Some Implications of Occupational Socialization: The Case of the State Police

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SOME IMPLICATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION: THE CASE OF THE STATE POLICE

by

Paul G. Aldo

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
August 1973
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks go to Dr. Richard MacDonald, chairman of the committee, for his expertise in sociology, his thought-provoking insights, and certainly his undying efforts to keep me on the straight and narrow throughout the writing of this thesis. Thanks also go to Dr. William Bennett and Dr. Paul Friday, committee members, for taking time out of already busy schedules in order to read and provide useful criticism and suggestions concerning the research.

Certainly thanks go to the Michigan State Police, particularly the 68th recruit academy class, for providing the memories and experiences which comprise the substance of the research.

Finally, an unspeakable debt of gratitude to my wife, Melody, who not only weathered the storm of this thesis, ultimately making it a readable document, but weathered the storm of the academy as well.

Paul G. Aldo
ALDO, Paul Gene
SOME IMPLICATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL
SOCIALIZATION: THE CASE OF THE STATE
POLICE.

Western Michigan University, M.A., 1973
Sociology, general
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CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

Purpose of the Research

This thesis will examine the implications of a state police training program as they pertain to considerations concerning the restructuring of self (in particular the development of occupational identity and commitment) as they pertain to selectively limiting the nature and orientation of the police population, and as they pertain to the development of skills and abilities commonly associated with the successful task performance of a regular officer. In conjunction with this, the thesis will articulate various analytical models and attempt to ascertain their applicability to the socialization process of state police candidates. In order to accomplish these objectives, the socialization process will be examined as it occurred in the police academy, a three month program of training, and as it occurred in the later, on-the-job, context.

The major value of the research may be seen to lie in three areas. First, it makes a contribution to a broader understanding of the police through exploring the nature of a police socialization process. This is done by providing both descriptive information about the process and a conceptual orientation to it as it occurred within
the context of the present investigation. Second, there is a heuristic value associated with the study through assessing the applicability of the various analytical frameworks in specific interactional situations and the development of hypotheses that derive from it. And third, the study contributes to future research through identifying several specific areas in which future research on the police is sorely needed.

One additional factor should be noted at the outset. The study does not systematically and empirically attempt to test theory or introduce alternative ideal type analytical constructs. The data in and of itself would not seem to support such attempts. First, the data consist almost entirely of retrospective material. Although this allows a general assessment of the various analytical models employed in the study, it does not allow the systematic elaboration of descriptive data or the testing of alternative schemes. Second, the data is the result of the author's participation in one recruit academy program and the corresponding field training situation. Consequently, there was little if any systematic control exerted over the possible biasing characteristics of the individual members in the program or over the program as a whole, vis-a-vis, other such programs occurring before or after the one under investigation. As a result of this, the confidence in the generalizability of these findings is subject to question.
Methodology

This study is the direct result of the author's participation as a recruit in the Michigan State Police Training Academy, and later, his participation as a regular office in the Michigan State Police. Initial involvements in the experience (ultimately culminating in this study) actually began in October of 1967, with participation in the academy program and the concomitant collection of various impressions, information and experiences. Involvement then continued through April of 1969, with the author's assignment to a field post.

The academy portion of the study consisted of twelve consecutive weeks of training while housed in the recruit building at Michigan State Police Headquarters in East Lansing, Michigan. At the time, the author was a complete participant in the program with no research ideas in mind. Experiences were shared in as an integral member of the program and were shaped as much by the author as by the other members of the class. Additionally, the data is the exclusive property of retrospection. No diaries or journals kept a record of the experience beyond those which were required in the formal classroom and field situations. Consequently, while this study certainly runs the risk of imposing the selective restrictions of memory and emotion upon the elaboration and analysis of experience, it also seems to provide the ingredients for a sociological grasp.
that is largely impossible to obtain in any other way.

These considerations are not meant to suggest, however, that the experience was completely without focus. Prior to entering the program, the author had been awarded a bachelor of science degree with a concentration in the administration of criminal justice. It was largely as a result of this experience that the state police had been selected as an initial career alternative. Facination had developed in terms of two dimensions. First, the academy had been discussed in academic settings and was frequently viewed as an anachronism in modern police administration. Yet, the academy seemed to be vigorously maintained by the state police as an important and integral part of their training program. Given several alternative and more progressive models of police training, why did the state police appear to cling so tenaciously to their format? Second, it appeared that the state police maintained an inordinately high degree of occupational identity and commitment, even in police circles where this is already very high when compared to other occupational groups. Was it the nature of the personnel that were attracted to the program or was it something in the nature of the program itself? These two general themes tended to remain in the author's mind throughout his participation in both the academy and the later field situation.
There are also additional factors of methodological relevance pertaining to the experience. First, as the data interpretation makes clear, the social structural properties of the academy were such that solidarity and comradship among academy members was always relatively high. Consequently, the correlative provision of emotional support among members also provided an atmosphere of introspection and mutual exchange of information. The results of this were that academy members, through constant disclosure, provided a great deal of collective information and insight in terms of the program as a whole. While the author did not systematically note who perceived what or specifically at what point individual perceptions occurred or changed, he did note that the individual perceptions, when taken collectively, appeared directly attributable to certain events occurring as a function of the structural properties of the academy program. For instance, at some point late in the academy experience, both collective consensus and amazement were evidenced at the realization that one would jump off the academy building roof if he was so instructed, and probably do so with a certain amount of glee or delight in being able to so thoroughly and confidently predict his reactions to hazardous expectations. Several of these collective changes were noted by the author and, if memory serves, represent the data that lend validity to the theoretical exploration of the experience.
Second, the quality of the academy experience was such that it generally tended to provoke probing in order to explain the nature of the experience itself. Indeed, the nature of the academy experience and various perceptions of it, tended to be the most frequent topic of conversation among the recruit members. This not only provided innumerable retrospective observations on the adjustments of the author and others, but additionally, tends to confirm the impact of the program on those exposed to the influences of it. At one point keeping a diary had been seriously entertained in order to better preserve the reactions and feelings of self to the situation. However, and unfortunately so, participation in the program was such that it made this kind of activity a virtual impossibility.

Third, in examining the field post experience, it must be remembered that the author was again a complete participant in the social situation. As such, he shared the aspirations, anxieties, and hopes and fears that beset all the former recruits. He shared the intimate lives and thoughts of policemen as well as the collective realities of policing as only policemen know them. Countless hours were spent performing the routine and solidarity duties of night patrol as well as performing the more comic or often tragic assignments relegated to the police. Experiences in the whole, from which the nervous neophyte
was shaped and formed until he emerged with the confidence of a regular officer. It is the recollection of these experiences as an integrated life situation that provides the grist of data for the analysis of the field post experience.

It was not until sometime after complete disengagement from the experience that the author attempted to introduce systematic conceptual orientations to his interpretations of it, and then more by accident than by manifest design. In having occasion to review some of the literature of the symbolic interactionist school, Goffman included, an appropriate theoretical format for an analysis of the academy experience began to emerge. The examination of Goffman's *Asylums* naturally lead to a systematic consideration of the literature from which his ideal type was constructed. Interest then developed in not only explaining the nature of the academy experience but in systematically accounting for why that experience was felt to be useful to a formal organization such as that of the state police. Additional literature was reviewed (including Moore's ideas on occupational socialization and Goslin's ideas on the nature of socialization generally) which tended to provide the link between the total institutional situation of the academy program, the development of occupational identity and commitment, and the way in which the academy functioned to selectively limit the nature of state police personnel.
These considerations left one question remaining. How did the post academy experience fit into the overall scheme of the state police socialization process? Social learning literature was then reviewed and tended to identify the nature and importance of the on-the-job socialization process and highlight its relationship to the academy and the organization as a whole, including lending further evidence to the distinct functions of the academy as well as the distinct functions of the post academy program.

Approach to the Data

Since the observer was a complete participant in the experiences recorded and analyzed here, consideration will be given to the more traditional participant observation format, vis-a-vis, the nature of retrospection and its utility as a research device. Additionally, alternative strategies will be considered as they relate to this type of research and suggestions made for methodological applications in future situations.

Several positive features may be seen to accrue to retrospective analysis. First, several situations of sociological interest are only revealed through a participant's recollection and examination of a previous interactional setting. This often happens through situations being closed to formal sociological investigation or
through attention not having been directed to the situation through the failure to realize its particular sociological import. With respect to the current investigation, it seems that both of these factors may have been at work. The police have typically not been amenable to social scientific inquiry, most probably as a result of their general protective secrecy, and, information regarding nature and functioning of the state police academy has generally not been readily available to those in the sociological enterprise. Consequently, the retrospective analysis of the current situation provides initial insight and sociological understanding of a former sociologically discreet situation. This has also been evidenced in other, similar studies. (Dornbusch, 1955; Bettelheim, 1943; Kerkhoff, 1952)

Second, the meanings of certain situations are best understood, and often only understood, through intense interaction in the situation as a complete participant. More obtrusive measures will not suffice. With respect to the current situation and its involvements with the restructuring of self, interest is not only manifested in an on-going social enterprise, but additionally a very subtle and sensitive one. Douglass (1970:376-77) comments upon such situations as follows:

"... because human action is so highly determined by the meanings of the immediate situation to the participants, and because human"
beings are so deeply concerned with controlling (presenting) the meanings of their self to others in any immediate situation, it is almost inevitable that any attempt by outsiders to observe them will so change the meanings of the immediate situation for them that anything they say or do in that situation will primarily (or very largely) be presentational -- and attempt to affect the outsiders image of them. . . . the only way to get behind the screen of rhetoric is to establish trust and become taken-for-granted.

Third, with retrospective analysis, the interactional situation is not contaminated by the introduction of investigator bias. The current situation was approached by a participant and not an investigator, and although the collective meanings of the situation were constructed as much by the author as the others, it was done as a complete and committed participant in the interactional context. This tends to avoid certain problems centering around the validity of the analysis by not requiring meaning to be structured or examined in terms of a priori constructions. On a more subtle level, it avoids the problem of the investigator-participant structuring and inaccurately interpreting meaning in terms of his own potentially inappropriate definitions of the situation under investigation.

In addition to the positive benefits that accrue to this mode of analysis there remain, however, several problems worthy of consideration for both the current investigation and future such attempts.
First, the analysis represents an after the fact recollection. No data was systematically recorded, coded, or analyzed at the time the experience was taking place. Consequently, benefits commonly associated with the participant-observation format were not realized. For instance, there was an inability to review field notes which may have provided additional insight into the situation under investigation. Had this opportunity been available, commonalities may have been noted which would have provided direction to the investigation and the ability to more effectively determine appropriate modifications in the applicability of the various models. Additionally, various impressions and insights gleaned from the experience were not placed in focus until after the experience itself, thus precluding probing while still an active participant in the research situation.

Second, the research population represents, at best, a limited and non-systematic sample. The data for the study was gathered from the experiences in one recruit academy and the corresponding field situation. While there is nothing to suggest that this experience differed substantially from other such experiences for state police candidates, it remains an empirical question. Perhaps in future studies of this sort some variation of an on-going observational process might be employed. Investigators could monitor one or two selected programs for depth
analysis in addition to monitoring certain selected characteristics of several different programs. On the basis of the current study, it may also be possible to develop both survey and questionnaire designs that could measure the important characteristics of several other of the state police academies without the necessity of direct observational techniques. For instance, since it will be demonstrated that the mortification process is important for the restructuring of self within the context of a total institution, it may be possible on the basis of this information to develop survey techniques that could examine the nature of the process as it occurred in other state police academies, or in a more comparative sense, other police socialization programs generally.

A second type of biasing situation also exists with respect to the current investigation. Although the population in the academy under investigation was small (going from approximately eighty-six to forty-four members) and all the members interacted with all the other members, some members may have been more influential in forming the author's observations than others. Consequently, it is not known how the biasing characteristics of the individual members affected the collective experiences of the academy as they are represented by the author in the study. While it has been suggested that it is up to the participant-observer to be particularly
sensitive to the biasing features of his informants, Denzin (1970a:89) has suggested a more confident approach to this sampling problem. He identifies this approach as interactive sampling and identifies five types of interactive sampling units . . . each corresponding to a level or form of interaction between natural social units. These include social relationships, encounters, social groups, organizations, and communities. In each sampling unit, consideration is given to selecting a theoretically relevant population and a statistically random sample of those persons within it. In research situations similar to the one under investigation, this could function to increase inferential confidence in observations concerning the nature of the social relationships among the recruits, the effects of the various encounters upon the members of the recruit class, and the nature and functioning of the recruit class as a social grouping.

Third, with respect to the current study, there is no way to assess the validity or the reliability of the findings. All the observations were made by a single observer under non-research conditions in addition to receiving a post factum ad hoc interpretation. While it is largely impossible to remedy these problems in the current investigation (through the inability to employ the various measures that will be suggested to an interactive situation that has long since occurred) it is
possible to effectively reduce them in the future through employing the methodological strategy of triangulation. Zelditch (1962:566-76) in considering this procedure finds the need to redefine the method of participant observation. He sees this as a necessity if one is to obtain hard data and at the same time, data that is real and deep. Essentially, he asserts that through employing a variety of techniques to a given problem (such as informant interviewing, investigator observation, and sampling) it is possible to make more valid generalizations while simultaneously ascertaining the meaning of the social actions taking place.

Denzin (1970:472) identifies four varieties of triangulation which are pertinent to future investigators of this nature. One, theoretical triangulation, involving the use of several different perspectives in the analysis of the same set of data. Two data triangulation, which attempts to gather observations with multiple sampling strategies (ultimately producing several different tests of a theory). Three, investigator triangulation, which is the use of more than one observer in the field situation (providing for tests on the reliability of observations and observer bias). And four, methodological triangulation, which is when an investigator employs varieties of the same method (within method) or, when an investigator employs a variety of different methodological
strategies (between method). Denzin also identifies the combination of multiple methods, data types, observers and theories in the same investigation as multiple triangulation, suggesting that complete multiple triangulation, while extremely difficult to achieve in any single investigation, may serve as a standard for evaluating the confidence in findings generally.

The consideration of these several problems associated with the present study is in no way meant to disparage the worth of the investigation or its importance in uncovering sociological relevant information. Rather, it is an attempt to honestly assess the limitations placed upon the data and the way in which these limitations may be dealt with in future research situations.

Organization of the Thesis

Several organizational problems were encountered in the writing of this thesis, most of which seem directly attributable to two major concerns. First, the thesis utilizes retrospective data and as such calls for an after the fact analysis. Second, the thesis attempts to integrate both theoretical and descriptive treatments of the data into some unified analytical whole. As a result of these concerns, the methodological considerations were moved to Chapter I, hopefully providing for greater continuity between the articulation and examination of the
various analytical frameworks presented in Chapter II and the description and analysis presented of the data in terms of these frameworks presented in Chapter III.

