depends upon whether they anticipate hostility or sympathy towards police from the asker. It seems that this substantial number of respondents adopt a defensive attitude with regard to their occupation, with some anticipation of antipathy. The findings evident in Table 52 tend to support those in Table 51, in that a considerable number of policemen suffer problems because of their occupation when involved in social intercourse with people not in their immediate family or peer groups.

PERSONAL/SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The perceptions of the respondents concerning aspects of the social and personal environment in which they live reveal a number of features. While certain areas of their personal lives remain unaffected by their being police officers, the police officers interviewed encountered some problems. There appeared to be little opposition or negativism associated with the decision to become a policeman amongst their familial and peer circles; however, some 50% of those married are experiencing reservations or unhappiness from their wives concerning their remaining in the force. Those further removed from the immediate family circle are seen as more likely to approve of them remaining officers. In addition, substantial numbers of the respondents encounter- adverse effects in their relationships with their wives and children, on account of their occupation. Once again, those further removed from the immediate family circle are seen as less affected by the fact of being a police officer, with the exceptions of a disadvantaged social life with close peers, and a very substantial problem in relationships with strangers. Some 40% of the respondents admitted to not always declaring their occupation when asked, while over 50% claimed that they no longer see old friends regularly.

It seems that the respondents do not describe themselves as an unduly isolated group, although over a third
say that they tend to mix socially in police circles. Where
isolation is felt, it tends to be with people the officer
has not met before. The individuals most affected by the
respondent's police occupation are the spouses, who demon-

strate a range of adverse responses relating primarily to the irregular hours worked by their husbands.

ROLE CONFLICT/AMBIGUITY

Tables 53 and 54 present the responses to questions 61 and 62 on the interview schedule.

Overtion (1)	TABLE 53		
Question 61: Do you ever feel that the responsibility	PERCENTAGES		
which your job requires is too great?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Yes	49.4	50.0	
No	50.6	50.0	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	
Question 62: If so, under what circumstances?	TABLE 54 PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	N=37) MELBOURNE	B(N=20)
Situations of danger when snap decisions have to be made	21.6	25.0	
Situations of law and order maintenance eg. domestic disturbances/demonstrations	10.8	15.0	
Community service situation eg. delivering death messa		10.0	
Situations for which the guidelines are inadequate ambiguous	or 8.1	5.0	
Situations of law enforcement eg. traffic offences	8.1	10.0	

Note: Table is concerned with those respondents who cite situations of too much responsibility; some respondents cite more than one situation.

50% of the samples report that they have encountered situations in which the responsibility required of them is too great. While this perception might well be considered part of the workload situation, it is included in the conflict/ambiguity category because it possibly reflects confusion and uncertainty concerning the scope of responsibility a police officer is expected to carry. Whatever the genesis of responsibility 'overload', a significant number of respondents have encountered this phenomenon.

Amongst those who feel that the responsibility they carry has occasionally been too great, the most common circumstance specified is that in which snap decisions have to be made. A large number of respondents who answered question said that there were too many circumstances to specify.

Table 55 presents the responses to question 68 on the interview schedule.

Question 68: Do you feel that there	TABLE 55 PERCENTAGES	
are adequate guidelines provided for you on how to act responsibly as a police officer?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	41.3	45.0
Yes - there are too many	16.0	7.5
Yes - with reservations	8.0	10.0
Yes - but must be comple- mented by common sense/ experience	14.7	15.0
Do not know	4.0	7.5
No	16.0	15.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Table 55 indicates that the respondents do not generally feel that there are inadequate guidelines on how to act responsibly as a police officer. This suggests that the responsibility 'overload' evident in Table 54 is not due to inadequacy in the provision of formal operational guidelines.

Table 56 presents the responses to question 63 on the interview schedule.

Question 63:	TABLE 56		
Do you feel that if you make a difficult decision	PERCENTAGES		
on your own initiative, your superiors will support you?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Yes	41.3	35.0	
Yes - if decision is correct	18.7	22.5	
Depends upon individual superior	16.0	17.0	
No	10.7	5.0	
No - generally, but individual superiors will support	9.3	12.5	
Do not know	4.0	7.5	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	

The perceived level of support, an important element in the clarity and decisiveness with which the police officer carries out his duties, is not uniformly high. While 41% of the total sample are confident about superior support, nearly 20% consider that they will receive support only if they make the right decision, a judgement presumable made by the superior. Another 36% feel that they will not receive support, or that it depends upon

the individual superior.

Tables 57 and 58 present the responses to questions 76 and 77 on the interview schedule.

TABLE 57 Question 76: Are there ever circumstances **PERCENTAGES** where you wish a superior officer would advise you what to do, rather than you having to decide for yourself? MELBOURNE B MELBOURNE A Yes 48.0 60.0 Do not know 5.3 2.5 46.7 No 37.5 TOTAL 100.0 100.0

Question 77: If so, what sort of circumstances come to mind?

TABLE 58

PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS
WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF
INDECISION N.B. Some respondents cite more than one situation.

	MELBOURNE A (N=36)	MELBOURNE B (N=24)
Unspecified areas of duty	50.0	41.7
When arresting	27.8	33.3
Life/death decisions	19.4	20.8
Law and order maintenance domestic disturbances/demo		16.7
Community services eg. dea messages/accidents	th 5.6	4.2

Nearly 50% of the total sample, and a substantial 60% of the junior rank sample have encountered circumstances where superior addice is desirable. It seems that autonomy of decision-making is not always possible or desirable for these respondents, yet it is a situation which is emphasised as a major component of police operations.

The decision to arrest is the major specified circumstance.

While the samples generally consider that there are adequate guidelines on how to act responsibly as a police officer, it appears from the responses to question 76 that there are circumstances where a substantial proportion of the sample would prefer to be directed as to the appropriate action. It may well be that the insecurity of the respondents concerning the support they are likely to obtain from superior officers in situations where the initiative is taken influences the autonomy which the officer is able, or wishes to exercise.

Tables 59 to 61 present the responses to questions 85 to 87 on the interview schedule.

	TABLE 59		
Question 85: Have you come across occasions as a member of the police when you have	PERCENTAGES		
not known what to do?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Yes	60.0	67.5	
Do not know	6.7	2.5	
No	33.3	30.0	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 60

Question 86: If so, what have these occasions been?

PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF NOT KNOW-ING WHAT TO DO
N.B. Some respondents cite more than one occasion.

