

THE EFFECTS OF TRAINING AND EDUCATION ON POLICE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE*

Eğitim ve Öğretimin Polisin Aşırı Güç Kullanımı Üzerindeki Etkileri

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Abstract

This study attempts to explore the extent of the effects of training and education on police use of force. Focusing training on topics like communication skills, stress management, and human relations would help officers cope with difficult situations leading them to use force. Educational levels of officers, length of Academy training, FTO and in-service training programs, and the contents of these programs are evaluated in terms of their effects on excessive police force. These possible effects are evaluated by examining total citizen complaints. The results indicate that stress management and use of non-lethal force had a reducing effect. On the contrary, length of academy training, cultural sensitivity and human relations classes in the academy, number of black male officers, and to some extent number of Hispanic female officers had positive effects on citizen complaint rate of police use of excessive or unnecessary force. The results are discussed in the context of police training.

Key Words: Police, Force, Training.

Özet

Bu çalışma eğitim ve öğretimin polisin zor kullanması üzerindeki etkilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Polis eğitiminde iletişim teknikleri, stress yönetimi, ve halkla ilişkiler gibi konular üzerinde yoğunlaşılmasının polislerin zor kullanmayı gerektirecek durumların üstesinden gelmelerine yardımcı olacağı öngörülmüştür. Ayrıca memurların eğitim seviyeleri, Polis eğitiminin süresi, uygulamalı eğitim ve meslek içi kurs programları ve içerikleri polisin aşırı güç kullanımına etkileri yönüyle incelenmiş ve vatandaşların polisin güç kullanımını konusundaki toplam şikayet oranına göre değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuçlar, stress yönetimi ve öldürücü olmayan güç kullanımı eğitimi almış personelin çalıştığı birimlerde, polisin aşırı veya gereksiz güç kullanımı konusundaki vatandaş şikayetlerinin anlamlı bir şekilde azaldığını; buna mukabil eğitim süresinin uzunluğu, kültürel duyarlılık, ve halkla ilişkiler konularının ve ayrıca zenci erkek ve İspanyol asıllı bayan polis sayısının vatandaş şikayetleri üzerinde artırıcı etkisi olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Analiz sonuçları polis eğitimi ekseninde değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Polis, Güç, Eğitim.

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Introduction

Policing, as a profession itself, includes and sometimes requires some amount of force. As Skolnick and Fyfe (1993:37) assert, "As long as some members of society do not comply with the law and resist the police, force will remain an inevitable part of policing". Law enforcement officers are authorized to use force in specified circumstances, are trained in the use of force, and, typically, face numerous circumstances during their careers when the use of force is appropriate for example, in making some arrests, preventing escape, restraining disorderly combatants, or protecting themselves and innocent victims from injury.

After all, police use force infrequently (Friedrich, 1980; Garner, Buchanan, Schade, and Hepburn, 1996; Worden, 1996; Adams, 1999; Garner and Maxwell, 1999). Adams (1999) asserts that among the research about police use of force, the impact of differences in police organizations, including administrative policies, hiring, training, discipline, and use of technology on excessive and illegal use of force issues are neglected. There is a need to research in this area. Recruit training, FTO (Field Training Officer), and in-service programs are related to levels of police misconduct. It makes sense that poorly educated and badly trained officers are likely to be problematic and that those officers, in turn, will cause problems for the department including improper use of force.

This study will investigate the relationship between police training and police use of force. Both police academy training and FTO training will be examined in terms of their effects on the behaviors of police officers. Of critical importance are the following questions:

1. Do the educational levels of the officers affect citizen complaints about police use of force?
2. Does length of academy training have any effect on police use of force?
3. Does number of hours of certain subjects taught in the academy or in service training (including use of force and community policing training) contribute to less use of force?
4. Does the level of use of force differ depending on having either probationary training or an FTO program?

The total number of citizen complaints is a good indicator to assess the citizen appreciation of police service. The better the citizens are behaved, the less they complain about the services of the police. Therefore, total number of citizen complaints concerning use of force will be evaluated as a criterion. What is the role of appropriate training in receiving fewer citizen complaints? Does the type of training have a positive effect on police officers' behavior in terms of excessive force? This study also will examine these questions to contribute to the field.

Literature Review

The authority to use force in the line of duty is one of the most controversial aspects of police work. While it is a necessary tool for officers to control crime and to apprehend criminals, it is also a significant source of police abuse of authority and citizen complaints.

Research about police use of force has focused on deadly force. Pate and Fridell (1995) attribute this emphasis to the serious consequences of using deadly force as well as the ease of measuring the use of such force. Indeed, measuring deadly force is easier than calculating the incidence of less serious types due to the presence of concrete evidence, including a dead body, a physician's report, or a death certificate. In addition, the use of deadly force has been subject to fewer debates than other types of force. The measurement of non-lethal force, on the other hand, poses more problems, partly because of the lack of concrete evidence but also because of a disagreement about the extent to which such force should be curtailed. Because of these problems, the measurement of less than lethal force is not as well developed or widespread as measurement for lethal force.

