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To Serve and Profile: a Review and Analysis of Current Practices in Police Psychology

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The dawn of the 20th century marked the formation of a new alliance. In 1917, Terman and his associates tested a revised Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale as a determining factor for entrance into the police[1] force, fusing for the first time law enforcement and psychology (Reese, 1995). It took fifty years for this to develop into an official department position. In 1968, the Los Angeles Police Department recognized the necessity for such a union following

> (a) the aftermath of the Watts District riots, (b) reports of the President's Commission regarding improvement of law enforcement psychological services, and (c) "bad press" in the Los Angeles area due to questionable police practices; (Reese, p. 38)

the LAPD hired Dr. Martin Reiser to provide a plethora of psychological services, from individual counseling to consultation on organization policy. Since this time, police psychology has continued to develop into a diverse and vital discipline.

There is a trend in popular culture today emphasizing the psychological aspects of criminal investigation; television shows such as Criminal Minds and movies like Silence of the Lambs glorify criminal profilers. While profiling is an important facet of any discussion on police psychology, there other services just as vital to a complete understanding of this developing discipline. Psychologists are also called upon to test potential recruits for neuroses that could affect job performance and even to aid in police training. Furthermore, therapy has become a very important part in the career of many law enforcement officers (LEOs) and their families. In an occupation that demands sacrifice, from risking one's life to something as innocuous as losing family time to rotating shifts, it is necessary that its members maintain emotional stability. In order for

[1] For the purpose of this paper, "police" will refer to all types and levels of law enforcement.

those working in law enforcement to remain effective and to improve performance, current procedure must be scrutinized, cutting out and replacing detrimental practices while improving on those that work.

Psychological Testing

One of the most important tasks of police psychologists is testing. Police administrations need methods to select recruits for training; furthermore, psychological testing can be used to measure stress levels in current LEOs. By utilizing proper testing methods under the care of trained psychologists, law enforcement agencies can successfully serve their officers and constituents, the civilian population.

LEOs first experience testing just prior to training. Usually tests are designed to keep unsuitable candidates out of the police force; however, there has been a recent push to use testing to indicate candidates suited to current law enforcement trends (Detrick & Chibnall, 2006). Several tests, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Inwald Personality Inventory (IPI), are used for testing out potentially poor recruits. Studies have shown that these tests tend to predict negative indicators for performance once out of training, particularly the IPI (Scogin, Schumacher, Gardner, & Chaplin, 1995). It has also been found that the IPI and MMPI can detect dishonest test answers; although it has been suggested that this only detects unsophisticated liars while superior ones are more successful in cheating the tests (Borum & Stock, 1993). Other research has indicated that the NEO Personality Inventory-Revised (NEO PI-R) is able to predict recruits that will perform well once on the job (Detrick et. al). In fact, in addition

to the predictive validity of personality scores on performance, facet scores tend to predict ability in more specified areas of interest; this may suggest that the NEO PI-R could also be useful in tailoring at least part of police training toward strengthening vulnerabilities in otherwise good recruits (Detrick et. al). Whether used for testing in or testing out, psychological tests provide an important perspective in selecting LEOs.

In addition to use for recruitment, psychological tests have been developed to gauge stress levels in current LEOs. The Operational Police Stress Questionnaire (PSQ-Op) and the Organizational Police Stress Questionnaire (PSQ-Org) have been developed to fill this role; The PSQ-Op measures duty-related stress, while the PSQ-Org measures stress stemming from law enforcement organizations (McReary & Thompson, 2006). They are divided into these two categories since these are the primary two stress-producing areas on-the-job and often exert differing levels of stress; as a matter of fact, organizational factors appear to create more stress than duty-related factors (McReary et. al). Studies indicate that the tests have potential with respect to relevancy and being user-friendly; they measure what they are supposed to in a concise manner so as to avoid adding more stress to LEOs' lives (McReary et. al). Although more research is necessary, testing in this area shows promise.

