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Police Stress : the Impact on the Police Officer

Submitted to the

SOLICITOR GENERAL OF CANADA

Submitted by:

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January 29, 1982

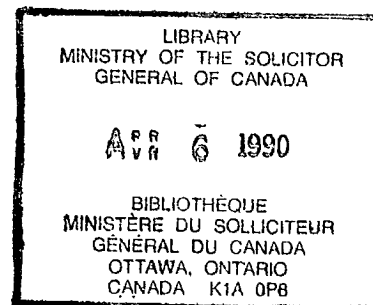
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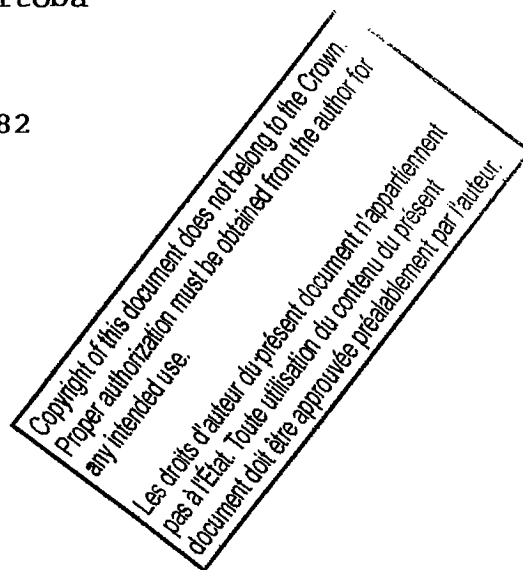
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Deepest appreciation is reserved for the 571 members of the R.C.M.P. who diligently completed what, by any definition, were lengthy questionnaires.

ABSTRACT

Members of "D" Division, R.C.M.P. (Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario) were surveyed to obtain their views about stress factors in police work. The results indicated that administrative stressors were perceived as the primary source of stress by an overwhelming majority of respondents. Factors intrinsic to police work had less impact but were still rated "stressful" by a majority of respondents.

Also of prime concern was the relationship of Type A coronary-prone behavior to the frequency of physical complaints and attitudes toward work. The results indicated that R.C.M.P. members reported a greater frequency of physical complaints than a comparison group from the general population.

Marital and family problems were less important as a major stressor than was anticipated. It is suggested by the present researchers that this might be due to concern over negative social sanctions and possibly informal intervention by supervisors.

Concerns were raised about the psychological impact and implications of police work for female members of the R.C.M.P. Although the data obtained from female members were sparse owing to the small number of females in "D" Division at the time of the study, the results indicate personal and social isolation. Recommendations for the reduction of stress in police work are included in the report.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Stress in police work is of much current interest. A great deal has been written about this topic, e.g., Webb (1979), Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell (1974), Kroes (1976), Gruber (1980), Mihovich (1980), De Genaro (1980), Stratton (1978, 1979), and Breen (1978(a), 1979(a)). Why should this topic be of special concern to police agencies? Stress is indigenous to many other professions, e.g., physicians (Kroes, 1976). Police officers, however, have the right to carry firearms, may restrict a person's freedom of movement, have the power of arrest, and, in extreme cases, may legitimately take someone's life. These are awesome powers. Hence, it is important that those exercising such powers have at their disposal every effective means of coping with stress.

Ironically, police officers often are denied access to stress reduction techniques (Kroes, 1976). In many police agencies it is considered unprofessional for a police officer to see a mental health professional to discuss personal problems. This view was placed in vivid perspective by a senior police officer from eastern Canada who commented, "If a man can't manage his marriage, he can't manage a detachment." (personal communication to L. Breen). In some North American police agencies an officer can be fired for committing adultery. Yet, if members of most other professions were to engage in such behavior it would be of no legitimate interest to their professional colleagues, assuming, of course, that they did not violate ethical standards re-

garding patients or clients. To paraphrase Lefkowitz (1977), we train a bright, healthy, emotionally stable individual as a police officer and expose that person to all of the stresses therein, but at the same time limit access to appropriate coping mechanisms.

What is meant by stress? Although there is little in the way of agreement on this definition, for present purposes the statement of Lazarus (1966) seems most apt:

"as nearly as one can tell the term stress originated in the field of engineering To the engineer it means any external force directed at some physical object. The result of this force is strain, the temporary or permanent alteration in the structure of the object. Many writers in psychology and physiology have adopted this engineering convention, stress being the external agent or stimulus and strain being the resultant effect." (p. 12)

The effects of stress on police officers can take such forms as alcoholism, psychophysiological problems, marital disharmony, general hostility toward citizens, and, in extreme cases, suicide. In addition there often is a general decline in the efficiency and effectiveness of the police officer's work (e.g., Burgin, 1978).

Of these stress reactions special emphasis in this study was given to marital problems and psychophysiological reactions. The latter included such reactions as ulcers, hypertension and gastrointestinal disorders. (These are discussed in detail in Appendix B.) Also of prime interest in this study was Type A Coronary Prone Behavior Pattern. As Matthews and Brunson (1979) point out, Pattern A is associated with at least twice the occurrence of heart disease as the opposing Type B (defined as the absence of Pattern A). Pattern A is also highly cor-

related with atherosclerosis in the coronary arteries as well as hypertension.

The Type A behavior pattern is defined as an action emotion complex that can be observed in any person who is aggressively involved in a chronic, incessant struggle to achieve more and more in less and less time, and if required to do so, against the opposing efforts of other things or persons. For an older male (late thirties), with an elevated serum cholesterol level, high blood pressure, overweight, a heavy cigarette smoker who is also a Type A, the probability of premature cardiovascular disease, perhaps even a coronary, is very high. This configuration is viewed by Friedman and Rosenman (1974) as a characteristic reaction to chronic stress. Davidson (1980) has noted that this Type A behavior pattern occurs with alarming frequency among police officers.

In considering the major stressors of police work it is perhaps surprising that physical danger is not often mentioned. This is not to say that police officers are unconcerned with their physical safety. Physical danger is something with which they have been taught to cope. It is an expected part of police work consistent with their "crime fighter" image (Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell, 1974).

What consistently receives a great deal of emphasis are the organizational and administrative practices of the police agency (Webb, 1979); such issues as promotions, transfer, current assignment and relations with supervisors. Administrative or bureaucratic decisions which could adversely affect the officer's career are major stressors

* NB.

(e.g., Kroes, Margolis and Hurrell, 1974, and Degenaro, 1980) as are court decisions, interactions with the public, shift work and restrictions on personal and social life (Kroes and Gould, 1979, Hayes, 1977). All of the stressors suggested above together with others similarly derived from the literature, were considered in the present study.

Unfortunately, most of the empirical studies of police stress have been conducted in the United States. As Webb (1979) points out, the extent to which the findings from these studies will apply to Canadian police agencies is unknown. Webb states that

"several of the persons interviewed . . . expressed the opinion that the Canadian situation differs significantly from that in other nations and especially the U.S., to make any direct comparisons of dubious utility. The respondents advanced a number of reasons why they believed that police work in Canada and the U.S. differed. Among these reasons were the following: (a) many police officers have a military background whereas Canadians do not; (b) there exists a generalized siege mentality in the U.S. with an emphasis on self protection whereas Canadian police are more service oriented; (c) command officers are largely political appointments in the U.S. and thus more corruption prone whereas Canadians have more job security and are more likely to have a police background; (d) there is more actual crime in the U.S. and officers are more likely to use their weapons. Each of these factors is thought to lead to different attitudes on both the part of the police and the public" (pp. 17-8).

All of the above factors according to Webb's (1979) respondents can and do lead to a greater degree of stress among U.S. police officers in contrast to their Canadian counterparts. The issue, however, of the comparability of Canadian and U.S. data is an empirical question that was addressed indirectly in this study. Despite this, the authors disagree with Webb's suggestion that comparison with U.S. data is of dubious utility when considering stress in the Canadian police community.

Hypotheses of the Study

- 1) Consistent with U.S. data, the major stressors cited in Canadian data would be police administrative decisions, court decisions, and family (marital) problems.
- 2) The divorce rate for police officers would be approximately twice that of comparable Canadians.
- 3) Type A police officers would report a greater number of physical symptoms but be less concerned about them than Type Bs.
- 4) Type As are more likely to be dissatisfied with the current pay, promotion and transfer policies than Type Bs.
- 5) Type As are also more likely to be dissatisfied with their co-workers and supervisors than Type Bs.
- 6) A police officer who is dissatisfied with his pay, promotion opportunities, co-workers and supervisors is also likely to report greater dissatisfaction with his division assignment, greater physical distress, and feelings of depression than one who is satisfied.
- 7) An officer experiencing marital difficulties (e.g., a pending separation) will express more dissatisfaction with his work assignment, co-workers and supervisors and report experiencing more depression, physical complaints, and exhibit a higher degree of alcohol consumption

than a police officer whose marriage is stable.

The preceding list represents the major hypotheses. Where initial analyses suggested other directions, however, these were followed.

CHAPTER II

Method

Sampling Frame

With the help and cooperation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, every police officer in "D" Division¹ (Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario--a total possible sample of 912) was surveyed. This process yielded a response rate of 63 percent, or 571 completed questionnaires.

Measuring Instruments

Each of the members of the sampling frame received the following self-report inventories (see Appendix A):

- 1) The Background Questionnaire (Questionnaire A), developed by Luborsky, Todd and Katcher (1973). The questionnaire includes such items as parents' education, own education, interests, including work, and family size. For this measure the 30 items were combined to form a social assets scale and the weighting scale advocated by Luborsky et al. (1973) was utilized. Actual scores on the scale were based on the respondents' score divided by the total possible score for the scale, based on the number of items answered. Scores were not computed for anyone answering less than one-half of the questions. Scores on the

social assets scale ranged from .56 to .99 with a higher score representing greater social assets.

