POLICE ATTITUDES: THE IMPACT OF EXPERIENCE AFTER TRAINING

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Most people believe that our attitudes, once formed, are relatively stable over time. However, research reveals that attitudes can be impacted in a number of ways; and individuals may not always be consciously aware of their attitude shifts or the influences that may have triggered a change. A longitudinal study of police cadets demonstrates this phenomenon in a real-world setting. A survey assessing individual's attitudes towards policing and their distinctive impact or effectiveness in law enforcement was administered to a group of academy cadets. The same individuals were again assessed one year post training. Their expressed attitudes on key issues had undergone considerable change, although most believed that their attitudes had remained stable.

An attitude—a term originally borrowed from the nautical world—is merely a psychological predisposition to evaluate someone or something in either a favorable or unfavorable light (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Attitudes can be formed in several ways including personal experience, information received through a variety of means, or accepting the statements or beliefs of others. Attitudes are social constructs that provide individuals with an efficient way to summarize their impressions of the attitude object (Olson & Zanna, 1993). However, when people are asked about their attitudes, the expressions they offer are self-reported, evaluative reactions; thus, subject to many potential biasing influences or contextual considerations (Schwarz, 1998).

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Most individuals believe that there is strong correspondence between a person's expressed attitude and behavior, and anticipate that others will act in ways consistent with their attitude expressions (Wood, 1982). Researchers, however, have found significant discrepancies in the attitude-behavior relationship (Ajzen & Fishbien 1977; Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Wicker, 1969). That is, expressed attitudes may bear little resemblance to actual behavioral actions. For example, public opinion polls suggest that, as a collective, individuals report they are eating healthier and are exercising more frequently. However, these reports of changing lifestyles are inconsistent with other empirical evidence; as a nation we are more obese than ever in history and disorders associated with poor diet are at record levels (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2000, 2001).

Additionally, individuals often report that their own attitudes are consistent and stable; that is, they act in accordance with their expressed beliefs and are not subject to changing influences that may persuade others (Myers, 2004). However, several studies have shown that expressed attitudes can change over time, although individuals may not realize that a transformation has occurred. Attitude reports from couples and steady dating partners find, as compared to attitudinal measures taken weeks earlier, those who were still together recalled having said that their partner was even more caring and positive than they earlier indicated. Those couples who were now apart recalled having identified signs that their partner was exhibiting signals of selfishness, distance, and so forth-something not revealed in the actual previous surveys (e.g., Holmberg & Holmes, 1994; McFarland & Ross, 1985). In other words, they "remembered" holding the attitude that they currently possessed. Bem and McConnell (1970) found that people whose attitudes had changed often insisted that they had always felt as they currently expressed and denied any impact of other influences. In other words, individuals have a tendency to recall prior attitudes as similar to their current reports, even when their attitudes have shifted (Bem & McConnell, 1970). If we are unclear or unsure about our past attitude toward something, we will usually

indicate that the way we *currently* feel is the way we have *always* felt about the issue, topic, or person (Myers 2004). A metaphorical example is that of the caterpillar that became a butterfly, but reported that it had always been a butterfly, just a bit smaller; thus, failing to recollect that it was ever a caterpillar.

It is often assumed that reported attitudes are derived from relatively constant, stable sources of information that essentially do not change with the situation. However, if relevant internal data is not easily accessed (or remembered), attitudes are more responsive to current cues and influences (Wood, 1982). Many attitude theories suggest that individuals base their stated attitudes on selective memories of their past behavior (e.g. Bem, 1972; Festinger, 1957; Lord & Lepper, 1999). Attitude reports by individuals can change simply because the context is different—even if no additional information about the attitude object has been received. The current context may provide for differing salience and cognitive accessibility of information regarding the attitude object (Eagly, & Chaiken, 1993; McGuire & McGuire, 1991; Petty & Wegener, 1998; Ross, Insko, & Ross, 1971; Tesser, 1978). "People often have a large and conflicting 'data base' relevant to their attitudes on any given topic, and the attitude they have at any given time depends on the subset of these data to which they attend" (Wilson & Hodges, 1992, p. 38).