Psychological tests play an important role throughout law enforcement agencies. Tests can be used to assist in recruit selection as well as stress testing for current LEOs. Whatever their use, continued research and development in police testing should provide useful tools for law enforcement organizations in the future.

Therapy

The most imperative aspect of police psychology is the maintenance of emotionally stable LEOs. Therapy is fundamental to such preservation; this can range from short-term debriefings following traumatic experiences to long-term therapist-patient relationships. No matter the duration or type, each should exist to support individual LEOs, allowing them to continue serving while maintaining a healthy lifestyle and emotional state.

Logically, a single form of therapy cannot help in all situations; many varieties have been developed to assist in LEO support. For instance, employee assistance programs exist to provide short-term aid to sworn officers, citizen staff, and family members, while critical incident debriefings allow for early cathartic release following traumatic incidents. However, providing a variety of programs is pointless unless there is truly a need for them.

September 11, 2001 is a day burned into the minds of LEOs everywhere, especially those of the New York police. However, traumatic experiences and other stressors related to job responsibilities are only part of the daily stress police face; stress stemming from the law enforcement organization itself plays an important role as well. As previously indicated, organization-related stress can be more troubling to an LEO than duty-related stress (McCreary & Thompson, 2006). Furthermore, tension placed on the LEO by both duty and organization "may also impact and be impacted by" (White & Honig, 1995, p. 189) family. Unfortunately, even with the multitude of stressors in officers' lives, they are often reluctant to discuss personal and emotional problems

(Dowling, Moynihan, Genet, & Lewis, 2006). With proper education as to the existence, nature, and purpose of therapy programs, LEOs should be able to receive the necessary support to successfully continue in their chosen career.

Employee Assistance Programs

In the 1950s, the Boston Police Department created a group now known as the Boston Police Stress Program; created to assist officers struggling with alcoholism, they modeled it after Alcoholics Anonymous (Reese, 1995). Over the next couple decades, many police departments developed alcohol-abuse counseling programs; however, it soon became clear that there was a need for a broader approach. Programs dedicated to alcohol-abuse evolved into or were replaced by programs that dealt with a wide range of problems. These employee assistance programs (EAPs) allow for assistance in the short-term and, in cases where this care is insufficient, provide references for longer-term therapy.

Neutrality is one of the main strengths of EAPs. Throughout an LEO's lifetime, many psychologists can be construed as "the enemy;" fitness for duty examinations and personality testing for academy acceptance are only a few of the psychologist-created obstacles faced by police. In this menacing environment, LEOs need mental health professionals that have no connection to these perils and pitfalls. When departments have attempted integration between EAPs and existing psychological services, conflicting goals were often observed. Undoubtedly, successful EAPs will provide assistance through services separate from perceived threats to an LEO's career.

While a level of independence is imperative to an EAP's success, access is key as well. For example, the Fairfax County Police Department's (FCPD) EAP "provides both telephone and walk-in crisis counseling, medication evaluation, and the ability to get in touch with off-duty EAP staff" (Gund & Elliott, 1995, p. 157). Furthermore, FCPD critical incident and disciplinary programs offer voluntary referrals when appropriate for EAP services. This system grants as much access to options, information, and services as possible, affording each member of the department the best chances for success. Without sufficient availability, an EAP cannot hope to properly fulfill its role.

EAPs today can consist of an in-house staff, a contracted agency, or a combination, using contractors under the supervision of a department employee (Gund et. al, 1995). There can be advantages and disadvantages to each; internal programs show more promise with substance abuse problems and supervisor referrals; however, external programs prove more effective gaining self referrals and involving family (Gund et. al). It is important that a law enforcement administration assess its needs and choose the correct arrangement for its organization.

Critical Incident Debriefings

Traumatic incidents are virtually inevitable in law enforcement; however, irreparable mental trauma is not. Immediately following such occurrences, the debriefing process should begin in order to prevent the development of severe posttraumatic stress symptoms. Departments lacking a system dealing with this type of event put their officers in danger, risking the LEOs' mental well-being.