The general orienting theme which guides both the review of the literature and the description and analysis may be stated as follows.

The state police socialization process functions to maintain homogeneity of the state police population with respect to value structures and organizational identity and commitment through selecting out those individuals who are not amenable to functioning in terms of state police expectations and through structuring the successive stages of the socialization program in such a way that they maximize the development of both commitment to the organization and identity in terms of it. Additionally, the on-the-job training program, while aiding the new officer in developing the skills and abilities commonly associated with successful police performance, also functions to maintain traditional police role orientations through the nature of the relationship between the new officer, his fellow officers, and the organization as a whole.

The following is a brief consideration of the major analytical frameworks that are fully reviewed in Chapter II and employed as conceptual schemes in Chapter III. They are briefly presented here in order to orient the
reader to the way in which the thesis develops, vis-a-vis, its major orienting theme.

Section I of Chapter II reviews literature that is pertinent to the later examination of recruitment and selection of state police personnel. Specifically considered is police selectivity as it relates to value structures, components of career choice generally, and a consideration of the general components of the socialization process as they will be related to the initial maintenance of traditional role orientations in the state police group.

Section II of Chapter II reviews literature that is seen to provide a general conceptual orientation of the state police socialization process. Attention is directed here to a consideration of Moore's theory of punishment-centered socialization as it will be related to the state police program in Chapter III.

Section III of Chapter II focuses specifically on an examination of the literature which is relevant to developing a conceptual orientation to the social organization of the police academy. Attention is directed to the components of the Goffman total institutional model as they will be seen to relate to the academy proper in the context of considerations contained in Chapter III. It is in terms of these considerations that the specific nature of the academy program will be examined as it
relates to the development of occupational identity and commitment of state police personnel. While a modification in the Goffman framework is necessitated due to the more or less voluntary nature of the state police program and the generally non-voluntary nature of the Goffman model, it will be undertaken and discussed in the context of Chapter III when it is specifically related to the state police program.

Section IV, the last section of Chapter II focuses on literature relevant to an examination of the post academy experiences of the former recruit. Consideration will be given to literature generally dealing with the police environment as it relates to police socialization, with the effects of the group on the new officer, and with the nature of the new officer's social learning model.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Police Recruitment and Selection

The focus of each of the three subsections within this section will be directed toward examining literature relevant to the later consideration of selectivity and occupational group membership. The first section focuses specifically upon the nature of police value structures. The second section focuses more broadly on several considerations concerning the nature of career choice generally. The third section focuses upon several components of the socialization process which will later be viewed as a further contributor toward the development of homogeneity within the recruit population and consequently, the maintenance of traditional orientations within the state police organization as a whole.

Selectivity and initial value structures

Lipset (1969) has introduced several interesting notions concerning police values. Essentially, he suggests that there is an increasing accumulation of evidence associating an affinity for police work and support for radical right politics, which tends to become magnified under conditions of social unrest. He also suggests that this is not a new development, but one that is well
documented in history. While identifying the general understanding that police are to remain politically neutral, he also identifies the fact that they are structurally meshed in at least local political administrations through the administrations' determination of high level police appointments, police pay and general working conditions.

Lipset suggests further that a number of factors, emanating from both the policeman's occupational role and social background, might account for their generally rightist perspective and occasional rightist activities. In addition to finding police as essentially a reflection of the lower middle class or working class value structure, he also finds the situation to be compounded by their sense of being a low status out-group in American society. (Lipset, 1969:78)

The police have faced hostility and even contempt from spokesmen for liberal and leftist groups, racial minorities, and intellectuals generally. The only ones who appreciate their contribution to society and the risks they take are the conservatives, and particularly the extreme right. The radical left has also invariably been hostile, the radical right friendly.

The police are also seen as an upwardly mobile group, desiring the status of professionals and a college education for their children. (Lipset, 1969; Niederhoffer, 1967; Niederhoffer and Blumberg, 1970) This then serves to compound the matter further when placed in the context
of typical problems associated with status inconsistency, confrontationist tactics on college campuses, and the inability to understand the nature of much intellectual support for liberal and leftist ideals.

Skolnick (1969:61) lends support to the Lipset contention of police alignment with the rightist perspective through his finding of a Goldwater type of conservatism as the dominant political and emotional persuasion of police. A substantially similar political orientation has been noted by Guthrie (1963), Wilson (1967), Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969), and Chwast (1965).

In addition to political orientation, however, apparently consistent with it, Wilson (1969:34) notes that the police bring to the job the focal concerns of working-class men -- a preoccupation with maintaining self-respect, proving one's masculinity, "not taking any crap" and not being "taken-in".

Rokeach (1971) also addressing himself to this issue, provides information concerned with discrepancies between the value hierarchies of the police and those that are policed. Collecting data differentiating the variables of background, personality, and occupational socialization, Rokeach found that, (1) background and personality combine to function as a selective recruitment mechanism, and (2) police socialization does not function as a primary, or even secondary, socialization
mechanism in the establishment of police values. Niederhoffer (1967) implicitly supports the Rokeach findings in his examination of the development of police cynicism. Essentially, Niederhoffer views police cynicism as an adaptation to the threat of anomie and identifies this threat as common to the police environment.

The threat of anomie may come from two directions, both organizational and social structural. The first of these, occupational anomie (which is of specific concern here), involves the normative disruption of the police subculture through the introduction of professionally oriented policemen (presumably those policemen that approach the occupation with a somewhat altered value structure). This is especially interesting in light of recent data from Lock and Smith (1970) comparing police and non-police samples of college freshmen on the combined Rokeach and Piven scales in order to determine whether there were differences in authoritarianism between the two groups. A rather significant finding was that the police college freshmen scored lower on authoritarianism than their non-police counterparts. Additionally, when comparing police college graduates with non-college police on the Rokeach scale, a significant diminution in authoritarian attitudes was noted among the police college graduate population.
Career choice

In considering the nature of career choice generally, Moore (1969) addresses himself to several dimensions of analysis which warrant consideration here. In discussing career choice and anticipatory socialization, Moore finds that for most children career choice involves a complex mixture of narrowing their range of choices (vocationally or otherwise, contingent upon educational performance), exploration of alternatives (through various informational sources, correct or incorrect, and even outright fantasy), and a considerable amount of chance. In addition, however, he sees the chance variable being mediated by such factors as particularly influential role models, inheritance of social position, and the nature of accumulative socialization.

Moore finds the mechanisms of occupational socialization to exist on both the formal and informal levels. He views educational systems, which are concerned with preparing individuals for the world of work, as being designed to convey certain normative information or rules of conduct appropriate to the various occupations. In addition to this general knowledge, most occupations, either explicitly or implicitly, require some form of apprenticeship or on-the-job training. Here, Moore introduces the notion that one's peers (especially if they are more advanced in the ways of the occupation)
function in a capacity very similar to adult role models. This is then seen to facilitate normative compliance and the sharing of attitudes and beliefs, and consequently, the beginning of an occupational identity.

**General considerations of the socialization process as they relate to selectivity of occupational group membership**

In expanding upon the traditional sociological orientation toward the socialization process, Goslin (1969) has introduced several considerations which are pertinent to the present discussion. These considerations, which will be identified here, will later be related to the study of the state police as they pertain to selectivity in the recruit population.

Essentially, Goslin conceives of socialization as a process of social learning involving the transmission of information pertinent to a member's functioning in a social group. However, he goes on to identify five specific considerations in conjunction with the process.

First, he identifies **role negotiation** as serving to not only highlight the manipulative characteristics of human beings, but (and more in line with our purposes) their various abilities in accommodating the role to the performer. Second, he considers the idea of **socialization for socialization**, which deals with the notion of sequential learning necessary for progressive socialization, and implicitly, with certain limiting and facilitating
factors in status acquisition and the mediation of role conflict. Third, Goslin identifies social control, which focuses upon the reward-punishment paradigm is social learning theory. Fourth, the dimension of internalization is considered as it relates to the incorporation of socialization information into an individual's value structure. Fifth, the social setting itself is considered as it serves to identify the major importance of the milieu in facilitating the flow and acquisition of socialization information.

In terms of the variable of socialization settings, four dimensions are singled out and identified as significant cross-cutting variables in the socialization process. These are: the extent to which the situation contains institutionalized mechanisms for teaching new members how to play their roles; the frequency of informal cues (other than external sanctions) that help the learner to evaluate his own performance and that of others in the system; the rate of interaction in the system; and, contextual characteristics of the system itself. (Goslin, 1969:18)

Punishment Centered Socialization

This section is specifically concerned with Moore's (1961) theory of punishment-centered socialization as it relates to providing an overall conception of the nature of the state police socialization process. The more salient
aspects of the theory will be identified here as they will later be related to the nature of the state police generally.

Turning to Moore's development of a punishment-centered theory of socialization, he finds the hazing of new or potential members of occupational groups to be prevalent among various occupational groups and functional in the occupational socialization process. He goes on to identify three salient characteristics commonly found in the socialization milieu of many professional groups. First, there is the tendency to virtually sequester or at least approximate this condition for new members. Second, there are demands placed upon the new members which are often unpleasant and possibly hazardous to their remaining in good standing with the group (in spite of their commitment). Third, failure is seen as a realistic possibility. These three factors are viewed by Moore (1961:879) as contributing to a sort of fellowship of suffering.

In summarizing the theory, Moore (1961:879) states . . . that occupational identity and commitment will be proportional to the degree that these conditions are approximated—whether for an individual or an occupational collectivity. Moore also finds that in some situations there are correlate factors present which serve to additionally magnify the occupational identification and commitment. He
identifies these as the subordinate position many professionals are placed in immediately subsequent to entering the profession (thus extending the punishment period) and other required activities, such as learning a technical language, which functions to clearly exclude non-members and facilitate the occupational identity of members, both socially and psychologically.

The Nature of Socialization in Total Institutions

This section focuses attention on the Goffman (1961) ideal type construct of total institution. The section is divided into four subsections with each subsection considering a major component of total institutional life processes. The major worth of considering the Goffman construct in detail lies in its general applicability to the police academy portion of the state police socialization process and, consequently, its heuristic value in examining the nature of the restructuring of self of the state police candidates, particularly in terms of the development of occupational identity and commitment.

The major dissimilarity between the Goffman construct and the police academy process lies in the more voluntary nature of entry into the state police program. The Goffman model was generally culled from an examination of institutions that would fall on the non-voluntary end of the continuum, the state police program, on the other
hand, would fall on the more voluntary end. While this does provide for differences with respect to the institutional processes, the major differences seem to occur only in relation to the typified \textit{inmate} adjustments to the total institutional life situation, and then only in modified form.

As a result of these considerations, the Goffman model will be presented intact here and will be modified somewhat through the later discussion of the applicability of the model to the state police academy program as presented in Chapter III.

A conceptual definition

A total institution may be definitionally regarded as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider social world for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.

(Goffman, 1961: xiii; see also Etzioni, 1957; Rowland, 1969) A central feature of such institutions is the integration of the normally separate three spheres of life: sleep, work and play, under one central authority and within the confines of an \textit{overall rational plan}.

The characteristics of this integration are:

1. all aspects of the inmates life are conducted in the same place and under the same central authority
2. each phase of the inmate's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same things together

3. all phases of the days activities are tightly scheduled, with the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials

4. all activities circumscribed by the overall rational plan are designed to serve the aims of the receiving institution

The key feature of total institutions is seen as the batch processing of human individuals. Ultimately, this leads to two very important conceptions for understanding the nature of these institutions. First, the guidance function of the staff becomes regulated to surveillance and monitoring; and second, a basic split occurs between the managed group (inmates) and the supervising group (staff). The institution is ultimately defined as belonging to staff. (Goffman, 1961; Wineberg, 1942)

**Attendant processes of total institutions**

There are two salient processes that occur within the structural context of total institutions. These are identified as the mortification process and the privilege system. (Goffman, 1961; Schein, 1956)

The mortification process is concerned with preparing for rearranging, through modification or replacement, certain *home world* conceptions of self held by the
inmate and presented to the institution through the inmate's initial contact with it. Goffman (1961) views the process for the mortification as fairly standard in all total institutions. It involves a five stage sequence with each stage having successive consequences for the structure of self.

First, total institutions construct a barrier between the inmate and the wider social world. This acts to disrupt the inmate's traditional mode of role scheduling (attempting to insure that performance of one role does not block the performance of another) and ultimately causes the failure to embrace (or dispossessed) of previously embraced roles (Goffman, 1961; Lawrence, 1955, Dornbusch, 1955, Hulme, 1957). Because general roles also serve as organizing vehicles for perceiving reality, the inmate's perceptions of himself and his social world undergo change.

Second, a set of admission procedures greet the inmate upon his entrance into the institution. (Goffman, 1961; Cohen, 1954; Kerkhoff, 1952). These admission procedures are particularly important within the context of total institutions. It is here the new inmate receives his official institutional welcome. This welcome, in the form of obedience tests and initiation Rights serves to define for the inmate a new status and a new set of roles. (Goffman, 1961; Heckstall-Smith, 1954; Behan,
A particularly common and consequential manifestation of this procedure is seen in the immediate confiscation of one's personal possessions and their replacement with an institutional substitute.

Third, there exists a set of post admission expectations of the staff for the inmate. These typically involve a set of demeaning activities (movements, postures, stances, and verbal responses) which in the home world of the inmate would be taken to convey a particularly dependent, if not lowly and degrading social position. (Goffman, 1961; Dornbush, 1955; Stanton, 1954)

Fourth, a contaminative exposure occurs through the forced interpersonal contact with others. (Goffman, 1961; Orwell, 1952; Hulme, 1957; Naeve, 1950) This contamination is seen to occur on both the mental (violation of one's informational preserve) and physical (exposition of one's self) levels.

Fifth, there is a disruption in the usual relationship between the individual actor and his acts. This occurs in terms of looping, or the utilization of the defensive responses of the inmate as the target for the next attack (Goffman, 1961; Rapoport, 1957) and in terms of regimentation and tyrannization, or the regimentation and surveillance of all spheres of daily life coupled with continual sanctioning in order to gain unthinking compliance to the institutional rules and regulations.
This is viewed as causing, especially in the new inmate, a condition of chronic anxiety.

Ultimately, the mortification process may be seen as disrupting or defiling precisely those activities that in civilian society have the rank of attesting to the actor and those in his presence that he has command over his world. (Goffman, 1961:43)

While the mortification process is concerned with preparing the self for restructuring, the privilege system is concerned with providing the framework within which the restructuring will take place. There are three general characteristics of the privilege system common to total institutions. (Goffman, 1961; Schein, 1956) First, there is the general idea of a reward-punishment system; second, there are some special features accruing to this general idea; and third, there is the development of certain important, albeit informal, institutional processes.