The response an individual offers to an attitude question can vary from one time to the next depending on the salience of one's thoughts, feelings, or remembered actions at the time. People are influenced by the memories—accurate or not—of their own past actions of the attitude object or issue (Miller, McHoskey, Bane & Dowd, 1993). However, when attitudes are less well formed or recollections are hazy, current feeling or perceptions may guide attitude reports.

Much of the previous research that examined attitude change and perceptions of change has focused on contrived circumstances involving undergraduate college students and utilized methodologies that collected assessments after only a few days or weeks. Additionally, previous research frequently addressed topics that may have been of marginal interest to the participants. The present longitudinal field study examines attitudinal change among a group of individuals commencing with their attendance in a regional academy as cadets, to service as municipal police officers. These participants are career professionals (rather than college undergraduates) and the study assesses potential attitude change over the course of a full year on job-related issues of interest to police officers. The goal is to determine if the previously reported general findings of other studies will hold in a career sample of police professionals in which the attitudes of interest involve salient criminal justice issues. Additionally, whereas many studies address only transient attitude change and comparison assessments are separated by only a few days or weeks, the present study involves collection of independent attitudinal data at two points, a year apart.

Finally, the present study explores the influencing factors affecting attitude change. The impact of police training—involving unique experiences, new skills, and potentially important new group influences—can have a powerful impact on attitudes. Turner (1991) suggests that attitudes can assimilate to a group's standards, especially if there is a high degree of identification. In the present context, the indoctrination of cadets into the world of policing by fellow officers and Field Training Officers (FTOs) has the potential for significant attitudinal influence. It is hypothesized that there will be significant differences in attitudinal measures from Time 1 to Time 2, however, many participants will be relatively unaware of their attitude shift. As a result of the training and experience, it is expected that officers will be less sanguine about their individual ability to positively impact criminal justice issues and may reflect greater attitudinal tolerance of behavior that was previously identified less favorably. Further, attitudinal shifts that may be identified will be substantially attributable to the direct experience and strong group influences that can be present in the police culture.

METHOD

Participants

Forty-one individuals attending a regional police academy participated in this study. Each person was a cadet in training to become a licensed police officer. Of the 41 participants, 12 were female and 29 were male.

Materials

Derived from a number of divergent sources and subject-matter experts, a survey was created that assessed strength-of-attitude on 35 items relating to academy training, the criminal justice system, ethics, society, and one's individual ability to influence or impact issues related to the police function (crime, disorder, societal ills, etc.). The survey contained additional demographic information and a number of "filler" items; however, for the purpose of this study the focus was on those items that assessed attitudes regarding an individual's ability to influence crime and social disorder, and issues relating to acceptable police behavior. (See Appendix for complete list of attitudinal questions.) The participants completed the questionnaire using a Likert-type rating ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Design and Procedure

A version of the questions identified in the Appendix was provided to 46 participants of a police cadet class midway through their 18 week academy training program. Of the 46 who received the questionnaire, 41 were available for follow-up administration of the same questionnaire 12 months after graduation of their academy session. Arrangements for survey administration and completion at both Time 1 and Time 2 were coordinated through the regional police academy. Although this was clearly a convenience sample, the regional academy serves police agencies of various sizes and geography throughout the state. The Time 2 administration was conducted as a component of a prearranged post-academy, in-service training class; thus, all participants were available at one time and location for assessment, follow-up, and debriefing. A brief, one-page post assessment follow-up survey was administered prior to providing participants with their results and

debriefing. This survey assessed individuals' perceptions of their own attitude change on criminal justice related topics since the prior questionnaire (Time 1). Additional issues were discussed with participants after they received their results and debriefing to assess potential sources of influence for any attitudinal change that may have occurred.

RESULTS

Demographics

The participants possessed similar educational background. There were no identified response differences as a result of age, education, race, or gender.