2) Jenkins Activity Survey (Jenkins, Rosenman and Zyzanski, 1972--Questionnaire B). This scale can be used to dichotomize individuals into Type A or B, Coronary Prone and provides continuous scores on the A-B dimension of coronary prone behavior. In total, there are 52 items which yield several scores, including a pattern A scale based on 21 of the items. The weighting system outlined by Jenkins et al. (1972) was utilized to develop scale scores for the subjects. To arrive at a raw scale score required summing the individual weights associated with the chosen option for each item in the scale. An identical separate weight was given where an item was omitted or where the participant selected more than one item. The total raw score was the sum of the appropriate weights within the scale. These raw scores were transformed into standard scores according to a linear transformation suggested by Jenkins et al. (1972).

The standard scale scores on the A-B dimension ranged from -19.4 to 19.1. Positive scores denote the Pattern A direction and negative scores denote the Pattern B direction. In addition to the A-B scale, the Jenkins Activity Survey (JAS-C) can be scored for three factors which are correlated with the overall A-B score but which are independent of each other. The three factor scales have been named Speed and Impatience (S), Hard Driving (H), and Job Involvement (J).

These subscales are scored in exactly the same manner as the A-B

dimension but are comprised of different items. Although some of the 52 items overlap on all four scales, other items are unique to one scale. Scores on the S subscale ranged from -22.3 to 27.1, while scores on the J subscale ranged from -19.4 to 19.0 and a minimum score on the H subscale was -23.2 with a maximum score of 29.4. A high score on the S, J and H subscales indicates a tendency to act speedily and to become impatient, more job involvement, and the tendency to be a hard-driving individual.

3) Demographic Data (Questionnaire E). This scale, developed by the authors, consisted of a simple itemization of such factors as age, years of service, years in present division, etc.

4) Job Description Index (Smith, Kendall and Hullin, 1969--see Questionnaire F). The questions pertained to the main aspects of the officer's working environment and included attitudes toward pay, promotions, supervisors, co-workers and work in general. The original version of the instructions for this index included three options: "Yes" (Y), "No" (N), and "Sometimes" (S). The S category was eliminated to avoid ambiguity over the interpretation of the questions. At the same time a pilot study indicated that this procedure had no discernible effect on the reliability of the measure.

The dimensions assessed by the "Job Description Index" are defined by five subscales of the overall inventory. Scores on the total scale and the five subscales were calculated by division of the participants' scores by the total possible score for the scale or subscale. This

calculation was based on the number of items answered. Again, scores were not computed for anyone answering less than one-half of the questions.

Scores on the Index (total scale) ranged from .51 to .90, while possible scores on the five subscales (i.e., work, pay, promotions, supervisor and co-workers) ranged from .50 to 1.0 for the first three and from .50 to .97 for the latter two. A high score in all cases indicated dissatisfaction as measured by the particular subscale, e.g., a high score on the pay subscale would indicate that a respondent was more dissatisfied than satisfied with his pay rate.

5) Job Stressors Survey (Questionnaire G). This inventory, constructed by Breen and Vulcano, was designed to measure the most prevalent stressors among police officers. The items were developed from the established literature and from a pretest sample of 20 police officers from the same division as the participants in the present study.

The items on this survey were rated on a five-point scale from "not stressful at all" to "extremely stressful". Eleven stressors were rated, with space provided for the respondents to indicate other stressors which they may have experienced in addition to those included in the survey. Examples of the eleven common stressors evaluated by the respondents include promotion procedures, the system for transfer, and pay rates. The eleven stressors, when combined to form a scale, provided a reliability value of .79. The minimum value on this scale was .20, the maximum .95. A low score meant less job stress or that these particular job stressors were not very stressful to the participant.

6) The Social Aspects Inventory (Questionnaire J). This survey was designed to measure social support relationships. Among the eleven items included in this questionnaire were closeness of the family unit, number of close friends and number of close friends on the force. Scores on the scale were based on the person's obtained-score divided by the total possible score for the scale. This calculation was in turn based on the number of items answered; where scores were not computed for anyone answering less than one-half of the questions. Scores on the social aspects scale ranged from .31 to .91 with a high score indicating greater social support.

7) Health Symptoms/Conditions Inventory (Questionnaire K). This survey, developed by Schwab, Fennel and Warheit (1974), is a measure of frequently cited physical complaints most often identified with stress, e.g., ulcers and hypertension.

Instructions on the inventory requested the respondents to choose from a list of eleven conditions/symptoms that they may have experienced in the past year and to indicate the frequency of occurrence (regularly, occasionally, or not at all). These symptoms/conditions were combined to form a scale which ranged from .33 to 1.0 with a high score indicating poorer health or greater prevalence of psychosomatic symptoms/conditions than a low score.

8) Stress Coping Techniques Survey (Questionnaire L). This questionnaire, designed for the present study, required the respondents to list the stress-coping techniques they might employ in coping with

daily stressors, e.g., exercise, sports, and hobbies. Note: The complete item-by-item grouped response rate for each questionnaire is given in Appendix A, Part II .

Several of the questionnaires contained in the booklet have not been discussed because the additional questionnaires are directly relevant to the M.A. thesis study conducted by Vulcano. A brief report on this study is contained in Appendix B. Suffice to say that the research aims of that study coincide with the focus of the present investigation. The data were collected simultaneously since, with repeated questionnaire testing, there was concern that the respondents would very likely have tired of filling out questionnaires. Also, the cost of repeated mailing would have been prohibitive.

Data Analyses

Because of the potential for a high degree of association among the variables of interest, Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) were used as the prime method of data analysis as opposed to a series of simple univariate tests. For all such tests alpha (α) was set at .05. Where a test of significance is reported the chances are less than five in one hundred that such a difference could have occurred by chance alone. In these cases the reader can be confident that meaningful findings are being considered.

Footnote 1. The members of the R.C.M.P. Security Service in Manitoba were unintentionally excluded as unbeknownst to the investigators they were not included on the original mailing list received from the R.C.M.P. This omission was understandable as technically there is no "D" Division Security Service.

CHAPTER III

Results

Description of the Respondents

Of the 571 questionnaires received, 551 were from male members and 20 from female members. The average respondent was a young male police officer, reasonably well-educated, married with two or three children, who was born and raised in a small town or rural setting. It seems safe to conclude that the majority consisted of constables. Respondents holding rank would most likely be corporals and sergeants. Note: The survey list did not indicate the rank of the members but only names and mailing addresses.

As a group, the total sample was reasonably well-educated, with 88.9 percent having completed high school. Of these, 32.4 percent had some university education, with 3.7 percent having graduate degrees.

Most respondents were married (82 percent), with 69.5 percent having children--the average number of children being two or three. Only 25 percent of the sample members were born in big cities with the majority coming from small towns, farm and rural areas.

The average (arithmetic mean) age of the sample was 31.8 years, with 46.2 percent being 30 years of age or younger. Further to this

point, by age 35, 78.1 percent of the sample was included. In terms of years of service, the average (arithmetic mean) was 10.6 years. At the 15 years of service point, 82 percent of the sample was included.

Because of the differences in the average age and average years of service of the females as opposed to the total sample, it seemed appropriate to separate from the total sample a group of males of comparable age and years of service to the females. This procedure yielded a comparison group of seventy males. Despite the fact that male-female comparisons did not represent the major focus of the study, and given the small number of females included, some tentative sex comparisons could have heuristic value (see page 26).

Tests of Major Hypotheses

The major stressors cited by respondents had to do with police administrative decisions and court decisions. This is consistent with U.S. findings (see hypothesis 1). In evaluating this hypothesis the summary data from questionnaire G were employed. Congruent with Kroes et al. (1974), these data were grouped into the following categories:

- 1) police administration -- bureaucracy and its effects on the management of the force, transfer policy, negative contact with supervisors, and promotion procedure;
- 2) factors intrinsic to police work -- restrictions on personal and social life, negative contact with the general public, court

decisions, shift work, and unpleasant and/or boring activities;

3) other -- negative working relationship with co-workers and pay rates.

A summary of the findings given in Table 1 (page 17), indicates that the major stressor had to do with "administrative decisions". On the average, 87.5 percent (499 members) of the respondents rated these administrative decisions as stressful, with an average of 36 percent (206 members) rating them as very or extremely stressful.

Again, referring to Table 1 and considering the dimension "factors intrinsic to police work", 82.2 percent (469 members) rated these factors as stressful. Also, 24.8 percent (142 members) gave them an average rating of very or extremely stressful.

For the "other" category, an average of 63.3 percent (363 members) of the respondents rated this factor as stressful. The average response to the combined, very and extremely stressful, categories was 14.3 percent (82 members).

To amplify and perhaps clarify the data, it seemed most appropriate to consider some of the individual items contained in Questionnaire F (statistical analyses utilize total scores). On this questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes toward work, pay, promotions, supervisors, and co-workers.

TABLE 1

Major stressors grouped according to category and listed by order of importance based on the data of column 1.

	Column 1	Column 2
	% and size of group rating item as stressful	% and size of group rating item as <u>very</u> or <u>extremely</u> stress- ful
Administrative sources of stress:		
1) Bureaucracy and its effects on the running of the force	94.2% (532 members)	45.2% (258 members)
2) System for transfer	91.6% (522 members)	45.4% (259 members)
3) Negative contact with supervisors, and negative feed- back	84.9% (482 members)	31.6% (180 members)
4) Promotion procedure	79.3% (452 members)	22.1% (126 members)
	Mean = 87.5%	Mean = 36%
Stress factors in- trinsic to police work:		
1) Restriction on personal and social life	87% (492 members)	30.8% (176 members)
2) Negative contact with the general public	84.9% (481 members)	25.1% (143 members)
3) Court decisions	84.2% (479 members)	32.9% (188 members)
4) Shift work	78.8% (443 members)	25.2% (144 members)
5) Unpleasant and/ or boring duties, eg., paperwork, deaths, guarding prisoners	76% (434 members)	10% (57 members)
	Mean = 82.2%	Mean = 24.8%

TABLE 1 (continued)

Other stressors:

1) Negative working relationship with co-workers	79.2% (449 members)	25.6% (146 members)
2) Pay rates	48% (275 members)	3% (17 members)
	Mean = 63.3%	Mean = 14.3%

With respect to police work per se, 82 percent of the total sample found it satisfying; 83 percent described it as respected; 95 percent rated it as useful; 83 percent found it challenging; and 81 percent indicated that it gave a sense of accomplishment. As is obvious, the vast majority of the respondents were quite happy with their employment, i.e., police work per se.