MELBOURNE A (N=45) MELBOURNE B (N=27)

Maintenance of law and order eg. domestic disturbances/demonstrations	28.9	25.9
Legal/technical occasions	17.8	11.1
Occasions of danger when snap decisions have to be made	17.8	7.4
Occasions in which general youth and inexperience hinders performance	17.8	25.9
Law enforcement eg. arrests	11.1	11.1
Dealing with juveniles/the elderly/mental patients/ drug addicts	11.1	3.7
Community services eg. delivering death messages/accidents	4.4	7.4

TABLE 61

Question 87:	
(If so) do you find that such	PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS
occasions are becoming more	WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF NOT
or less frequent?	KNOWING WHAT TO DO

	MELBOURNE A (N=45	MELBOURNE B (N=27)
More frequent	24.4	18.5
No change	20.0	18.5
Less frequent	51.1	55.6
Do not know	4.4	7.4
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

The clear majority of the respondents have encountered occasions where they have not known what to do in the course of their duties. Again, the junior rank sample has a higher percentage of respondents in this position than the sample as a whole. The differences in the percentages who answered 'yes' to question 76 and those who answered 'yes' to question 85 may reflect the pressure upon officers to grasp the initiative in difficult situations; although the differences are relatively slight, less respondents wish to seek superior advice than have encountered situations where they have not known what to do. This suggests a complex interaction between the desirable level of autonomy, ability to cope with and perform the appropriate duty, and the level of deference to and support from superior officers. The responses give rise to a situation where there is limited harmony between autonomy of action and decision-making, perceived scope of responsibility, and exposure to difficult and taxing operational circumstances.

Situations where the maintenance of law and order is required appear to be those in which the most uncertainty arises.

The majority of the respondents find that situations of uncertainty are being encountered less frequently, with the bulk of these respondents suggesting that increased experience accounts for this decrease.

Tables 62 and 63 present the responses to questions 72 and 73 on the interview schedule.

TABLE 62

Question 72:
Do you ever feel uncomfortable or unhappy while exercising your police authority?

PERCENTAGES

	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	81.3	77.5
Do not know	5.3	5.3
No	13.3	17.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

TABLE 63

Question 73: If so, in what circumstances?

PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF DISCOMFORT N.B. Some respondents cite more than one situation

MELBOURNE A (N=61) MELBOURNE B (N=31)

Community services eg. delivering death messages/accidents	39.3	41.9
Law and order maintenance eg. domestic disturbances/demonstrations	37.7	45.2
Dealing with juveniles/ the elderly/mental patients/ drug addicts	29.5	29.0
Law enforcement dealing with laws the officer finds unjust or irrelevant	21.3	19.4
When arresting	16.4	12.9
Dealing with offenders inflexibly according to the		
law	16.4	12.9
Dealing with traffic offences	11.5	16.1

The overwhelming majority of respondents have felt uncomfortable or unhappy while exercising their police authority.

The relatively high ranking of the first three response categories in Table 63 accords with the findings of the U.S. mail questionnaire survey, in which the delivery of death messages, the handling of domestic disturbances and dealing with mentally disturbed persons were considered highly unliked and tension-provoking. In addition, some 20% of respondents who encounter discomfort consider that the enforcement of personally-perceived unjust or irrelevant laws to be significant. It can be conjectured that those circumstances which rank highest in terms of discomfort are also those in which the exercise of authority is most problematic. It may be that a considerable proportion of the resentment to the exercise of police authority evident in the responses to question 64 (Table 19) is generated by these types of circumstances.

Tables 64 and 65 present the responses to questions 96 and 97 on the interview schedule.

	TABLE 64		
Question 96: Are there duties expected of you for which you do not receive adequate	PERCENTAGES		
training?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B	
Yes	78.7	80.0	
No	21.3	20.0	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	

Question 97:	Table 65		
If so, what are these duties?	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE SITUATIONS OF INADEQUATE TRAINING		
	N.B. Most respondents cite more than one situation		
	MELBOURNE A (N=59)	MELBOURNE B (N=32)	
Firearms training	37.3	28.1	
Court/prosecution procedures	33.9	25.0	
General recruit training	32.2	25.0	
Domestic disturbances	20.3	25.0	
Social welfare services	18.6	25.0	
General enforcement procedures	13.5	15.6	
General detection procedures	13.5	9.4	
Legislation	8.4	3.1	
General community services	17.0	31.3	

More than three-quarters of the respondent samples felt that there are duties expected of them for which they do not receive adequate training. This is a considerably higher proportion than the number of respondents who considered that they have encountered situations where they have not known what to do; it seems that respondents sometimes operate in a sphere where they make decisions and perform duties with inadequate background training. While the sample is generally aware of the scope of responsibility, this awareness is not complemented by the training to carry out their duties.

In general terms, those duties which rank highest in inadequacy of training do not coincide with those duties which cause the most discomfort or unhappiness, those in which the most uncertainty is encountered, or those for which responsibility is cited as being too great; however it should be noted that domestic disturbances and community services (for instance, the delivery of death messages)

receive considerable attention from the junior rank sample in answer to question 97. These situations also tend to rank high in the responses to other questions about uncertainty and discomfort.

Tables 66 and 67 present the responses to questions 66 and 67 on the interview schedule.

Question 66:	Table 66	
Are there duties which police are expected to perform which you feel could be more appropriately	PERCENTAGES	
handled by another service?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	90.7	87.5
No	9.3	12.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Question 67:	Table 67
If so, what are these duties?	PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE IRRELEVANT DUTIES
	N.B. Most respondents cite more than one duty
Traffic and narking dution	MELBOURNE A(N=68) MELBOURNE B(N=35)

Traffic and parking duties, T.R.B./M.R.B. work, door security at courts.	61.7	60.0
Clerical duties	54.5	60.0
Warrants	45.6	45.7
Non motor vehicle licensing dutie	s 20.6	14.3
Domestic disturbances/evictions	10.3	5.8
Social welfare services	8.8	2.8
Others	28.0	20.0

ROLE CONFLICT/AMBIGUITY - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The responses to questions concerning how the respondent perceives aspects of the role he is expected to fulfil as a police officer provide support for the notion that police work involves areas of duty which create operating difficulties for the officer; while the consequences of these difficulties in terms of dysfunction are not immediately addressed in this project, the research literature points strongly towards these areas of difficulty being important stressors in the police occupation. The clear majority of the respondents have encountered circumstances where they have not known what to do and where the exercise of their authority causes discomfort or unhappiness; a similar majority feel that they are inadequately trained for the performance of some duties, and substantial numbers have been in situations where they would prefer not to exercise autonomy. Half of the respondents have felt that the responsibility required of them is too great in certain circumstances, despite the finding that the majority consider that there are adequate guidelines for them to act responsibly. 36% of the total sample are not sure that they will receive unequivocal support from their superior officers in the case of a difficult decision, with another 20% claiming that they will only receive that support the decision is correct. Finally, nearly all the respondents considered that they were performing duties irrelevant to their conception of appropriate police work.