One might doubt the need for such policies, asking the logical question: since police are trained to handle critical situations, are they not immune to the stress caused by such incidents (Bohl, 1995)? Research in the 1980s showed that LEOs experience and deal with stress in the same manner as civilians (Bohl). Clearly, since those in law enforcement are often forced to deal with traumatic events as part of their jobs, policy is needed to provide support in such difficult times.

Initial contact with the LEO can be made by a mental health professional or another officer, trained in critical incident response. While one may feel more comfortable around a peer, it is essential that the LEO be informed that such conversations are not afforded privileges of confidentiality (Gund et. al, 1995). Many physical symptoms, such as nausea, faintness, and hyperventilation, will exhibit themselves rather rapidly with mental ones, such as shock, fear and denial, appearing soon after (Bohl, 1995); the LEO must be reassured that these are natural. The officer should also be informed of critical incident procedure, and in instances where debriefings are mandatory, a debriefing should be scheduled as soon as possible, immediately if the LEO is willing and able.

Bohl (1995) provides an example of how a debriefing can be conducted. The debriefing is lead by a mental health professional; however, peer counselors and clergy can be involved as well. In most cases, initial debriefings involve single individuals, with exceptions for groups with a strong sense of solidarity, with a debriefing for all involved in the incident soon after. First, the facilitator introduces the members of the debriefing team and explains the purpose for the meeting. Next, the participants are led to discuss the facts of the incident followed by their thoughts during the event. Subsequently, the

LEOs are encouraged to express their feelings concerning the event and then to talk about any symptoms experienced. After this, any past experiences recalled due to the incident are discussed. In the next two phases of the debriefing, participants are educated on the nature of posttraumatic symptoms and encouraged to ask any questions related to anything discussed. Additionally, any information participants wish to pass on to their supervisors is noted, and the facilitator summarizes the debriefing. Finally, participants are instructed, each in turn, to say anything else they wish to, allowing any previously unmentioned emotions or feelings to be expressed.

Due to the nature of law enforcement, LEOs have an increased risk of experiencing traumatic events. Police departments have a responsibility to their employees to provide services to deal with such incidents. Research has shown that LEOs that have experienced a critical incident as a member of an organization that provides debriefings are less angry and depressed and exhibit fewer and milder stress symptoms as opposed to those without such a program. When beneficial procedures are utilized, the likelihood of an LEO developing serious posttraumatic symptoms is greatly reduced.

Gender-sensitive Therapy

One of the biggest obstacles for mental health professionals striving to aid police is the LEOs themselves. As previously discussed, police are often distrustful of psychological services, as they are often used during times of significant turmoil in an

LEO's career. Gender sensitive therapy, which has been found useful in multiple male populations, is one proposed solution.

Gender-sensitive techniques are designed to reduce conflict between seemingly disparate roles (Wester & Lyubelsky, 2005). Throughout most of males' lives, they are socialized to be self-reliant and restrict emotions; law enforcement training expands on this (Wester et. al). While this can be useful on the job, many of these learned skills become detrimental to success in other social settings, such as with families. At home, LEOs are expected to provide nurture, care, and emotional support; however, forces at work advise them that restriction of these is vital to success and survival (Wester et. al). This can produce gender role conflict (GRC). Four

> patterns of male GRC have been identified . . .: (a) Success, Power, and Competition; (b) Conflicts between Work and Family Relationships; (c) Restricted Emotionality; and (d) Restricted Affectionate Behavior Between Men. (Wester et. al, p. 52)

According to Wester et. al (2005), the therapy starts with setting goals. At this point, patients may be resistant to change; however, it is the psychologist's job to work within the framework of the LEO's beliefs on gender roles to move toward the patient giving himself permission to be more flexible. Once goals are established, the psychologist and patient work together to expand on, rather than eliminate, socialized behaviors. For example, while competitive behaviors can be detrimental to interpersonal relationships, when such attitudes are translated into a focus on "community advocacy, social change, or family involvement" (Wester et. al, p. 54) when off-duty, it acknowledges the importance of socialized roles to the LEO while providing him with more behavioral options. Finally, it is important during the process for the patient to be aware of his development, lest he slip back into old, detrimental habits.