A similar profile was observed for pay, with 87 percent of the respondents describing it as satisfactory, and 55 percent indicating that it provided luxuries. Only 10 percent indicated that they could barely live on their income.

Respondents held critical attitudes toward the promotional system; 67 percent of the respondents did not think that there were good opportunities for advancement; 43 percent did not think that promotions were based on ability; 42 percent thought that the current promotion policy was unfair; and 72 percent of the total sample reported that promotions were too infrequent.

A substantial minority of members questioned the competence and ability of their supervisors. 31 percent indicated that supervisors did not ask their advice; 21 percent believed that supervisors did not praise good work; 44 percent did not regard supervisors as influential; 20 percent of the respondents viewed supervisors as not "up to date"; 31 percent of the respondents answered to the negative for the item "tells me where I stand". Over one-third (34 percent) of the respondents regarded supervisors as stubborn and 24 percent believed that supervisors

did not "know the job well". 16 percent of the total sample did not think that supervisors were intelligent and 17 percent reported that supervisors were not around when needed. In sharp contrast, the respondents saw their co-workers as responsible (94 percent), intelligent (93 percent), active (88 percent), and loyal (90 percent).

At least partially reflecting the impact of the stressors cited, when the respondents were asked, "Would you prefer to be working in another division right now", 39.1 percent of the total sample (233 members) answered in the affirmative. Also, when asked, "Would you prefer to be posted somewhere else within "D" Division right now", 34 percent (194 members) answered Yes.

As measured by questionnaire J (items 1 and 2), 6 percent of the respondents (34 members) described their family units as "not close", with 3.7 percent (21 members) indicating that they did not have good relations with their spouses. Only 57 percent (324 members) of the respondents described their family units as "very close".

With respect to the second hypothesis, the divorce rate (excluding 69 members from the sample who had never been married) was 3 percent (13 members). In comparison, figures from Statistics Canada for the Province of Manitoba for 1978 (the most recent data available) indicate an average divorce rate of 1 percent. Allowing for the generally assumed notion that rates increase from year to year and inflating the 1 percent figure to 1.5 percent, the rate for the respondents is still twice that of Manitobans in general. 4 percent of the respondents (an

additional 21 members) were either separated or separated and living common-law.

Despite the foregoing, the divorce rate for respondents is at the low end of the range of average rates for members of U.S. police agencies or, for that matter, comparable data, i.e., 24 percent from the Winnipeg Police Department (Breen, 1980a). Suggested reasons for this discrepancy will be considered in the discussion section.

Type A Coronary Prone Behavior Pattern

1) Hypothesis Three (Type A police officers would report a greater number of physical symptoms and be less concerned about them than Type Bs) was tested by means of a one-way MANOVA (Type A vs. Type B), with the dependent variables being "physical symptoms" (Questionnaire K), "job stress" (Questionnaire G), and "general physical condition" (Questionnaire A, item 12). In each case alpha was set at .05 with the "step down F" (df. = 1,561) as the critical test. Consistent with expectation, Type As reported a greater number of physical symptoms ($F = 9.79$), and more job stress ($F = 9.82$) than Type Bs. Yet when both As and Bs were asked to rate their general physical condition both groups rated their physical health as being within the good-to-very-good category (see Table 2). Hence, Type As, while reporting more physical complaints than Bs, are not any more concerned about them than Bs who report significantly fewer physical problems.

2) Hypothesis Four was evaluated by means of a one-way MANOVA (Type A vs. Type B) with the dependent variables being the respondents' answers to items one through three of Questionnaire G, i.e., stress ratings of promotion procedures, system for transfer and pay rates respectively (see Table 3). The "step down" F (df. = 1,567) was employed as a critical test with alpha set at .05.

As expected, Type As were more dissatisfied and stressed by the promotional procedures ($F = 4.58$) and pay rates ($F = 3.89$) than Type Bs. A corresponding difference was not obtained for "transfer policies".

3) The hypothesis that Type As would be more dissatisfied with their co-workers and supervisors than Type Bs was not supported (hypothesis 5). Specifically, the differences between the two groups failed to reach statistical significance.

Division Assignment

A test of Hypothesis Six was carried out by means of the one-way MANOVA (respondents who preferred some other division assignment vs. those who did not) with the dependent variables being attitudes toward work, pay, promotional opportunities, supervisors, and co-workers as measured by the Job Description Index (Questionnaire F). Also included as dependent variables were the measure of physical complaints (Questionnaire K) and items 17, 18 and 19 of Questionnaire D (see Table 3). In each case the step down F (df. = 1, 411) was used as the critical test with alpha set

TABLE 2

Mean response rate for type 'A' vs. 'B'
for the dependent variables, physical symptoms, job
stress and physical condition

Dependent Variable	Type A (n=281)	Type B (n=282)
Questionnaire K (physical symptoms)	3.45	2.67
Questionnaire G (job stress)	.56	.53
Questionnaire A (item 12 - physical condition)	1.33	1.26

TABLE 3

Mean response rate for type 'A' vs. type 'B' for the
dependent variables, promotion, system of transfer
and pay rates

Dependent Variable	Type A (n=281)	Type B (n=282)
Promotion procedure (G_1)	2.71	2.50
System for transfer (G_2)	3.37	3.18
Pay rates (G_3)	1.89	1.69

at .05. Consistent with expectation, those respondents who were dissatisfied with their division assignment also reported stronger negative attitudes toward work ($F = 16.06$), pay ($F = 4.26$), and promotions ($F = 15.94$) than those who were satisfied with their division assignment. No significant differences emerged on the measures of attitude toward supervisors and co-workers.

On the measures of physical complaints, those who were dissatisfied with their present division assignment did not report a significantly greater frequency of physical complaints although the trend was in the predicted direction (see Table 4). They did, however, report more depression (D17) than those who were satisfied ($F = 4.43$).

Hypothesis Seven which stated that a police officer currently experiencing marital difficulties would report more dissatisfaction with his division assignment, co-workers, supervisors, and indicate a greater degree of depression, physical complaints, and alcohol consumption than officers not experiencing such problems, was assessed by ^{MEANS}~~means~~ of a one-way MANOVA (divorced-separated-commonlaw vs. married) with the foregoing list as the dependent variables. For each variable, the "step down" F ($df. = 1,352$) was used as the critical test with α set at .05. The above hypothesis was not supported; that is, statistical results failed to reach significance with the exception of attitude toward supervisors (Questionnaire F). Here it was the married respondents who had more negative attitudes (Mean = .62) toward their supervisors than did those officers experiencing marital difficulties (Mean = .57). Those who described themselves as having marital difficulties reported, however,

TABLE 4

Mean response rate of those preferring vs not
 preferring their current division assignment
 for questionnaires F, K and D (items 17, 18 and
 19)

	Satisfied with present division	Dissatisfied with present division
Dependent Variables		
Questionnaire F		
work	.66	.71
pay	.60	.63
promotions	.74	.83
supervisors	.60	.63
co-workers	.57	.60
Questionnaire K		
physical complaints	2.93	3.22
Depression		
-D17-"Once I am de- pressed it takes me a long time to re- cover"	3.79 ^a	3.60 ^a
-D18-"I feel that when I become depressed or unhappy it is caused by other people or the events that happen"	2.87	2.91
-D19-"People have little or no ability to control their sorrows or rid them- selves of their negative feelings."	2.18	2.27

^a The lower the score the more depressed is the
 respondent

consistent patterns of greater depression, unhappiness and negative mood than those with stable marriages.

These results must be interpreted with considerable caution, insofar as one very large group is being compared with a very small group. That is, approximately 95 percent of the sample is being compared to the remaining 5 percent (experiencing marital difficulties). Consequently, it is possible that given that attitudes toward supervisors were negative for the entire sample, even a few expressions of positive regard toward supervisors in the group experiencing marital difficulties would be sufficient to generate the statistical difference noted. These considerations are mentioned because the statistical tests used to evaluate Hypothesis Seven are the only ones comparing groups of such disproportionate size.

Sex Differences

Because of the grossly unequal sample sizes (i.e., 20 females vs. 551 males), traditional test of statistical significance seemed inappropriate in comparing the data. Even in deriving a comparison sample of males with approximately the same average years of service (5) and the same average age (26) as the females, the results yielded disproportionate sample sizes, i.e., 70 males and 20 females. With these concerns in mind, comparisons were made between females and males (matched to the females for age and years of service). These comparisons indicated that with regard to:

- a) education, 25 percent of the females were college graduates as opposed to 13 percent of the matched males;
- b) health, 55 percent of the females described their health as very good, while 78.6 percent of the males rated their health as very good;
- c) disability, when asked via Questionnaire A (item 14), "Have you been disabled by illness or accident--for less than a week?" 65 percent of the females answered in the affirmative vs. 84.3 percent of the matched males. Employing the same question with the alternative "Have you been disabled for as long as six weeks", 25 percent of the females answered Yes, compared to 3 percent of the matched males.
- d) dating, to item 15, Questionnaire A ("If unmarried are you--engaged--going steady--dating frequently", etc.) 50 percent of the females responded that they were either dating infrequently or not at all; 18.8 percent of the matched male sample gave the same response;
- e) friends of the force, answers to item 4, Questionnaire J (number of friends in the police force) indicated that 50 percent of the females had few or no friends, while 27.1 percent of the matched males indicated that they had few or no friends on the force.
- f) marital status: 10 percent of the females and 61.4 percent of the (matched) males were married.

g) division preference: 50 percent of the females and 55.7 percent of matched male sample indicated that they preferred to be working in another division right now. Also, 45 percent of the females and 37.1 percent of the matched males indicated a preference for a posting somewhere else with "D" Division.

h) work: In evaluating the dimension of work (Questionnaire F), interesting observational differences emerged. Women found police work far less satisfying than the matched male sample (65 percent vs. 86 percent respectively). They also found it more boring (40 percent) than their male counterparts (12 percent). Consistent with this finding they also rated work as less creative (45 percent) than the matched male sample (64 percent). Where 70 percent of the females regarded their work as respected, 86 percent of the males viewed it in the same regard. When asked to indicate whether police work was pleasant, 65 percent of the females answered in the affirmative vs. 83 percent of the males. Also, females found their work far less challenging (70 percent) than the males (86 percent). Women also indicated that their work gave less a sense of accomplishment (70 percent) than the matched males (87 percent).

i) satisfaction with pay: 100 percent of the females and 97 percent of the males rated their pay as satisfactory. Females, however, showed a slight tendency to be even more satisfied than males. When asked "Are you highly paid?" 40 percent of the females agreed vs. 32 percent of the males.

j) promotions: On the topic of promotions, both males and females

shared the pessimism of the entire sample. They generally believed that promotional opportunities were limited and not based on ability.

k) supervisors: Females (60 percent) thought that their supervisors were less tactful than did the corresponding group of males (70 percent). Females also saw their supervisors as more annoying (40 percent) and stubborn (60 percent) than the males (24 percent and 29 percent respectively).