Attitude Measures

A subsample of questions was utilized to assess attitudinal change in the two main areas of interest: (a) individuals' perception of influence in addressing criminal justice issues and (b) matters relating to acceptable conduct.

Individual Perceptions of Influence

The 4 questions used to assess perceptions of influence on criminal justice issues are identified in Table 1. A paired t-test analysis revealed significant changes in 3 of the 4 items. As a whole, participants reported they were less able to significantly influence crime and community issues than they had believed at Time 1.

Table 1.

Mean Comparisons in Attitudinal Responses on Issues Related to Individual Influence

Mean Comparisons in Attitudinal Responses on Issues Related to Individual Influence					
Question	Time 1	Time 2	T Statistic		
Policing is a personally rewarding occupation.	6.29	6.12	0.88, ns		
As a police officer, I will be able to significantly influence crime.	6.44	4.98	7.64 **		
Police officers are well respected in the community.	6.29	5.83	2.12 **		
My individual efforts in policing will make the community a much better place. Significance Level: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$	6.43	5.90	2.76 *		

Perceptions of Acceptable Conduct

The 4 questions used to assess this issue are identified in Table 2. A paired t-test analysis revealed significant changes in each of these questions. As a group, participants were less stringent in their attitudes toward absolute veracity and adherence to regulations.

Table 2.

Mean Comparison in Attitudinal Responses on Issues Related to Acceptable Police Conduct

Mean Comparison in Attitudinal Responses on Issues Related to Acceptable Police Conduct				
Question	Time 1	Time 2	T Statistic	
As a police officer, I may occasionally 'bend' the rules if the outcome is justified.	3.44	5.56	-10.10**	
Police officers must be held to a higher level of accountability and ethical conduct by virtue of their position and authority.	6.37	5.82	3.52**	
As a police officer, it is almost always wrong to lie, even if the end result is justified.	6.48	5.66	4.86**	
Effective policing requires strictly following the rules, guidelines, and procedures.	6.46	5.31	6.49**	

Significance Level: ** p < .01

General Attitude Stability

An additional question relating specifically to stability of the participants attitudes on criminal justice issues was asked. There were no differences from Time 1 to Time 2 on the item: "My attitudes regarding criminal justice issues and policing are relatively consistent over time." This suggests that participants did not perceive a change in attitudinal responses had occurred. This view is bolstered by the follow-up procedure.

Post Assessment Follow-up

Upon completion of the Time 2 survey, all participants responded to a brief one-page questionnaire assessing the participants' perceptions of any change in their attitudes (related to the survey issues) since their last survey. Of the 41 participants, only 2 indicated that they believed their individual attitudes had changed substantially. The remaining 39 subjects indicated that

their attitudes had "not changed" or "changed very little if at all." Participants were provided with their individual results and the aggregate findings. Additional issues were discussed with participants after they received their results and debriefing. Interestingly, the majority of participants expressed doubt in the accuracy of the Time 1 measures, as they were *sure* that their individual attitudes had not significantly changed. As a result, the researchers were compelled to provide participants with copies of their Time 1 surveys for comparison to bolster the confidence among the participants that the results were accurate. After this assurance, a group discussion was conducted to explore possible influence that could account for the attitudinal changes. Strong agreement was reached in determining that their actual on-the-job experiences were central to any change. In particular the influence of their FTO, as well as fellow officers, and their increasing identification with the police culture was identified.

DISCUSSION

As expected, there were significant attitudinal changes that occurred among the participants in the two issues of interest in this study. In general, the results suggest that, after academy training and field experience, participants were less likely to rate highly their individual ability to impact crime and became less stringent in their attitudes toward strict compliance with regulations. Post training, officers were more likely to be tolerant of 'bending the rules' than when occupying the role of a pre-service cadet. Additionally, the general attitude-stability survey question and the post assessment follow-up dramatically demonstrated the tendency for participants to recall their past behaviors and attitudes selectively to ensure correspondence with what they believed to be their previous and current position. The intensity of the participants' assertion that their attitudes had not changed was surprising; compelling the research staff to provide each individual with their pre and post survey materials. Clearly, people can become revisionist selfhistorians who frequently misremember what their current attitudes used to be (Bem & McConnell, 1970; Goethals & Reckman, 1973; McIntyre, Lord, Lewis, & Frye, 2004; Ross & Shulman, 1973).

