

PART 1

DEVELOPING RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter 1

Undercover Policing: The Relatively Unknown

1.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews previous literature that investigated the psychological effects of working in undercover policing. It describes the three phases that officers encounter during their undercover policing experience in the Australasian policing context. The information outlined aims to provide background information on the current Australasian undercover policing context and to highlight the limited knowledge base on issues relevant to this area of policing.

Undercover policing, or covert policing, is a unique form of policing that involves innovative policing techniques. It is a very specialised form of law enforcement that is growing in its use as a law enforcement strategy to supplement mainstream policing techniques (Pogrebin & Poole, 1993; Vasquez & Kelly, 1989). Police officers who are selected to undertake undercover assignments work in physically and emotionally demanding situations and undergo a number of psychological transitions over this period. Within the overall police context, numerous studies have examined job related stress (Alexander, Innes, Irving, Sinclair, & Walker, 1991; Alexander, Walker, Innes & Irving, 1993; Dharmangadan, 1988; Evans, Coman & Stanley, 1992; Goolkasian, 1986; Hart, Wearing & Headley, 1994; Hollin, 1989; Lord, 1996; Lord, Gray & Pond, 1991; Mayhew, 2001; McNeill, 1996; Spielberger, Westberry, Grier & Greenfield, 1981; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Violanti, 1993), however, little is known about the socio-psychological impact of covert policing on police officers.

Given the closed nature of, and restricted access, to this area of policing it is not surprising to find that a review of previous literature found very few researchers reporting on the effects of undercover policing. Michel Girodo has carried out

the main body of this empirical research and this dissertation draws heavily on his research. Most previously published literature consists of clinical observations and descriptions of interventions by police psychologists, some qualitative and quantitative research and predominantly anecdotal evidence from former operatives. The remainder is largely media-based information. In order to move away from the stereotypes drawn about undercover policing, these media articles have been reviewed but are excluded from the information reported in this chapter. Military research pertaining to covert operations was also sought but was not released for inclusion in this document. The few published studies that have considered covert policing have tended to focus on personality, selection and the clinical reactions to undercover duties (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1984a, 1984b, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c; Leonard, 1987b; Macleod, 1995; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993). This published information is supplemented with the researcher's knowledge of the Australasian undercover policing context.

To date, there has been no systematic research investigating the psychological processes involved in reintegration. Anecdotal evidence indicates that it is a particularly problematic period in an undercover officer's career. It is also one that has raised a number of organisational concerns for law enforcement agencies (Brooks, 1992; DeStefano, 1988; Hirschfeld, 1985; Jacobs, 1993; Loves, 1991; Miller & Gamble, 1994; Ness, 1989).

To describe the covert experience, this review is presented according to the three phases of undercover police duties. Information relevant to the selection and training phase in covert policing is presented first. This is followed by background information on the operational undercover policing context, and lastly, information relevant to the reintegration phase, that is, the period when covert officers cease undercover duties and resume mainstream police duties. This chapter concludes with a summary section.

1.2. Describing the Undercover Experience

Australasian police officers working in covert duties encounter three phases during their career as an undercover operative. These phases include: 1) selection and training; 2) operational duties; and 3) the reintegration phase. In the Australasian policing context, covert duties are a time-limited position where, usually, after two to four years, officers must resume mainstream police duties.

Each area of policing has its own prototypical norms, culture and perception of elitism that together provide a specific identity for the police officers who have group membership in the area (Bryett & Harrison, 1993). Undercover policing is no exception, particularly since entry into this membership group is highly valued and subject to intense and competitive selection. What is unique about this area of policing is the situational and psychological changes that an operative experiences.

1.2.1. Selection and Training

The first transitional phase of undercover work is the selection and training phase. Officers who volunteer must pass through several stages in the selection process and only a few are chosen to train as undercover police officers. Macleod (1995) estimated that, in the New Zealand covert context, only about 10-15% of those who volunteer for covert duties are selected for training.