Among the female members, 30 percent thought their supervisors did not know the job well vs. 17 percent of the males. Also, 30 percent of the females did not see their supervisors as intelligent, whereas only 10 percent of the matched sample of males held the same view.

With respect to the dimension of laziness, 6 percent of the males thought that way about their supervisors vs. 30 percent of the females. When asked to indicate whether the supervisor was around when needed, 25 percent of the females indicated that he was not vs. a similar response by 10 percent of the males.

l) co-workers: Little more than half the sample (55 percent) of females found their co-workers stimulating as opposed to 75 percent of the males. The females viewed their co-workers as being less ambitious than did the male members (60 percent vs. 79 percent). Females were also of the view that it was much easier to make enemies among their co-workers than were the males (35 percent vs. 15 percent). Females were more likely to rate their co-workers "as talking too much" than

were the males (40 percent vs. 15 percent). Of the females, 40 percent indicated invasion of privacy by co-workers as a concern, compared to 23 percent of the matched male sample. In addition, females (25 percent) were more likely to describe their co-workers as hard to meet than were males (7 percent).

To summarize briefly the results with respect to sex differences, the average female member is approximately 26 years of age, single, is not dating frequently, and is more likely to have a college education than her male counterpart. If disabled, she will take longer to re-cooperate than her male colleagues. She also has few friends in the force. She would prefer to be posted to some other division, is not assigned to any special police unit (e.g., ERT team), has worked in only one division, and is not nearly as satisfied with police work as is her male counterpart. While she tends to be slightly more satisfied with her pay than a similar male member, she is more likely to mention negative behaviors on the part of her supervisors and co-workers than are the males. Finally, she is most likely (100 percent in the present sample) to mention restrictions on personal and social life as a problem related to police work.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

Before focusing the discussion on specific findings and their implications, several considerations must be borne in mind:

1) In testing the various hypotheses, one should not necessarily assume causation--e.g., if a respondent was unhappy with his division assignment as well as with his pay and promotion opportunities, it does not necessarily mean that division assignment caused this effect. It could well be that the respondent's perception of poor promotional opportunities generated the dislike for the current division assignment. The data is essentially correlational, hence causal statements are at best tenuous;

2) Because such a large number of respondents (87.5 percent or 500 members) were distressed and dissatisfied over administrative procedures, tests of other hypotheses must be tempered by the very high probability of a ceiling effect. For example, if almost all respondents are distressed by the transfer procedure, it makes little difference whether one is a Type A or Type B or whether one is married or divorced.

Sources of Stress

Police administrative decisions and court decisions were found to be major sources of stress. In fact, of the two, the most important source was police administrative decisions followed closely by factors intrinsic to police work, e.g., court decisions. This finding is quite consistent with U.S. data (see Kroes and Gould, 1979, Hayes, 1977, Kroes et al. 1974, Reiser, 1974, Kroes, 1976, Degenara, 1980).

Administrative Stress Factors

The obvious question that arises is: Why should both Canadian and American police officers rate police administrative actions as a major (if not the major) source of stress? To answer this query--at least partially--it is relevant to consider the issues noted in the present study.

Bureaucracy

Regarding "bureaucracy and its effects on the running of the force", what the respondents were expressing was the concern that in their perception there was an overabundance both of administrators and of regulations. Some of the latter, they believed, were petty and an invasion of privacy. As one respondent (by no means the only one) indicated in a letter attached to the questionnaire:

"Although there is not an over-abundance of good investigators in the Force the number is adequate. The biggest problems arise when our decision makers or more accurately our policy makers (who are our C-officers) make ridiculous decisions that effect rank and file officers."

The important point is that the majority of the respondents believed that they had little control over or input into bureaucratic decisions. This sentiment was very similar to that expressed by members of the Lower Mainland B.C.-R.C.M.P. (Linden, 1980b) and by the members of the Winnipeg Police Department in a study conducted in 1980. In this study(a Doctoral Dissertation by J. McFerran under the supervision of Lawrence Breen) police administrative decisions represented a major stressor (Breen, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c). These decisions had to do with division and district assignments, transfer, and promotional policies. Similar findings were obtained by Hylton, Matonovich, Varro and Bijal (1979) in their study of the Regina Police Department. Bylton et al. (1979) noted that the majority of their respondents believed that supervisors were not aware of the practical problems encountered by them in their daily work and that if their assignments were changed they were not told why by their supervisors. Also, they did not have a say about with whom they worked, nor could they criticize their supervisors. It seems quite obvious that a great many police officers in the studies cited feel quite helpless when it comes to police administrative decisions that affect their daily work routine.

The issue of transfer policy was rated as stressful by the majority of the respondents in the present study. Over one-third described it as "very" or "extremely" stressful. This finding is consistent with numerous R.C.M.P. Occupational Attitude Surveys. This problem may become

more serious because of current financial conditions and because of the changing role of the family. It is presently very expensive to sell a house and buy another, especially if one is transferred from a small community to a larger urban area. Also, given the current cost of living, it is very often necessary for the spouse of an officer to work. She/he may be very reluctant to accept a transfer if it means limited prospects for employment in the new location. If the officer's spouse and children are living in an area that they like, the family may not wish to relocate.

These examples illustrate some of the complexities which can occur in transferring a member. However, from the administrative perspective members must police remote areas (at least in the provinces where they provide contract policing) that may not be perceived as desirable. In that event it would seem appropriate to allow the member some input into the decision without fear that refusal of the transfer might affect the chances for promotion.

Negative contact with supervisors

With respect to negative contact with supervisors and negative feedback, a significant minority believes that officers do not receive praise for good work. Only when they are in trouble is there a commentary on their performance. Many respondents rated their supervisors as lacking in interpersonal and managerial skills. A significant minority saw supervisors as lacking in tact, annoying, stubborn, and

not knowing their jobs well. Sixteen percent of the total sample indicated that officers did not regard their supervisors as intelligent.

All of these findings, when considered together, suggest that police supervisors need training in managerial, interpersonal and psychological skills, e.g., relating to the needs of others. Such courses are available at the Canadian Police College. Through Senior Police Administration courses and Executive Development courses, police officers from across Canada are exposed to such training. The present findings suggest that at the very least, more of such training should be provided. Also, students who have taken these courses should be actively encouraged by their respective police agencies to put what they have learned into practice.

Promotions

The issue of promotions is subsumed under the heading of administrative sources of stress. A very substantial majority of the respondents (79.3 percent) rated this variable as stressful. It is of concern that the majority of respondents believed that there is little opportunity for advancement. When promotions do take place, over 40 percent of the respondents believe that they are not based on ability but on an unfair promotion policy, e.g., favoritism. Consequently over 50 percent of the total sample believed that their chances for promotion were poor. These results are consistent with those of Hylton et al. (1979) in their study of the Regina Police Department.

The following excerpts illustrate some of these concerns:

"In spite of the fact that I was the best qualified person in Manitoba (this is not disputed by our officers up the line) to move into the position of [deleted, L.B.] I was not given this promotion. Although this position was not promised to me, my officers assured me they would put the "best man" in that slot. In the end they gave the position to someone else who had never been much involved in [deleted, L.B.]. The reason because I had refused to take a transfer out of Winnipeg previously (and still do). This kind of thinking comes from our "Personnel Department".

(From a member of "D" Division R.C.M.P. who participated in the present study)

Breen (1980b) found similar sentiments expressed by Winnipeg Police Officers:

"Nobody with this department has ever been promoted on the basis of performance, but more so on the lack of performance. I will not argue that there are exceptions--there are--but very damn few"¹

Regarding American law enforcement agencies, DeGenaro (1980) states that:

"Many police officers view the promotional process as lacking in fairness and objectivity. With opportunities for advancement being limited, stress, particularly for an ambitious person, is inevitable. . . . Since police officers tend to be very competitive, long-term failure to receive promotion or rank may result in feelings of alienation from work groups, a sense of depression and low self esteem" (p. 23)

It is obvious that police officers in general, and those in the present study in particular, have very negative feelings about promotions, which are seen as very subjective and unfair. One obvious implication of

¹ Since the McFerran study was completed the Winnipeg Police Department has introduced a radically different promotional policy intended to alleviate such concerns. As yet no data on the new policy are available.

this is that something must be done to make promotions seem more rational and fair (see Breen, 1979b, 1980c).

Also significant is the fact that the four items listed as administrative stressors appear to be highly interrelated. That is, promotions relate to transfers which relate to comments from supervisors, which in turn relates to bureaucratic decisions. This conclusion suggests that a serious attempt should be made to institute very substantial changes in administrative practices (specific recommendations will be reserved for a later section).