The possibility of conflict or ambiguity in the

performance of duty arising from these responses is manifest; autonomous decision-making is often required in operational spheres, yet there is no unanimity amongst the respondents that their decisions will be supported; certain police duties are considered irrelevant or best handled by other services, yet those in which the officer most often finds himself uncertain or overloaded with responsibility are not considered outside appropriate police work. The interplay of these various perceptions awaits further clarification; at a descriptive level, there appears little consensus amongst the officers interviewed that the role they fulfil as policemen results in clearly defined, supported and satisfactory operational performance.

WORKLOAD/COMPLEXITY

Tables 68 and 69 present the responses to questions
74 and 75 on the interview schedule.

Question 74:	Table 68	
Since you joined the force, do you find that the amount of work expected of you is		
increasing.	Percentages MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	86.7	82.5
Do Not Know	4.0	7.5
No	9.3	10.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Question 75:	Table 69	
If so in what way?		F THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ES OF WORKLOAD INCREASE
	one workload	spondents cite more thar increase. I=66) MELBOURNE B(N=35)
Level of crime has increased disproportionate to police strength	37.9	31.4
Increase in paper	37,43	71. 7
work	36.4	42.9
Nature of crime/ police work has beco more complex	me 30.3	28.6
Increase in administrative press to perform	ure 18.2	14.3
Increase in new legislation/special efforts	16.7	8.6
Consequence of increase in experien promotional advancem		8.6
Other	13.6	11.4

Over 80% of the officers interviewed consider that the amount of work expected of them is increasing.

While there is not a substantial consensus among those officers who answered 'yes' to question 74 concerning the reasons for an increased workload, disproportionate increase in crime/police strength, increase in paper work and increasing complexity in the nature of crime and consequent police responses are the reasons most often cited.

Tables 70 and 71 present the responses to questions 88 and 89 on the interview schedule.

TOTAL	100.1	100.0
Do not know	8.1	12.5
No	17.3	30.0
Yes	74.7	57.5
Since you joined the force, do you think the work you have to do has become more complex or difficult?	Percentages MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Question 88:	Table 70	

Question 89:

Table 71

If so, in what way?

PERCENTAGES OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO CITE REASONS
N.B. Some respondents cite more than one reason

MELBOURNE A(N=61) MELBOURNE B(N=27)

Changes in legislation/ regulations	73.8	77.8
Changes in complexity of society and consequent police work	36.1	33.3
Increase in awareness of civil liberties/legal aid/complaints procedure	24.6	29.6
Unspecified changes in workload	19.7	22.2
Changes in paperwork	16.4	14.8
Changes in administrative pressure to perform	11.5	14.8
Consequences of increase in experience/promotional advancement	L 8.2	0.0
Other	14.8	3.7

Several respondents who were unsure of changes in complexity coded in Table 65 in the "Do not know" category, answered question 89.

The majority of both samples consider that the complexity/difficulty of police work has increased; however, rather fewer of the total sample, and some 25% less of the junior rank sample felt this compared to an increase in workload.

Changes in regulations and legislation are mentioned by the majority of those respondents who feel that complexity/difficulty is increasing.

WORKLOAD/COMPLEXITY - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The subjective occupational environment of the police officers interviewed is clearly one in which the amount and complexity of work is seen as increasing. While this finding on its own does not necessarily indicate that the respondents are suffering from 'work overload', perceived escalation in the quantitative and qualitative demands of the police occupation places the officer in an environment of changing operational requirements and standards. It is suggested that an escalation in workload, perceived by such a majority of the respondents lays the stress condition for work demand exceeding ability to respond efficiently.

EXPECTATIONS/REALITY

Table 72 presents the responses to question 23 on the interview schedule.

TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Other	5.3	7.5
Impulse choice/vague	5.3	5.0
Convinced by friends/ relatives that job was go	ood 9.3	5.0
Security of pay and employment	10.7	17.5
Tried other occupations and found them wanting	10.7	5.0
Interest in serving the community	14.7	7.5
Specific vocation for police work	17.3	17.5
Generalized wish for opportunity and career	26.7	35.0
What is the main reason you remember for joining the force?	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Question 23:	Table 72	

The responses to this question were particularly difficult to code; motivation to join the police force appeared to be rarely simple or singular. Coding under these circumstances was guided by an assessment of the most powerful variable in the reasons for joining the force expressed by the respondent. Thus, the response categories do not necessarily represent discrete motivations, but rather signify the apparently predominant reason.

There is little unanimity amongst the respondents concerning the reason for joining the police force; the major reason, expressed by 27% of the total sample and 35% of the junior rank sample was the desire for a career which offered opportunity and satisfaction. This is an interesting finding, because there often appears an assumption among police personnel that police work is a specific vocation which transcends 'ordinary' career aspirations. This 'police vocation' was cited by less than 20% of the samples.

The fifth category, 'security of pay and employment' was considered a qualitatively different response to the first one concerned with a career motivation; it tends to denote a somewhat lower occupational aspiration, where the emphasis is upon security rather than career opportunity. The sixth category, 'convinced by friends/relatives that job was good' is probably little different conceptually to other categories which suggest positive motivation for joining

the force, but it was thought useful to provide this separate category to accommodate those respondents who said quite specifically that they were influenced by others in their choice.

While it is probable that a component motivation of a specific police vocation is an interest in serving the community, relatively few of the respondents cited community service as a main reason for joining the force.

The responses to question 24, 26 and 27 are not presented, as they tend to be difficult to interpret without a cross-tabulation with the responses to question 23.

Table 73 presents the responses to question 25 on the interview schedule.

TOTAL	99.9	100.0
Satisfied with the community service role of police work	4.0	7.5
Satisfied with fraternity of policemen	4.0	5.0
Sense of total identification with police force	5.3	7.5
Loss of security of employment if left	17.3	12.5
Lack of qualifications transferrable to other occupations	13.3	10.0
Occupation is generally challenging/satisfying	45.3	47.5
No additional reasons	10.7	10.0
Have any other important reasons arisen since joining the force for remaining a policeman? (If so what are these reasons)	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Question 25:	Tâble 73	

Approximately half of the respondent samples specifically cite that there are additional reasons related to positive aspects of the job for remaining a police officer. Some 31% of the total sample and 23% of the junior rank sample cite as the major additional reasons for remaining in the force aspects of the occupation which may be termed negative i.e. the consequences of leaving the force tend to be more emphasised than the advantages of staying a policeman.