People are influenced by the memories—accurate or not—of their own past actions and attitudes. However, when attitudes are less well formed or recollections are hazy, current feelings or perceptions may guide attitude reports. That is, the response an individual offers to an attitude question can vary from one time to the next depending on the salience of one's thoughts, feelings, or remembered actions at the time. "People so often remain unaware that their attitudes and their actions might not have been quite as consistent as they appear in the rear-view mirror of life (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; Ross, 1989)" (McIntyre, et al., 2004, p. 415).

Post analysis follow-up revealed important influences on a participants' attitude change—once they acknowledged that such a change occurred—involved direct experience by virtue of their police training and the indoctrination into the police culture. Direct behavioral experience can have a strong impact on attitude change. Attitudes formed through direct action, such as during the FTO process, have been found to predict later attitudes and behavior better than attitudes formed with less direct experience with an attitude object (Fazio, Zanna, & Cooper, 1978). Additionally, attitudes tend to assimilate to a group's standards (Turner, 1991) and are moderated by the degree of identification people have with a particular group (Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Terry & Hogg, 1996). Becoming an accepted member of the police in-group is a critical matter for new officers and this collective can wield both direct and indirect power and influence.

In the post analysis discussion, participants recalled (with prompting) that they had observed actions by others in policing that were originally inconsistent with their *naive* beliefs. That is, many suggested that seeing how things *really worked* was eye opening and any attitude change may have been based on their better understanding of the situations that were common to policing. Research has demonstrated that greater in-group consonance can be achieved by adopting the perspectives of important in-group members. Although this can lead to potential negative consequences, it provides a means for staying in sync with changing group norms and inner group harmony (Norton, Monin, Cooper, &

Hogg, 2003). Counter-attitudinal in-group behavior can lead other group members—including new cadets—to change individual attitudes even if they do not realize such a change is occurring.

When reported attitudes or actions are inconsistent, individuals may change their attitude to be consonant with recent behavioral actions (for a review see Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999). Vicarious dissonance may occur when others are observed in actions or behaviors that may initially be at odds with their private attitudes. In order to reconcile their beliefs with the behavior especially behavior of a person of importance—individuals will change their own attitude in the direction of the actions observed (Norton, et al., 2003). Because people cannot change the behavior of others, they must change what they can control—namely, their own attitudes about the behavior. Altering one's own attitudes can be the most effective means of dealing with the inconsistencies or uncertainties of others. If rookie officers observe fellow officers and their FTOs engaging in an organizationally-normative accepted behavior, they may be influenced to alter their attitude to fit the circumstance. "When individuals are induced to behave contrary to their beliefs, they tend to change these beliefs so that they become more consistent with their behavior" (Snyder & Ebbesen, 1972, p. 502).

CONCLUSIONS

This study demonstrates that attitudinal shifts can occur on topics of direct importance and salience to a cadre of professional police participants who may be generally unaware that such attitude changes have occurred. Although it is often assumed that reported attitudes are derived from relatively constant, stable sources of information that essentially do not change with the situation, the empirical evidence suggests otherwise. When thoughts and feeling are discrepant about something for which we have formed an attitude, change is likely (Norman, 1975). This is especially true if the prior attitude is weak (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), is not forged through direct experience (Fazio, et al., 1978), not readily recalled (McIntyre et al., 2004) and can occur even when individuals are unaware that a change has taken place (Bem & McConnell, 1970).