Stress factors intrinsic to police work

Restrictions on personal and social life, negative contact with the general public, court decisions, shift work, and unpleasant and/or boring duties were seen as stressful by a majority of the respondents. All of these factors have been prominent in American studies (e.g., Kroes, 1976). These factors appear to be ones over which the police officer has little control.

Restrictions on personal and social life

Many citizens react to police officers (in both professional and social settings) somewhat differently than they do to non-police personnel. Unfortunately, the nature of this interaction in both settings can be

negative. Also, especially in rural settings the police officer and his family are quite visible. The police officer (and often his wife) may be approached at any time, day or night, by people with difficulties. Such occurrences can erode the officer's and his family's sense of personal freedom (Mitchell, 1975). Although to a certain extent such an erosion should be expected, very often the police officer and his family may be unaware that this will occur. Hence, we think that it is important that the officer and his wife (or wife-to-be) be made aware of these aspects of police work as early in his career as possible.

The restrictions on personal and social life are of less concern to municipal police officers, but they are evident, nevertheless, even in the large cities (Mitchell, 1975). At this time, the Winnipeg Police Department is apparently the only police agency in Canada which has a continuing spouse (family) orientation program for recruits (Breen, 1980c). Such programs, where they have been utilized in the United States, albeit in a very small number of departments, have proven very successful (Stratton, 1976).

Negative contact with the general public

It is not clear what can be done about negative contact with the general public. Certainly every possible attempt should be made to discourage the police officer from precipitating negative encounters. Toch and Bard (1970) are of the opinion that police officers, paradoxically, often generate conflict in many of their contacts with people. Keller (1978)

states that

"the police officer's ability to communicate effectively becomes extremely important when one considers the nature of his interaction with citizens. Ideally the police officer responding to a complaint attempts to gain control of the situation for the safety of himself but he must maintain his control without having to resort to physical conflict. Ironically, it is frequently the police officer's lack of skill which precipitates violence" (p. 25).

This lack of skill can be ameliorated by training in interpersonal skills and crisis intervention. As with the training of supervisors, however, it is important that such training be officially encouraged and accorded the same significance as other more traditional aspects of the police educational program. At the same time there are inherent limitations insofar as there really is no polite way of conducting a routine pedestrian or motor vehicle check. Likewise, can a police officer politely search someone? At present we do not know of a simple solution.

Court decisions

The fact that court decisions are described as a stressor is consistent with U.S. data (e.g., Kroes, 1976, Hayes, 1977) and Canadian data (Hylton, et al. 1979, Breen, 1979a). Police officers become distressed when defendants whom they know are guilty (and whom everyone else knows are guilty) are released because of some legal manoeuvre on the part of the defense attorney. The police officer may have spent a great deal of time investigating a particular incident only to have his efforts rendered meaningless by some adroit play by the defense attorney. In addition, the officer may spend several days waiting to testify, but when he does testify every effort is made to cast aspersions on his testimony. Given

this, it is little wonder that he often views court decisions and proceedings as an insult to his professionalism (Kroes, 1976).

As far as minimizing the stressful impact of court decisions on police officers, the present authors can offer little in the way of suggestion. Court proceedings are quite beyond the control of the police agency. Other than training a police officer to conduct the most rigorous incident investigation possible, and alerting him to potential problems in giving testimony, there is not much that can be offered as a stress-coping mechanism.

Shift work

A majority of the respondents described shift work as stressful. This again is consistent with U.S. data (e.g., Gruber, 1980). Unfortunately shift work is indigenous to police work. Shift work can indeed disrupt the personal and social life and the biological functioning of officers (Kroes, 1976). Many police officers, however, augment the stressful impact of shift work by choosing to work a particular evening or weekend shift (Breen, 1978a). Often this kind of behavior occurs to the distress of the officer's family, yet the officer wishes to "be where the action is" (Reiser, 1974).

Coping mechanisms for dealing with shift work are somewhat limited. Every police officer for some considerable part of his career must work shift even at the risk of losing social and family contacts. Where stress

is caused by shift work the officer should make every effort to maximize the quality of the time devoted to family and social relationships. This means, of course, that he not spend his available free time socializing exclusively with police personnel--as many police officers do (Reiser, 1974).

Unpleasant and boring activities

Over three-quarters of the respondents rated unpleasant and/or boring activities as stressful. Boredom as a stressor has been amply documented in the psychological literature (e.g., Lazarus, 1966). Despite this, certain police functions which by any definition are boring must be carried out. Examples would be court detail or the position of telephone receptionist where the officer's prime function is to answer telephone enquiries and deal with people wishing to pay speeding tickets, etc. Many members see such assignments as tantamount to a demotion, or as one young constable recently assigned to such duty lamented to the first author, "What did I do; who did I offend?" Supervisors assigning police officers to such duties should emphasize that it is not a punishment.

Other stressors

Negative working relationships with co-workers was rated as stressful by over three-quarters of the respondents. To clarify why relationships with co-workers should be rated as stressful it seemed appropriate to

consider the ratings of co-workers obtained from Questionnaire F. Inspection of these data indicated that the most prominent complaints were the following: non-stimulating; not terribly ambitious; talked too much (gossiped); easy to make enemies; invasion of personal privacy; and narrow interests. A certain degree of such behavior must realistically be expected in any occupation. At the same time, however, it should be noted that the majority of respondents considered their co-workers to be responsible, intelligent, and loyal (i.e., to the organization). Although these findings may appear contradictory to the respondents' foregoing complaints, this need not be so. That is, the negative characteristics attributed to co-workers reflect interpersonal relations, whereas the positive characteristics seem to focus on the intellectual performance aspects of behavior. It is not hard to conceive of a situation where one can regard a co-worker as intelligent and responsible on the job but dislike his personal and social behaviors, e.g., talking too much, invading personal privacy.

Another possibility with respect to the negative sentiments expressed toward co-workers may be that suggested by McFerran in his study of the Winnipeg Police Department; that is a respondent who is dissatisfied with his current division assignment may be much more likely to be dissatisfied with other aspects of his assignment, e.g., co-workers. In the present study such dissatisfaction may exist since 39.1 percent of the respondents preferred to be stationed in some other division while 34 percent preferred to be posted elsewhere within "D" Division.

Pay rates do not represent a significant source of stress for the

respondents--a finding similar to that obtained in the Winnipeg Police study. Less than one-half of the sample listed pay rates as stressful. The vast majority of the respondents described their pay as satisfactory, with approximately 30 percent describing themselves as highly paid. This finding, i.e., low stress rating for pay rates, is not consistent with U.S. data. As Kroes (1976) points out, this is one of the continuing complaints of American police officers. The reason for this discrepancy is that in general, notwithstanding differences in dollar value, Canadian police officers are paid more than their American counterparts.

When asked to indicate "other" stressors (Questionnaire G), none of the respondents cited physical danger. This finding is consistent with U.S. data (e.g., Gruber, 1980: less than 1 percent of his respondents listed this as a source of stress). This is not to imply that police officers are unconcerned about physical danger. Rather, when situations involving physical danger occur, the reaction tends to be intense but transient. Most police officers develop psychological defense mechanisms to cope with the threat of physical danger. They may use such mechanisms as denial (it can't happen to me), or simply not think about it. Such behavior is functional in the sense that a police officer who is constantly preoccupied with real or imaginary threats to his physical safety could not carry out his duties. Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) noted similar defense mechanisms were employed by police wives regarding possible physical danger facing their husbands. As many wives pointed out, if they became preoccupied with concerns about husband's safety they simply could not function.

As Stratton (1981, personal communication) points out, "it is not the guns, sirens and flashing red lights that are stressful, it's the administrative decisions they have to live with day in and day out." Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer (1978) expressed the same view. Consistent with this, one of Webb's (1979) respondents (that is, a patrolman), when asked what the major stressors were, replied "the bullshit you have to put up with in superiors burning you and asinine rules" (p. 23). Comments by respondents in the present study further attest to this view:

"A member can be employed in a section . . . and in the course of a year have official contact with an estimated 3000 persons, and if just one of those persons complains, the attitude the member feels by his supervisor and internal investigation members and the A.G.'s department (should they become involved) is that the member must be at fault otherwise the person would not complain. The member has to account for all his actions, be they how small and it seems the complainant sits back points the finger and seldom suffers any repercussions. . . . The member even if found innocent still gets the feeling 'you're lucky this time'".

Whatever else can be said, it seems quite clear both from this and other studies that bureaucratic and administrative decisions are a major source of stress for police officers. This is not to imply that such decisions are the only source of stress but it is an important stressor which can be changed (vs. court decisions over which the police officer has little control).

Marital problems and divorce rate

When asked to indicate the closeness of their family units, 6 percent of the respondents described their families as "not close", with 3.7 percent indicating that they did not have good family relations with their spouses.

It was expected, based on previously published studies (e.g., Hayes, 1977), that there would be much stronger evidence of marital and/or family difficulties. Related to these were the findings on divorce rates. Specifically, 3 percent of the sample group was divorced; an additional 4 percent of the respondents was either separated or separated and living common law.

The divorce data are interesting given that they are above the provincial average but are below the figures cited for many other police agencies. Even with the inclusion of those who are separated (or separated and living common-law) the figure is still 7 percent in total. This figure is at the low end of the range cited by Hayes (1977), i.e., 4 percent to 33 percent. In contrast, comparable data from the Winnipeg Police Department (Breen, 1980a) yielded a divorce rate of 24 percent, a figure quite similar to the average divorce rate among U.S. police officers.

In considering that the sample characteristics of both "D" Division R.C.M.P. and the Winnipeg Police Department are quite similar, i.e., age and years of service, both of which correlate with marital problems (see Reiser, 1974 and Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer, 1978), the obvious question that arises is "Why should the divorce statistics be so disparate?", after all, both samples of police officers reside and work in Manitoba. (Admittedly, while one is responsible for city policing, the other agency is involved primarily in rural policing.)