Police use of force is characterized in a variety of ways. Sometimes, these characterizations are functionally interchangeable so that one can be substituted for another without doing injustice to the factual interpretation of a statement. At other times, however, differences in terminology can be very consequential to a statement's meaning. There are many of definitions for types of use of force. Several authors distinguish between types of abusive force, for example, between "excessive force" and "unnecessary force" (Worden, 1996), "use of excessive force" and "excessive use of force" (Adams, 1996), "extralegal force" or "brutality" and "unnecessary force" (Fyfe, 1986, 1996; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993), and "justified" and "unjustified" Sherman (1980). We should realize that use of force is not a static concept but a continuum of responses ranging from verbal commands to deadly force.

Factors Associated with Police Use of Force

Personal Characteristics

To understand what personal characteristics may cause an officer to use excessive force, one must realize that each officer has his/her own personal values, beliefs, and prejudices. Officers may be from different backgrounds. Personal characteristics are expected to play an important role in how an officer handles a particular situation. However, prior researches indicate that personal characteristics of officers have little or no impact on excessive use of force.

Adams (1999) notes that use of force appears to be unrelated to an officer's personal characteristics such as age, gender, and ethnicity. Worden (1996) also reports that officers' characteristics do not have a substantively (rather than merely statistically) significant effect on the use of force. Likewise, Garner et al. (1996)

report that the race of the suspect and the officer are not predictive of use of force. However, they found that incidents involving male police officers and male suspects are more likely to involve force.

Blumberg (1991, 1997) reports that most officer characteristics such as race, height, prior military service, marital status, pre-service officer experience with firearms, and whether or not the officer himself had been arrested before joining the department are not related to shooting behavior. However, he points out that age and length of service are strongly related to shooting behavior. Younger officers and officers with fewer years of police experience are more likely to become involved in a shooting.

Geller and Karales (1981) and Fyfe (1981) examined the relationship between officer race and shooting incidents. Both researchers noted that black officers have a higher shooting rate than do white officers. Geller and Karales attribute this difference to a black overrepresentation in off-duty shooting. As black officers are more likely to live in high-crime neighborhoods, they are more likely involved in an off-duty shooting. Geller and Karales, however, report that there was no significant relationship between officer race and on-duty shooting incidents. Likewise, Fyfe (1981) reports that, there is a racial disparity among both on-duty and off-duty shooting rates, but notes that this is a spurious relationship; because when officer assignment and residence are controlled the differences disappear. He concludes that minority officer overrepresentation among police shooters is closely associated with racial variation in patterns of assignment, socialization, and residence.

Sherman and Blumberg (1981) examined the officer education level and use of deadly force. However, suggesting that any interpretation should be made with great caution, the authors found little relationship between these variables.

Fyfe (1988) compares police officers and citizens, to actors in a large play. He notes that when the administrators define police officers' roles carefully, and when the officers are trained well to perform their roles, their individual characteristics mean little. This statement clearly indicates the role of training in minimizing the role of personal characteristics of the officers (such as age, gender, and race) on their behaviors and performances regarding use of force.

Situational Characteristics

Specific characteristics of the situations in which police officers encounter citizens account for police use of force. Excessive use of force may be more or less likely to occur based on the type of encounter the police have with the subject. Police officers should remain aware of the arrest environment and citizen behaviors under different circumstances. In fact, police prefer to encounter citizens who appear well-dressed, normal, kind, and unthreatening. But because their job requires coping with every kind of group in the society, they often

encounter persons problematic or even threatening. The feeling of “expecting the unexpected” creates a stress on police officers.

Friedrich (1980) reported that applying bivariate and multivariate analysis on data gathered by Reiss showed that characteristics of police-citizen encounters –among personal characteristics and organizational factors– accounted the strongest relationship for use of force. According to his findings, the police were more likely use force when the suspect is antagonistic, agitated, or intoxicated; when the offense is a felony, or other citizens are present at the scene. Friedrich (1980:95) found out that “police use of force depends primarily on two types of factors: how the offender behaves and whether or not other citizens and police are present.” In some respects, Worden’s (1996) results are parallel with Friedrich’s (1980). Friedrich shows that the citizen’s behavior and sobriety affect the use of force. Worden’s analysis confirms these findings: drunkenness, a hostile behavior, and especially physical resistance all make the use of force more likely.

Alpert and Dunham (1999) –in Oregon and Florida– also studied the interaction patterns between officer and suspect. Their study differs from previous ones because its focus is on the level of force used by the police relative to the suspect’s amount of resistance, which they call the “force factor”. Consequently, they found a significant relationship between the suspect’s initial behavior and the officer’s response: Ninety-two percent of suspects offered some resistance.

The number of the officers at the scene is thought to be a factor affecting use of force. According to both Friedrich (1980) and Worden (1996), the likelihood of improper force also rises with the number of officers at the scene. However, this result seems tautological, because, in both findings, it is not clear whether the number of police raises the likelihood of using improper force or the report of the use of force over the police radio attracts additional officers to the scene.