Assessment usually involves psychometric testing; semi-structured interviews with an appraisal of personal relationships; and role-playing activities to assess social and interpersonal skills (Hibler, 1995; Leonard, 1987b; Love, 1990, 1991). As part of the screening process, there are specific desirable personality traits sought for undercover work. These essential characteristics for good performance and conduct in undercover settings include a combination of emotional stability, disciplined self-image and extroversion. Other clinicians also

note the importance of screening in for flexibility in decision-making, stress tolerance, team orientation and motivation (Hibler, 1995; Love, 1990, 1991; Vasquez & Kelly, 1989). The operative's motivation appears to be derived similar to that from a high score on Zuckerman's sensation seeking scale for *thrill and adventure seeking* but only in combination with a high score in the 16PF scale of *disciplined self-image*. Officers with a disciplined self-image are not easily influenced by others and this quality has been found to be particularly desirable in resisting group pressure in criminal contexts (Girodo, 1984a, 1985b, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c).

When the police officer begins training, this is the first psychological/situational change targeted. Once selected, the officer embarks on training that aims at "de-policing" the recruit. The officer must leave their previous working group to join a more elite area of policing that possesses its own police norms and beliefs. For the period they are involved in covert training and operations, these officers leave behind any visible and psychological reminders of their previous mainstream police group. Here in the new covert police environment the officer learns to enmesh law breaking behaviour characteristic of criminal or target groups with law enforcement objectives. These new undercover policing norms are often "at odds" with those held by their previous mainstream police peers. Their former ties with mainstream police must loosen as newly recruited officers sign confidentiality agreements not to divulge information on the dynamics and practices of covert policing which precludes even mainstream police from knowing of the officers' latest policing experiences.

1.2.2. Undercover Operational Duties

Covert policing operates by using a small teamwork approach with the operative acting as the primary policing resource and the focus of most covert investigations. Although the operative is surrounded by a support team whilst working in covert duties, the undercover officer must operate alone, which

allows these officers to proceed with considerable flexibility and latitude in exercising their initiative in their roles (Brooks, 1992; Hibler, 1995; Jacobs, 1993; Marx, 1988, 1992; Miller & Gamble, 1994; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993). Rules and restrictions previously known as regular police duties no longer exist and the boundaries of former police attitudinal and behavioural values may become less distinct over the course of undercover policing duties.

Undercover work involves a lot of impression management in the daily routine of officers. As part of the job requirements, an undercover officer must adopt fictitious identities for sustained periods of time in order to infiltrate criminal activities that are normally inaccessible to mainstream police operations. Officers manipulate their social selves according to the given social context and the criminal groups they are working on at the time. They need to select the right persona for a given situation or social group. They must be able to change their role in response to changes in, often unpredictable, social circumstances. Quick decision making and improvising can be called upon. It is not uncommon for officers to have assumed a number of roles over their covert experience, and at times, some officers role-play different individuals simultaneously in separate covert investigations. Overall, a high degree of deception is required.

An officer's newly assumed identity becomes anchored in an unfamiliar social context in which the officer is required to express attitudes and behaviours that are inconsistent with their own normative beliefs. These interpersonal changes are not part of everyday experience. The estrangement from regular social supports and the stress associated with this form of policing can only compound any pre-existing psychological problems in an officer (Girodo, 1984a, 1984b; Leonard, 1987a, 1987b; Marx, 1988; Ness, 1989; Watchel, 1992).

It is not unreasonable to assume that these officers will experience cognitive and behavioural changes that may continue after the undercover policing

actually ceases. The lack of scientific research examining the effects of covert policing on officers makes it impossible to derive well-grounded conclusions.

Some questions arising include:

- What happens to the officer who deliberately seeks to transform their identity through interaction with different social groups?
- How much of their social identity stays merely as role-playing and how much becomes an intrinsic element of self-perception?
- Do these changes in an officer's policing identity vary accordingly to the context in which they become activated?
- What previous behaviours and cognitions will remain as part of the former operative's repertoire?
- Does psychological adjustment and ability to fit back into mainstream institutional norms vary among former operatives?