Since the data of the present study were gathered, the first author

has had the opportunity to query numerous members of "D" Division regarding the discrepancy. Several reasons were given which may in part account for the obtained difference in divorce rate between members of "D" Division R.C.M.P. and members of the Winnipeg Police Department. These can be summarized as follows:

- 1) If a Winnipeg city police officer is having marital problems his spouse can simply take the children and move in with his or her parents (or relatives). In many cases it may mean moving only a short geographic distance.
- 2) Given the current cost of living, the chances are very good that the city police officer's spouse is working, hence she/he is not totally dependent on the spouse for financial support.
- 3) It is not likely, given the number of personnel under his supervision, that a city police supervisor would even be concerned about the marital status (or difficulties) of his subordinates.
- 4) In the small rural areas where the R.C.M.P. carries out most of its policing activities, the member and his family are very visible. If he is having marital difficulties the entire community could be aware of it. Because of this, his supervisor may be concerned about potential damage to the image of the R.C.M.P. in that community. Consequently, the supervisor may have an informal "chat" with the member, suggesting that he and his spouse reach some resolution of their conflict.

- 5) The supervisor might also become directly involved in the member's marital problems (something which can be done easily in small communities where members and their families interact frequently with each other).
- 6) Chances are very good, especially in a small community, given limited employment opportunities, that the R.C.M.P. member's spouse is not working and is therefore financially dependent.
- 7) Even if the member, if posted in a fairly large urban area, e.g., Brandon or Portage la Prairie where he and his family are less visible, there is still another difficulty for couples in conflict. Most members of "D" Division and their spouses are not natives of Manitoba. If the member's wife decides to leave him, her family may be as far away as the Maritimes or British Columbia. In most cases she cannot simply move a few blocks away or across town to live with her parents until the marital conflict is resolved.
- 8) As our data indicates, most of the respondents come from small town, rural, and conservative backgrounds. In contrast, the vast majority of members of the Winnipeg Police Department come from Winnipeg. On this point, there is abundant social psychological data (e.g., Baron and Byrne, 1981) which suggests that people from rural backgrounds are much more conservative in their attitudes about such things as religion and marriage than are people from large urban areas. Hence, even if they were experiencing severe marital difficulties, members of the R.C.M.P. may be less likely to report it or terminate the marriage via divorce.

9) Several respondents commented that the marital status category on the questionnaire omitted an important option, i.e., having an affair. One in particular mentioned that there is nothing serious in a member having an occasional affair and he saw no reason why a member's wife should object. After all, they were not serious and represented a contest among members.

One senior, non-commissioned officer placed this behavior in perspective when he stated,

"a young police officer leaves Depot for his first posting which will most likely be in a rural area. Being from some other part of Canada he is lonely. As a result he may make arrangements to marry his home town girlfriend. If he does not have a girlfriend he may be attracted to the first pleasant female (usually a teacher or nurse) he meets in his new posting. In either case, he will most likely marry but with his next posting again usually in a rural setting he realizes that there are many women who find him attractive. It is like a smorgasbord and why miss out on it"

Regardless of this scenario, the extra-marital relations category should perhaps be included in future surveys. We suspect, however, that there would be great difficulty in obtaining veridical statements on this issue from the respondents.

That such events as described above can occur is bolstered by the experience of L. Breen in counselling both R.C.M.P. and Winnipeg police officers whose marriages were in difficulty. Such counselling activities have spanned half a decade, and the factors listed above have been prominent. Also, during numerous in-service sessions conducted for the R.C.M.P. on the topic of marital conflict, the recommendation has been consistently made that there be a spouse orientation program. Obviously members see a need which is not being met.

It is also quite conceivable that because of social desirability, the respondents may have been less than candid regarding marital difficulties. In this regard it is of interest that 57 percent of the respondents described the family unit as very close. The remainder of the respondents described the family unit as either "not close" or simply "close". It is the opinion of the present authors that many respondents, uncertain as to how to accurately describe their family units, may have checked the "close" alternative with the view that it was a neutral response.

Much of the foregoing is conjecture. It may be that the R.C.M.P. members have remarkably resilient and stable marriages in comparison with other police officers. We doubt that this is the case and can think of no theoretical or empirical reason why it should be the case. (These questions might be resolved through a follow-up comparison study of the R.C.M.P. and the Winnipeg Police Department which would include both wives and members as respondents. The perception the member's spouse has of their marriage may be quite different than that of the member.)

The few police officers who reported marital difficulties did not differ significantly from the remainder of the sample on their attitudes toward division assignment and co-workers, and measures of depression, physical complaints and alcohol consumption. There was a consistent trend, however, for members experiencing marital difficulties to report a greater frequency of depression, unhappiness and negative mood than those with stable marriages. Such a finding is not surprising.

Type A--Coronary prone behavior pattern

The Type A behavior pattern has been suggested by many researchers (e.g., Glass, 1977, Freedman and Rosenman, 1974, Brunson and Matthews, 1981) as a major risk for coronary heart disease among middle aged people.

According to Brunson and Matthews (1981), the Type A behavior pattern represents a coping style, aimed at

"maintaining and asserting control over stressful aspects of the environment. Stated differently the behaviors characteristic of pattern A--extremes of competitive achievement striving, a sense of time urgency and easily aroused hostility may be exhibited as a consequence of the continual struggle of Type A's to control" (p. 906).

Because of the Type A's preoccupation with environmental mastery, he clearly is uneasy in situations where he feels he lacks control. Consequently he will make every effort to establish control. In an attempt to do so, Type As will exhibit such behaviors as

- 1) working at their maximal rate even when no time limited is required,
- 2) ignoring physical symptoms of stress and activities of others around them which are not directly relevant to the task at hand,
- 3) better performance under conditions of distraction than Type Bs,
- 4) a higher level of physiological arousal during challenging tasks than Type Bs (Matthews and Brunson, 1979).

This list of Type A characteristics is by no means exhaustive but illustrates the coping pattern.

It is ironic that the achievement strivings of Type As are strongly reinforced in our society. At challenging tasks they are more successful than Type Bs (Matthews, Helmreich, Beane and Lucker, 1980). At the same time, because of their hyper-alert state and increased physiological arousal, they run an increased risk of premature coronary problems, e.g., heart attack and/or stroke. Premature in this context refers to the occurrence of severe cardiac problems in the early-to-late-thirties.

Another important aspect of Type A behavior is its high correlation with hypertension (high blood pressure). Not that all hypertensives are Type As, rather, there is an extremely good chance that Type As are most likely hypertensive (Freedman and Rosenman, 1974) with evidence of the condition becoming evident in the early to mid-thirties.

It should be borne in mind that the term hypertension means more than just chronic elevated blood pressure. It also includes labile blood pressure which may be more difficult to detect, i.e., in the physician's office it may be normal to borderline but under prolonged stress it may increase dramatically. The obvious question is, "How do such individuals remain undetected?" given that police officers must undergo annual physical examinations. There are a number of methods which have been mentioned on many occasions by class members of police in-service sessions with the Winnipeg Police and the R.C.M.P. The two most frequently reported techniques are:

- 1) avoid the annual physical by whatever means, e.g., court time, working overtime, or working on an important file;
- 2) obtain the assistance of a cooperative physician who is very discrete about what he records in the officer's file.

(This is not to suggest that only Type As engage in such behavior but this behavior would certainly be consistent and highly probable with the Type A syndrome (Glass, 1977).)

Obviously, such activities are self-defeating and in no way conducive to the physical well-being of the Type A individual. At the same time Glass (1977) and Freedman and Rosenman (1974) have noted that Type As are very difficult to treat, e.g., they do not wish to lose their employment or change their lifestyle. Why should they change, given that their achievement strivings, sense of time urgency, and high level of job involvement are strongly reinforced by police agencies. In addition, the odds are very good that they are quite successful in their work (Matthews, et al., 1980).

As far as the present data are concerned, Type A self reports were largely consistent with expectation. Specifically, Type As--while reporting significantly more physical complaints than Type Bs--like Type Bs, rated their general physical health as being within the good-to-very-good range.

Also consistent with expectation, Type As generally rated their

jobs as more stressful than did Type Bs. They were especially concerned about--and differed significantly from Type Bs--on the issues of promotional procedures and pay rates. Put simply, because Type As perceive that they work better and faster and are more ambitious than others, it is quite congruent for them to feel underpaid and frustrated by the seemingly uncontrollable promotional system.

The fact that Type As were not more disturbed than Type Bs regarding transfer may be due to one of the following reasons:

- 1) the vast majority of the total sample expressed strong dissatisfaction with transfer policies, hence there may have been a "ceiling effect" operating, that is, if almost everyone is dissatisfied it makes little difference whether one is a Type A or Type B;
- 2) Type As are simply more concerned about increasing their status (being promoted) and increasing their income than they are about transfers. Such a conclusion would be quite consistent with the views of De Gregorio and Carver (1980).

Contrary to expectation, Type As were no more dissatisfied with their co-workers and supervisors than were Type Bs. This is consistent with the report by Gastorf, Suls and Sanders (1980) that the performance of Type As on certain tasks is facilitated by the presence of either a similar or superior coactor: "it appears that both peers and superiors are perceived by Type A's as relevant standards against which to gauge performance" (p. 780). Hence, the presence of co-workers and supervisors

provides useful input for the Type A in evaluating his own performance.

As mentioned earlier, treating Type As is an extremely delicate task. However, given their higher than average risk of premature death or cardiovascular disability, treatment of such individuals should be of concern to any employer, particularly when it may involve the most productive employees.

It is our view that Type As should receive several physical examinations annually. At the first untoward sign (e.g., borderline hypertension), a combined medical and psychological intervention program should be instituted. For example, the person might begin a regimen of blood pressure medication combined with deep muscle relaxation. It is essential that such a program have both medical and psychological components.

It is not recommended that they uniformly engage in a rigorous program of physical fitness. Type As, by virtue of their competitiveness, would most likely make it into a contest, e.g., two Type As jogging together equals a foot race. Even a Type A jogging alone would most likely inappropriately push himself to the limits of physical endurance (see Glass, 1977). In effect, a rigorous program of physical fitness could result in the death of a Type A.