Incident location is another important aspect of the police-citizen encounter. Lundman (1994) examined public versus private places and found that more arrests are made in public places. Presence of others is also an important factor affecting police behavior. When bystanders are around, officers may perceive a need to exercise more control over suspects. Friedrich (1980) found out that total number of citizens present has an increasing impact on use of force. We, again, have the problem of causality here. It is not clear whether the large number of bystanders causes use of force or use of force attracts an audience. Friedrich explains this problem by emphasizing that police authority and image are in greater jeopardy when more people are around. Therefore, the police sometimes rely on force to demonstrate their authority and to protect their image.

High speed police pursuits are also another potential type of incident where is likely to be use of force. By their nature, police pursuits are dangerous, exciting, and stressful; add fear caused by high speeds and require making quick decisions.

Some researchers see police pursuits as a part of the use of force. Alpert and Fridell (1992), for example, consider police pursuit driving a type of force frequently used by the police, which can also be deadly. Indeed, high-speed pursuits are more likely to have results with disastrous and expensive outcomes like deaths or injuries. Restrictive pursuit policies may be an important factor reducing the disastrous consequences of hot pursuits.

The suspect's characteristics also have an important role in police-citizen encounters, especially race of the suspect. Indeed, the issue of race is believed to be a common dominator in numerous use of force incidents, especially ones including deadly force. Alpert and Fridell (1992) notes that blacks are disproportionately the opponents in police shootings relative to their representation in the whole population. Similarly, Worden's (1996) findings indicate that use of force is affected by race as well as by gender of the citizens.

Organizational and Environmental Characteristics

The police, along with the courts and correctional agencies, are a component of the criminal justice system. Beyond maintaining the order, they have a complex function in the society. Just as many police tasks have little to do with crime or law, many have little to do with threats to public order and many involve no coercion or threat or use of force. The police are on duty 24-hours-a-day, seven days a week, Sundays and holidays included, in order to tackle a variety of problems related to the community they serve. Police citizen interactions are uniquely urgent, involuntary and public (Fyfe 1986). All these aspects of the police work give police agencies lives and cultures of their own.

Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) suggest that police culture arises out of two principal features of police work: danger and authority. Paoline III, Myers, and Worden (2000) define police culture as a set of values, attitudes, and norms that are widely shared among officers, who find, in the culture, a way to cope with the strains of their working environment. Most officers believe that only other members of law enforcement know and understand the job and the nature of police work.

Worden (1996) points out the distinction between "police culture" and the "cultures of police organizations". He defines police culture as an occupational culture, which emphasizes the danger and the unpredictability of the working environment, the reliance of officers on each other for assistance and protection, and the need to assert and maintain the officer's authority. Organizational culture, on the other hand, is the influence of the formal organizational structure and policy on the officer's behavior. In his analysis of PSS data, Worden (1996) found modest support for an organizational explanation of police brutality. He examined bureaucratization, the priority placed on crime fighting, and the informal culture of officers, and added these variables to situational factors in the analysis of the use of force. The effect of only one organizational characteristic achieved

statistical significance: the likelihood of reasonable force being used increased with the bureaucratization of the department.

Military style of police organizations and the professional model of policing might contribute to police use of excessive force. Because crime fighting is considered the primary function and coercion is an integral part of policing, a militaristic way of thinking developed in traditional police organizations. Agencies implementing community policing, on the other hand, might be expected to have fewer citizen complaints for excessive use of force. Officers participating in community policing projects exhibit less frustration and more positive attitudes toward the public than their non-community policing counterparts. At least, officers who view citizens more positively may be less likely to resort to force and more likely to look for peaceful solutions when confronted with potentially violent situations (Smith, 1994).

Paoline III et al. (2000) note that community policing could be expected to affect the occupational environment in two ways. First, by providing for stable assignments and providing for more frequent contacts with law-abiding citizens, it might relieve the perceived threats in officers' environments. Second, as a result of extending officers' capacity to handle incidents and deal with problems using less conventional tactics, officers' coercive authority might become a less important element of their occupational identity. Such an occupational environment might reduce the number of violent encounters between police and citizens.

The expectation of danger on the job can have an impact on the attitudes of police officers towards the use of excessive force. Lester (1996) reports that police officers, by some measures, run a high risk of being injured or murdered on the job. The environment, neighborhood and community characteristics where the police are assigned have an impact on officers' perceptions of being at risk. For instance, the particular area of a city where an officer is assigned to can affect the likelihood of involvement in an incident requiring use of force. The police believe that a high rate of violence in a particular geographic area leads them to perceive the environment as dangerous. Therefore, officers, working in violent areas tend to behave more violently and a community where murder is common would affect officers' attitudes toward use of deadly force (Friedrich, 1980; Lester, 1996).