The influence of direct experience, such as intensive police training, and a desire for acceptance by the normative police in-group can be a potent force in effecting attitude change. This suggests that occasional attitudinal monitoring by individuals and policing organizations could be useful. Officers may unknowingly develop attitude shifts of acceptance toward previously undesirable behavior without clear awareness. Monitoring and greater self-awareness of previously held attitudes and beliefs has been shown to decrease the susceptibility to errant attitudinal and behavioral change; particularly if the previously held attitude is specific, potent, and formed as a result of direct experience (Myers, 2004). That is, an occasional reminder of the beliefs that one may hold can reduce biasing influences.

Additionally, individuals, agencies, and training personnel could focus on modeling more positive, prosocial behavior and attitudinal cues. Rookie officers may have few well-formed attitudes regarding the experiences encountered during training. As a result, police agencies and training professionals have the opportunity to forge positive associations through specific, compelling, and direct experiences that occur during the formative training period; thus, fostering affirmative attitudinal associations.

Although the present study identifies that attitudes of officers changed in the direction of asserting less individual impact in transforming the complicated dynamic of criminal justice issues, this did not diminish their enthusiasm for their career choice. Based on the follow-up interviews, it is likely that this reflects an attitudinal recalibration toward more realistic expectations, based on newly realized information and experiences. Prior attitudes regarding police service and the expectations of this new role had not been based on the post-training understanding they now possess. Additionally, officers with little time on the force will likely remain cognitively committed to their career decision. That is, having dedicated considerable time and resources to this new career, it would be psychologically incompatible to suggest that a poor career decision had been made. As a result, the desire to remain cognitively consistent can positively influence their attitudes toward their career decision.

Attitudes best predict behavior when other social influences are minimized, when the attitude is specific to the behavior, and when the attitude is compelling (Myers, 2004). Through attention to these formative issues, police organizations and training personnel can play a substantial role in the attitudinal development and shifts that may be experienced by those beginning their professional police service.

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Appendix Survey Questions used in Study

- 1. Academy training is useful to better understand the role of a police officer.
- 2. Academy courses address the important aspects of law enforcement.
- 3. The training curriculum in the academy prepares individuals for police service.
- 4. A sense of community is important to a strong society.
- 5. The first line of communication with our government is with city officials.
- 6. Immigration is an important issue for policing.
- 7. As much as possible, police officers should be free from political influence.
- 8. Strong citizen support is helpful for the policing effort.
- Police, courts, and corrections provide the backbone of the criminal justice system.
- 10. The courts deal with criminals effectively.
- 11. Technology can improve policing.
- 12. Education is important.
- 13. Police officers must stick together.
- 14. Early intervention can reduce later crime problems.
- 15. Enforcement of drug laws is an effective deterrence.
- 16. The fear of capital punishment serves as deterrence to crime commission.
- 17. Effective supervision in policing is essential.
- 18. Policing is a personally rewarding occupation.
- 19. Professional integrity requires that officers be truthful in all circumstances.
- 20. The American justice system is the best in the world.
- 21. Defense lawyers fairly work to assert their clients innocence.
- 22. As a police officer I may occasionally 'bend' the rules if the outcome is justified.
- 23. The constitution provides clear guidance for effective law enforcement.
- 24. As a police officer, I will be able to significantly influence crime.
- 25. Police officers are well respected in the community.
- 26. Police departments work effectively to deal with crime issues.
- Any disorder that may be experienced in the community is significantly improved by better regulation and law enforcement.
- 28. My individual efforts in policing will make the community a much better place.
- Effective policing requires strictly following the rules, guidelines, and procedures.
- 30. Police agencies are effective at crime fighting.
- My attitudes regarding criminal justice issues and policing are relative consistent over time.
- 32. As a police officer, it is almost always wrong to lie, even if the end result is justified.
- All individuals must be treated with respect and courtesy, even if that is not returned.
- 34. Police officers must be held to a higher level of accountability and ethical conduct by virtue of their position and authority.
- In order for society to better function, all laws should be rigorously upheld and enforced.