Goffman (1961) sees the general idea of a reward-punishment system as necessitating the establishment of particular kinds of rules, rewards, and punishments. In the case of total institutions, the rules are seen as house rules in that they serve to define for the inmate in a relatively explicit and formal manner, the expectations for his conduct. The rewards of the system are
seen as the privileges an inmate may receive in exchange for obedience. The *privileges* are most often those that are of the *taken for granted* variety in the home world. Building one's world around these privileges is viewed as *perhaps the most important feature of inmate culture.* (Goffman, 1961) The punishments are the consequences for violating the rules and are seen as most often being completely out of proportion in severity to anything in the home world.

There are certain features associated with the privilege system that are seen to have significant consequences for the restructuring of self. (Goffman, 1961) First, the privilege system itself is a mode of organization peculiar to total institutions. Second, the inmate's release from the institution is contingent upon his interaction patterns within the context of the privilege system. Third, the reward-punishment contingencies that comprise the substance of the privilege system are themselves geared to the institutional, rather than the inmate's, functioning. Fourth, the ultimate result and meaning of the privilege system is that cooperation (at least on the level of compliance) is obtained from persons who would perhaps, were such a setting not present, have cause to be quite uncooperative.

The third general characteristic of the privilege system, the development of certain informal institutional processes, is seen as important in the life of
total institutions. (Goffman, 1961) These processes are classified as (1) the development of an institutional language system, (2) the accumulation of information, both factual and fictional, about the inmate's institution and other, similar, institutions, (3) the manifestation of certain behavior and attitudes that will come to be thought of by both the inmates and the staff as messing-up (ultimately providing two important social functions: decreasing rigidity in the privilege system through providing a means of downward mobility and creating vacancies at the top, and through increasing the probability of contact between old and new inmates through those that are downwardly mobile), (4) the development of secondary adjustments by inmates in order to provide themselves and others with information that they are still their own men, (5) the development of informal mechanisms of social control in order to insure the availability of secondary adjustments (through control of stool pigeons, squealers, etc.), and (6) the development of an informal stratification system which provides differential access (illicitly) to desired commodities (and also provides a further means to acquire prestige, in some cases the major means).

In addition to the reorganizing structure provided by the privilege system, Goffman points out other important influences, which, while they substantively differ,
contribute to similar results. These are the closing of social distance through forced fraternalization (resulting in a common sense of identity, injustice, and bitterness toward the outside world and marking an important movement in the inmate's moral career), and the development of social solidarity through inhabiting a physically closed region, and the perception of a common fate (facilitating the development of clique and buddy relationships for a variety of assistance purposes and particularly for emotional support).

**Characteristic inmate responses to total institutions**

Confronted with the mortification process and the institutional privilege system, inmates undergo a strikingly similar variety of self-adjustments. (Goffman, 1961; Bettelheim, 1943; McCorkle, 1954) Inmates are observed to employ different adaptative measures at different phases of their institutional career and sometimes may alternate between these different adaptative responses at any one phase of their institutional career. (Goffman, 1961)

Goffman (1961) finds five types of adjustments to be regularly practiced by inmate populations. The first of these is situational withdrawal. Situational withdrawal involves the partial to complete withdrawal from interactional sequences. This adaptive response may occur
at either the social or personal level. At the personal level, it involves the depersonalization of self and is often seen as a psychotic episode in itself. A second form of adaptation is intransigence. This is typically a temporary form of adaptation and involves a challenge to the institution in the form of rule violating behavior. A third type of adaptive response is characterized by colonization. Here, the inmate constructs a relatively stable existence within the institution through maximizing procurable institutional satisfactions and accepting the institution as a way of life. A fourth form of adaptation, conversion, involves the inmate's identification with the staff view of him and the acting out of the role of the perfect inmate. The fifth adaptive mechanism, and the one most frequently relied upon, is identified as *playing it cool*. Playing it cool involves the expedient use of all available adjustments and adaptations in order to maximize the probability of leaving the institution both physically and psychologically undamaged.

In addition to typified inmate adaptations, a typified inmate culture also emerges within the total institutional setting. (Goffman, 1961; Foreman, 1959; Reid, 1956; McCorkle, 1954) Goffman (1961) sees the inmate culture typified by (1) the development of a *story line* by the inmate in order to account for their present lowly status within the institution, and (2) a perception of
time spent in the institution as time wasted in one's life. It is perhaps within the nature of this perception of wasted time that accounts for the premium placed on diversionary activities.

**Release from the institution**

The final point to be considered here involves the inmate's release into the wider social world. Release from the institution is seen by Goffman (1961) in terms of release anxiety, or the anxiety felt by the inmate about his ability to *make it* on the outside. Release anxiety is characterized by three factors. First, institutional learning is not usually applicable and may often be contradictory to the general role expectations for the non-institutionalized individual. Second, the institution possesses the ability to stigmatize inmates either through a particular kind of release situation or merely through the inmate's association with the institution. Third, the inmate may suffer disculturation through the loss of and/or failure to acquire the habits and expectations of the wider society. These three factors may be attributed various weights contingent upon the nature of the institutional commitment.

**The Post Academy Program**

This section is concerned with reviewing literature pertinent to an examination of the socialization process
of the state police candidates once they have left the confines of the academy environment and are subjected to the actual working conditions of a regular officer. Four subsections have been developed in terms of this consideration. First, there will be an examination of the general environmental effects on police socialization through an examination of the police role. Second, literature will be examined that is considered pertinent to the development of police behavioral predispositions. Third, literature dealing with the effects of the police occupational work group on the police occupational group members will be examined. Fourth, consideration will be given to the nature of social learning in the post academy situation as it relates to the development of skills and abilities of a regular officer. This will be largely in terms of Miller and Dollard's conception of copying as a complex form of imitation and social learning.

Environmental Effects

Most formal statements regarding the expectations for police conduct demonstrate a high degree of consensus. Such statements usually involve expectations for the protection of life and property, the apprehension of offenders, the prevention of criminality, and the regulation of non-criminal conduct. However, as Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) point out, people tend to regard the police
ambiguously. On the one hand, they expect immediate and efficient assistance from police when they feel it is needed; and on the other hand, they hold the police in great suspicion due to the authority and power associated with the police role. They find this ambiguity suggests two relevant points in studying the police. First, it is naive and inappropriate to view the public as holding a unified attitude toward the police, and second, the police themselves are caught in the varying web of public expectations for them.

Terris (1967) also concerned with police-community relationships, identifies what he considers to be two overriding problems facing the police. First, he identifies an increase (and already high incidence) of violent crimes which occur primarily in the ghetto areas of urban environments, and second, the expectation for the prevention of these crimes within the context of an already strained and often hostile relationship with ghetto residents. As a consequence, Terris sees a major undertaking of the police, if they are to effectively meet the crime problem, to be the improvement of police-community relationships with large segments of the urban population.

It must be noted that Terris does not view this adjustment in terms of the usual gloss painted over existing relationships, but as a fundamental recognition
of the need for an alteration in the characteristics and perspective on the part of the police. More specifically, he finds this crucial due to the nature of routine enforcement activities being more concerned with the mediation of minor and often delicate disputes than with the more clear-cut violations of law. He asserts that if the police are to successfully perform their role, these disputes must be handled in a much more sensitive manner than they have been up to this point. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) interject a similar consideration in the context of examining minority relationships with the police.

Wilson (1968) seems to be in substantial agreement with both Terris and Bayley and Mendelsohn. However, Wilson focuses more specifically on the delicate nature and importance of these relationships through distinguishing between law enforcement functions on the one hand, and order maintenance functions on the other. According to Wilson (1968:16) the maintenance of order involves the prevention of behavior that disturbs or threatens to disturb the public peace or that involves face-to-face conflict among two or more persons. The police then are seen as not only and simply involved in law enforcement, but in addition (and conceptually separate) the maintenance of order. First, they must mediate disputes over what right behavior is (order maintenance) and second, they must
place blame or make a preliminary determination of guilt for conduct that is generally agreed upon as not right (law enforcement).

The utility of making this distinction may be seen both in the nature of the criminal law and expectations for police conduct. In cases of order maintenance, the policeman generally only acts under the color of law, while in cases of law enforcement, he is expected to invoke criminal sanctions.¹

Wilson views the problem of order maintenance as central to the police role for several reasons. First, patrolmen (especially in larger, more heterogeneously populated cities) encounter far more order maintenance situations than specifically law enforcement situations. Second, the maintenance of order often involves an element of danger for both the police (such as mediating family disputes) and the disputants (due to the perceptions of the situation by the police and their resultant course of action).

It is also interesting to note that Skolnick (1967) finds the police to have a particular preoccupation with danger in order maintenance situations due to these situations being the ones in which danger is least expected. In other words, because police do not know whether or not

¹For an interesting discussion of this problem within the context of actual situations, see Paul Chevigny, Police Power: Police Abuses in New York City (New York: Random House, Inc.) 1969.
any given order maintenance situation will involve danger (or to what degree) they do not know whether a danger reducing response (typically a show of force or actual force in the policeman's mind) will be appropriate.²

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the order maintenance function involves the use of substantial amounts of police discretion in matters that are very often of paramount importance to the parties involved (morality, honor, life and death).³

Skolnick (1967) identifies the general role of the police in much the same way as Wilson. Essentially, Skolnick views the police role as representing a dilemma posed by the expectations for the maintenance of order under the rule of law. He cogently summarizes this problem when he states:

The police in a democratic society are required to maintain order and to do so under the rule of law. As functionaries charged with maintaining order, they are part of the bureaucracy. The ideology of democratic bureaucracy emphasizes initiative rather than disciplined adherence to rules and regulations. By contrast, the rule of law emphasizes the rights of individual citizens and constraints

²It is implicitly acknowledged that the show of force and the actual use of force is often dysfunctional for reducing environmental threat, however, it tends to be the most frequently relied upon response by the police for such purposes. See for instance: Paul Chevigny, ibid., and L.H. Whitmore, Cop! (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc.) 1969

³Again, for situational commentary and exemplification, see Paul Chevigny, op. cit., and Joseph Wambaugh, The Blue Knight (N.Y.: Dell Publishing Co., Inc.) 1971
upon the initiative of legal officials. The tension between the operational consequences of ideas of order, efficiency, and initiative, on the one hand, and legality, on the other, constitutes the principal problem of police as a democratic legal organization. (Skolnick, 1967:6)

Toch (1965), also commenting upon the police role, identifies several social and psychological consequences emanating from it. First, the role is seen to involve the impact of power through the individual policeman being an embodiment of the law and commonly equated with it in the public mind. This is then seen to segregate the policeman as an authority figure and place him in a super-ordinate position in all police public encounters. The specific social consequences associated with this situation are seen by Toch as being a public differentiation in terms of the police role rather than an identification with it. This not only functions to create a public definition of the police as an authoritarian social group set apart from them, but also results in the police socially isolating themselves from the defining public. Additionally, the police seem to evidence at least an intuitive awareness of this power and authority association, and come to implicitly expect difference, respect, and compliance from most any part of the citizenry who encounters it. (Chevigny, 1969)

Second, as a result of continual police encounters with violence and potential violence, Toch sees the police developing a tendency to perceive violence with
relative ease. This is seen, in turn, to facilitate police perceptions (and misperceptions) of violence where clues to it are often subtle and only potentially available. Skolnick (1967) makes a similar consideration. He finds that because the police see themselves as relatively alone in a dangerous environment, they develop mechanisms for categorizing their environment based upon symbolic referents to danger. Consequently, police attention and activity is drawn to the symbolic assailant. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) also make a similar observation in their examination of how the police come to read environmental cues in a particular manner and the way in which these cues are differentially read in different parts of the city.

Third, Toch suggests that because of continual police contact with persons in the context of criminal or quasi-criminal situations, the police tend to develop a set of beliefs (through selective perception and selective reinforcement) which they feel necessitates the firm, rough, or blatantly discriminatory handling of certain elements of the citizenry. This tends to be substantially evidenced both in terms of police actions and political attitudes. Niederhoffer (1967), in conjunction with this issue, makes an interesting observation concerning the rather unusual position of the police within the social structure. He asserts that from continued and routine contact with persons violating the law, the police came
to define all persons as being criminal to some degree and that they, the police, begin to believe they are the sole determinants in preventing the occurrence of criminal behavior.

Environmental effects and behavioral predispositions

Skolnick (1969) in addressing himself to a consideration of police behavioral predispositions, finds several elements in the policeman's working environment (danger, authority, and the need to appear efficient, in conjunction with the para-military nature of police organizations) combining to generate a distinctive working personality. Essentially, Skolnick finds the variables of danger and authority, under the continual pressure to maintain the appearance of bureaucratic efficiency, functioning to require the police to be particularly susceptible to indications of potential indications, of violence and law violating behavior. However, it should also be noted in conjunction with this, that due to the militaristic nature of the policeman's bureaucratic environment and the structure of police values, he is seen as generally predisposed to impose his particular conceptions of orderliness and responsibility on those he encounters.

Wilson (1969) has also characterized the police as being generally suspicious. However, in addition to the variables identified by Skolnick, Wilson sees suspicion
being manifested as a function of the police continually attempting to assess the legitimacy or credibility of citizen complaints. Consequently, the police tend to consciously and unconsciously convey a certain suspicious nature to all those they encounter.  

Skolnick (1969) also points out that due to the nature of the policeman's preoccupation with danger (as pointed out in the police role) he experiences a generalized anxiety that becomes incorporated into his working personality. The element of danger is so integral to the policeman's work that explicit recognition might induce emotional barriers to work performance. (Skolnick, 1969:47)  

In addition to policemen being viewed as generally suspicious and preoccupied with danger, they have also been identified as cynical (Niederhoffer, 1967; Toch, 1965). In particular, Niederhoffer has often found the police to maintain a cynical orientation toward both their department and life and the world in general. This is particularly interesting in light of the Skolnick notion that those that respond well to danger are not usually those individuals who subscribe to codes of puritanical morality. The police, then, must live with the

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4 It might also be noted here that the nature and extent of police suspicion as seen by Wilson is contingent upon the class association of the complainant and the type of complaint being made. See: James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press) 1969, especially Chapter 1.
hypocrisy of having to enforce such codes while at the same time frequently not subscribing to them.

Chwast (1965) has identified the police as suffering from feelings of powerlessness and self-hate. Essentially, Chwast sees police feelings of powerlessness developing as a function of their perceptions of impotence within an authoritarian bureaucratic structure and in terms of the alienation from that structure and the citizenry at large.