Use of Force Training

Police officers must know when and how to use force in order to stay alive. Fortunately, most officers survive use of force incidents, and it is their use of force training that provides them with the skills and knowledge to do so. In addition, it is not only a matter of survival; inappropriate use of force has both financial and emotional consequences first for the officer and then for the department and for the community. Therefore, teaching recruits and officers how, when, and why

to use force becomes a significant part of all phases of police training. The quality and efficiency of a police agency are primarily the result of training. Inefficient training, poor training, or a lack of training have an adverse effect on the manner in which the police agency will be able to provide services.

It is important that law enforcement trainers provide their students with the skills and knowledge to prepare them for making acceptable decisions regarding the use of force. Fyfe (1996) points out the connection between training and use of force. Either police brutality or using unnecessary force can be directly affected by training. Unnecessary force occurs, especially when police officers cannot handle the situation peaceably. Training can give the officers the ability to solve problems without causing problematic situations, which in turn lead to use of force.

In modern policing, training should be a continuous process including academy training, FTO (Field Training Officer)¹ programs, in service training, and specialized training modules. Police Academy training is the first phase and the basis of police training.

Use of force training must be more concrete and realistic rather than abstract and theoretical in order to increase retention. Due to the limited number of class hours for use of force training in the academy curriculums, practical part of use of force training cannot be well emphasized during academy training. Consequently, some issues are left to be covered either during FTO programs or in service training.

In the U.S. nationally recognized standards for entry-level police academy training have not been established; therefore, police basic training standards vary dramatically from state to state, as do the hours available for use of force training. A study conducted by Magers and Klein (2000) found that the range of basic training standards is significant when viewed within the context of the core content established by each state. However, use of force training hours range between 2 hours and 28 hours in nationwide academy curriculums. For those in the lower end of the scale, it would never be enough to cover both theoretical and practical parts of force training.

The supplementary part of police training is the field training experience that should be an integral part of police officer training. The FTO (Field Training Officer) program is considered the reality part of training; it is where recruits finally receive hands-on experience. The FTO programs have substantial implications for Turkish police training system; however, the issue is out of the scope of this study.

The field training officers have a considerable impact on recruits and their future performance. Toch (1996:99) reports that "The training officer's impact during early on-the-job experience is reinforced by doubts about the relevance of classroom education to the realities of policing." Despite the advantages of FTO

¹ In FTO training, a newly graduated police officer is assigned with a senior officer for a set period. During this period, the field training officer is charged with relating the academy experience to the streets.

programs, there are still many departments that do not have such a program. Pate and Fridel (1993) indicate that over 93 percent (93.3%) of the state agencies and 75.6 percent of the county police departments provided FTO training, compared to 52.1 percent of the city police departments, and 43.9 percent of the sheriffs' departments.

As well as other benefits, FTO programs are expected to have positive effects on the use of force tendencies of recruits. It is assumed that, by learning the department's force policy and reviewing use of force issues in a practical manner during the FTO program will provide the recruits superiority against others with no FTO training.

In-service training is the third phase of police training. It functions as up-to-date training and retraining. For example, in-service training on Supreme Court decisions, departmental use of force policy, or firearms updates not only improve police officers' performances but helps eliminate problems due to the failure to retain knowledge. If in-service training is ignored, police officers may find themselves in situations that they cannot handle because they are not aware of changes in policy and procedure or the development of new techniques.

Police departments cannot train their officers by rewriting any changes or improvements in their use of force policy or some new techniques and handing them out to officers with no or little explanation. It does absolutely no good to have a well-written, up-to-date use of force policy if the personnel do not know the proper method to apply it. In service training sessions gain significance to tell or remind the officers department's use of force policy and show them how to apply properly it.

Use of force training must be realistic. In their daily routines, police officers may encounter different situations requiring use of force in different degrees. One situation may be held with verbal skills, whereas another may require deadly force. The goal of a reality based use of force training is to place officers –both physically and emotionally– in a realistic setting in which everything is present, just as it would happen on the street. Not only do the officers have to deal with suspects, also they have to control their emotional responses. Because of the split-second nature of use of force decisions, any kind of use of force training should include scenarios taking the stress of the situation into account.

Overall, police officer training should be considered a continuous process. FTO programs and other in-service training modules are supplements for academy training. Use of force training also should be considered in this totality of training. Greater emphasis in learning interpersonal communication skills or conflict resolution skills is important to avoid using force at all. Officers must be instructed in methods of dealing with angry citizens without getting angry themselves. This would prevent escalation of tension in encounters with citizens, and further steps of using force.

This study attempts to explore the extent of the effect of training and education on police use of force. It is possible that factors related to training and education such as educational levels of officers, length of Academy training, FTO and in-service programs, and the contents of these programs contribute to the use of force by police. Those possible effects are evaluated by examining total citizen complaints concerning use of excessive or unnecessary force that police departments receive. Therefore, the following hypotheses are developed:

Hypothesis 1: The higher the educational level of police department personnel, the fewer citizen complaints the department receives concerning use of force.