Gender-sensitive therapy, when properly employed, provides new options for male LEOs without condemning what they have been already taught. Although much of the research on such techniques deals with male GRC, it would be interesting to see what processes could be successful in reducing GRC in female LEOs. While more research is necessary, it appears that this concept could reduce the tension between law enforcement and psychology.

Peer-Based Initiatives

As has already been stated, police are not invincible to stress; however, due to stress created during many LEOs' encounters with mental health professionals, they are often mistrustful of psychological aid. Peer-based initiatives have been created to bridge this gap. It has been theorized that LEOs will respond better to mental health services when such services are encouraged or even led by other LEOs.

The Police Organization Providing Peer Assistance (POPPA) formed such an initiative for the New York Police Department after September 11, 2001. For obvious reasons, symptoms stemming from the tragic events of that day were noticed throughout the department. POPPA, utilizing volunteer officers, created a peer officer staffed 24-hour hotline and sent groups of peer support officers and mental health professionals to role calls to provide informal counseling sessions (Dowling et. al, 2006). It was discovered that this "population that usually is reluctant to admit personal problems or stress-related symptoms was willing to discuss such issues with trained volunteer peers;" (Dowling et. al, p. 152) in fact, more than 28,000 LEOs were reached over the course of

this project (Dowling et. al). This POPPA initiative appears to have successfully provided an emotional support outlet for LEOs.

Other police organizations have created peer-based counseling projects as well; for example, the Fairfax County Police Department created their Peer Support Team for assistance immediately following a critical incident, from contacting family or arranging transport to simply being there for the officer (Gund et. al, 1995). These peer support programs provide a safe and trustworthy conduit to psychological support. It should be noted, however, that more research is needed in this area; as more peer-based programs are created, more opportunities should arise.

Fitness for Duty Evaluations

Fitness for duty (FFD) evaluations are serious undertakings, for the organization as well as the LEO. While it is true that the LEO's career is at stake, the department must keep logistics in mind as well as potential violations of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). In order to avoid uncertainty or challenges to the diagnosis, it is best for an organization to have a formal policy concerning FFD evaluations (Stone, 1995). If rational and documented procedures are used in such situations, the chances for an appropriate outcome will increase.

To begin with, behaviors that threaten job performance must exist and be recognized before a FFD evaluation can commence; at times, a mental health professional known to a supervisor can make an informal assessment before it is determined that formal proceedings are necessary (Stone, 1995). Once the need for an

FFD is determined, it is important to employ a mental health professional with enough experience in police psychology to have a significant understanding of the term "fitness for duty" (Stone). With the advent of the ADA, "evaluation is no longer limited simply to yes or no questions about fitness for duty" (Stone); when appropriate, treatment may be suggested over suspension or termination.

While still an alarming process for police and police departments, FFD evaluations can be carried out to suitable conclusions when done correctly. Perhaps with well documented policies based on rational and professional principals, the stigma of psychologists as "the opposition" can be reduced. With today's growing understanding of police psychology, an FFD should not necessarily signify the end of an LEO's career.

Organizational Change

In the 1970s, studies suggested organizations were a significant cause of personal stress (Kirschman, 1995). As research in this area continued, organizational theory began to be applied to law enforcement agencies (Kirschman); many police psychologists started focusing on negative situations rather than poor performers. Today organizational consultants aid police departments in discovering and fixing problematic aspects of their organization and creating new, beneficial programs.