Already feeling lost in a big, depersonalized, authoritarian machine and thus alienated in his internal setting, he now has the added burden of feeling alienated in his external setting. This intensifies the distrust, suspicion, and underlying fear he already feels, and when a crisis erupts -- for instance, in making an arrest in a public place or breaking of a disorderly crowd -- his actions may be irrational and inappropriate to what the situation requires. (Chwast, 1965:159)

In considering self-hate, Chwast hypothesizes that it may be the selective factor (in degree) which serves to separate not only the police from the public, but the good cops from the bad. It might be that those who volunteer for punitive services have little liking for themselves and, hence, none for others. (Chwast, 1965:160)

He also views the performance of a distasteful job facilitating the performance of the next distasteful job and, thus, creating a vicious circle mechanism. This is particularly interesting in light of the Niederhoffer finding that the suicide rate among New York City policemen in 1965 was almost 50 percent more than for other
males in the New York City population. (Niederhoffer, 1967:96) However, it should be noted that the police have been found to score relatively low on anomie (Niederhoffer, 1967; Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969) and similar to those with comparable education on authoritarianism and dogmatism (Niederhoffer, 1967, Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Smith, Locke and Walker, 1967)

Group structural effects on police socialization

While all occupational groups seem to evidence some amount of mutual identification, the police as an occupational group seem to evidence this to a disproportionately high degree. (Banton, 1964:198; Westley, 1951:294; Wilson, 1968:180-216; Lipset, 1962:123) In large measure, this appears to be a function of the police being particularly set apart from the conventional world. It seems significant to note, for instance, the findings of Priess and Erlich (1966:19) in their investigation of the Michigan State Police.

A ten-year review of trial board records revealed that more than two-thirds of all trials were for "social" offenses, as contrasted with "job content" offenses. The major social breaches were intoxication, sexual promiscuity, and financial negligence. The primary job oriented offenses were negligence in handling complaints and absent without leave. These findings emphasize the intimate tie between the policeman and his organization. Although some regarded such control as an infringement of their personal freedom while off duty, more conceded the right of the department to protect its public image whenever necessary.
Skolnick (1967:49-50) also suggests the police are a particularly solid occupational group. However, Skolnick views this not solely as a function of social isolation, but as one of isolation in combination with the variables of danger and authority common to the police environment. In essence, Skolnick sees the danger variable contributing to social isolation in two ways. First, through creating an unwillingness on the part of the citizenry to come to the policeman's aid when he is in trouble, a situation of which the policeman is well aware and generally antagonistic toward (Reiss, 1967). Second, through creating a psychological situation for the non-police public, if they were to come to his aid, that would cause them to become involved in police problems through understanding the policeman not as an automaton, but as another human being (the very situation that was attempting to be psychologically avoided in the first place).

In terms of the authority variable, Skolnick finds it contributing to social isolation of the police through the varying nature of the policeman's role. The policeman is expected to engage in routine traffic enforcement activities, criminal enforcement activities, the regulation of non-criminal conduct, and, to some degree, the regulation of public morality. This then is seen as functioning to rapidly alienate the policeman not only
from that segment of the public he views as criminal, but also from that segment of the public where his friends would ordinarily be drawn.

Niederhoffer (1967), in discussing the threat of social structural anomie and police cynicism, identifies a rather interesting condition that may implicitly contribute to high occupational solidarity among police. Involving Durkheim's notion that law and morality assist in maintaining a state of social solidarity, Niederhoffer visualizes the police as being largely removed from the social constraints which are placed on their non-police counterparts. Consequently, the police may sense the threat of anomie as a result, or by-product, of their particular position within the social structure. A high level of occupational (or subcultural) solidarity then may serve as a functional alternative for the police.

Imitation and Social Learning: Modeling Effects in On-the-Job Socialization

As indicated earlier, the socialization experience of the state police group consists of both institutionalized and non-institutionalized (on-the-job) contexts. It is with respect to this latter segment that a discussion of the social learning mechanism of copying, the more complex form of imitation, is considered. Additionally, because imitation is a form of social learning, a brief review of the fundamentals of learning will be presented.
According to Miller and Dollard (1962:13) there are four fundamentals essential to the learning process. These are identified as drive, response, cue and reward.

A drive may be defined as . . . a strong stimulus which impels action. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:18) Because all stimuli are not equally compelling, a direct relationship is seen between the strength of the stimulus and the drive function it possesses. A further and important distinction is made between innate or primary drives and acquired or secondary drives. Innate drives are seen as those drives inherent to the organism itself and tend to account for the greater portion of motivation. Pain, hunger, fatigue, and sex are examples of such drives. It is also noted that these drives are often obscured by the protection of technology and the imposition of social inhibitions.

Acquired drives, on the other hand, are those drives which are socially acquired and which tend to mask, both internally and externally, the primary drives which they are serving. Miller and Dollard (1962:19) identify a particularly strong acquired drive of anxiety or fear and see it as a reflection of pain, which they find it most likely based upon. Acquired drives are learned through socialization and often reflect a number of the more primary drives.

Cues may be described as those events which . . . determine when he (the person subject to the drive) will
respond, where he will respond, and which response he will make. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:21) In other words, cue functions of stimuli are seen as directors of drives. However, it should also be noted that Miller and Dollard differentiate stimuli quantitatively and qualitatively and see both drives and cues as two different properties of the same phenomenon, a stimulus. Consequently, . . . any stimulus may be thought of as having a certain drive value, depending on its strength, and a certain cue value, depending on its distinctiveness. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:22)

Response represents the impelling action of drives and the directing action of cues. However, it should be noted that . . . before any given response to a specific cue can be rewarded and learned, this response must occur. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:24) It is also important to keep in mind that . . . the ease with which a response can be learned in a certain situation depends upon the probability that the cues present can be made to elicit that response. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:24) Consequently, Miller and Dollard view the initial hierarchy of responses (those responses which are hierarchally arranged in terms of their probable likelihood of occurrence) as an extremely important factor in the learning process.

Rewards may be conceptualized as those properties which serve to reduce the drive stimulus. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:29) In terms of social learning, rewards
function to either increase or decrease the probability that given responses will or will not be repeated. Consequently, through reward, given stimulus-response associations are enhanced while through non-reward, they are discouraged.

Miller and Dollard also identify the idea of secondary rewards. Just as it is possible for previously neutral stimulus situations to acquire drive value, so also is it possible for previously neutral stimulus situations to acquire reward value. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:30) It should also be noted that they introduce empirical evidence indicating that acquired rewards seem to be based upon the more primary or innate rewards (as is the case with acquired and primary drives).

In examining copying as a form of social learning, three important characteristics must be identified. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:153-164) First, an independent subject or model serves to connect the cues and the response. Second, there is punishment of non-matched responses and reward of matched ones, usually resulting in conformity between the model and the imitator. Third, the imitator responds to cues of the model in addition to responding to cues of sameness and difference resulting from the stimulus produced by his own and the model's responses.

Although the critic is viewed as greatly facilitating responses to cues of sameness and difference through
the administration of rewards and punishments for matches and non-matches, it is also possible for other forces, such as those of the natural environment, to substitute in place of the critic. (Miller & Dollard, 1962:160) Additionally, as Miller and Dollard (1962:160) point out, once the cues of difference have acquired anxiety value and those of sameness have acquired reward value, the copier may act as his own critic, rewarding and punishing his own trial and error.
CHAPTER III
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Recruitment and Selection: Factors Relevant to a Consideration of the Nature of the State Police Candidate Population

Three dimensions are examined here which are viewed as pertinent to the specific nature of recruitment and selection for the state police group. These dimensions are the nature of the initial values of the recruit population, factors contributing to the selection of a state police career, and factors in the socialization milieu which functioned to generate homogeneity among the recruit population.

Initial values

In considering initial value structures, the recruit group seemed to be similar to that of other police groups mentioned in the literature. First, the recruits tended to evidence a generally conservative political orientation. The two major manifestations of this orientation occurred with respect to race relations (the academy class had no black members and the organization had only one black policeman out of its approximately fifteen hundred), whatever remarks were made tended to be consistent with the stereotypic conceptions of blacks usually held by the more conservative segment of the American population.
Also, this did not seem to be so much a function of previous contact with blacks, but rather a function of a lack of information and generally social isolation from the black population. It might be noted in conjunction with this that while recruitment for the Michigan State Police occurred, in a limited sense, on a nation-wide basis, the vast majority of candidates were from within the state itself, with the largest proportion coming from the white rural northern portion of the state. It is also interesting to note in terms of this initial racial orientation that the class, upon returning to a refresher course one year after graduation from the academy, evidenced a significantly more pronounced hostility toward blacks than that evidenced in the initial academy situation. This point will be returned to in the discussion of the post academy socialization experience.

In terms of the dimension of political dissent, the recruits tended to evidence a normative orientation which disparaged such activities. However, it was not political dissent standing alone which received the brunt of the attack. Political dissent, in the minds of the recruits, usually appeared to be intimately tied to both the hippie movement and anarchistic, if not overt communistic affiliations. It was generally viewed as inconceivable that the motivation for much, if not most all, anti-war activity or any anti-establishment act
could be without some *anti-American* backing. This conspiratorial theory was also evidenced by the recruits in considering the more *radical* politically involved black movements, such as the Black Panthers.

In considering the other value dimensions, the recruits clearly evidenced a concern for assertions of masculinity and the maintenance of self-respect. This occurred in a variety of ways. The very nature of the academy program called for evidence of masculinity on a daily basis. The general reputation of the state police academy was that of a rugged, physically demanding program, in which only the toughest men survived. Prior to entering the academy, the author had heard stories of former recruits who had, much to their complete humiliation, not completed the program through a failure to meet the physical demands of the boxing arena or the swimming pool. This also appeared to be especially crucial to the candidates from the small towns of the rural north who perceived themselves clearly looked down upon *back home* if they failed to meet such expectations.

This concern over masculinity and self-respect was also encouraged by the academy staff, particularly as it related to the actions of a regular officer. As the school progressed, it became quite clear that under no circumstances was a regular officer to diminish the reputation of the state police through being unable to meet
virtually any situation head-on and forcefully. For instance, the recruits were drilled in various maneuvers which would facilitate their physical handling of demonstrators in such a way that it would take no more than one trooper to walk one demonstrator to the police van in large arrest situations. The value of this was seen to lie in the fact that these situations were generally televised and that the officers would look ridiculous if four of them were required to move one not-so-masculine demonstrator. A member of the staff also related, with some amount of pride, the fact that certain motorcycle gangs attempted to steal police badges in fight situations and that while the average badge was considered by the gang to be worth $5, the state police badge was considered to be worth $25.

In conjunction with the value dimensions considered thus far, the recruits also manifested concern with other values pertinent to an examination of the organization. Particularly important among these other value concerns was the idea of professionalism and, implicitly, upward mobility. While virtually all police groups studied have been found to be concerned with these factors, the state police group proved to be particularly interesting. It was a common understanding among the recruits and the regular members of the organization that the state police represented an elite police force. The
state police frequently conducted schools for other jurisdictions and often aided other departments in various investigations. In addition, the state police seemed to maintain a particularly high reputation with the citizenry of the state and in police circles in other states as well. As a result of these factors, it seemed that the general conception among the recruits was that they would emerge from the socialization experience as full-fledged professionals, both in their minds and in the minds of the general public. While this finding seems somewhat contrary to the attitude of other police groups, which tend to manifest a general insecurity about their status, it was prevalent among the state police and may account for the fact that the state police appeared to feel considerably less alienation than that which has been noted for other police groups.

This factor also seems to be influential in mediating cynicism, which will be considered in a later discussion of the post academy experience.

The Selection of a State Police Career

In his discussion of occupational socialization, Moore (1969) identified several interesting observations pertinent to a consideration of the selection of a state police career. When examining the nature of general socialization and career choice for the state police
group, several potential relationships (consistent with Moore's theory) may be noted.

First, education appeared to function as a significant variable in limiting the nature and orientation of the state police candidate group. Although there were college graduates among the recruit population, they accounted for only about 4 percent. While a somewhat larger proportion had some college background, the overwhelming majority had not gone beyond a high school education. This finding remains fairly consistent with the police literature and tends to be of some interest in light of the Locke and Smith (1970) finding of a significant diminution in authoritarian attitudes among their college graduate population and the general value orientation of the current police group under investigation.

Second, the scope of career alternatives also appears to have functioned as a significant limiting variable in determining the composition of the state police population. Most of the recruits, as well as several of the regular officers, identified the state police as generally the most prestigious and secure occupation they had access to. This again is consistent with previous findings in the literature and seems to reflect the desire for upward mobility and professional status manifested by the recruit population generally.

Third, social affiliation appeared to play a significant role in determining those who would desire a state
police career and those who would not. Virtually all those individuals who had become candidates had come to acquire a great deal of favorable information about the state police, and very frequently, were influenced by role models (usually in the state police or at least among those very favorable to it) in deciding upon the state police as a career. Given the fact that social affiliation is greatly influenced by the inheritance of social position (social class background generally influencing value commitments, life styles, and aspirations), it can be expected that this also functioned to limit the general orientation of the organization.

Given the nature of the initial value commitments of the recruits and how these appeared to function in a selective capacity in deciding upon a state police career, attention will now be devoted to the ways in which the structure of the state police socialization program influenced normative compliance, further selectivity and the initial development of an occupational identity.

General Considerations in the Socialization Milieu

Two formal mechanisms of occupational socialization were utilized by the state police as effective socialization devices. As pointed out earlier, the academy served as the initial vehicle with a structured on-the-job experience following it. In considering the nature of
these two socialization vehicles in a general sense, several observations relevant to occupational selectivity and the initial development of an occupational identity may be made. These considerations will involve the ideas of role negotiation, socialization for socialization, social control, internalization, and the nature of socialization settings generally.

It is interesting to consider the idea of role negotiation in terms of the academy situation. Although roles are always considered to be negotiable to some degree, the academy drastically restricted the amount of negotiability available to the recruits. The recruits, during the duration of their stay at the academy, were considered to be the lowest of the low. Complete staff control was exercised over virtually all aspects of the recruits' lives for the thirteen-week program with the corresponding expectation that the recruits would respond to staff expectations in an immediate and unquestioning manner. A list of the general recruit school rules and regulations appears in Appendix A and serves to illustrate the nature of this relationship.

What is particularly interesting here, however, is that this seemed to function as an additional selective mechanism in the socialization process, selecting out those individuals who were not amenable to functioning, even for a relatively short period of time, in terms of
the expectations associated with the status of recruit. Additionally, when this is coupled with the organizational expectation of a 50 percent voluntary wash-out rate by the end of the academy program, it seems apparent that there should be a progressively greater tendency toward homogeneity of personality traits at the end of the school than at the beginning (at least with respect to those traits involving submission and compliance in authoritarian social situations).