Police officers with higher educational levels, especially with college degrees, are believed to be more respectful to the citizens, less authoritarian, and to have better communication skills. These characteristics, in turn, might help the officers to deal with problematic suspects without using unnecessary force.

Hypothesis 2: The length of police academy training, providing an FTO program, the length of the FTO program, and probationary period helps departments reduce citizen complaints of excessive police force.

Basically, these are departmental characteristics connected training issues. Police training begins at the police academy and continues in field training and throughout an officer's career. Police departments should provide enough training to their officers in order to prevent excessive use of force.

Hypothesis 3: In Academy training, focusing on classes like

- Use of non-lethal force,
- Use of deadly force,
- Crisis intervention,
- Use of non-lethal weapons,
- Cultural sensitivity,
- Human relations,
- Stress management, and
- Community oriented policing

improves the ability to cope with difficult situations that leading officers to use force. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the more number of hours of academy training provided for these topics, the more sensitive are the recruits who graduate and, in turn, this will have a reducing effect on citizen complaints of police use of force.

Hypothesis 4: If departments provide in service training programs in

- Use of non-lethal force,
- Use of deadly force,
- Crisis intervention,

- Use of non-lethal weapons,
- Cultural sensitivity,
- Human relations,
- Stress management, and
- Community oriented policing,

it is hypothesized that citizen complaints concerning use of force will decrease.

The course topics mentioned in third and fourth hypotheses are selected among 22 courses asked in the survey. This study examined the effectiveness of these programs in reducing excessive use of force. It is believed that officers trained on selected topics will develop better interpersonal skills and will be able to cope with the stress of their profession. Thus, they will be equipped with necessary skills that they will need in encounters with citizens. Interpersonal and communication skills help officers solve the problems in the first stage, and prevent further probability of using force. Hence, among the 22 courses asked in the survey, only the ones mentioned above were selected to be examined in this study, because these topics are related to interpersonal and communication skills of officers as well as use of force training.

Methodology

Data collected by Pate and Fridell (1991-1992) are analyzed in this study. The data set (Police Use Of Force: Official Reports, Citizen Complaints, and Legal Consequences) was designed to collect information on police departmental policies and practices pertaining to the use of physical force -both deadly and less than lethal- by law enforcement officers. It is a national survey, which examines the extent to which complaints of policy violations were reviewed, and violations punished. Additionally, the survey has designed to determine the extent to which departments kept records on the use of force, and to collect data relating to how frequently officers used force, the characteristics of officers who did and did not have complaints filed against them, and the training of recruits on the appropriate use of force. The study also provides data on citizen complaints of excessive force, the disposition of those complaints, and litigation concerning allegations of excessive force.

Pate and Fridell's 1992 survey is one of the largest and most complete surveys on citizens' complaints against police misuse of force. Of the 1,697 agencies that were asked to complete the questionnaire, 1,111 or 67.2 percent responded. This includes 72.4 percent of the municipal police departments, 88.9 percent of the county police departments, 54.2 percent of the sheriffs' departments, and 90.0 percent of the state agencies. The highest percentage of response was achieved for the agencies serving the largest jurisdictions, regardless of the agency type.

Variables

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable in this study is the total amount of citizen complaints concerning excessive, undue, unnecessary use of force, and brutality (including use of weapons, cuffs, etc.). The variable includes the total number of unfounded, exonerated, sustained, pending, and other citizen generated complaints filed against employees of each department. The term “unfounded” indicates that the complaint was not based on facts as shown by the investigation or the reported incident did not occur. “Exonerated” complaints point that the incident occurred, but the action taken by the officer(s) was deemed lawful and proper. “Sustained” complaints show that the allegation was supported by sufficient evidence to justify disciplinary action against the officer(s). “Pending” complaints, on the other hand, imply that the investigation and review process still are underway. Final disposition or allegation has not been made. The survey asked for the complaints based on encounters prior to the arraignment excluding complaints that occur in jail.

Independent Variables

The independent variables are derived from the hypotheses concerning the effects of education and training on police use of force. Educational levels of officers are evaluated with five variables: total number of sworn personnel with high school education, less than two year college, associate degree, BA/BS degree, or advanced degree. Considering the effects of the size of the departments on complaint rates (bigger departments would receive more complaints), these five variables are proportioned with total number of sworn personnel in order to control size. The proportioned variables are used in the analysis.

Length of academy training measures the number of hours of academy training. On average, 554 hours of police academy training is required.

Probationary period assesses whether departments have a probationary period for recruits after completing the academy training. Probationary period is a specified length of time used to evaluate a new-hire’s performance before offering a position with full job guarantees and civil service protection. This is a dummy variable with those police departments that have a probationary period coded as 1 and those do not as 0. Approximately 82 percent of the departments have a probationary period.

The field training officer (FTO) program is also a dummy variable regarding whether the departments have a formalized field training officer program for recruits. Departments, which have FTO program, are coded as 1, and which do not as 0. Length of FTO program, on the other hand, assesses the time that departments require for recruits.