The fifth response category requires some explanation; several respondents suggested that they had so adopted the police occupation that it influenced all aspects of their life, and they found it impossible to imagine them being anything other than police officers. This phenomenon was not necessarily seen as an attractive element, but rather tended to be an inescapable feature of their lives. The numbers in this category are not large, but it was considered an interesting response to the question.

While the responses to question 25 would be better matched with those to question 23 for further explication, the responses do have some significance on their own, and hence were included in the report.

Tables 74 and 75 present the responses to questions 28 and 29 on the interview schedule.

Question 28: Before you joined the force, what did you think you would be doing as a policeman?	Table 74 PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
General accurate knowledge i.e. variety of police tasks in enforcement, maintenance of law and order and community services	32.0	32.5
Beat/routine patrol	14.7	15.0
"Enforcing the law"	8.0	12.5
Naive perception of police work as presented by popular media	8.0	10.0
Community service work	5.3	5.0
Specific task such as mobile traffic work/mounted branch	5.3	7.5
Detective/investigation work	5.3	0.0
Little/no idea	21.3	17.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0
Question 29:	Table 75	
Are you now doing what you thought you would be doing when you first joined?	PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Yes	45.3	50.0
No - job content not anticipated -		
more specialized	13.3	2.5
No - job content not anticipated - broader in duties required	10.7	7.5
No - job content not anticipated - more paperwork/administrative duties	e 14.7	20.0
No - job content not anticipated - unspecific	ed 9.3	15.0
-	e u	
Little/no idea when joined	6.7	5.0

There is the possibility of differential interpretation of question 28 amongst respondents; some may have responded according to what they hoped they would be doing, while others may have interpreted the question as it was intended, the establishment of the accuracy with which they perceived likely police duties. Consequently, some care is needed in the interpretation of the responses.

The responses to question 28 suggest that some 32% of the respondents had a reasonable understanding of the nature of duties expected of them as police officers.

21% of the total sample, and 18% of the junior rank sample had little or no idea of what they would be doing.

Over 40% of the total sample and 50% of the junior rank sample consider that they are now doing what they thought they would be doing when they first joined. With the exclusion of those few who claimed that the question was irrelevant for them as they had no anticipations of police duty, some 50% of the sample did not find their present duties consonant with their expectations. The disparity in numbers between those who claimed that they had little idea of what to expect in response to question 28, and those who considered question 29 irrelevant is not immediately explicable; obviously some respondents who had no idea of what to expect have responded 'no' to question 29.

EXPECTATION/REALITY - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

While most of the variables addressed by this study will benefit from further, more sophisticated analysis it has been consistently proposed that the presentation of the descriptive aspects of the responses is a useful and necessary exercise, in order to provide an understanding of how the respondents perceive their occupational environment in broad outline. However it is difficult to interpret the responses to questions relating to the respondents' expectations of and subsequent experiences with police work without further analysis. The establishment of the degree of concordance between these elements requires detailed attention directed to each respondent and his contingent responses, and is not really available through the sorts of summary descriptive data presented in this report. Nevertheless, a few comments can be made.

Motivation for joining the force, with its implications regarding the expectations one entertains about the police occupation, tends to vary considerably amongst the respondents; the most prevalent motivation is the desire to adopt an occupation which is seen as an opportunity for a good career. The perception of a specific 'calling' to police work ranks somewhat lower. Relatively few respondents expressed a primary motivation to serve the community, which may well help explain the relatively high incidence of community service-type duties amongst those job tasks which the respondents rate as problem areas. Only half of the respondents explicitly mention positive motivational factors for remaining policemen.

Accurate expectations of the sorts of work entailed in the police occupation are not of a uniformly high level; around 20% of the respondents claimed that they had little or not idea of what to expect; some 50% of respondents considered that they were not performing the duties they had anticipated upon joining the force.

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

Table 76 presents the responses to question 30 on the interview schedule.

Question 30: Apart from the feelings we all have when we have had a bad day, are there ever times when you seriously think you may have made the wrong choice in joining the force?	Table 76 PERCENTAGES MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No	61.3	65.0
Yes - unspecified	20.0	22.5
Yes - reaction against the content of policework*	12.0	7.5
Yes - reaction against the administration of policework*	5.3	5.0
Yes - reaction against the nature of policework*	1.3	-
TOTAL	99.9	100.0
SUMMARY: NO = YES =	61% 39%	65% 35%

* The "content" of policework is defined as the conditions of service, both within the police force (considering such aspects of shift work) and in the wider environment (such aspects as alienation from the community, police-public relations and so on).

The "administration" of policework is defined as those aspects of the police occupation falling under the administrative control of the department (such as promotion policies, transfer procedures, the involvement of police officers in paperwork and so on).

The "nature" of policework is defined as the traditional substance of the police occupation - law enforcement, the maintenance of order, the detection of crime, community services.

While the majority of the respondents claim that they have never felt that they have made the wrong choice in joining the police force, nearly 40% of the total sample and 35% of the junior rank sample have entertained such thoughts. While the frequency and intensity of regret is not available from the data, it is reasonable to suggest that such feelings in over a third of the sample denote some degree of dissatisfaction.

Tables 77 and 78 present the responses to questions 31 to 36 on the interview schedule.

Question 31 - 33	Table 77	
<pre>(to those who have children) Would you recommend that your children join the force when they become old enough?</pre>	PERCENTAGE OF THOSE CHILDREN MELBOURNE A(N=58)	SE WHO HAVE MELBOURNE B(N=25)
Yes - because the police occupation is satisfying/attractive	43.1	52.0
<pre>Sex-based - son(s) but not daughter(s)</pre>	10.3	20.0
<pre>Sex-based - daughter(s) but not son(s)</pre>	3.4	0.0
No - because the police occupation is unsatisfying/unattractive	25.9	20.0
No - because I would wish higher occupational aspirations for my children	17.3	8.0
TOTAL	100.1	100.0
	17.7	20.

Question 34 - 36 (to those who have no children) I would like you to imagine that some time in the future you have children; would you recommend that they join the force when they become old enough?	NO CHILDR	·
ora enough:	MELBOOKNE	A(N=17)MELBOURNE B(N=15)
Yes - because the police occupation is satisfying/ attractive	11.8	13.3
No - because the police occupation is unsatisfying/unattractive	64.7	60.0
No - because I would wish higher occupational aspirations for my children	5.9	6.7
Do not know	17.7	20.0
TOTAL	100.1	100.0

Just on 43% of those who have children in the total sample would clearly recommend that their children became police officers when they are old enough; a similar percentage would not recommend this occupation to their children. The junior rank sample with children tend to consider that they would recommend that their children join the force to a greater extent than the total sample.