In considering the idea of socialization for socialization, two considerations might really be made with respect to the state police program. A consideration of those skills and abilities necessary for successful role learning and a consideration of those skills and abilities necessary for successful role performance. Although the two categories may be seen to overlap at times, a conceptual distinction between them serves a useful purpose in identifying what appears to be two different levels of qualification for a state police career.

Into the first category fall such items as the possession of various cognitive and physical abilities contributing to the development of the recruit through adding to his pre-existing repertory. For instance, all candidates were expected to demonstrate a certain level of mental and physical proficiency that would be taken
to constitute evidence of their ability to successfully complete both the academic and physical aspects of the recruit academy. This then necessitated some general educational background in addition to some prior physical preparation. That portion of the screening process that was devoted to an examination of these characteristics in the potential candidate was manifested in the written examination (in an attempt to assess learning level and ability) and a physical test (in an attempt to assess physical developmental level and ability).

In the second category are those more general abilities which contribute to the development of one's conception of the role, the nature of conceptions of one's self, and conceptions of one's social world. It is with respect to this category that an examination of the screening process is particularly relevant. For instance, there was an attempt by the organization, as manifested in the background investigation and the oral interview, to accurately assess the ways in which the potential recruits had and did relate themselves to their social world. In terms of the background investigation, interviews were conducted with neighbors and friends of the candidate in addition to searching records and other documents which would shed light on the character (past manifestations of self) of the candidate so as to be better able to judge whether or not he would fit the
organizational expectations for membership in the group. The oral interview was similarly designed in attempting to determine through a direct presentation of self, the character of the potential member. It is also here that perhaps the greatest hold on traditional orientations was manifested. If the recruit, through either his past actions or current presentation of self, seemed to stray too far from the expected orientation, he was eliminated from further participation in the program. Although detailed focus was not given to the specific expectations of the organization, one could clearly sense through the nature of the values and orientations manifested by the acceptable candidates what the organization deemed as desirable attributes. While one was not expected to be a radical rightist, it certainly seemed that he was expected to manifest values consistent with traditional establishment orientations.

A third consideration involves the problem of social control in the socialization process and is concerned with how members are induced to behave in accordance with the normative expectations of the group. This necessarily invites a consideration of both external and internal sanctions in the socialization milieu. It is significant to note, with respect to the academy program, that there was generally an exclusive reliance on an avoidance learning paradigm. It seems that this served
two significant functions. First, while this tended to produce a high motivation to comply, it also introduced a condition of chronic anxiety among the recruits. There seemed to be a general perception among members of the recruit class that the academy represented a sort of a test or rights of passage. Consequently, while all punishment was not viewed negatively (indeed, to receive some punishment was the norm), many situations existed where punishment served to warn the candidate of possible failure in completing the program. It should be remembered that punishment was virtually always in the form of additional physical activity and that the academy was very physically demanding without the burden of added penalties. As a result, some recruits, when weighing commitment against expectations of the staff, chose to voluntarily leave the program.

This again serves to identify how the structure of the socialization process served to select only those individuals most amenable to the expectations of the organization. In fact, it appears that punishment was explicitly designed to serve this end. For to the best of the author's recollection, not one of the recruits who at the beginning of the school testified to not leaving the program except by being carried out, failed to complete the thirteen weeks.

The second significant function of the avoidance learning model seemed to be a progressive increase in
commitment on the part of those members who were successful in meeting expectations, including those involved in receiving punishment. (A detailed discussion of this is presented in the section on punishment centered socialization and in the section on the specific nature of the academy program.) It is also interesting to note, however, that once out of the academy and on the job, rewards and independent judgment received much more attention by the organization.

The consideration of social control seems to lend further support to the contention that the academy was formally used as a vehicle for selection and the development of occupational identification, with the on-the-job experience being concerned with developing abilities relevant in task performance.

In considering the question of internalization as it relates to the socialization program, two factors are worth noting. First, as identified earlier in terms of role negotiation, the academy appeared to serve as a selective mechanism in selecting out those candidates whose value structures were not amenable to participation. In addition, this served in conjunction with the extremely thorough pre-academy screening process as discussed in the selection of a state police career. However, this also operated in the on-the-job context and, rather evidently, is accountable for those members who selected an
alternative career at that state. Three particular cases come to mind. The first involved a particularly physically rugged individual who disliked the physical expectations of the organization (particularly in situations involving physical combat) and selected a career in medicine. The second involved an individual who had selected the state police in order to see what police work was like and later found that the general attitudinal atmosphere was uncomfortable and selected a career in business. The third involved the author, who after a tour of police work in both the state and a city police department, found academics to be more to his liking.

The second consideration of internalization, however, tended to work on the opposite end of the spectrum. Several candidates who successfully completed the academy program (upon later contact by the author) appeared to have developed a marked increase in commitment to the organization and to police work in general. In fact, this seems to be by far the most frequent case, especially in terms of those individuals who were relatively happy with their position in the organization. One particularly recent (and not atypical) case comes to mind involving a visit by the author to one of his former academy classmates. The author had also known the individual throughout their college careers and was good friends with the individual upon entering the academy.
program. Although the friend had evidenced only a mild curiosity with the state police at the outset of the training program, some five years hence he evidenced not only a commitment to the organization by a marked change in perspective which was much more in line with that manifested by the bulk of policemen generally.

Finally, in considering the general socialization setting, several relevant points may be noted. In examining the nature of the institutionalized mechanisms for teaching new members how to play their roles, a remarkable difference was observed between the academy on the one hand and the on-the-job context on the other. The academy tended to be concerned with the development of certain abilities (many of which seem to be only indirectly related to the role of policeman, if related at all, and only peripherally concerned with developing a conceptual framework for reference in role performance outside of the academy context. In fact, recruits were largely helpless in performing their roles as police officers prior to the on-the-job socialization experience. Once on the job, however, the major concern tended to be with developing a working conception of the role of a state police trooper and only peripherally, if at all, with maintaining any of the skills learned in the academy. This again seems to identify the fact the major value of the academy is in its more or less final screening of the
candidates and the potential for modification of their structure of self.

A consideration of the rate of interaction in the system identifies two concerns. First, recruits tended to be inhibited from voluntarily interacting in the academy situation through the anxiety over the possibility of error, and second, the recruit group, when taken as a whole, was completely isolated from the interactional situation of a regular officer. While this tended to inhibit social learning which could be considered relevant to occupational participation, it did seem to facilitate the development of occupational identification and commitment.

In considering the general contextual characteristics of the system itself, several points are worth noting. First, role models were provided in both the academy and one-the-job contexts, however, the nature of the modeling functions tended to vary significantly. In the academy role, models tended to serve as ideal types in both physical appearance and stature and projected attitudes, while in the on-the-job situation, role models generally served the function of facilitating occupational task performance. Second, recruits, while attending the academy, were constantly surrounded by others in the same socialization situation. This generally contributed to the mutual provision of various kinds of support and information useful in completing
the academy program. However, once assigned to a field post, many recruits found themselves to be the only individuals new to the occupation. Although the reward-punishment contingencies at the field assignment certainly differed from that of the academy, several former recruits identified the undesirability of being the only socializee in the group. This may have been due in large measure to the sudden lack of status occupant support during the second phase of the socialization experience. Third, and particularly significant to the field post assignment, was the designation of a senior officer to work with each of the former recruits. It was the assigned responsibility of the senior officer to serve as mentor to the recruit in the acquisition of relevant occupational information and abilities requisite to successful role performance. It might also be noted that this type learning situation tended to greatly facilitate the flow of information between the rather abstract organization and the new incoming member.

Punishment Centered Socialization and a State Police Career

The Michigan State Police program, in a general sense, may be accurately conceived of in terms of a punishment centered socialization model. It is here that Moore's punishment centered theory of socialization seems particularly pertinent to a consideration of the state
police experience, especially in terms of the development of occupational identity and commitment.

The major thrust of Moore's (1961) theory involves the idea of the fellowship of suffering. In other words, qualifying conditions which cause collective suffering for individuals who desire membership in the organization will tend to increase the level of both identity and commitment to the organization.

In considering these various conditions with respect to the state police program, a clear illustration of Moore's model seems to emerge. First, recruits were hazed by the staff, which remained a prevalent and intense activity throughout the duration of the school. This also appeared to be both an officially sanctioned activity and one that was perceived by the staff, at least implicitly, as contributing to the development of solidarity among the recruit school members. For instance, the daily inspection was always a time of general harassment, and in fact, appeared to be specifically designed for this purpose. As a result of this harassment, however, the recruits tended to form a common bond. It is especially interesting to note in terms of this that since the recruits were completely defenseless to the attacks on the self by the staff, the mutual bond among them tended to serve such a purpose. Additionally, recruits tended not to be antagonistic toward the staff.
with respect to harassment, but rather seemed to feel that their ability to take it signified their worth vis-a-vis the academy program. However, this was qualified insofar as the role modeling functioning of each of the staff members was differentially judged by the recruits. Consequently, harassment by some members of the staff was viewed as more palatable than that meted out by other members. The general criteria for judging the adequacy of any staff members modeling appeared to be in terms of the ideal typical trooper in the collective minds of the recruits (including the components of fairness, the perceived ability of the staff member to take it if he were in a similar situation to that of the recruits, and general physical demeanor and appearance).

Second, in addition to the hazing, a variety of demands were made upon the recruits which were perceived as unpleasant, yet imperative, if one was to remain an active member of the academy class. It might also be noted that these activities had little, if any, relationship to the role requirements of a regular officer. Several activities serve to exemplify this condition. For instance, recruits were required to engage in strenuous physical exercise on a daily basis. It is important to understand that this activity appeared to be geared so as to tax the limits of endurance of the recruits. This was generally done through progressively
increasing the expectations in such a way that they would always be slightly above that which the recruits could confidently meet. Consequently, recruits were constantly anxious over the possibility that they, in fact, could not meet the new expectations. This also worked in conjunction with the strength of their initial commitment and appears to account for the vast majority of drop-outs from the program. In addition to the physical exercise, other physical activities also served to have the same effect. The swimming pool was always a dreaded arena by almost all of the recruits and was operated in a manner similar to that of the physical training. The recruits' swimming abilities appeared to be assessed by the staff and then expectations for each of the recruits established in such a way that they were somewhat above what the recruits actually felt they could endure. As a result, this also served as a weeding out mechanism in terms of recruit commitment to the program. An especially interesting situation can be recounted with respect to this variable. Throughout the duration of the school, the recruits had been aware of what was referred to as the graduation swim. This had been made fairly clear through the lore of other recruit academies that had filtered down to the recruits in addition to the staff occasionally alluding to it at various times during this academy program. To say that this was perhaps the most
dreaded expectation by the class seems to substantially understate the case. Essentially, the swim consisted of attempting to get from one end of the pool to the other while five or six academy staff members were situated in various locations in the water. According to rumor, former recruits had not only thought they were going to drown, but in some cases were actually in need of artificial respiration.

Two nights before graduation, the recruits had finished a particularly strenuous day's activities and were retiring in the gymnasium for the night when a staff member appeared and ordered them to put on their swim suits and be seated in the classroom area. Representatives of the staff then entered and explained how the swim would be conducted. Recruits were to line up in the locker area (which was out of view of the pool) and would be summoned individually when their turn came.

Once in the water, recruits were to begin swimming to the far end of the pool and were not to bite, scratch or claw at any staff member in their attempt to get free. Also, at no time was a recruit to swim for the side of the pool or attempt to get out of the water until he had successfully made it to the other end. Cases of perceived drowning were to be left up to the staff, as they stated, we haven't drowned anybody yet. Although all recruits completed the swim (which consisted, in fact, of being
passed from one staff member to the next) the level of tension and anxiety was almost beyond belief. Virtually every recruit there knew that this was perhaps the ultimate test, not so much in terms of their skill, but in terms of commitment to the program and their ability to face a frightening situation in terms of it. Once completed, this also appeared to have a significant psychological impact upon the recruits in terms of an increase in commitment through a perception of in-group membership.

The third general feature of Moore's theory, the realistic possibility of failure, was also evidenced by the state police program and can be exemplified in terms of the large number of police candidates (approximately 50 percent) who failed to complete the school. It might also be noted that the realistic possibility of failure contributed to substantial levels of anxiety, especially when taken in conjunction with the high level of commitment and incipient restructuring of self (in terms of organizational models) evidenced by many of the recruits.

These three variables then, when taken together, tended to make a substantial contribution to the fellowship of suffering and the correlative development of occupational identity and commitment suggested by Moore. This identity and commitment also tended to be magnified in the post academy program through the clearly subordinate position of the former recruit once he
received a field post assignment and through the nature of his acceptance into the organization once at that stage. These matters will receive more detailed attention in a consideration of the post academy experience.

The Police Academy: The Nature of Socialization in a Total Institution

This section focuses specifically on the police academy as a mechanism of occupational socialization. Through employing Goffman's ideal type construct of total institution to the academy portion of the program it seems to highlight the manner in which the structure of the selves of the recruits were modified in terms of the organizational framework (specifically, the development of occupational identity and commitment). It should be noted at the outset, however, that differences did exist between the design of the academy program on the one hand and the design of a more strictly total institution on the other. For instance, the major difference between the police academy and the Goffman total institution lies in the recruit's voluntary entrance into the institution and, more importantly, their ability to voluntarily withdraw from it. However, this situation does not negate the applicability of a great deal of the Goffman framework and will be discussed at more length at those points in the manuscript at which differences were perceived to occur. Also, although the Goffman
framework is certainly used as an analytical tool, it has, in addition, a great deal of heuristic value in examining the nature of the consequences of this type of institutional participation for the individual participants.

**Definitional characteristics**

The police academy seems to definitionally qualify within the realm of a total institution for several reasons. First, all members of the academy class, regardless of previous social position, were placed in the common status of recruit and responded to only in terms of that definition. Second, all the recruits were required to remain in residence at the academy for the three month program of training. Although recruits were generally granted weekend leave, it consisted of no more than 24 to 48 hours and was granted with specific instructions that academy members were not to engage in behaviors inconsistent with the academy program (which, for instance, prohibited the consumption of alcoholic beverages and made dismissal mandatory if found frequenting bars). Third, all recruits conducted their lives as a group, according to the overall and rather tightly scheduled plan of the institution, and within the confines of the enclosed academy area.

**Attendant processes**

The police academy will be examined here in terms of the two major processes associated with total
institutions. First, an examination of the mortification process will be undertaken, and second, an examination of the privilege system. Again, both of these processes will be discussed in terms of their consequences for the restructuring of self, especially in terms of the development of occupational identity and commitment.