As previously mentioned, organizational factors have been found to account for greater stress than duty-related factors (McReary et. al, 2006). In order to reduce such stress, and correspondingly to improve the department's image, save money on turnovers, and improve efficiency, police administrations have begun to institute organizational

changes. In 1979, the Palo Alto Police Department hired a management consultant and mental health clinician to institute a trial program designed to alleviate stress by improving intra-departmental communication (Finn, 1997). Through several methods, including team building exercises, proper communication methods were taught to the department's employees; the program was so successful that it was permanently implemented. In field training programs, counselors have taught proper methods for instruction and criticism to field training officers; the previously mentioned crucial incident debriefings are also a result of trends in organization change. Departments have focused on shift schedules and job assignments for improvement as well. Rotating shifts and poor assignment fit are often significant stressors for LEOs; by working with the officers themselves, favorable resolutions have been reached, alleviating much stress in the process. Clearly, there are many current ideas for reducing organizational stress in law enforcement; by working with knowledgeable consultants and their own officers, solutions appropriate for their organization should be reached.

Process-oriented consultation is one type of consultation used by police departments. Process-oriented consultants utilize a pseudo-Socratic method to affect change in an organization, observing the department then guiding its members to discover problem areas for themselves. LEOs often "project on the consultant that which is needed or missing" (Kirschman, 1995, p. 386), providing an alternate perspective to the usual. While other organizational consultants can be useful and important, process-oriented consultants aid in resolving systemic issues problematic to organization development; moreover, they are "often helpful in optimizing the work of more content-oriented consultants" (Kirschman, p. 386).

Whatever course is taken in organizational improvement, police departments must not try to simply find quick answers; organization development takes time. Law enforcement agencies must be open for change to occur at its own pace. With support and patience from the administration, police organizations should be able to adopt beneficial new measures while fixing or discarding detrimental processes and attitudes.

Family Issues

While a career in law enforcement is quite stressful for its officers, it can be just as stressful on their families; the dangers of the job, the close partner relationship, and the politically sensitive environment of law enforcement are just a few potential stressors for officers' families (White et. al, 1995). Stress on these families can cause even greater stress for the LEOs, creating a vicious cycle. Only recently has this been recognized (White et. al), and with this realization comes the understanding that the problems of LEOs' families are also the problems of the department. Law enforcement organizations are finally appreciating that to fully lend support to their officers, they must also support their officers' families.

According to White et al (1995), the first steps in providing family support should be at the management level, educating administration on the need for flexible, family-friendly policy. Such strategies should start at the recruitment level, making spousal contact a priority during recruit selection; the spouse should be made aware of "stressors involved in law enforcement and ways to mitigate their impact" (White et. al, p. 202). On-the-job orientation for spouses can be helpful too; through ride-alongs and facility

tours, spouses can begin to understand job requirements and safety measures taken while on-duty. Also, when critical incident debriefings and EAPs are made available to family members (Gund et. al, 1995; White et. al, 1995); stress can be dealt with on a therapeutic level, alleviating at least some of it. Furthermore, ongoing or periodic seminars or support groups for officers can aid in learning new coping mechanisms and keeping old ones fresh. Clearly, there are many methods management can provide to support LEOs' families emotionally.

With new knowledge being gained with respect to stress and families of LEOs, it is vital that steps be taken to address these families' concerns and problems. When officers' families are made a part of the LEO's work life, potentially damaging circumstances can be avoided. It is the responsibility of police administrations to their organizations, their employees, and their constituents, to provide their officers support at work and at home.

Community Policing

In the late 19th century, a new form of policing, a reactive, incident-driven method, was created. Today, community policing is becoming new policy in law enforcement organizations. There are three models of community policing: (a) problem-oriented, which utilizes people outside of the criminal justice system and diverse resources to solve crime problems, (b) order maintenance, which identifies possible symptoms of crime to forecast trends and uses responses just short of arrests to deter crime, and (c) community building, a method focusing on victims and potential victims

which uses officers as proactive service providers (Scrivner, 1995). With the dilemmas faced by this new form of policing, a psychological perspective is as important as ever in law enforcement.