The current study investigates these questions by examining undercover officers' perceptions of themselves as police officers. The study monitored officers' self-perceptions as a police officer across the three stages of undercover policing in order to map possible changes arising from having worked as a covert police officer.

Previous research identified the importance of social networks amongst peers in acting as a stress buffer. Operational officers leave their families and friends and their previous occupational identity behind and relocate in often socially isolated environments. Their only social network is other undercover officers who are working from the same work location. These officers act as important social and institutional support systems to each other (Girodo, 1984a, 1984b; Leonard, 1987a; Ness, 1989). Being removed from regular social supports and from the police organisation as a whole, combined with the secrecy surrounding covert police work and its unique shared experience, it is not unusual that the

bonds that develop between members of the undercover unit are strong and highly cohesive. This group cohesiveness along with its own norms creates a policing culture that is separate to mainstream policing. These cohesive group dynamics develop from the social context but they also act as a security protection in discouraging the formation of improper relations with target groups whilst working as an undercover officer.

A concern of police management is safeguarding operatives against the risk of developing identification with criminal groups, commonly referred to as the *Stockholm Syndrome* or conflict of allegiance. This syndrome consists of one or more behaviours: hostages may hold negative feelings toward police, show sympathy toward their captors, the hostage takers may reciprocate with positive feelings toward other hostages. It develops in intense emotional situations and over a prolonged crisis situations where the hostage experiences a sense of powerlessness (Fuselier, 1999). The Stockholm Syndrome has also been described in other trauma-based scenarios such as peacekeepers and in domestic violence situations (Pearn, 2000a, 2000b; Rahe, 1988; Saunders & Edelson, 1999). The psychological processes underlying the Stockholm Syndrome have been described in psychodynamics terms of transference and the weakening of ego defence (Graham, Rawlings, Ihms, Latimer, Foliano, Thompson, Suttman, Farrington & Hacker, 1995), however, the development of these improper relations can also be explained by the principles of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972). Chapter five outlines the development of social identities and application to the reintegration context.

Previous covert operational studies reported that identification with the target group can have major consequences for the individual precipitated by prolonged exposure in the target's environment (Farkas, 1986; Leonard, 1987a, 1987b; Marx, 1988; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993; Watchel, 1992). Farkas (1986) reported from a study of 9 current, 68 former undercover officers and 5 former operatives who had since left the Honolulu Police Department and found that an important

moderator in the development of attachments to criminals and the negative effects associated with this identity was the relationship between the supervisor and the undercover officer. When informational support and affective support were not available, undercover officers tended to develop strong ties with the targets and reduced trust in their supervisor. These findings suggest that the support provided to the officer may be instrumental in giving the operative strong ingroup ties to the police organisation while immersed in a negative social group.

Studies investigating reactions to undercover work have found that officers can suffer from recurring anxiety and depression; post-traumatic stress disorder; loneliness; suspiciousness; guilt; drug misuse; identity strain arising from paranoia; sympathy for the targets and changes in officers' value and belief systems. Difficulty separating the criminal identity at work and the officer's personal identity at home were commonly reported and often discussed as prolonged role-playing or role strain (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1984a, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c; Leonard, 1987a, 1987b; Love, 1991; Love, Tolsma & Kaufman, 1994; Loves, 1991; Macleod, 1995; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993; Vasquez & Kelly, 1989). The severity of these reactions tended to differ between trainees, operational and former undercover officers and appeared to vary with the age of the officer (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1991b, 1991c). In some of these studies, it was the younger currently operational officers who were found to be more at risk of developing elevated clinical symptoms, while in other instances, former operatives were more at risk of emotional problems exacerbated by the experience of the strain in returning to mainstream police duties (Girodo, 1991b). Absent from these articles reporting on clinical observations, was the incidence rate of undercover officers removed from a covert operation for psychological reasons.