Another point worthy of note is that if a person is diagnosed as an extreme Type A his physical complaints are not necessarily limited to the cardiovascular system. It is quite realistic to envision a Type A who also has an ulcer (which he would probably describe as mild indigestion),

or colitis (which he will attribute to a virus), or frequent constipation (due to something he ate the night before). Related to the above are the findings of Vulcano, indicating that the respondents in the present study (both Type A and Type B) reported a frequency of psychosomatic complaints well above average in relation to a sample drawn from the general population. This sample was based on findings reported by Schwab, Fennell and Warheit (1974) who gathered self-report physiological data on 1645 respondents. These respondents resided in a south-eastern county of Florida. In comparing the profile, e.g., age, sex, of their respondents with that of U.S. census data, Schwab et al. were able to verify that their sample was sociodemographically representative of the county population. Admittedly, these are U.S. data, but the present authors could find no corresponding Canadian study.

Division Assignment

Of the total sample of respondents, just under 40 percent indicated a preference to be posted somewhere other than "D" Division. Consistent with expectation, these individuals reported greater dissatisfaction with work, pay and promotional procedures than did those who were satisfied with their current division assignment. There was also a trend, though not statistically significant, for officers dissatisfied with division assignment to report a greater frequency of physical complaints than those who were satisfied.

Younger police officers are most dissatisfied with their current division assignment. (The term 'younger' refers to the male and female subsamples whose constituents had five years or less service and were aged 26 years or less.) Among members of the male subsample, 55.7 percent indicated a preference to be posted somewhere other than "D" Division; 45 percent of the females indicated a similar preference.

To the question "Would you prefer to be posted somewhere else within

"D" Division right now?" over one-third of the total sample replied in the affirmative. Among the younger subsamples, 37 percent of the males and 45 percent of the females reported that they would prefer another posting within "D" Division.

Clearly, then, there is a trend for the younger police officers to be most dissatisfied with their division assignment, although a large percentage of the total sample (mean age: 31 years; mean years of service: 10 years) is likewise dissatisfied. By way of comparison, Breen (1980a) in commenting on the McFerran (1980) study of the Winnipeg Police, noted that the mean number of years of service for the sample was 9 years. Also, 47 percent of the total sample of Winnipeg Police officers were dissatisfied with their division and district assignments with beat and routine patrol being the least preferred activities.

It is clear that the younger police officers are the most dissatisfied. At the same time, this group has the most contact with the general public. Also, these police officers are most frequently involved in citizen complaints against the police. Hence, their morale and job satisfaction is critically important.

Given the above data, what options are available to police organizations? The simplest solution would be to wait until young officers become older and attain more years of service. Such a solution is not viable if for no other reason than the fact that few police agencies can afford to keep a very dissatisfied member for some ten years.

We feel a more practical approach to job satisfaction would be something similar to that recently taken by the Winnipeg Police Department. This agency made a number of fundamental changes in transfer and promotion policies. For example, a constable wishing to be promoted (the choice is his) must write a formal exam which is subsequently computer scored. Following this, he must participate in a structured interview (depending on the rank to which he aspires) consisting of two senior police officers and a civilian representative from the City of Winnipeg Personnel Office who has full voting rights. With this new system it is possible--indeed it has occurred--for a Sergeant II (the equivalent of an R.C.M.P. Corporal) to move from that rank through Sergeant I to Staff Sergeant within six to eight months. Equally as important, if the candidate fails at any level he has the option (if he so chooses) to meet with the staffing officer to receive a detailed report as to why he failed. Hence, he has an opportunity to improve prior to his next attempt at promotion. The Winnipeg Police system appears equitable and gives the officer some control over the outcome, e.g., he can freely choose whether or not he wishes to study for the promotional exam. Also, the Winnipeg Police transfer policy now gives the officer much more input into transfer decisions than was previously the case.

It appears from the present data that there is considerable dissatisfaction among members of "D" Division--more than can be accounted for by a 'few complainers'. By way of comparison, Weaver (1980) in his study of job satisfaction among full-time workers (blue and white collar) in the United States from 1972 to 1978, noted that the job satisfaction rate was quite stable. The average percent satisfaction rate over the

seven years was 87.9. Admittedly, these data include responses from people in many occupations other than police work. Also, Weaver's findings may be restricted to the particular time period under study. Nevertheless, this was one of the few studies obtained that yielded long-term job satisfaction data and at least approximate base-line data.

If the current level of morale in the R.C.M.P. sample were to be maintained, the respondents might resort to some compensatory mechanism, e.g., forming a union. This kind of dissatisfaction has contributed to the formation of unions in other major police agencies, e.g., Winnipeg Police Department.

To this point, the following comments by Hylton, et al. (1979), based on their study of the Regina Police Department are most apt.

"The concerns expressed about . . . policing are remarkably similar to the concerns most commonly expressed by respondents about their current work situation. These refer not to organizational charts, procedural manuals, official police policies and the like. Rather they refer to more personal dimensions of work: the opportunities for developing friendships, the quality of relationships with supervisors, pride in police work, sense of accomplishment and so forth. It is in these areas not pay and equipment where respondents have expressed the greatest concerns about their current work situation and where questions have been raised" (pp. 66-7).

Sex differences

Some comments about attitudinal differences between male and female members seems appropriate, although this issue was not a central focus of the study, nor was there an abundance of data. The typical female member was young, with slightly less than five years of service. She

tended to be slightly better educated than her male counterpart. Unlike the males from the matched sample, she was most likely single. Apart from these demographic features, what is disturbing are those aspects of the female profile which have to do with what appears to be a sense of isolation. Specifically, the average female member doesn't date regularly if at all and has few if any close friends in the force. Perhaps related to this is the fact that one of the major problems she is likely to report regarding police work is "restrictions on personal and social life". She also is less likely to be satisfied with her work and more dissatisfied with her supervisors than her male counterparts. These latter results appear to be at odds with those reported by Linden (1980a and 1980b). In Linden study of job satisfaction among female members of the Vancouver Police Department and the Lower Mainland (B.C.) R.C.M.P. detachments he found that females rated police work as highly as males. Despite this, Linden (1980b) noted (in comparing the Vancouver Police Department and the Lower Mainland Division of the R.C.M.P.) that

"while responses of males in the two forces were much more positive than R.C.M.P. females. Eighty-two percent of the Vancouver females liked police work 'very much' compared with 56 percent of the R.C.M.P. females" (p. 48).

Our data indicated that 65 percent of the female respondents found police work satisfying as opposed to 86 percent of the matched male comparison group. Why should there be this rather large sex difference? We feel that a viable hypothesis includes the following elements:

- 1) female police officers in an urban setting are as satisfied with police work as their male counterparts. In part this is due to the fact that females most likely still have access to previous social

support systems, e.g., family and friends;

2) as the policing environment becomes more rural the amount of dissatisfaction on the part of females increases.

On this point it is of interest to note that in Linden's (1980b) study of the Lower Mainland R.C.M.P., all of the detachments were technically rural but nevertheless within sixty miles of a major urban area.

Also, Linden (personal communication) has described police activities in the Lower Mainland as much more akin to urban than rural policing. In part, this is because of the high population density of that geographical area. Our female respondents in contrast were often posted to detachments (e.g., Flin Flon) which are quite isolated and not within easy driving distance of a major urban center. Hence it is hypothesized that the apparent discrepancy between Linden's findings and the present ones is a function, at least in part, of the geographical location of the respondents. That is, with geographical isolation a previous sense of social isolation on the part of females becomes more evident and is expressed in terms of a greater dissatisfaction for police work than that expressed by males. This is not to say that male police officers enjoy postings to remote detachments. Quite the contrary. (This point was made very clear to the first author by the Commanding Officer of "D" Division.) At the same time, however, as evidenced by their self-reports, males can and do develop friendships both within and outside the force.

The composite that emerges is that of a female who is not accepted within her peer group, that is, other police officers (Linden and Minch, 1980; Linden, 1980, a,b) or among civilians. Given that females report what appears to be a sense of social and personal isolation, the first author informally queried five female members to obtain their reactions to these findings. All agreed with the profile that emerged, citing a number of reasons. Those mentioned consistently were:

- 1) A female police officer is watched by everyone: fellow members, supervisors, and civilians. This is especially the case in small rural postings.
- 2) The police world in general, and the R.C.M.P. in particular, is dominated by a very 'macho' image (a finding quite consistent with U.S. data, e.g., Bennett, 1978). Hence, it is hard for a woman to become accepted. As one female member put it, "I don't want to become a man, I just want to become a good police officer."
- 3) A female member must be careful how she interacts with male members. For example, "if the off-duty members are having a poker party and you are invited to go, the wives object".
- 4) To be one of the 'boys' means that you are often expected to go out drinking with them. A female officer may not wish to go drinking, or for that matter be one of the 'boys'.
- 5) Female officers believe that they are constantly under the

spotlight and that to be accepted they must outperform men and never make mistakes.

6) There are some supervisors who just do not want women working for them.

7) Relating to civilians--especially males--is difficult. Many civilian males are threatened by female police officers. Also, it is very difficult to meet male civilians, especially in smaller communities. The female simply cannot go to a bar and 'hang around' the way the single men do. If they do, people start to talk.

8) A female officer who is dating a civilian believes that she must assist her colleagues if there is a disturbance and the police are called. Her male companion may not wish to get involved but believes he must because the female officer is involved.

9) Many members' wives object to females working with their husbands. They assume that the female officer is trying to seduce him.

10) Male members very often try to make sexual advances toward female officers. Also, if a female officer does not socialize with the males they accuse her of being a snob and they do not want to work with her. When that happens the supervisor may suggest that she is damaging the morale of the unit.

Similar sentiments are cited by Scott (1979). Speaking from her

experience as a Dane County Deputy Sheriff, Scott comments, "it helps if you can find a man who is willing to help you learn their game, but make sure he isn't laughing behind your back". That is an added stress right there--not knowing who can be trusted in this so-called 'brotherhood'. Although the present findings on sex differences are based on a very small sample, it appears that female members of the R.C.M.P. (and perhaps policewomen in general) are in a conflict with respect to social expectations. This conflict may be manifested by the use of sick time which in both this and Linden's (1980b) study was considerably greater for females than it was for males.