14% of the total sample with children, and 20% of the junior rank sample with children would discriminate on the basis of sex among their children concerning the recommendation to join the force.

Amongst those respondents who do not have children, the incidence of a likely recommendation in the event of having children is much less than for those with children.

Over half of those without children would not recommend that any children they have join the force, because they do not consider the police occupation satisfying or attractive. The relatively high incidence of ambivalence with regard to a recommendation is understandable, given that the likelihood of having to decide such a course of action is hardly immediate.

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION - SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Substantial numbers of the respondents indicate some dissatisfaction with the police occupation. Nearly 40% of respondents in the total sample express occasions of regret about joining the force, while over 40% of those respondents in the total sample with children would not recommend that their children join the force. The majority of those respondents in the total sample who do not have children would not recommend joining the force to any children they may have in the future. Amongst those reasons stated for a likely non-recommendation, the work content aspects of the police occupation are emphasised more than the desire to have children aspire to better 'status' careers.

HEALTH CONSEQUENCES

Table 79 presents the responses to question 103 on the interview schedule.

Question 103:

Table 79 What are the major effects **PERCENTAGES** of being a member of the

N.B. Most respondents cite police force upon your health? more than one effect.

MELBOURNE A MELBOURNE B No effect 6.7 10.0 **NEGATIVE EFFECTS** Nervous complaint - tension 48.0 45.0 Irregular/inadequate sleep/ fatigue/exhaustion 45.3 47.5 Irregular/inadequate meals 29.3 27.5 Accidents/injuries 24.0 12.5 General negative health 12.0 12.5 Virus 8.0 10.0 Hypertension 6.7 0.0 Too much smoking 6.7 15.0 Nervous tension - collapse or imminent collapse 5.3 2.5 Ulcers 5.3 5.0 Headaches 4.0 2.5 Nervous complaint - skin trouble 2.7 2.5 Nervous complaint - eye trouble 2.5 2.7 Too much drinking 2.7 5.0 POSITIVE EFFECTS 2.7 2.7

Over 40% of the respondent samples cite tension and sleep/fatigue problems as major effects of being policemen. Irregular/inadequate meals are cited by over 25% of the respondents.

Only 3% of the respondents considered that being policemen provided health advantages, while some 8% of the total sample, and 10% of the junior rank sample considered that there were no health effects accruing from being police officers.

Comparison of the responses to question 103 and those concerned with health in the U.S. mail questionnaire reveal some

considerable differences. The constellation of most often cited major effects in the present study reveals a relatively non-specific adverse health syndrome, concerned with general problems of sleeping, eating and nervous tension, for which there was no provision in the mail questionnaire items included in question 41; however, the responses to the items concerned with the 'Harmful effects of job hours and days worked on general health' in the mail questionnaire reveal similarities with the responses in Table 74. The items in the mail questionnaire are quite specific, and one would expect a higher incidence of negative effect from such items than in an open-ended question where the respondent is asked to generate his own major problem areas. Given this consideration, the clear majority of the respondents to the mail questionnaire considered that negative effects followed from the days and hours worked in the areas of alertness, energy level, sleep and eating habits; it is these areas that are of major concern to the respondents interviewed in the present project.

It has been mentioned previously that definitive establishment of the etiology of ill-health amongst police officers cannot be the concern of this study; nevertheless, it is clear from the responses to question 103 that a substantial number of the respondents consider the police occupation to be a tension-generating occupation; it is further notable that the respondents who answered in this way considered this facet of police work to be a major health effect.

GENERAL POLICE-RELATED PROBLEMS

Question 104:

Table 80 presents the responses to question 104 on the interview schedule.

Table 80

In your opinion what are the major problems facing you as a member of the police force?	PERCENTAGES N.B. Most res cite more tha problem.	
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B.
No problems	9.3	7.5
BUDGETARY ASPECTS		٠
- equipment	10.7	15.0
- manpower	9.3	7.5
- physical work conditions	6.7	10.0
ADMINISTRATION		
- clerical assistance	2.7	5.0
- training/retraining	4.0	2.5
- promotion procedures	9.3	10.0
NATURE OF POLICE WORK		
- legislation/regulations	6.7	17.5
- lack of professionalism	1.3	0.0
CONTENT OF POLICE WORK		
- pay	2.7	5.0
- community rapport	12.0	17.5
- shift work	4.0	5.0
- family/social life problems	14.7	15.0
- health	21.3	7.5
- workload	9.3	7.5
- tension/stress	9.3	10.0
- support from superiors	8.0	5.0
- lack of government support	8.0	7.5
- morale	6.7	7.5
- fear of complaints	6.7	7.5
- alienation	4.0	0.0
- crime rate	2.7	2.5

While there is little consensus amongst the respondents concerning the major problems facing them as police officers, those areas which receive attention from more than 10% of the total sample are: health, family and social life problems, community rapport, and equipment. For the junior rank sample, the main areas are: community rapport, legislation/regulations, family and social life problems, equipment, physical work conditions, promotion procedures and tension/stress.

Table 81 presents the responses to question 92 on the interview schedule.

Question 92:	Table 81	
In what ways do you think police work can be improved?	PERCENTAGES N.B. Most re more than on improvement	spondents cite e possible
	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
BUDGETARY ASPECTS - More and better equipment	52.0	47.5
- More manpower	42.7	42.5
 Better physical work conditions 	33.3	30.0
ADMINISTRATION - More clerical assistance	29.3	32.5
More training/retraining	24.0	17.5
NATURE OF POLICE WORK		
 Clarify/change legislation/ regulations 	28.0	30.0
- Increase professionalism	17.3	12.5
 Reduce range of duties so can be more emphasis on crime 	e 9.3	10.0
CONTENT OF POLICE WORK		
- More pay	14.7	20.0
 Increase police/community rapport 	12.0	7.5
- Increase police morale	6.7	10.0

Budgetary aspects head the list of improvements, with administration areas ranking next.

Table 82 present the responses to question 93 on the interview schedule.

Question 93:	Table 82	
Do you think that you are adequately paid for the sort of work	PERCENTAGES	
you have to perform?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
No	65.4	80.0
Do not know	8.0	5.0
Yes	26.7	15.0
TOTAL	100.1	100.0

The clear majority of the samples do not think that they are adequately paid for the sort of work they have to perform.