A study, conducted by the F.B.I. that involved interviews with 76 previous undercover officers found that the major source of stress in undercover work

were supervisors, subordinate relationships, role requirements and strains placed on marital and social relations (cited in Farkas, 1986).

1.2.3. Reintegration

When the period of time spent working in undercover duties expires, the officer must return to the previously known police environment. Resuming police duties in mainstream policing can be a particularly stressful period for an undercover officer.

Previously, there has been an assumption made by police organisations that officers will resume mainstream duties and re-assimilate with their mainstream peers. In part, this assumption is based on the notion that the mainstream policing context is a familiar work environment. Another reason relates to the lack of empirical investigations that identify psychological processes that officers may undergo during this transitional period. With so little known about the reintegration process it has been difficult for police services to draw firm conclusions. Clinical observations found officers encounter a number of social-psychological processes leading to behaviour that suggests some former operatives experience difficulties fitting back in to mainstream duties.

It is argued, and is investigated in this doctoral study, that reintegration is likely to be an at risk period in undercover policing for a number of reasons. Officers may manifest not only clinical symptoms during covert policing but also there may be rebound effects from stress experienced whilst operational after covert duties ceases. For example, Farkas' (1986) study of 68 former operatives found that the greater the stress experienced during operational duties, the greater the reports of distress after covert work had ceased. Girodo (1995) found that on the Health Opinion Survey, ex-operatives were at a statistically higher at risk than the general population.

For some operatives the reintegration period may represent a high degree of uncertainty. Uncertainty is likely to arise from the conditions surrounding their return. Officers have been absent from the mainstream policing for an extended period and policies and practices are likely to have changed. Further, at the time of this doctoral research, there was no formal process of reintegration to assist officers although Australasian services assisted operatives in negotiating an area in mainstream policing that they would like to return.

Clinical accounts noted that reintegrated operatives can experience feelings of frustration, irritability, lethargy, depression, elevated concern for their safety, estrangement, and tended to lack confidence in their ability to carry out their duties in mainstream policing (DeStefano, 1988; Girodo, 1984a, 1991b; Macleod, 1995; Miller & Gamble, 1994; Ness, 1989; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993). Macleod (1995) notes that offers of psychological assistance with adjusting are often rejected by ex-operatives.

Greater substance abuse and disciplinary problems were correlated with the amount of time spent in undercover work. Personality traits were a component in these correlations. High scorers on extroversion, impulsiveness and neuroticism were associated with higher levels of misconduct. Individuals who scored high in these characteristics but also had high disciplined self-image scores had among the lowest disciplinary histories and drug/alcohol abuse problems. Extreme high scorers on the disciplined self-image scale had a tendency to be stubborn and opinionated when dealing with co-workers (Girodo, 1984a).

Further, there is evidence suggesting that the process of reintegration evokes its own unique stressors on the operative. Organisational stressors during this period include the hierarchical structure of mainstream policing; the lack of freedom; the discipline; the routine of the job; having a fixed work place; wearing a uniform; adhering to structural regulations; the lack of recognition for

undercover work; lack of familiarity with procedural issues and technical changes (Brooks, 1992; Girodo, 1984a; Hibler, 1995; Leonard, 1987b; Love et. al., 1994; Loves, 1991; Macleod, 1995; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993; Vasquez & Kelly, 1989). However, there has been no evaluation of whether these stressors are greater in former operatives than mainstream personnel. This study aims to identify some of these stressors and the psychological processes that officers undergo during this period in order to fit back into mainstream policing.

A number of social psychological indicators of fitting back into mainstream policing have been reported. A lack of discipline and an inability to fit back with their peer group are consistent findings in the literature (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1984a, 1984b; Love, 1990, 1991; Love et. al., 1994; Macleod, 1995). Incidences such as being careless about mainstream police duties and scheduled meetings; being detached when meeting departmental representatives; and “being flippant” were also noted (Vasquez & Kelly, 1989). Girodo (1984a; 1984b; 1993) also reported several studies where undercover officers had problems anchoring themselves back into the institutional norms.