The mortification process. Goffman has identified five significant features of the mortification process which are consequential for the structure of self and pertinent to an examination of the state police experience. First, there was the introduction of a barrier between the recruit and his wider social world which functioned to disrupt his traditional mode of role scheduling causing him to dispossess previously embraced roles. It might be noted here that during the time the recruit was attending the police academy, he was engaged in an intense and consuming activity which necessarily prevented him from engaging in the performance of other roles. Although recruits were permitted visiting privileges, the duration and nature of the visit either prevented or severely limited the performance of more traditional roles. Typically, recruits not only felt the pressures of the academy during home visits, but tended to be busy with academy work as well. It should also be noted that visiting privileges were strictly controlled by the academy staff and in the initial
phases of the program, were limited to not more than 25 or 30 hours. Additionally, and consistent with the Goffman framework, is the idea that because entrance into the institution occurred on a voluntary basis, there was already a partial withdrawal from the home world prior to actual institutional entrance. I should be noted, however, that within the context of the academy this seemed to represent a significant variable mediating continued participation in the program (as demands and pressures became greater and more irritating) and appeared to function in terms of one's initial commitment of self to an identification with the state police occupation and concomitant value influences.

Second, there was a set of admission procedures, manifested in terms of initiation rights and obedience tests, which served to officially welcome the inmate to the institution and define for him his new status and new set of roles. This was clearly evidenced in the police academy through the physical examination, the issuance of uniforms, and the official introduction of the academy staff to the recruits. An examination of each of these aspects individually seems to be of some interest.

In terms of the physical examination, one may note two potentially significant consequences for the structure of self. First, the examination was conducted in a manner consistent with the bureaucratic handling of large
blocks of people. Recruits were required to remove their clothing, stand in lines, and receive the mass treatment techniques common to other such institutional establish­ments (in particular, the military). This not only tended to evidence an institutional disregard for one's home world conception of self (in fact, here it appears to be of manifest design and not merely convenience, for there were only eighty-six recruits), but also served to convey certain normative information about one's new status. It should be remembered, however, that within the context of the academy, there was a more or less voluntary dispossession of certain aspects of one's former identity and a certain excitement over even approaching the state police replacement. Second, the mass removal of clothing (soon to be replaced with an institutional substitute) served to further reinforce the break with the past and thereby facilitate the restructuring process.

The issuing of uniforms also seems to be significant for the structure of self insofar as identity is frequently manifested in personal possessions. Consequently, the replacement of one's personal clothing with an institutional substitute seems to make a substantial contribution in furthering an alteration in identity. It is also interesting to note here that recruits were not issued the uniform of a regular state police officer. Instead, recruits were issued rather well worn, grey custodial
outfits. The particular significance of this appears to lie in several factors. First, the regular issue uniform was considered an object of pride and, at least implicitly, a mark of achievement. Consequently, while the recruits' uniform visually marked an alteration in status and at least marginal membership in that organization, it also conveyed to the recruit something about the nature of his current social situation and, implicitly, something about the nature of restructuring process. In conjunction with this, recruits were not issued the regular uniform all at once. Rather, they received it in parts at various times during the academy program. This seems to have been particularly significant in developing occupational identity and commitment through the progressive confirmation by the institution of changes in oneself, vis-a-vis, the institutional role models. Also, there was a mirror placed in the academy building with the statement: You are now looking at a future Michigan State Police Trooper. When this is coupled with the initial nature of the recruit uniform and the method of issuing the more traditional state police dress, it seems to represent a subtle although significant mechanism in the restructuring process.

Finally, the introduction of the recruit academy staff to the recruit class seems worthy of mention if for no other reason that the generally anxiety provoking effect it had upon the recruits. It seems that this may
have been due to the interaction effect between a commitment of oneself to the program (involving at least a partial withdrawal from the home world), having just completed a lengthy day's bureaucratic procedures (involving the institutional welcome) and the physical stature and projected attitudes of the staff members (introducing the variable of uncertainty about the recruit's ability to complete the program and receive confirmation of the sought-after identity).

A third general characteristic of the mortification process involves a set of post admission expectations of the staff for the institutional inmates, in this case the recruits. These are seen as involving a set of activities which, in the recruits' home worlds would be taken to convey a low and dependent status. Within the context of the academy, these demeaning activities were manifested in a variety of ways. First, the recruits' movements were highly regulated both within the academy building and, particularly, when they were required to leave. For instance, while attending classroom sessions, the recruit was required to maintain silence, sit erect in his chair, and keep his eyes either on the instructor or his note pad. When desiring to address the speaker, the recruit was required to raise his hand and when called upon, come to attention, state his last name first, prefaced by the word recruit and identify his
desire to ask a question. If permission was granted, he was then permitted to speak to the instructor. Second, it is also interesting to note that members of the academy staff always addressed members of the academy class either by their last name only, by their last name prefaced by the word recruit, or merely by recruit and then always in a demeaning tone. Third, when leaving the academy building, recruits were typically required to line up single file according to height, come to attention, maintain complete silence, and march to their destination. This tended to be particularly significant in that one incurred the gazes or stares of those individuals who were on the compound and not connected with the school. Fourth, daily inspection was conducted at which time the recruits were required to stand at rigid attention at the foot of their bunks while the inspection team made its formal rounds. It might also be noted that the inspection required the recruit to remain at the mercy of the inspection team, thereby causing him to be submissive to virtually any assault upon the self and, at least tacitly, accept it.

A fourth characteristic in the mortification of self (occurring on both the mental and physical levels), was contaminative exposure, which is seen to result from the forced interpersonal contact with others. In the academy program, this tended to be facilitated through
both the design of the living arrangements and the nature of the program itself.

In terms of physical contamination, the recruits' living quarters consisted of the open gymnasium area of the recruit building and a communal toilet and shower facility. Consequently, it was virtually impossible to avoid the physical exposure of oneself to others. Also, the significance of this variable tended to be magnified through the daily emphasis placed on the physical characteristics and import of manliness and the staff practice of hazing individuals in terms of it. It seems quite evident that whatever protection privacy afforded the physical aspects of one's identity was largely lost under these conditions.

In examining the nature of mental contamination within the academy, two particular routines seem to be significant. On one hand, the daily mail call, and on the other, the daily inspection. Mail call was structured in such a way that either a designated recruit or a member of the academy staff would be responsible for dispensing the private mail to the recruits. This not only provided the opportunity for harrassment in terms of the nature of one's mail, but also made public knowledge of the kind of mail one received and whether or not one received mail at all. The inspection also seems to be significant here due to the nature of the frequent
harrassment. It was not uncommon, for instance, for the inspection team to harass one in terms of one's past or in terms of one's current relationships. While much of this information would normally be within one's private sphere, for a variety of reasons (including the protection of one's identity structure and the current presentation of one's self) it tended to become public knowledge within the confines of the academy.

The fifth and final characteristic of the mortification process involves a disruption in the usual relationship between an individual actor and his acts. There were two major ways in which this was manifested within the context of the academy program. First, the defensive responses of the recruit in one attack situation became the very responses that were attacked in the next attack situation. For instance, turning again to the routine of daily inspection, it was pointed out that the recruits were necessarily at the mercy of the inspection team. This occurred for the very reason that any self defensive response offered by the recruits (such as the demonstration of role distance through facial expression or the rationalization offered for any particular behavior or statement under question) became the focus of the next attack by the inspection team. Second, the nature of the academy itself demanded that the recruit lives be regimented and that virtually all activities of the recruit
(at times including sleeping) be monitored by the staff. This general monitoring then provided the staff with the means to continually sanction the recruits for engaging in virtually any behavior that was viewed as contrary to rules and regulations. This tended to create (consistent with the Goffman framework) a condition of chronic anxiety for the recruits which lasted throughout the duration of the program. In fact, the recruits came to believe that even their most private conversations were being electronically monitored in some way through the substance of many of the attacks by the staff at the daily inspection. Obviously, this in itself contributes to a condition of high anxiety and significantly mortifies the self through making one's private self defensive thoughts a matter of public knowledge to the institution and the subject of, therefore, rather indefensible attacks.

In considering the importance of the various dimensions of the mortification process discussed thus far, in terms of the orienting theme of the thesis, two factors warrant mention. First, the process made it quite clear to the recruit that he was completely subordinate to the organization and subject to its whims. This occurred in terms of both his formal organizational participation and, especially, in his attempts to satisfy his desire for the new identity. Second, the mortification process, because the institution is of a more or
less voluntary nature, required the continual demonstration of commitment to the organizational model. This often occurred at the expense of manifestly dispossessing previously embraced roles and consequently previous conceptions of self. When these two factors are taken together, they seem to substantially contribute to preparing the recruit for the acquisition of the new identity, especially when they are viewed as operating in conjunction with the already partial and voluntary withdrawal from the home world situation.

Attention will now be directed to the nature of the privilege system as it occurred within the academy context and how this contributed to the further development of occupational identity and commitment.

The privilege system. There are three characteristics of the privilege system which may be viewed as significant for the restructuring of self and pertinent to an examination of the police academy.

First, there is the general nature of the reward-punishment system. Within the academy, the rules were clearly viewed by both the recruits and the staff, as house rules insofar as they served to rather formally and explicitly define for the recruit the expectations associated with his new status. It is interesting to note, for instance, that among the initial communications to
the recruit from the academy was a copy of the recruit school rules and regulations (See Appendix A). It is also interesting to note the rather explicit bureaucratic formality of the rules and regulations and the generally subservient status in which they placed the recruit.

As indicated earlier, the academy was administered in terms of an avoidance learning model. This was clearly evidenced in the nature of the rewards associated with the system. A major concern for the recruit was not so much in terms of obtaining rewards for evidencing appropriate behavior as in attempting to avoid punishment. However, this is not to say that rewards were non-existence for merely avoiding punishment tended to hold a certain reward value. For instance, if a recruit was successful in making up his bed to staff expectations, it would probably not be thrown on the floor during the morning inspection. Consequently, this often functioned to allow the recruit a certain amount of pleasure, such as smoking part of a cigarette prior to the beginning of morning classes. It might also be noted that as the school wore on, the reward value associated with such small pleasures became a major concern in the recruit's life. Perhaps this is attributable to the fact that very few pleasures were associated with academy participation in addition to the diversionary value offered by such activities. One might also consider, however,
that these activities were engaged in prior to entrance into the academy and may have had some value in maintaining continuity with past behaviors and habits. (It might also be remembered here that these activities were among the few in which the recruit was afforded personal control over his actions.)

In addition to the nature of the rewards mentioned thus far, there was an additional and very important, although infrequent, reward associated with the system. That reward consisted of periodically receiving various parts of the regular issue uniform for conformity to institutional demands. The reward value of this practice is particularly interesting in that it not only functioned to maintain compliance, but progressively contributed to the acquisition and embrace of the new identity through it being a direct and manifest conformation of the desired conception of self. As might be expected, after receipt of the uniform part, commitment and identity were approached with renewed vigor.

A second characteristic of the privilege system involves certain features associated with such a system that are seen to have significant consequences for the restructuring of self. First, the privilege system is a mode of organization peculiar to total institutions. Once in the academy, the recruit was reduced to the level of a child insofar as he was granted the most minor
rewards or received the most demeaning punishments for the very activities that would otherwise be considered within the private discretionary sphere of an adult. It was frequently mentioned, especially among the older recruits, that at times it was difficult to justify in one's own mind the complete subjugation of oneself to the school's authority. Second, the inmate's release from the institution is contingent upon his interaction patterns within the context of the privilege system. This was clearly evidenced in the academy program both through one's commitment to stay or through one's decision to leave. Here also, the recruit seemed to be faced with a double-edged sword. If he maintained commitment to the program, it was at the expense of resigning himself to living within the context of the privilege system; however, if he elected to leave, it was at the expense of failing to realize the commitments of self in one's own eyes and those of others important in the home world (a potentially significant blow to any identity structure). It is interesting to note in conjunction with this that once a recruit decided to leave, he either began rationalizing the program as a nonsensical set of activities and/or left unknown in the middle of the night. Third, the reward-punishment contingencies that comprise the substance of the privilege system are themselves geared to the institutional, rather than to the inmates', functioning. An examination
of the academy to this point clearly reveals the nature of institutional prerogatives, especially insofar as they were directed toward restructuring and commitment in terms of institutional role models. Additionally, one might note that even those activities that could be considered tangential to the manifest intentions of the program, such as dispersing personal mail, and making phone calls, were structured to serve institutional rather than personal convenience.

A third characteristic of the privilege system within the context of total institutions is the development of certain informal processes which are seen as important in the life of the institution. Within the context of the academy, these were manifested in a variety of ways.

First, an institutional language system developed among the recruits that related specifically to their experience in the academy and things important to that life situation. This appeared to make a significant contribution to recruit solidarity and comradship, through placing a further restriction upon others' (outsiders') ability to share in the experiences of recruit life. Second, there was a continual flow of information among the recruits about the nature of the academy experience and what was yet to come, in addition to the nature of other academy programs and the kinds of
experiences one could expect there. This appears to have frequently made the demands of academy life more palatable to the recruits through their general conclusion that their program was superior to others of its kind and the feeling that if they persevered, they must, in some way, be superior also. Third, secondary adjustments appeared to have been made by the recruits in terms of the manifestations of behaviors that proved to both the recruit and others in the social situation that one was still one's own man. For instance, a certain elan was often demonstrated by the recruits, which, when noticed by the staff, always resulted in heavy penalties. In the later stages of the school, this often occurred during the inspection itself (rows of recruits necessarily faced each other when standing at their bunks) and after the day's activities through the mimicking various mannerisms of the individual staff members. This may also account for the fact that when recruits were occasionally granted minor privileges in the later stages of the program, they often overstepped the bounds of the privileges ever so slightly. Fourth, the recruits developed certain mechanisms of social control among themselves which functioned to insure the availability of secondary adjustments. For instance, if one was found to be violating the informal normative arrangements of the recruit group, such as brown nosing or tattling under duress, he
would surely not only be expelled from the informal recruit group, but would have his life made even more miserable than it already was perceived to be. Fifth, certain leadership patterns emerged which were indigenous to the recruit population through the bestowing of differential prestige among the recruit members. While the nature of leadership patterns was not systematically examined, it appeared that leaders were selected and functioned in terms of their ability to aid other recruits in completing the program and the way in which they approached the program and the academy staff. For instance, while it seems that leaders tended to have the necessary abilities for meeting staff expectations and generally did so, it also seems that they gave off the perception of maintaining some amount of private personal identity and confidence.

In considering the ultimate result and meaning of the privilege system within the state police academy experience, several factors should be considered. In terms of the Goffman framework, cooperation was certainly obtained from persons who, was such a setting not present, have cause to be quite uncooperative. However, in addition to this and largely because the academy experience was a voluntary one, other considerations also accrue.