Police psychologists must use their knowledge and experience to aid in the development of community policing. It was mentioned earlier that there is a drive among police psychologists to use tests to screen in potential recruits as opposed to screening out poor candidates (Detrick et. al, 2005). This concept is becoming more significant with the dawn of community policing (Scrivener, 1995), since officers are expected to be proactive problem solvers rather than reactive agents. Psychologists will also be needed as consultants for training and retraining programs in addition to advisors on how best to make inroads with the community. However they are utilized, psychologists are playing and will continue to play an important role in this new method of policing.

Psychologically-based Divisions

While mental health services and psychological consultants for law enforcement agencies are important, there are also psychological theories and concepts utilized to directly combat crime. Hostage negotiators and criminal profilers regularly use psychological principles and statistics to successfully do their job. Although sometimes doubts are raised as to the scientific validity of certain tactics, both groups play an important role in police organizations.

Negotiators and profilers have seen quite a bit of prestige in popular media in recent years; however, these positions are not as glorious or simple as television and

movies portray them to be. LEOs in these areas have complex and difficult tasks to perform and roles to fill. While the jobs are not as exhilarating or effortless as they are often made to appear, these groups continue to aid in the successful resolution of dangerous and volatile situations.

Hostage Negotiation

Hostage negotiators meet people on the worst day of their lives. Negotiating teams are called upon to bring dangerous incidents to a safe conclusion. As a result, it is important for these LEOs to utilize psychologically sound practices to help in the diffusion of the volatile situations they face.

Before negotiation teams can do their job, they must be trained. Greenstone (1995a) suggests that potential trainees should be voted upon by the entirety of the current team, with a unanimous vote selecting new members. He posits that all must trust those they work with; therefore, it is vital that all accept a new member. Following acceptance to the team, Greenstone asserts that the entire group should train together in order to develop the relationships needed to successfully resolve the situations they deal with. Overall, it is important that close, interpersonal bonds of trust are created within negation teams.

Once negotiating with a suicidal individual or a hostage taker, a negotiation team's goal is the safe resolution of the situation, whether through voluntary surrender or tactical means. To properly do this, negotiators must be trained to come up with a usable profile of the subject, without using assumptions, as well as to make calculated

conversation with the subject (Greenstone, 1995b). It appears that the relationship between a negotiator and subject is not unlike that of a therapist and patient, albeit with a different goal. In order to effectively do their job, hostage negotiators must utilize proven and practical psychological principles; teams that do so have a near 100% success rate (Greenstone, 1995b).

Criminal Profiling

Criminal profiling is probably the most widely known use of psychology in law enforcement; however, the actual practice of profiling, or criminal investigative analysis as it is called by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), is not as exact as implied in popular media. In fact, profiling is not used to specify a suspect but to narrow the field of potential suspects. Although not completely accurate, criminal investigative analysis has been of assistance to law enforcement, especially with respect to serial crime (Homant & Kennedy, 1998).

It has been said that profiling is more of an art than a science (Homant et. al, 1998); however, there are processes used to arrive at a profile. Pinizzoto and Finkel (1990) describe three methods used by criminal investigative analysts: (a) a motivational method, in which the type of offender is hypothesized after studying the details of the crime and determining motivation, (b) a correlational method, using crime base-rates and other statistics to make predictions about the subject, and (c) a correlation/attribution loop, in which more statistically based calculations are derived from previous correlations. Through these types of techniques, profilers create a picture of the offender

containing suspected motivations for the crime and theories on the offender that could help focus the investigation.

While criminal profiling is not uncommonly used by law enforcement, many forensic mental health professionals have doubts as to its scientific validity. Though a majority feels that it is a useful tool for law enforcement and should be researched further, only roughly one third believe it to be scientifically valid enough to be used in court (Torres, Boccaccini, & Miller, 2006). Interestingly, when labeled "criminal investigative analysis," profiling tended to be seen more favorably (Torres et. al); perhaps using this term will allow profiling to be judged on its merits rather than its myths.