The responses evident in Tables 80, 81 and 82 illustrate a feature of police officers' perceptions which is present in the responses to the U.S. mail questionnaire. In the latter project 50% of the sample was satisfied with salary; yet when asked more precise questions about the relativity of their pay to that of other workers, the overwhelming majority of the respondents considered that their pay was less than fair. A similar phenomenon occurs in the present project. While 60% of the total sample, and 80% of the junior rank sample consider their pay to be inadequate for the sort of work they perform, very few respondents volunteer pay as a major occupational problem, and only 15% of the total sample, and 20% of the junior rank sample suggest that pay should be improved. Indeed, there are other such anomolies; shift work accounts for the bulk of the problems encountered in the respondents' personal environment,

yet few respondents cite this voluntarily as a major problem. The majority of officers interviewed felt that workload is increasing in terms of both quality and quantity, yet workload is cited as a major problem by few. The picture that has emerged from the interview survey clearly suggests that the respondents encounter significant problems through their occupation, but this finding is not reflected in the responses to the general questions concerning problems and improvements in police work. The answer probably lies in the lack of consensus amongst the respondents concerning the areas of major importance. The earlier findings where there has been a clear majority of respondents reporting certain types of stress/response conditions do not imply that the officers rank the importance of these conditions in the same way. It is to be expected that there would be a wide range of views on improvements and problem areas, as individual differences among the respondents would dictate different priorities. While the previous questions relate to perceptions of the police occupation which policemen share in common, the ranking of priorities requires the individual respondent to assess the importance of particular elements, with regard to his unique needs and demands.

IDENTIFICATION

The 'intervention' scale developed for this project appears in Appendix D; the responses to the items concerned with this scale also appear, and are complemented by the responses to question 94, which requests details of intervention actually performed in the last twelve months. This information is not presented in the body of this report because it cannot be directly related to the established research on occupational stress at this early stage in the development of the 'identification' concept. This scale will be of use when further analysis is reported on the pattern of individual responses to the interview schedule. However the responses to question 105 on the schedule are reported below; this question is part of that identification concept, but the responses elicited bear considerable relevance to the overall pattern of occupational perceptions reported above.

Tables 83 and 84 present the responses to question 105 and 106 on the interview schedule.

Question 105:	Table 83	
Do you find it easy or difficult to forget your work as a policeman once	PERCENTAGES	
you go off duty?	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
Easy	29.3	25.0
Occasionally difficult	14.6	17.5
Difficult	56.0	57.5
TOTAL	99.9	100.0

Question 106:	Table 84	
Why?	PERCENTAGES OF THO	OSE RESPONDENTS WHO
	N.B. Some responde one reason.	ents cite more than
	MELBOURNE A (N=65)	MELBOURNE B (N=35)
Easy - because of experience/effort	15.4	14.3
Easy - but there are situational exceptions	s 9.2	5.7
Difficult - because of total identification with police work - one becomes a 24 hour policeman		34.5
Difficult - because or fear of mistakes/complaints	£ 35.4	34.5
Difficult - because or general tension induce by police work		20.0
Difficult - because or workload	f 13.9	22.9
Difficult - because others will not let yo forget you are a policeman	ou 12.3	11.4
Difficult - because of the positive stimulate provided by the job		5.7

Several respondents did not explain why they found it difficult or easy to forget their work once they went off duty; they have been excluded from Table 84

The majority of the respondent samples find it difficult to forget their police work once they go off duty.

Over a third of those respondents who experienced difficulty in forgetting their work off-duty claimed that this was due to a total identification with police work; a similar proportion claimed that the fear of mistakes or complaints

arising from their work made it difficult to relax offduty.

The tension induced by police work, work-load and the social implications of being a police officer are cited by over 10% of the respondents as reasons for being unable to forget police work off-duty. These elements have all been cited by the respondents in answer to various questions concerned with the stress environment. It is clear that factors in the occupational environment impinge upon the officer's total life environment, and that these factors tend to be those established as stress factors.

VICTORIA POLICE OCCUPATIONAL INTERVIEW

SUMMARY

This report has presented a wide range of descriptive data on the perceptions a sample of Victorian policemen hold concerning their occupational environment. The aim of the interview programme reported was to establish the extent to which these perceptions indicate the existence of a subjective occupational environment which is conducive to stress. It is clear from the findings presented that the respondents express a substantial number of perceptions of their occupation which fulfil some of the theoretical requirements of a stressful environment.

In the near future we hope to complete a further report which will integrate the findings of the present interview survey with those of the mail questionnaire survey administered in the U.S. and Australia to several police forces. Together with material obtained from the Victoria Police and various medical sources, we now have sufficient data to compile a comprehensive portrait of the nature and demands of the police occupational role as it exists both in Victoria and other Australian states, and in the U.S.

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UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

CRIMINOLOGY DEPARTMENT

INT	ERVIEW SCHEDULE	1.	Date		
		2.	Time	begun	
VIC	TORIA POLICE	3.	Time	finished	
		4.	Time	elapsed	
	5. Conditions of intervi	ew _			
				-	
-	GRAPHICAL DATA				
	Sex				M/F
7.	What is your rank?			*	
8.	How long have you held this rank?	·			
9.	When were you born?				
10.	Where were you born?				
11.	When did you join the force?				
12.	What is your present assignment?				
	(Policemen only) Were you a police cadet?				
14.	(Non-cadets only) Did you have another occ	upat	tion	pefore	
	you joined the force?				
15.	If so, what did you do?				
15.	What is your marital status?				
	Before you joined the force, what was the				
	formal education you had completed?				
17.	Since joining the force, how much addition				
	you had? (exclude intra-service training)				
18.	Where was your father born?				
19.	Where was your mother born?				
20	/If manyind\ Da way have any ability 2				
20.	(If married) Do you have any children?				
	(If children) How many do you have?				
22.	(If children) What sex and age?				
				·	F
				M/	F
				M/	F

е	rience of police work and the police force.
•	What is the main reason you remember for joining the force?
	Is this reason very important for remaining in the force?
	Have any other important reasons arisen since joining the force for remaining a policeman/woman? (if so, what are these reasons)
	Was joining the force an easy choice, or were there other jobs of interest and availability to you that you had to choose between?
	(If there were other jobs) What were these other jobs?
	Before you joined the force, what did you think you would
	be doing as a policeman/woman?
	Are you now doing what you thought you would be doing when you first joined?