It is possible to explain these previously reported behavioural and cognitive outcomes in terms of normative shifts and changes in police membership. In this dissertation, it is argued that some reintegrated officers may perceive the members of the police ingroup as dissimilar to their own self-identification, in which case these officers may either feel little interest in being part of mainstream policing or possibly designate their new police peers as an outgroup. This psychological process has also been reported as an adjustment issue in military contexts. Vietnam veterans reported missing the cohesiveness of their unit and felt that their new peers were not supportive nor did they feel cognitively affiliated with their new army unit. They also had difficulty adjusting to the formal discipline; experienced a high degree of family stress and reported changes in their temperament. These officers expressed more comfort in mixing with other veterans rather than their relatives. (Borus, 1976; Jolly, 1996;

Mateczun & Holmes, 1996; McNeil, Lecca & Wright, 1983; Nyman, 1981; Solomon, 1993; Yerkes, 1996).

Working as an undercover officer allows for a considerable degree of self-indulgence or occupational privilege, which perpetuates the elite or high status perception of this form of policing and becomes consensually validated by the group. It has been noted that some officers return to mainstream policing with a sense of entitlement for having taken risks and endured isolation and deprivation from their regular existence (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1993; Hibler, 1995; Leonard, 1987b; Macleod, 1995).

Girodo (1984a; 1984b; 1993) noted in his clinical observations in working with undercover operatives, that officers return to peers who are not willing to act as the relevant reference group or to validate their high status perception. Management ascribed low status to these undercover officers, which was in stark contrast to officers' self-perceptions of the undercover group. He noted that the officers themselves also reported this ascribed low status which appeared to motivate undercover officers to react negatively to the status inconsistency. Macleod (1995) also observed the presence of hypersensitivity to criticism among some former operatives.

Other studies suggest that relations with family and friends may be a source of stress to former operatives. Strained marital relations and a lack of understanding of changes in the operatives physical appearance and behavioural tendencies has been identified as a potential stressor on the operative who is trying to re-assimilate (Farkas, 1986; Girodo, 1983, 1984a, 1993; Leonard, 1987b; Marx, 1988; Pogrebin & Poole, 1993).

Love, Tolsma and Kaufman (1994) distinguished between current and former officers and found that it was the former undercover officers who reported significantly more physical and psychological problems than either current

undercover officers or those without undercover experience. Former undercover officers had more marital or family problems, health problems, depression, feelings of lack of recognition and instances of paranoia. Former operatives however, had an additional stressor of reintegrating into the mainstream policing. The authors state that operatives perceived their transitions as a negative experience which may have led them to view their work environment more negatively.

Other adjustment problems observed by police clinicians include former operatives' attachment to the covert lifestyle, such as seeking out bars that resemble targets bars, refusing to get a haircut or shave beards or to remove the jewellery they used as part of their former disguise (Girodo, 1984a, 1991b; Leonard, 1987b; Macleod, 1995; Ness, 1989). Conduct and discipline problems were not uncommon and some former operatives reportedly returned with an inflated sense of self. Girodo (1984a) describes these behaviours in terms of role strain derived from the stress of returning to mainstream duties and to an environment that does not validate their undercover group status.

Neurotic adjustment reactions (high anxiety, low depression, or mixture of both) were most common after long term exposure to undercover operations (Girodo, 1985a). Clinical observations suggest that these reactions were most commonly seen in former operatives who continued to play their undercover role.

This dissertation explores these previous reports of continued undercover role-playing. It will investigate not only the social position of undercover officers but also the internalisation of the undercover identity. Cognitive and behavioural reactions previously observed are explored in the Australasian context as consequences of identification as an undercover officer and failure to have the undercover work rewarded or acknowledged by members of mainstream policing.