Total number of academy hours provided in selected topics includes eight variables measuring the number of hours provided in academy training for use of

non-lethal force, use of deadly force, crisis intervention, use of non-lethal weapons, cultural sensitivity, human relations, stress management, and community oriented policing.

The variables about in-service training assess whether in-service training programs in following areas are mandatory, optional, or not provided: use of non-lethal force, use of deadly force, crisis intervention, use of non-lethal weapons, cultural sensitivity, human relations, stress management, and community oriented policing. Because there are three categories in the original ordinal variables, two dummy variables are created for each of these eight variables, indicating whether the training program is mandatory or optional.

Control Variables

The following control variables are expected to be related to police use of excessive force. Race and gender assesses the number of race/ethnicity and gender of all sworn officers. There are 12 variables in this group: White Male, Black Male, Hispanic Male, Indian Male, Asian Male, Other Male, White Female, Black Female, Hispanic Female, Indian Female, Asian Female, Other Female. These variables are proportioned with total number of sworn personnel in order to control the effects of the size of the departments on citizen complaints. Due to the high correlation between total number of male officers and total number of white male officers, total number of males and females (gender factor) is eliminated from the analysis. In terms of their effects on use of force, race is considered to be more important than gender. Therefore, variables assessing race factors are used in the analysis. However, as the variables assessing race also assesses the gender of the officers, to some extent the analysis includes gender factor.

Average length of time in service for sworn personnel assesses the average years of all sworn personnel in departments. The average age of police departments assesses the average year of all sworn officers in each department at the time of survey. Pre-service psychological exam is a dummy variable with those police departments that require a psychological or psychiatric evaluation for all pre-service officers coded as 1 and those do not as 0.

Counseling and retraining variables assess whether police departments provide either counseling or retraining for officers who are identified as using unnecessary or excessive force. The survey asked whether these two services are mandatory, optional, or not provided. Therefore, two dummy variables created for each of both variables indicating whether the services are mandatory or optional.

Population size is an ordinal variable indicating the proximate population covered by a police department: 50,000 and over, between 25,000 and 49,999,

² See Appendix for the tables.

between 10,000 and 24,999, and under 10,000. More than half of the police departments (67.6%) serves larger than 50,000 residents.

Findings

To better understand citizens' complaints against police use of unnecessary or excessive force, and the effects of selected variables on use of force, multiple linear regression analysis was employed. As most of the variables were interval level and dummy variables were created for those which are ordinal level, multiple regression model was thought to be the most suitable analysis to examine the effects of all variables on citizen complaints in one equation.

The results of the analysis are reported in Table 1 and 2.² Table 2 shows the preliminary multiple regression analysis of citizen complaints where all independent and control variables are analyzed in the same equation. Table 2 shows the analysis of significant variables together.

In Table.1, it was found that educational levels of the officers were not significantly related to citizen complaints. This result contradicts the theory reported in Hypothesis 1, which predicts that officers with higher levels of education would receive fewer citizen complaints. Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis.

Among the variables mentioned in Hypothesis 2, only the length of academy training was statistically significant. However, contrary to the hypothesis it indicates that length of academy training has a positive impact on citizen complaints received. The longer the academy training, the more the citizen complaints of use of unnecessary force that departments receive. Having a probationary period, FTO program, or the length of the FTO program had no significant effect on citizen complaint rate of using excessive or unnecessary force.

Three of eight variables assessed in Hypothesis 3 were statistically significant: cultural sensitivity, human relations, and stress management. Both cultural sensitivity and human relations had a positive effect on citizen complaints while stress management significantly reduced citizen complaints of excessive force. According to the hypothesis, the more hours spent for stress management in the academy training, the fewer citizen complaints there would be. Other variables mentioned in the hypothesis were not either positively or negatively related to citizen complaints of excessive force.

Among the variables, provided in in-service training, tested in Hypothesis 4, only use of non-lethal force was significant when it was mandatory. That means, mandatory use of non-lethal force training significantly reduced citizen complaints. None of the other in-service programs were significantly related to citizen complaints.

None of the control variables containing average age of officers, time in

service, gender and race, pre-service psychological exam, retraining and counseling services, and population served had a significant relationship with citizen complaint rate.

In Table 2, length of academy training, and academy hours of cultural sensitivity, human relations, and stress management were still significant while the significance of mandatory in-service training of use of non-lethal force disappeared. In addition, number of black males had a significantly increasing effect on citizen complaint rate of excessive or unnecessary police force. Furthermore, academy hours of use of non-lethal force training and number of Hispanic female officers were on the borderline of statistically significant. Between these two variables, hours spent for use of non-lethal force in the academy training seemed to have a reducing effect on citizen complaints while the number of female Hispanic officers seemed to have a positive impact.

Conclusions

Analysis of the data provided little support for the hypotheses tested in this study. Among all the topics of police training predicted to have a negative effect on citizen complaints of excessive police force, only stress management and use of non-lethal force had a reducing effect. On the contrary, length of academy training, cultural sensitivity and human relations classes in the academy, number of black male officers, and to some extent number of Hispanic female officers had positive effects on citizen complaint rate of police use of excessive or unnecessary force.