 \boldsymbol{I} would now like to ask you some questions on your views and

0.	Apart from the feelings we all have when we have had a bad day, are there ever times when you seriously think you may have made the wrong choice in joining the force?
1.	(to those who have children) Would you recommend that your children join the force when they become old enough?
12.	If so, why?
33.	If not, why not?
34,.	(to those who have no children) I would like you to imagine that some time in the future you have children; would you
	recommend that they join the force when they become old enough?
35.	If so, why?
36.	If not, why not?
ciro	n now going to hand you a list of statements; would you please the letter next to the alternative statement which seems most true for you(hand the anomie scale to the interviewee).
I an	now going to ask you some more questions about your work.
37.	What sort of attitude do you think the community has towards the police?
38.	Do you think that this attitude has changed in, say, the

When you want to entertain at home, or go out to parties and other social gatherings, do you find that your companions are mostly fellow police, mostly non-police, or roughly an even mix of the two? did the following people think of you becoming a policeman/n: (if you were married when you first joined the force) Your spouse? (if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances?	1	f so, in what way has it changed?
When you want to entertain at home, or go out to parties and other social gatherings, do you find that your companions are mostly fellow police, mostly non-police, or roughly an even mix of the two? did the following people think of you becoming a policeman/in: (if you were married when you first joined the force) Your spouse? (if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances?		Do you regularly see many of the friends you made before you joined the force?
ions are mostly fellow police, mostly non-police, or roughly an even mix of the two? t did the following people think of you becoming a policeman/an: (if you were married when you first joined the force) Your spouse? (if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		
t did the following people think of you becoming a policeman/an: (if you were married when you first joined the force) Your spouse? (if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances?		and other social gatherings, do you find that your companions are mostly fellow police, mostly non-police, or
(if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		
(if you had children when you first joined the force) Your children? Your immediate family? Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		spouse?
Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		(if you had children when you first joined the force) Your
Your non-police close friends? Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		Your immediate family?
Your non-police acquaintances? (if you have married since joining the force) What did your		
(if you have married since joining the force) What did your		
		(if you have married since joining the force) What did your

How woma	do these people now feel about you being a policeman/n:	
49.	(if married) Your spouse?	
50.	(if you have children) Your children?	
51.	Your immediate family?	
52.	Your non-police close friends?	
	Your non-police acquaintances?	
	When you are asked what you do for a living, what do you usually say?	
	Do your non-police friends generally mix socially with your police friends?	
you head take are that Star woul	now going to hand you two cards. On the card headed SITUAT will see that a number of incidents are described; on the card ACTIONS, you will see a number of actions that might be no by a police officer. I would like you to imagine that you off-DUTY and OUT OF UNIFORM; I would like you also to image there are no other members of the force in the vicinity. It is that the first situation, the case of the speeding dried you please select the action on the other card which is come to the way you think you would behave in that situation.	ard ine ver,
Now,	some more questions about your work.	
56.	Do you feel that members of the public respect your authorias a police officer?	ty
57.	If not, what sort of groups do not?	-

3.	(if not) Why do you think that this is so?	
•	(if not) Do you think that this situation has changed in, say, the last three years?	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
•	Do you think that the general public considers police work to be an occupation requiring skill and expertise?	
	Do you ever feel that the responsibility which your job requires of you is too great? If so, under what circumstances?	
•	Do you feel that if you make a difficult decision on your own initiative, your superiors will support you?	-
•	Do you ever feel that the community resents you exercising your authority?	
•	If so, what sort of situations are you thinking of?	
	Are there duties which police are expected to perform which you feel could be more appropriately handled by another service?	
	Do you feel that there are adequate guidelines provided for you on how to act responsibly as a police officer?	
١.	If not, what areas are most concerned about?	

70	. Do you think that the police occupation has the job status that it deserves in the community?
. 71	. If not, why not?
*	
72	. Do you ever feel uncomfortable or unhappy while exercising your police authority?
73	. If so, in what circumstances?
74	. Since you joined the force, do you find that the amount of work expected of you is increasing?
75	. If so, in what way?
76	. Are there ever circumstances where you wish a superior officer would advise you what to do, rather than you having to decide for yourself?
77	. If so, what sort of situations come to mind?
78	Do you think the police have changed in their manner towards members of the public?
79	. If so, in what way?
80	. (if so) Why do you think this so?
8:	Do you receive as much cooperation from the public as you would like in the course of your duties?
82	. If not, what sorts of groups do not?
83	. (if not) Why do you think that this is so?

5	ay, the last three years?
	dave you come across occasions as a member of the police when you have not known what to do?
	(if so) Do you find that such occasions are becoming more or less frequent?
	Since you joined the force, do you think the work you have to do has become more complex or difficult? If so, in what way?
	(if so) Why do you think this is so?
	Considering the sort of work you do, what is the occupation which comes closest to police work that you can think of?
	In what ways do you think police work can be improved?
	(if pay was not mentioned in q. 92) Do you think that you

	In the last twelve months, have you intervened in situations while off-duty and out-of-uniform which seemed to require thattention of a policeman/woman?	
95.	If so, would you describe those circumstances?	
96.	Are there duties expected of you for which you do not receive adequate training?	e
97.	If so, what are these duties?	
	our study, we are concerned with the effects which being a per of the police force has upon the officer's life.	
	do you think are the major effects of being a policeman/ upon your relationships with:	
98.	(if married) Your spouse?	
0.0		
77.	(to those who have children) Your children?	
77.	(to those who have children) Your children?	
.00.	Your immediate family?	
00.	Your immediate family?	

n your opinion,	what are the major problems facing you as police force?
_	asy or difficult to forget your work as a once you go off duty?
Before we finish	
Before we finish say concerning y	, is there anything else you would like to
Before we finish say concerning y	our life as a policeman/woman?

TELEPHONE
345 1844

TELEGRAMS
UNI MELB PARKVILLE



University of Melbourne

CRIMINOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Parkville, Victoria 3052

The Department of Criminology, in conjunction with the Victoria Police Association is presently conducting a survey into the policeman's working life and its effects upon such things as his health and his family.

We have already distributed and analysed an extensive questionnaire concerning aspects of the police occupation; however, for completeness, it is necessary for us to personally interview a number of policemen selected at random about police duty and its effect upon the individual. The aim of the study is to provide the policeman with improved conditions of service.

Your name has been selected from the Seniority List and if you are prepared to be interviewed, could you please contact either myself or Stephen James at the Department of Criminology, telephone number 341-5223 between 10 am-12 noon or 3 pm-4 pm each weekday. The interview will be completely confidential and will be conducted by experienced interviewers unconnected with either the Police Department or the Police Association. This will ensure complete anonymity.