The structure and content of the academy program, while onerous to all the recruits, was perceived as
something special and indeed, essential to becoming a state police officer. Consequently, while the experience was an unpleasant one and would not have occurred outside the meaning context associated with it, given the nature of the meaning context, it was perceived as important. Also, there was a desire for an alteration in identity structure on the part of the recruits. As a result of this factor, recruits attempted to please the staff in such a way that the staff would think them worthy of the new identity. This is not to say that the recruits lost all former conception of self and were completely non-manipulative, but rather that they would possibly be more amenable to the privilege system than individuals in a similar condition who did not desire such a modification. Finally, the privilege system seems to be significant here insofar as it did in fact define the parameters of the recruits' life situation and as such made their obtaining the new status contingent upon their performance in it. Fourth, and finally, the privilege system is viewed as important in terms of its contribution to the fellowship of suffering which has been discussed earlier as is particularly pertinent to the development of occupational identity and commitment with respect to Moore's punishment centered model.

In addition to the reorganizing influences specifically relating to the privilege system, another important
and somewhat similar influence tended to work in conjunction with it. Due to the recruits inhabiting a physically closed area and the forced fraternalization among them, they tended to develop a common sense of identity toward the group and social solidarity through the perception of a common fate. However, rather than feeling the collective bitterness toward the outside world characteristic of the Goffman model, the recruits tended to feel just the opposite. That is, their identity toward the group consisted of a generally high occupational identification with social solidarity being a function of in-group membership in terms of the organization as a whole. This certainly seems to suggest that the significant variable mediating the personal outcome of some form of total institutional participation involves the desire for an identity change at the time of entrance into the institution. Although this may appear to be an elementary conclusion, it seems significant insofar as certain changes in the structure of self may necessarily take place along with the acquisition of the identity. Especially significant is the idea that many of these attitudinal or behavioral changes may have formerly been of questionable desirability to the individual and after participation become almost as integral as the new identity structure.
Recruit responses to the academy program

Goffman has identified five types of responses characteristic of inmates inhabiting total institutional environments. While all of these adaptive responses tended to be evidenced by one or more of the recruits at various times during the academy experience, the overwhelming responses seemed to be that of conversion (the acceptance of the staff view and the acting out of the perfect inmate role). Two significant variables might be noted in attempting to account for this situation. First, it was possible for any recruit to voluntarily withdraw from the program at any time prior to its completion. While potential psychological problems resulting from voluntarily withdrawing have been noted (such as the nature of the commitment of self and resulting problems of identity in the home world), it would certainly seem to mediate the model response of the recruits to the program, if for no other reason than introducing a significant self-selection bias. For instance, many of those recruits who left the program, had they not had that opportunity, may have been individuals who would also evidence the non-typical response patterns noted for the graduating recruit group as a whole. Second, all recruits prior to entering the program had necessarily made some amount of commitment to it if only in terms of mildly identifying with the status of the state police.
trooper. Consequently, it would be expected that those
recruits who were successful in graduating from the pro-
gram would also be those recruits most likely to evidence
the adaptive response of conversion. This is not to
suggest, however, that recruits either completely con-
verted to the staff view of them or immediately left the
program, for there were several intermediate steps which
seemed to be involved. To begin with, there was the
whole problem of withdrawal, typically beginning with
situational withdrawal and culminating in abridging the
role set completely. Also, there was always rule violat-
ing behavior which implicitly served to challenge the
institution. (However, interestingly enough, this behav-
ior was typically evidenced by those recruits who remained
in the academy converted to the staff view of them, and
ultimately were successful in completing the program).
Finally, playing it cool tended to be the initial response
of the recruits until replaced with conversion (usually
after some time in the academy and possibly in conjunc-
tion with a corresponding increase in the development of
identity and commitment).

Release from the academy

In considering release from the academy, vis-a-vis
the Goffman framework, several factors warrant consider-
ation in conjunction with the idea of release anxiety.
This applies to both those recruits who successfully completed the academy program and those recruits who left sometime prior to it. In terms of those recruits who were not successful in completing the program, the academy clearly possessed the power to stigmatize and, therefore, be anxiety-provoking in this respect. This appears to be the result of three interrelated factors. One, those individuals who were selected for academy training and an eventual state police career also tended to be those individuals who were interested in police work generally and, when failing the academy, sought similar employment with other police agencies. Two, the Michigan State Police generally possessed a high reputation in police circles and were well noted for the rigors and difficulty associated with their training program. Three, individuals who entered the academy tended to have selected the state police over other police agencies because of its elite reputation. Consequently, when failing in the academy, there was not only the immediate problem of adjustments in personal identity to contend with, but the later effects of having begun the state police training and having failed to complete it.

In considering those recruits successful in completing the program, one might note that although they had spent three months enduring the hardships of the academy,
a great deal of anxiety surrounded graduation from it. While graduation signified to the recruit that he had possessed the ability to make it, it also represented a release from the now familiar routine of academy life and the problems associated with being able to fulfill the expectations of a more independent member of the organization. While this may be considered a rather evident problem associated with virtually any status change, it tended to be compounded for the former recruit due to his institutional learning not generally being applicable to the outside environment in which he would be expected to perform his new role. Consequently, while the pomp and circumstance pervading the formal graduation ceremony identified to the former recruit and all those in attendance that he was now a full-fledged member of the organization, the recruit was generally plagued by the feeling that he was largely helpless in independently completing virtually any of the tasks demanded by the new role.

This is not to suggest, however, that graduation was not exciting for the former recruit. To suggest that would be to substantially misrepresent the case. The recruit had, in fact, completed the academy and obtained the sought-after identity (with, of course, the important qualification that he would be judged capable of performing the duties of a regular officer after time spent at
the field post). What it does intend to suggest is the paradox that existed in terms of the high level of occupational identity and commitment and the generally low level of skills and abilities in performing the new role.

Given the nature of this situation and the qualification placed upon the maintenance of the new identity, attention will now be directed to the socialization experience as it existed in the post academy situation. Also, particular emphasis should be placed upon the fact that in order to maintain the new identity, the former recruit had to perform successfully in the post academy situation. This is seen as important insofar as it contributed to the amenability of the recruit to the value influences present in the post academy environment.

The Post Academy Program

This section will focus on the influences present in the on-the-job environment as well as the nature of social learning for the new officer. The first section will consider the nature of the social learning model utilized by the state police with the later sections being concerned with how both the environment and group structure affected the new officer.

Imitation and social learning: Modeling effects in on-the-job socialization

In large measure, the helplessness of the new offi-
cer in performing his role was directly attributable to the institutionalized academy experience being removed from the environment in which role performance was to take place. Consequently, while the academy experience tended to develop high levels of identity and commitment in terms of the organization, it added little to the new officer's ability to read environmental cues and associate responses. It is with respect to this situation that the social learning mechanism of copying provides a useful conceptual framework.

In beginning, it should be understood that immediately after the new officer arrived at the field post, he was assigned to a senior officer (usually one of the more experienced members of the post staff) for the duration of his one-year probationary period. It was the responsibility of the senior during this time to initiate the rookie to the nature and techniques of police work and to be generally responsible for his development as an officer. The new officer, in turn, was to work with his senior partner and develop his abilities in terms of observation of the senior officer's work techniques and participation in the work situation under the senior officer's supervision. It is with respect to this situation that the first stage of copying (the more complex form of imitation) comes into play.

First, copying requires that an independent subject or model connect the cues to the appropriate responses
in the learning environment. The assignment of the former recruit to a senior officer clearly attempted to serve this function.

After the initial period of observation by the senior officer (a variable amount of time contingent upon the senior officer's perceptions of the former recruit's abilities), the new officer was expected to engage in several of the more elementary tasks he had observed the senior officer performing. This stage was always accompanied by intense supervision from the senior officer and appears to account for a second condition of copying as a social learning mechanism. That is, copying requires that there be punishment for non-matched responses and a reward for matched ones. In terms of this situation, the senior officer served as both model and critic, correcting the inappropriate responses of the recruit and demonstrating those that were appropriate. It might also be noted that the senior officer was generally viewed by the other members of the field post as the most prominent judge of the new officer and, consequently, maintained rather impressive reward-punishment credentials in the eyes of the former recruits.

The general result of the successive matching attempts, and certainly the intended result, was some degree of conformity between the former recruit and his model, the senior officer. In fact, the new officer's
monthly performance review, which was filled out by the senior officer, appeared to be at least implicitly based upon the success of his matching attempts.

The third general characteristic of the copying scheme requires that the imitator respond to cues of the model in addition to responding to cues of sameness and difference resulting from the stimulus produced by his own and the model's responses. The assignment to night duty seems to illustrate this situation. If the new officer was judged to be successfully progressing in his learning experience, he was assigned to night duty, at which time he was expected to perform the relatively independent support function of a regular officer. At this point, the officer was expected to have developed some ability to independently respond to various situations in terms of environmental cues vis-a-vis the senior officer model and was expected to be able to independently assess the adequacy of his responses. Additionally, the development of this ability was progressively assessed and encouraged by the senior officer through his increasing solicitation of the new officer's perceptions of various situations and suggestions for approaching them.

Although the general techniques of copying as a social learning mechanism for the state police group have been described, two considerations still remain
which may be seen to at least implicitly accrue to this form of learning for the state police group.

First, police decision making in terms of the exercise of discretionary power (for instance, the decision to arrest and thereby invoke the formal criminal justice process) seemed to be strongly influenced, at least initially, by the on-the-job socialization experience. As pointed out earlier, recruits were largely inept at reading relevant environmental cues and consequently had to rely on the senior officer for almost complete guidance in this area. In conjunction with this, police discretion on the part of the senior officers appeared to be intimately linked to the interrelationship of value orientation and suspicion in the police environment. For instance, when examining typified police definitions of situations (e.g. when or when not to be suspicious and the manner of acting on the suspicion) one is necessarily examining the nature of the normative orientation of the police group as a whole. Consequently, it may be that suspicion and the resulting decision to invoke or not to invoke certain elements of the criminal justice process are mere function of police value commitments (notably conservative) than they are of legal considerations. This is not to suggest that legal considerations play only a minor role in the scheme of things, but rather that they may only function as a mediating variable.
It is also interesting to note here that when the staff at the academy attempted to clarify the problem of discretion in the recruits' minds, they relied on two referents. One, the reliance on the senior officer to which the recruit would be assigned, and two, a common sense approach to their activities. This common sense approach, generally mediated by various legal considerations, was also continually evidenced by the officers assigned to the various field posts. Often, the decision to stop and search a vehicle because it did not look right was made prior to finding some legal consideration with which to stop the vehicle for.

Given the nature then of the learning situation into which the new officer is placed, the nature of the generally homogeneous value structures of those graduating from the academy (in addition to high levels of commitment and occupational identity which were partially contingent upon task performance at the field post) and the variables in the discretionary process, the maintenance of traditional orientations tended to be manifested by the new officers while in the process of becoming integral members of the state police group as a whole.

The second consideration involving the imitation and social learning model concerns the adequacy with which the model functioned in preparing the new officer to assume his responsibilities as an independent member of
the organization. Here, the model appeared to function adequately (apart from any consideration of the propriety or inpropriety of the exercise of discretion) and may account, at least in part (through its conjunction with the police academy) for the generally high reputation the state police held at the time of this experience. It might be noted, however, that the nature of the modeling relationship in the post academy experience was also subject to the institutionalization of inappropriate police practices through the nature of the usually single senior officer-former recruit situation. In other words, characteristics which various organizational members or the general public did not deem desirable were passed on to new members through the very structure of the learning situation. However, there was an attempt to minimize this potential problem with reference to the author's and others' experiences that the author had contact with through carefully selecting the senior officer in terms of acceptable and often superior organizational participation and through occasionally having the new officer work with other field post members.

Group Structure and Environmental Effects on Police Socialization

Attention is directed here to the effects of both group structure and the environment as they pertain to the post academy experience. Consideration is given to
these variables as they were generally seen to relate to the on-the-job socialization context. The section is constructed in such a way that particular attention will be devoted to environmental effects and the police role, environmental effects and the development of police behavioral predispositions, and group structural effects on the police group members.

Environmental effects

In terms of environmental effects, several unusual factors surrounded the structural position of the state police, vis-a-vis, other police groups and are worth noting.

First, the state police was largely a rural force, with the exception of requests for assistance by urban departments and the investigations of certain violations of state law. Also, the state police had a major concern with traffic enforcement activity and highway accident investigation, a concern that in the total scope of responsibilities seems to be somewhat less important to more urban departments. As a result of this situation, the state police were structurally removed from both local political administrations and political problems associated with policing an urban environment.

The implication of this situation for the socialization of new members appears to be a significant decrease
in the feeling among the state police (as noted for other police groups) of being a low status out-group in American society. Although there was a general reflection of the working class value structure among the recruits, there was a particularly strong identification with middle class values (including a more comfortable feeling with them as though one was already a certified member of the middle class) and the feeling of security in the status of professional. Both of these factors seemed to work in conjunction with the generally high reputation of the state police in the public mind and consequently appeared to cause the officers to feel that they were a out above other police groups. Also, the officers tended to have an easier time of it occupationally through public deference being shown them in terms of their reputation. The reader might note here that working for the state level of government may also have a reinforcing effect in terms of reputational maintenance and higher prestige.

A second important structural characteristic of the state police group emanating from the former consideration involves the nature of their police-community relations situation. Because the state police were not associated with a local administration or local political situations, they tended not to have the police-community relations conflicts characteristic of most urban departments.
It might also be noted in conjunction with this situation that the state police group, while manifesting a general conservatism associated with the police occupation, did not appear to be quite as conservative as other police groups noted in the literature. In attempting to account for this (in addition to the considerations of reduced frustration and pressure as a function of a non-local identification) it may be that a state police career attracted a slightly different kind of individual than that of a local jurisdiction. It seemed to clearly emerge from the experience that the state police were not only largely removed from the day-to-day urban environment, but appeared to generally not care to become involved, at least on a daily basis, with the problems of policing such an environment.

Finally, in considering cynicism and the state police occupation, it appeared that lower levels of social structural cynicism were evidenced by the state police group when compared to the larger and more urban departments noted in the literature. This appeared to be attributable to a significantly lower rate of interaction in high crime urban areas and the corresponding nature of the work relationships between the inhabitants and the police. Departmental cynicism, on the other hand, appeared to be relatively high. However, it is not known how this compares to the larger departments or other occupations generally.
It is the author's guess that there is not a significant difference between the cynical orientations of the police group members to their organization, and that of almost any work group member to his or her organization. This is not intended to suggest that it was the state police as an occupation that cynicism was directed toward (for positive feelings here appeared to remain particularly high), it was rather directed toward various members of the administration and their general competencies in running the organization.