The current findings, however, need to be interpreted with caution. The data were official in nature. The official data could be indicative of a number of departmental characteristics, including filing procedures, categorizing complaints, and confidence of citizens toward the police. The complaints utilized in the study can be better regarded as management information for they may or may not reflect the facts. Since this study was a secondary analysis of existing data, quality of data is beyond the control of this study, but the high amount of missing values in some variables is an important factor to be considered while interpreting the results. The results, therefore, are only as accurate and as reliable as the data. Additionally, some issues, which might be related to police use of force, such as characteristics of suspects, and situational characteristics were not completely controlled due to the limitations of data.

In this study, an attempt was made to explain the relationship between factors associated with police training and citizen complaints of excessive use of force through the analysis. Several points of theoretical importance are in order.

First, the hypothesis that officers with higher educational levels receive less citizen complaints of excessive force was not supported by the data. There was no significant difference between the received citizens' compliant rates of

officers with high school degree and those with college degrees. Prior literature indicated that there was not a strong significant relationship between educational levels of police officers and use of excessive force. However, it was found that higher education had an effect on enhancing the intellectual levels of officers, strengthening their decision making and communication skills, broadening their minds, helping them in handling modern tasks of policing, and increasing their job performances (Carter, Sapp, and Stephens 1988; Worden, 1990; Berg, 1994).

Second, the analysis showed that length of academy is positively related to the citizen complaints of excessive police force. The longer the academy training, the more the officers receive complaints of using unnecessary or excessive force.

In current study, although cultural sensitivity and human relations topics had an increasing effect on citizen complaints, stress management training in the academy had a significant reducing effect on citizen complaints of police use of excessive force. Taking the effects of length of academy and these topics together, we can say that contents of the academy training and how well these topics are taught is more important than the length of academy training. Departments with fewer academy hour requirements might be supporting recruits' training with better FTO programs and more comprehensive in-service training.

According to the results of this study, contents of the training gained more importance than the length of the training. Moreover, the length of the training had an increasing effect on citizen complaints of excessive police force. This finding questions the quality of police academy training. It seems that more training is not important. The quasi-military setting of academies isolates cadets from the community. Day after day, cadets become a part of police culture and engage the values of this occupational culture while alienating themselves from the community they serve. This nature of training, in turn, creates "law enforcers" or "crime fighters" instead of "peace officers". Furthermore, contents of the classes like cultural sensitivity and human relations cause negative effects on cadets' perceptions of diversity. They learn labeling and individual characteristics of stereotypes, which develop biases and prejudices against certain groups in the community. In the context of the cultural sensitivity class, situational differences should be emphasized rather than personal characteristics of people. In this manner, positive effect of length of academy training and cultural sensitivity class on citizen complaint rate of excessive police force is an expectable result.

Third, among the race and gender variables, only black males and -to some extent- Hispanic females gained significance. Both variables had an increasing effect on citizen complaints. Past literature indicated mixed findings about the effects of race and gender on police use of force. Some researches found no significant effect of these factors on police use of excessive force (Adams, 1999; Worden, 1996; Garner et al., 1996; Blumberg, 1991, 1997; Alpert and Dunham, 1999), while some researches found little effect (Geller and Karales, 1981; Fyfe,

1981; Friedrich, 1980; Holmes, 1997). Although they attributed the relationship to different factors, Geller and Karales (1981), and Fyfe (1981) noted that black officers had a higher rate of shooting than white officers did. Among all, the findings of current study contribute little information to the mixed findings of literature.

Stress management and use of non-lethal force training gained critical importance. Law enforcement work exposes officers to unusual circumstances and places demands on them that are not faced by most other occupations. Police officers have to deal with death, injury, brutality, and the mentally ill. All these are situations and incidents that are seldom dealt with by regular citizens. To prevent ailments caused by their stressful job environment, officers must be mentally prepared for a variety of situations and trained to practice stress management techniques. It is not unrealistic to say that officers may make wrong decisions in stressful situations. Taking into account the split-second nature of most use of force decisions, coping with the stress gains more importance for law enforcement officers. Stress management techniques must be a basic component of every level of police training and should be repeated periodically. Moreover, counseling should be provided for officers, especially after major use of force incidents.

Use of non-lethal force training is also another important component of police training to reduce excessive force, especially deadly force. Law enforcement administrators should advocate non-lethal force as a means of reducing deadly force incidents and applying only the force necessary to control a given situation. A special emphasis should be given to a comprehensive training program for recruits along with annual in-service training programs on less than lethal force weapons such as batons, chemical sprays, and flashlights. This training also should be supported by a strong and reasoned departmental policy to control use of excessive or deadly force.