I look forward to your support for this important project and thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Kerry L. Milte, SENIOR LECTURER.

Keursbelle.

TELEGRAMS
UNI MELB PARKVILLE



APPENDIX C

University of Melbourne

CRIMINOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Parkville, Victoria 3052

We are again writing to you regarding the survey which the Department of Criminology is conducting in conjunction with the Victoria Police Association.

We have already received a good response to the first letter and interviewing has commenced. The accuracy of the survey depends upon us interviewing as many police within the sample as possible, so your involvement is extremely valuable.

If you are prepared to be interviewed please ring either myself or Stephen James at the Department of Criminology, telephone number 341 5223 between 10 am and 12 noon or 3 pm and 4 pm any weekday. The interview is confidential and only anonymous statistical data will be produced.

Should you have some objection to being interviewed we would appreciate a brief comment on your reasons. This may assist us in the design of any future survey; for this purpose we have enclosed paper and a self-addressed and stamped envelope.

I look forward to your support and thank you for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Kenn Lille

Kerry L. Milte, SENIOR LECTURER

Enc.

APPENDIX D - IDENTIFICATION.

The following tables present the responses to questions 94 and 95 on the interview schedule.

Question 94:	TABLE	
In the last twelve months, have you intervened in situations while off-duty	PERCENTAGES	
and out-of-uniform which	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
seemed to require the att- ention of a policeman?		
Yes	49.3	57.5
No	50.7	42.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
Question 95:	TABLE	
If so, would you describe those circumstances?		OF THOSE RESPONDENTS UATIONS OF INTERVENTION
	MELBOURNE A (N=37) MELBOURNE B(N=23)
Serious crime	MELBOURNE A (N=37) MELBOURNE B(N=23) 21.7
Serious crime Larrikinism		
,	18.9	21.7
Larrikinism	18.9	21.7
Larrikinism Fight	18.9 18.9 18.9	21.7 17.4 26.1
Larrikinism Fight Deaths/accidents	18.9 18.9 18.9 16.2	21.7 17.4 26.1 4.4
Larrikinism Fight Deaths/accidents Non-drunk traffic offence	18.9 18.9 18.9 16.2	21.7 17.4 26.1 4.4 8.7

The following tables present the responses to the 'intervention' scale.

INTERVENTION

ACTIONS CODE:

- 1. Ignore and proceed with what you were doing.
- 2. Take no action other than a warning without revealing that you are a police officer.
- 3. Take no action other than a warning while revealing that you are a police officer.
- 4. Take no action other than reporting the incident when next on duty.
- 5. Without intervening in the incident, immediately call D24 or the local police station, and then leave the scene.
- 6. Immediately call D24 or the local police station and then intervene in the incident and wait for the police to arrive.
- 7. Take immediate action by revealing yourself as a police officer and make an arrest.
- 8. Other

SITUATIONS

A. While driving your car down a moderately busy road at night, a car passes you at a speed at least 20kph above the speed limit.

TABLE 1

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	90.7	87.5
2.	0.0	0.0
3.	0.0	0.0
4.	8.0	10.0
5.	0.0	0.0
6.	0.0	0.0
7.	0.0	0.0
8.	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	98.7	97.5

B. You are passing a suburban bank when two men run quickly out of the building and leap into a standing car.

TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGES

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	5.3	5.0
2.	0.0	0.0
3.	1.3	2.5
4.	1.3	0.0
5.	18.7	22.5
6.	50.7	47.5
7.	9.3	5.0
8.	12.0	15.0
TOTAL	98.7	97.5

C. You are having a drink at a hotel when a brawl breaks out amongst six men in another part of the hotel.

TABLE 3.

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	29.3	42.5
2.	0.0	0.0
3.	2.7	2.5
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	28.0	30.0
6.	30.7	20.0
7.	2.7	2.5
8.	5.3	0.0
TOTAL	98.7	97.5

b. While driving your car down a moderately busy road after dark, you see a vehicle coming in the opposite direction weaving across the road without headlights.

TABLE 4.

PERCENTAGES

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	13.3	20.0
2.	1.3	2.5
3.	2.7	0.0
4.	1.3	0.0
5.	30.7	32.5
6.	29.3	20.0
7.	18.7	22.5
8.	2.7	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

E. You arrive on the scene of a minor accident some minutes after the first witnesses have gathered.

TABLE 5.

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	64.0	67.5
2.	0.0	0.0
3.	0.0	0.0
4.	1.3	0.0
5.	9.3	7.5
6.	20.0	22.5
7.	4.0	2.5
8.	1.3	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

F. While at home at night, you hear some neighbours, known casually to you, having what sounds to be a violent domestic argument.

TABLE 6.

PERCENTAGES

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
	41 2	25.0
1.	41.3	35.0
2.	0.0	0.0
3.	8.0	12.5
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	37.3	40.0
6.	13.3	12.5
7.	0.0	0.0
8.	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

G. You are at a party where you hardly know anyone, and you see someone preparing to inject himself with some substance in the bathroom.

TABLE 7.

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	8.0	10.0
2.	8.0	7.5
3.	5.3	2.5
4.	16.0	15.0
5.	16.0	15.0
6.	16.0	17.5
7.	22.7	25.0
8.	8.0	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

H. While walking through the city, you see an obviously drunken man attempting to borrow money from two strangers.

TABLE 8.
PERCENTAGES

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	54.7	55.0
2.	1.3	2.5
3.	10.7	15.0
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	16.0	12.5
6.	8.0	2.5
7.	8.0	12.5
8.	1.3	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

IA. While shopping in a supermarket you see a middle-aged woman quickly slip an item for sale into her pocket; you see her only inside the supermarket.

TABLE 9.

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	14.7	20.0
2.	20.0	20.0
3.	10.7	15.0
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	5.3	7.5
6.	20.0	17.5
7.	18.7	12.5
8.	10.7	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

IB. As for IA, except you see once she has left the supermarket without paying for the item.

TABLE 10.

PERCENTAGES

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	2.7	2.5
2.	2.7	2.5
3.	6.7	10.0
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	1.3	2.5
6.	22.7	25.0
7.	21.3	15.0
8.	42.7	42.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

J. While driving through the city late at night, you see two men punching a third man in an alley.

TABLE 11.

ACTION CODE	MELBOURNE A	MELBOURNE B
1.	1.3	2.5
2.	1.3	2.5
3.	0.0	0.0
4.	0.0	0.0
5.	8.0	10.0
6.	62.7	62.5
7.	25.3	20.0
8.	1.3	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0