Environmental effects and behavioral predispositions

In examining the nature of behavioral predispositions emanating from various environmental encounters, several factors present in the police environment should be considered.

First, danger appeared to be a particularly pervasive element in the state policemen's working environment. Although perceptions of danger were not often discussed explicitly outside the academy context, the ever present potential for danger in virtually any environmental encounter tended to be implicitly recognized by the officers. In larger measure, this preoccupation with danger appeared to account for a great deal of the suspicion manifested by almost all the officers. For instance, at one point a bulletin was put out from the
intelligence section indicating that a radical group had discussed killing state police officers in the more remote locations of the state. As a result of this information, blinds were to be pulled on the field post windows and the outer doors locked at night. Also, the officers working in the patrol cars were instructed to be particularly cautious in answering calls for assistance in remote areas and in their general patrol activities. It is interesting to note that at this point many of the officers briefly mentioned how easy it would be for the radical group to accomplish its purported objective.

In addition to danger contributing to the development of suspicion, however, there was another substantial contributor. Essentially, this amounted to being taken-in and made to appear as a fool in the eyes of both those who had engineered the taking-in and in the eyes of the other officers at the field post. This again tends to evidence the high value placed upon manliness and the maintenance of self respect so frequently noted in the literature and the academy experience.

In addition to the predisposition to be suspicious, there was another behavioral predisposition which appeared to emenate from interaction with environmental variables. This occurred in terms of the general social isolation frequently manifested by several of the regular
officers. It is interesting to note in this regard that state police officers were generally encouraged to associate with other such officers. Even in cases where there was only the state police and other representatives of police jurisdictions, the state officers seemed to evidence a clear cliquiness or in-group solidarity (with the concomitant guarding of their behaviors and statements). If one did not comply with this norm, it was usually at the expense of being considered marginal to the group. However, there also tended to be a natural inclination toward strong in-group relationships. This seemed to occur for two reasons. First, the troopers tended to feel that they shared certain information and experiences not common to the outside population and most often not understood by it. Second, they tended to feel that the authority association inherent in their role prevented them from evidencing certain kinds of behaviors in the presence of the general population. Also, their frequently guarded actions in the presence of officers from other jurisdictions appeared to be a function of the perceived separation between the state police professionals and other members of the police occupational group.

**Group structural effects**

In examining the effect of the group structure on the individual officer, consideration will be given to
the nature of acceptance into the state police group in terms of the consequences for the group as a whole. It was a common understanding that the new trooper was not a full-fledged member of the field post until after his one-year probationary period. In fact, it was a rather common understanding among the older officers that one was not truly regarded as an equal until his second post assignment (usually two years after the first). Consequently, the new trooper was expected to take over many of the off-duty tasks formerly handled by those he was replacing. In addition to this, there was an attempt to extend the total institutional atmosphere to the new field assignment. This was generally accomplished through the nature of the special rules and regulations governing the conduct of the new officers. For instance, the new officers, if they were single, were required to live at the field post until such time as they were married or passed the probationary period. Married officers faced a somewhat similar situation in that they were strongly encouraged not to move their wives and families to the new location until they had become familiar with the new work routines. Additionally, new officers were not expected to drink alcoholic beverages while on probation and certainly not while in the presence of seasoned veterans. While this action functioned to exclude the new officers for initial participation in
some of the social gatherings of the field post, it appeared to serve the organization insofar as it extended the rights of passage so familiar to the academy situation.

In combination, the variables discussed thus far appeared to serve the function of not only increasing occupational commitment, but also of facilitating the solidarity and segregation of the occupational group as a whole, especially when again considering the nature of Moore's punishment centered socialization model.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This thesis has attempted to examine the implications of a state police training program as they pertain to selectivity in occupational group membership, considerations concerning the restructuring of self (in terms of the development of occupational identity and commitment) and considerations of the development of the skills and abilities necessary for successful task performance.

In terms of general socialization considerations, it was pointed out that the academy appeared to function as a selective recruitment mechanism striving to obtain a relatively homogeneous recruit population. This appeared to be evidenced through the restrictions placed on the negotiability of the recruit role and the nature of the previous socialization experiences of the recruit members. Factors working in conjunction with this appeared to center around the recruits' value structures and the resultant amenability to the social structure properties of the academy program and the degree of fit with a well-ordered bureaucratic environment.

In considering the question of internalization, it appears that the academy functioned to increase occupational identity and commitment through the nature of its
reward-punishment contingencies. This was found to be consistent with Moore's model of punishment centered socialization and considerations of the state police socialization setting generally (the academy being more concerned with problems of identity and commitment and the post academy experience being more concerned with developing the skills and abilities of a regular officer).

An examination of the academy segment of the state police experience seemed to quite clearly illustrate many of the concepts contained within the Goffman total institutional construct, with the notable exception of the state police experience being a more or less voluntary one. As a result of this, it was noted that the typical recruit adaptation to the institution appeared to be conversion (accepting the staff view of self) or withdrawal from the program. Two reasons were suggested for this apparent occurrence. First, those recruits who could not make this adjustment in their conception of self left prior to program completion, and second, all the recruits, prior to entering the program, appeared to have made some degree of commitment (in terms of an identification) with the state police.

The nature of the mortification process was examined and found to be consequential for the structure of self through its serving to highlight the recruits' break
with the past and facilitate the preparation of the self for the acquisition of the new identity. The nature of the privilege system was also examined in terms of it providing the context within which the restructuring would occur. In terms of this, it was suggested that through compliance with institutional expectations, the recruit was rewarded with subtle confirmation that he was worthy of, and was acquiring, the sought-after identity.

Release from the academy was considered and was seen to pose two problems for the recruit. First, failure to complete the program appeared to be consequential for the structure of self due to the necessity of a correlative adjustment in one's conception of self and the potential problems with identity posed by commitment and failure. Second, successful completion of the program was also viewed as problematic through the former recruit leaving the routinized academy situation with high identity and commitment but low ability to perform the role requirements associated with the new status.

Finally, the post academy experience was examined in terms of the nature of the acquisition of skills and abilities required of a regular officer. It was found that the social learning mechanism of copying served as a generally effective vehicle for developing such skills when viewed within the context of the senior officer-
former recruit relationship. However, several potential problems were also associated with this technique, namely, the potential for maintaining inappropriate police practices and problems involved in the use of discretionary power.

Implications of the Data and Suggestions for Future Research

Implications of the data

The data seems to suggest two significant conclusions for the nature of the socialization process with respect to the state police group. One, the program functions to produce homogeneity in the recruit population and compliance to the demands of the quasi-military bureaucracy, and two, socialization at the field post level seeks to maintain traditional response patterns of the state police organization as a whole. This seems particularly significant in light of recent attention directed toward the police, vis-a-vis, proposals for alternative strategies of policing and bureaucratic organization. If, in fact, there is a real desire to implement change with respect to traditional police organizations, the study seems to identify some important and pervasive obstacles to such implementation. Also, while the state police program often serves as a model for other jurisdictions, the intensity of the experience in other jurisdictions
is generally much lower than that of the state police. This also might prove to be an interesting point when considering Moore's hypothesis concerning the development of identity and commitment and its relationship to the intensity of the fellowship of suffering.

Suggestions for future research

Several suggestions for future research result from a consideration of the data. These suggestions will be considered here in terms of the general areas in which future research might be undertaken and the implications of such research for increasing the level of sociological understanding of the police as an organized influence in American society.

In considering the problem of police alienation, several interesting questions might be examined. For instance, it appeared in the current investigation that the alienation felt by the state police group was significantly lower than that experienced by other police groups noted in the literature. In accounting for this situation, it was suggested that it could be attributable to the fact that the state police group felt more secure in their status as professionals, that they were not dealing with a large urban environment and an identification with local problems generally (including a public perception of them as contributors to the problem), and
that they were employed by a more prestigious branch of government. Might the problem of alienation then structurally accrue to any police agency responsible for our larger metropolitan jurisdictions? If so, what quantitative contribution does each of the above-mentioned variables make in developing alienation among them. It might also be asked if educational attainment is a significant variable in mediating police alienation as it occurs in the larger urban areas, or whether it might be general value orientation or some combination of value orientation and education. It may very well be that, given the vast discrepancies between the role of the urban police and the role of the state police, the urban police officer can no longer afford the traditional value orientation commonly associated with such occupational group membership. Such investigations might also offer some insight into mediating social structural cynicism through directing inquiry at whether cynicism is necessarily linked to feelings of alienation or whether it operates in terms of other variables.

Questions might also be directed to the value of a total institutional framework for the socialization of police personnel. In specific terms, what exactly were the differences between those individuals who elected to maintain participation in the program and
those who left prior to completion? How do these differences relate to their future behavior as policemen (if they continue to elect such a career) and of what importance do they hold for the maintenance or change of traditional police orientations? Could it be that some of those individuals who elected to leave the program were some of those individuals who desired to effect an alteration in current police operations? Could it also be that some of those individuals who left the academy program prior to completion were also some of those individuals who would have overstepped the bounds of acceptable police practices and caused damage to both the citizenry of the state and the organization as a whole?

Another area that appears profitable for future investigation is police professionalism and alternative modes of bureaucratic organization. Given the fact that a great deal of police insecurity and disenchantment (mentioned by Niederhoffer, 1967, in terms of police cynicism) appears to accrue to current organizational models it might do well to explore the variables creating this situation and possibly identify alternative solutions. For instance, it may be that current modes of police organization militate against police professionalism through confusing the proliferation of narrow and closely supervised specialties with an increase in the scope and exercise of individual judgmental powers.
commonly associated with the more legitimate professions, such as law and medicine. In addition, this would rather evidently necessitate inquiry into appropriate credentials, behavioral responsibility, and other such concerns of professional status. As it stands now, the police would dearly love to be recognized as professionals, however, tend not to be amenable to information offering alternatives for them, nor to objectively undertaking research which might identify current practices as inappropriate to their work situation.

A fourth general area which appears to warrant sociological attention is that of the police subculture. Subculture solidarity has been consistently noted in the literature as being extremely high for police, however, the specific functions of the subculture have not been revealed. Since it seems that the subculture functions exert a particularly strong influence over police practices and attitudes through its apparent importance to the individual members, it may be asked what specific influences are maintained through subculture solidarity and what are the consequences of opposition to it. Also, what percentage of individual police officers are opposed to values promoted by subculture influences and what is the nature of their opposition? While Niederhoffer (1967) has asserted that there is a split in the traditional police subculture through the introduction
of professionally oriented policemen, it has yet to be
determined what the specific orientation of the profes­
sionally oriented policemen is and to what extent it
deviates from traditional police values and attitudes.

Finally, sociological and social psychological
attention might be directed toward an examination of the
social learning and imitation model so consistently
relied on by various police agencies as the major social­
ization vehicle in the on-the-job context. Although
initial identification and examination was given to this
model within the context of the current research, several
questions still remain.

For instance, what are the organizationally relevant
characteristics of those individuals selected to func­
tion as models and how do they differ from those indivi­
duals not so selected? Also, what specific effects does
the model have on the imitator in terms of the imitator's
future behavior and attitudes and are these effects long
lasting? In conjunction with this, it might also be
asked whether all models selected exert a substantially
similar orientation with respect to relevant characteris­
tics in the learning situation and, if not, to what degree
is the presence or absence of these various characteris­
tics either helpful or detrimental to the learning situ­
ation.
In concluding, it might again be pointed out that the current research represents a retrospective attempt to qualitatively examine and understand the nature of a socialization program for selected police personnel. However, in addition to this understanding, it is hoped that the research effort will contribute to further attempts in this area and the progressive development of an interesting and important body of sociological knowledge.
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APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN STATE POLICE

Inter-Office Correspondence

Date: October 16, 1967

SUBJECT: Recruit School Rules and Regulations

TO: Members of the Recruit School

1. 5:30 a.m. all Recruits will arise for the day's activities.

2. Full Recruit uniforms must be worn at all times, unless otherwise specified.

3. Inspection will take place each day at 7:40 a.m. Quarters must be in order at all times. Leather must be well shined.

4. Short military haircuts will be in order at all times.

5. All recruits will be clean shaven at all times and no mustaches, goatees, beards or sideburns will be permitted.

6. There will be sick call every morning at 7:15 a.m. ALL INJURIES AND ILLNESSES MUST BE REPORTED AS SOON AS DETECTED, AGAIN AT EACH SUBSEQUENT SICK CALL UNTIL COMPLETE RECOVERY IS ACHIEVED.

7. Recruits will be quiet and orderly at all times.

8. Beds must be made up in regulation style when not in use.

9. No smoking will be permitted in the classroom or during outside activities unless the instructor gives permission. Smoking will be permitted in the locker room, toilet and back stairway of the gym.

10. Card playing of any kind is prohibited.
11. Radios, television, phonographs, newspapers, magazines and musical instruments are prohibited except as authorized by the School Commander.

12. Personal photographs must be out of sight.

13. The swimming pool or other sports equipment will not be used except under the supervision of a member of the school staff.

14. All personal cars will be parked only in designated areas.

15. Recruits will assemble in appropriate formation upon hearing one blast of a whistle or the classroom bell.

16. The order for dismissal from all classes and assemblies will be given by the instructor in charge.

17. Notebooks must be immediately available for use in any class and inspection by any member of the school staff.

18. A recruit will be appointed each day to awaken the other Recruits, answer the telephone and turn out the lights.

19. Telephones will not be used without permission of a member of the School Staff, except in emergencies. All telephone calls must be made in the Lobby of the Operations Office. Incoming telephone calls must be of an emergency nature.

20. Recruits will avoid extended conversation with people not associated with the School unless otherwise authorized by a member of the School Staff.

21. Recruits will have no visitors during training hours unless permission is given by the School Commander. Visitors may be received in the lobby of Mapes Hall from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

22. When entering the classroom while a class is in session, the back door shall be used.

23. All personal business with the Quartermaster must be done in the evening from 5:00 to 5:30 p.m.
24. There will be no loitering at the Quartermaster.

25. There will be no exchange or trading of issued equipment without approval of the School Commander.

26. There will be no passes or time off to any Recruit except by approval of the School Commander.

27. If for any reason a Recruit wishes to resign or leave the School, he shall immediately notify the immediate supervisor and the school Commander or the Commanding Officer of the Training Division. Resignations will be accepted only between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

28. LEAVING THE SCHOOL UNAUTHORIZED, OR FAILURE TO RETURN FROM PASS AT THE SPECIFIED TIME, WILL RESULT IN DISMISSAL.

29. All verbal orders and directives, issued in accordance with Departmental policy by any member of the School Staff, will be complied with.

30. Lights out at 9:30 p.m.

Robert S. Earhart, Lieutenant Commanding Officer Training Division

RSE:h