In conclusion, it is necessary to re-emphasize the crucial role of training on police use of force. Police training should be considered in its entirety and continuity beginning with basic academy training and continuing with FTO programs and in-service training. Departments should have a particular use of force continuum as a part of their use of force policy. As it is noted in the Christopher Commission Report (Commission, created in Los Angeles after the Rodney King incident), in each phase of training additional emphasis is needed on the use of verbal skills rather than physical force to control potentially volatile situations and on the development of human relationship skills (1991).

Although there is valuable research about the effects of factors related to training and education on police use of force, future studies are needed to observe and evaluate these factors, and the effectiveness of use of force training programs. Using force has been and will be a part of the police job; however the goal should be to minimize the use of force as much as possible.

Appendix : Table.I and Table.II

Table.1: Preliminary Multiple Regression Analysis of "Total Citizen Complaints"

	B	Std. Error	P> t
(Constant)	.184	90.317	.998
HIGH SCHOOL	-.294	.227	.196
LESS THAN 2 YEAR COLLEGE	.059	.331	.858
ASSOCIATE DEGREE	-.206	.500	.680
BA/BS DEGREE	-.336	.577	.561
ADVANCED DEGREE	-.607	1.444	.675
LENGTH OF ACADEMY	.068	.034	.048
PROBATIONARY PERIOD	7.761	29.250	.791
FTO PROGRAM	-2.526	21.644	.907
LENGTH OF FTO	.125	1.149	.914
USE OF NON-LETHAL FORCE (Hours in Acd.)	-.596	.364	.102
USE OF DEADLY FORCE (Hours in Academy)	-.270	.355	.449
CRISIS INTERVENTION (Hours in Academy)	-.227	.756	.764
USE OF NON-LETHAL WEAPONS (Hours in Acd.)	.257	.467	.583
CULTURAL SENSITIVITY (Hours in Academy)	3.245	.946	.001
HUMAN RELATIONS (Hours in Academy)	1.971	.472	.000
STRESS MANAGEMENT (Hours in Academy)	-4.469	1.654	.007
COMMUNITY POLICING (Hours in Academy)	-.007	.309	.983
Non-lethal Force Mandatory	-83.507	40.420	.040
Non-lethal Force Optional	-68.908	43.806	.117
Deadly Force Mandatory	72.996	41.370	.079
Deadly Force Optional	62.369	47.955	.194
Crisis Intervention Mandatory	-27.763	26.310	.292
Crisis intervention Optional	-21.289	26.630	.425
Non-lethal Weapons Mandatory	-34.604	31.066	.266
Non-lethal Weapons Optional	-28.722	34.619	.407
Cultural Sensitivity Mandatory	20.349	25.011	.417
Cultural Sensitivity Optional	16.174	25.953	.534
Human Relations Mandatory	8.790	25.916	.735
Human Relations Optional	.539	26.614	.984
Stress Management Mandatory	36.850	26.562	.166
Stress Management Optional	21.565	23.481	.359
Community Policing Mandatory	15.959	22.546	.480
Community Policing Optional	-6.951	21.274	.744

TIME IN SERVICE	-1.547	2.406	.521
WHITE MALE	-.530	.596	.375
BLACK MALE	.698	1.257	.579
HISPANIC MALE	-.780	1.105	.481
INDIAN MALE	-3.517	6.167	.569
ASIAN MALE	-2.258	6.130	.713
OTHER MALE	13.869	23.980	.563
WHITE FEMALE	.096	.616	.877
BLACK FEMALE	2.683	3.131	.392
HISPANIC FEMALE	8.230	5.109	.108
INDIAN FEMALE	5.138	31.566	.871
ASIAN FEMALE	.183	48.422	.997
OTHER FEMALE	-32.319	105.204	.759
RETRAINING MANDATORY	-25.600	25.942	.325
RETRAINING OPTIONAL	-10.800	27.331	.693
PRE-SERVICE PSYCHOLOGIC EXAM	13.977	21.287	.512
COUNSELING MANDATORY	15.473	26.980	.567
COUNSELING OPTIONAL	21.188	27.146	.436
ALL SWORN AGE	1.577	1.896	.406
POPULATION SERVED	-2.984	8.001	.709

Dependent Variable: TOTAL CITIZEN COMPLAINTS
 R Square: .038 Standard Error of the Estimate: 123.88
 F: 1.66 Significance: .008

Table.2: Final Multiple Regression Analysis of Significant Relationships of "Total Citizen Complaints"

	B	Std. Error	P> t
(Constant)	-49.943	16.541	.003
LENGTH OF ACADEMY	.077	.030	.010
USE OF NON-LETHAL FORCE (Hours in Acdy)	-.591	.301	.051
CULTURAL SENSITIVITY (Hours in Academy)	3.191	.855	.000
HUMAN RELATIONS (Hours in Academy)	1.841	.431	.000
STRESS MANAGEMENT (Hours in Academy)	-3.742	1.483	.012
BLACK MALE	2.024	.827	.015
HISPANIC FEMALE	7.686	3.950	.053

Dependent Variable: TOTAL CITIZEN COMPLAINTS
 R Square : .176 Standard Error of the Estimate: 119.23
 F: 9.748 Significance: .000

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