These beliefs on profiling are not completely unfounded. In one of the few studies conducted on profiling, Pinizzotto et. al (1990) used professional profilers, detectives trained in profiling, detectives without training in profiling, clinical psychologists lacking criminal investigation experience, and undergraduate students without criminal investigation experience; they were instructed to create a profile on two provided cases, a homicide and a sex offense. While the profilers were more accurate than the others in the sex offense case, there were no great differences in accuracy in the homicide. The researchers theorized that this may be due to the availability of a victim statement for the sex offense or possibly the multiple choice questionnaire used for part of the test evened the odds somewhat. Whatever the reason, it was observed that different profilers were more proficient in different areas, suggesting that a group dynamic could be useful during profiling. Although this study provides some insight into the methods and validity of profiling, more research is needed to reach a better understanding.

Clearly, there are reasons to doubt the profiling process; therefore, investigators must take care not to pass up promising leads because they do not fit a profile (Homant et. al, 1998). These profiles are only a guideline and, thus, will not be completely accurate. With care taken to guard against its weaknesses, profiling can be a useful tool for law enforcement.

Psychological Autopsy

The psychological autopsy is a tool used to clarify circumstances and causes of a questionable death. It is a subjective procedure for augmenting other examinations and investigations into the matter. Psychologists trained in this technique focus "on the psychological aspects of the death" (Gelles, 1995, p. 337) in order to reconstruct events leading up to it and to help make sense of it.

A psychological autopsy takes on average 12 to 20 hours to complete (Gelles, 1995). According to Gelles, the process begins with an examination of the materials that are available, from crime scene photographs and descriptions to witness statements. As the autopsy continues, interviews are conducted with family and acquaintances when possible and previous interviews examined when not. All relevant aspects of the decedent's life, such as medical conditions, personal interests, work history, and communication style, are examined. Once all pertinent information has been studied, the psychologist writes a report, including the purpose for the study, a mention of its subjective nature, the decedent's basic personal information, a timeline from 4 hours to

12 months before the death, psychosocial history, personality factors, and the psychologist's hypothesis regarding causes of the death.

Law enforcement organizations utilize many psychological tools to assist in the performance of their duties; the psychological autopsy is one such tool. During the procedure, a trained psychologist makes inferences regarding the causes of and events leading up to a death. While not an objective instrument, the autopsy when combined with other relevant information can aid in the greater understanding of the case in question.

Ethical Considerations

Although they provide important services to law enforcement, police psychologists must keep ethical principles in mind so as not to detract from the services they provide. While this is essential for any psychologist,

> the police psychologist must be prepared to confront and resolve a number of issues that will arise as he or she enters a non-health-related agency that is not familiar with, or necessarily sympathetic with, the professional concerns of a psychologist. (Archibald, 1995, p. 45)

With careful consideration of each situation faced, police psychologists should be able to successfully fulfill their duties.

The first responsibility of a police psychologist is to define the client. While the client can be individual LEOs or the organization itself, working for both could lead to a catastrophic conflict of interest, especially in matters of confidentiality (Archibald, 1995). In order to avoid such problems, the

psychologist must discuss the nature of the assignment with the department prior to accepting any position.

Confidentiality is another matter of grave importance to the police psychologist. In an organization dedicated to investigation, it may seem like a trivial matter for the administration to ask for the psychologist's records; however, in cases where the psychologist has been hired to provide treatment, such records are absolutely confidential (Archibald, 1995). In instances where the mental health professional has been hired to serve the organization, such as for fitness for duty evaluations or entry-level testing, it is obviously necessary to provide the administration with records; only data relevant to the matter should be included in the reports, nothing beyond this (Archibald). Such regulation should be fairly simple when the psychologist's office is separate from the department's; however, when the organization provides office space, the psychologist should work with the head of the agency to clarify policy on who is allowed access to confidential records and on what occasions (Archibald). No matter what procedures are established, the individual LEOs that meet with the psychologist must be informed about policy at the start of any meeting.