Attrition rate is another variable which may reflect this conflict. In Linden's (1980b) study he reported attrition rates for females that were approximately twice that of males. If the number of women going into police work continues to increase it would seem beneficial to educate both male and female members as to the nature and implications of social stereotypes. This could be done through basic recruit training and/or in-service training. Linden (1980a) made a similar recommendation. If something of this nature is not done, female police officers will continue to see themselves in a precarious position. The difficulties will be only slightly less for male officers. The essence of this problem, from the male perspective, is captured by the following verbatim statement of a police supervisor:

"when the Force first hired women I decided to keep an open mind. When one was posted to my detachment I didn't object. What I found was that if she screwed up and I had to 'chew her out' the way I do with the guys she burst into tears and I felt terrible. Now I feel I can't criticize her work and the men resent it. I'll simply have her transferred and let somebody else worry about her."

In summary, the issue of women in policing appears to be more complex than perhaps was originally anticipated by its proponents. This statement is supported by both the present results and those reported by other researchers, e.g., Bloch and Anderson, 1974, Linden, 1980a,b.

What such studies do show is that women can function just as effectively as males with respect to traditional police duties, e.g., routine patrol, traffic investigations, etc. It is when one considers psychological factors in relation to women in police work that the issue becomes more complex.

On measures of job satisfaction, women report the same high level as males. Our data, however, suggests that this is more likely to be the case in urban settings as opposed to rural settings. Despite the setting, female respondents, in almost all of the studies concerned with women in policing, express a consistent concern about the negative attitudes of their co-workers. In some cases this negative attitude is also expressed by supervisors.

Attrition rates for females appears to be higher than that for males. However, this difference appears to be less evident in urban police agencies than it is in federal or rural police agencies. At the same time, whether in the urban or rural setting, women report being off work for a longer period of time than males. One possible explanation for this finding is that women are more prone to serious illness than males. We know of no biological data to support this view.

When considering the above data we are at a loss to explain how a female police officer who works in a setting where a large number of her colleagues think she cannot do the work and should not be there, where some of her supervisors are equally negative, and where she is pessimistic about promotional opportunities, can rate her job as satisfying and her morale high. We suggest that the issue of women in police is a complex one and that future studies on women in policing move away from the traditional comparisons of male vs. female arrest statistics and focus more on psychological factors, e.g., interpersonal relations, related to women in policing.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Recommendations

In this study 571 members of "D" Division R.C.M.P. (Manitoba and North-western Ontario) completed an extensive battery of questionnaires. The focus was on the major sources of stress reported by the respondents. At the same time an attempt was made to determine the types of reaction the respondents might utilize in response to these stressors.

The results clearly indicated that "administrative sources of stress" (e.g., promotion procedure) and "stress factors intrinsic to police work" (e.g., court decisions) were perceived as 'disturbing' or 'very disturbing' by a large majority of respondents. Of the two, the administrative dimension was most stressful.

In addition, just under 40 percent of the respondents indicated a preference to be posted in some other division. Also, 34 percent indicated a preference for an immediate posting somewhere else within "D" Division.

The Type A vs. Type B Coronary-Prone Behavior Pattern was found to relate significantly to the perception and frequency of physical complaints and to work attitudes. On the issue of physical complaints, e.g., ulcers, the respondents indicated a higher frequency in relation to a sample from the general population.

The divorce rate of the respondents was above that for Manitoba in general but below that for comparable police groups, e.g., Winnipeg Police Department. Of interest is the finding that the number of people who were separated was greater than the number who were divorced. A small majority of the participants described their family unit as 'very close'.

With respect to sex differences, only tentative findings were offered owing to the very large discrepancy between the numbers of males and females involved in the study. The results, however, suggest that females are more dissatisfied with their work, their supervisors, and their co-workers but slightly more satisfied with their pay than were their male counterparts. Of more concern was the pattern of personal and social isolation of the females from both civilians and police personnel.

Specific recommendations

On the basis of the findings of the present study, it is recommended that:

- 1) Every effort should be made to decrease the depersonalizing effects of the police bureaucracy. For example, if a decision is made which will (or could) have a negative impact on the officer's career, the officer should be informed as to the specific reasons for the decision and, more importantly, who made the decision. At the same time, the avenues of redress should be explained should he feel unjustly treated.

2) Police officers should have the opportunity to appeal negative decisions, and if their appeal is successful (or unsuccessful), the proceedings should be eliminated from their file.

3) When an officer is being considered for transfer he (and in many cases, his wife) should have some input into the decision. This could take the form of asking him to indicate his first three preferences, as is done now, with every effort made to accommodate at least one of these preferences. If none of his preferences can be satisfied, the member should be given detailed reasons as to why. Obviously, it is possible that there may be certain areas of the division in which an insufficient number of police officers wish to be posted. Hence, some will be ordered to go. When this occurs, the transferred officer and his wife should be informed of the basis for the decision.

4) Police supervisors be given extensive training in managerial skills, but more crucial is that when they have acquired these skills they be encouraged to employ them with support throughout the entire administrative structure. Consistent with both the present findings and those from the Regina Police Department, the focus of such managerial training should be on human behavior and interpersonal skills.

5) That some form of redress be provided to junior members who feel that they have been unfairly treated by their supervisors. To be fair to both the junior member and the supervisor, the outcome of the redress should not appear on either of their files.

6) Current promotion procedures be completely modified. What is suggested is a procedure perhaps combining a standardized, written exam and a structured, oral interview. It is envisioned that the procedure could be somewhat akin to that recently utilized by the Winnipeg Police Department.

7) An evaluation of the efficiency and effectiveness of the Staffing and Personnel Branch be carried out. This recommendation is based on the obvious fact that many of the major stressors cited in this study are tied to staffing functions. As an illustration, consider transfer policies. A very simple evaluation could be done where 100 of the most recent transferees are surveyed. Among questions they could be asked would be:

- (a) Are you pleased with your recent transfer?
- (b) Were you actively seeking a transfer?
- (c) Do you feel that you had any input into the transfer decision?
- (d) If you weren't happy with the original transfer decision, are you now happy with your new posting?
- (e) Were any concerns of your family taken into consideration by the Staffing and Personnel Branch prior to your transfer?
- (f) Are you pleased with the overall performance of Staffing and Personnel?

The above list is simply illustrative rather than exhaustive. Suffice to say, similar surveys could be conducted with respect to promotional policies.

8) Basic recruit training and police in-service courses devote at

least some time to the "stress factors intrinsic to police work". For example, with regard to the issue of "restrictions on personal and social life", it is our view that such restrictions do not have to be as stressful as our respondents report they are, that is, it is quite possible for a police officer to make an active attempt to cultivate both police and civilian friends. Friends, moreover, for whom both personal and family interest coincide.

Similarly, training in interpersonal skills would most likely decrease at least some of stress related to negative contact with the general public. Operating from the premise that there really is no polite way of carrying out a routine "spot check" of a pedestrian or a motorist, the manner in which it is done is still important. For example, it is not surprising that exhortations such as "Hey you, come here; show me some I.D.", vs. "Excuse me sir, could I see some identification; this is just a routine check", could quite conceivably generate very different responses.

9) Police officers who are clearly Type A Coronary Prone (as indicated by a measure such as the one used in the present study) be monitored frequently, that is; medical examinations at least twice a year, to determine if any physiological stress reactions are developing, such as hypertension. If such a reaction is detected, both medical and psychological intervention should be undertaken. At the same time there should be no stigma attached to such treatment or implication that the officer is unfit. In point of fact, Type As are excellent police officers, hence it would seem from a cost/benefit perspective very much to the Force's advantage to minimize the risk of such people having premature coronaries or strokes.

10) Spouse orientation program such as that described by Stratton (1976) and Breen (1978b) be established for the R.C.M.P. The focus of this program would be to orient the members' spouses as to the effects stress in police work may have on them and their families. Such programs should be actively promoted by the R.C.M.P. with no hint or suggestion that the participants are themselves having marital problems. Where these programs have been initiated in the U.S. they have been very well received. As well, there is every indication that such programs reduce divorce rates and general strife within the police family. (It is of interest to note that at present some considerable thought is being given to such a program by the Training and Development Branch of the R.C.M.P. Headquarters, Ottawa.)

11) That a course be instituted on the topic of "Women in Policing". This course should be available at both the recruit and in-service level (the latter offered in all divisions of the R.C.M.P.). Among the elements to be included in the course would be such things as the historical origins of sex role stereotypes, the attitudes of co-workers and supervisors toward female officers, women on highway patrol, etc. If, as projected, women are going into police work in increasing numbers, such a course is essential. It is not suggested that such a course is a panacea, but hopefully it should at least partially reduce the problems encountered by both females and males with respect to the integration of the former into police work.

As a final note, most of the above recommendations could be applied to any division of the R.C.M.P. as well as most municipal police agencies.

At the same time these recommendations are not particularly unique. They all have a sound basis derived from both this and previous research studies. What is important is the manner in which such recommendations are implemented. For example, it is one thing to ask a police officer to indicate his first three choices for preferred duty; it is quite another when none of his choices are approved--particularly if this happens year after year and he does not really know why. As another illustration, suppose a junior member wishes to fill a grievance against his N.C.O. Such a process, as we understand it, could take two or three months to resolve. In the interim the junior member must still work with the same N.C.O. Since both parties are aware of the grievance, it could make the junior member feel very uncomfortable, or even threatened. At the very least, strained relations between the two could result. Also, suppose the junior member wins his grievance but he must remain in the same detachment for, say, another two years. What are the implications in terms of, for example, his performance evaluations? The point is that it is not sufficient to simply legislate changes or new regulations, rather, it is the manner in which they are implemented and perceived that is equally as critical--if not more so. They must be perceived to be rational and fair.

POLICE STRESS: THE IMPACT ON THE POLICE OFFICER

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