When providing services to a law enforcement agency, it should be made clear that the psychologist is the expert in the area of mental health and that there are ethical rules guiding any actions or decisions made. These guidelines and their consequences should be discussed with the administration prior to taking a position, and in ethical gray areas, the psychologist should work with the organization to clarify policy regarding these situations. While working out such

details may be difficult, it is vital to the success of any undertaking in police psychology.

The Future of Police Psychology

Police philosophy and methods are evolving. New investigative techniques and policing modes are being discovered and developed to better serve the civilian population. In this era of change, police psychology is crucial to the progress of law enforcement trends.

Mental health consultants have an increasingly essential role to play in law enforcement. With the development of community policing policies, LEOs are becoming ever more independent in decision making ability; training initiatives will play an important part in the success of such programs, and police psychologists will be vital to their development. Furthermore, "many police administrators become so preoccupied with current problems that they fail to plan for the future" (Schmuckler, 1995, p. 501); therefore, it will be up to organizational consultants to keep administrative focus on long-term strategic planning. With careful consideration of organization culture and mission, psychologists can assist police administrations in the development of sound long-term plans (Schmuckler).

Although police have utilized psychological testing for quite awhile, new tests as well as the movement toward community policing are producing a need for change in testing policy. While pre-employment testing has historically been used to screen out candidates, it has been proposed that tests should be used to screen in candidates

(Scrivner, 1995); initial research has suggested that this could work (Detrick et. al, 2006). Additionally, current LEOs are sometimes called upon to participate in research, quite often to collect statistics on stress. Unfortunately, many tests have not been optimized for use in law enforcement and the length often creates undue stress; studies have been created to design and validate proper tests for LEOs (McReary et. al, 2006); while these types of tests are still being studied, prospects are hopeful for their successful implementation. With more research in psychological testing with respect to new developments in law enforcement, psychologists will be able to better serve police departments in this area.

LEOs' general mistrust of psychology is perhaps the biggest problem facing therapists in law enforcement agencies today. Policies such as criminal incident debriefings and EAPs aid in the dissolution of barriers between psychology and law enforcement. Peer-based initiatives have also shown promise in promoting utilization of mental health professionals. Police organizations must support programs such as these if they wish to maintain emotionally stable officers.

Police have found psychological principles to be helpful in the apprehension of criminals; profiling has played an important role in many investigations. Although, due to its perception as an art rather than a science (Homant et. al, 1998), a majority of forensic mental health professionals are apprehensive about whether it is scientifically valid for use in trial, most agree that is a useful tool, and approximately 95% agree that more empirical research should be conducted (Torres et. al, 2006). While some research has been conducted into criminal profiling, the nature of investigation and the confidentiality of many cases make research that could be generalized difficult;

nonetheless, if a greater understanding and clarity in this area is to be reached, it is important that psychologists attempt to develop relevant studies.

Lack of research is perhaps the greatest obstacle to insight into police psychology. Unfortunately, with respect to law enforcement and psychology, "academic psychology has been an indecisive partner" (Nietzel & Hartung, 1993, p. 152). Even within journals dedicated to behavioral sciences and the law, such as *Law and Human Behavior* and C*riminal Justice and Behavior*, there is a scarcity of information regarding police psychology (Nietzel et. al). If significant advancement is to be made in this area, research studying the relationship between mental health and law enforcement must be commissioned; if not, the discipline is at risk for stagnation and futility.

Over the past ninety years, police psychology has developed into the crucial field it is today. It has assisted police in the difficult situations they are forced to face. With support from both mental health professionals and LEOs, police psychology will give rise to a permanent revolution in law enforcement.

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