1.3. Summary

This chapter reviewed previous literature that reported on observations of the undercover policing context and officers' experiences of returning to mainstream policing. It identified the paucity of empirical research available in the public domain.

The information contained in the chapter described some of the personality traits considered desirable for performing undercover police work and outlined some of the selection and training processes employed. It also outlined a number of psychological and situational changes that officers undergo during their undercover policing experience.

The organisational characteristics of the undercover policing environment were described. These included the: unique policing experience gained from working in this area; highly cohesive and teamwork approach; estrangement from regular social and organisational supports; and the reliance of impression management to carry out covert duties. Some of the psychological reactions from performing covert police work were also discussed.

From the literature base, the reintegration phase was identified as a potentially psychological risk period in undercover policing. However, the review established the need to investigate and identify some of the stressors and psychological processes that officers are likely to experience when they return to mainstream duties. The lack of previous comparative research suggests that it is important in the present research design to determine whether these stressors and behavioural reactions are most pronounced in the reintegration phase than in the earlier stages of undercover policing.

This study continues to explore previous reports of acting out the undercover role and examines whether elements of previous reports of maintaining the

undercover disguise are present in the Australasian context. The possibility that former operatives internalise aspects of their undercover role is investigated as well as the extent to which attitudes are shaped by the undercover experience.

This doctoral study conducts an empirical investigation of undercover officers' experiences of returning to mainstream policing and applies a psychological theoretical framework to deconstruct the reintegration experience. The study also considers the social influence of the organisational status of the undercover group and the experience of returning to the mainstream environment.

The limited published literature draws attention to the need for beginning investigations with the use of more exploratory methods such as field research in order to understand the complexity of the current Australasian undercover policing context. Field research is useful in obtaining in-house police documents to supplement the information available in the public domain. The next chapter discusses this first methodological approach used to collect data.

Chapter 2

Field Research: Participant Observation

“Being there is a powerful technique for gaining insights into the nature of human affairs.” (Babbie, 1995, p.300)

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the first methodological approach employed in this dissertation, fieldwork, and its significance in understanding and defining current undercover policing issues related to reintegration.

To undertake this sensitive study, considerable time and effort was given to gaining knowledge and establishing research links with each of the four Australasian police services involved. Undercover policing is inherently a protected environment that has previously proved resistant to access and tight security surrounds this work group. Members within the mainstream policing environment cannot readily establish work contact with police in this particular group and it is even more stalwartly protected from individuals outside of the police organisation.

A fundamental and integral part of the research process was to learn and understand what it means to be an undercover police officer in the Australasian policing context. The researcher spent more than 18 months in the covert policing context, as a participant observer. The objectives to achieve from carrying out fieldwork centred on undertaking a needs analysis and to use the experience to build the researcher’s knowledge of salient reintegration issues encountered in the Australasian policing context. As a research method, fieldwork’s main strength lies in the depth of understanding it allows a researcher to acquire (Babbie, 1990). The knowledge gained from field research was also used to decide on the most appropriate and relevant

psychological theoretical paradigm to examine and explain the current reintegration issues encountered by Australasian covert police officers.

The research design assumed that observations of the field and knowledge acquired from in-house police documents would enable the researcher to gain greater depth and insight into the meaning and experiences of officers working in covert police duties and “insider knowledge” of the “covert policing world” as its members themselves see and feel it.

The following section discusses the specific aims and objectives of this phase of the research. The chapter discusses the reporting style of the field research undertaken in this dissertation, the role of the researcher as a research tool, data collection methods used to record information gathered and an outline of the outcomes achieved from field research. Appendix two outlines the key stages undertaken in the formulation and establishment of the research with Australasian law enforcement bodies.

2.2. Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this phase of the research were to:

- Learn about the Australasian undercover policing context using
 - In-house document information
 - Observations of social and organisational processes;
- Define research questions and hypotheses;
- Become familiar with specific methodological considerations;
- Identify an appropriate psychological theoretical framework;
- Construct active and positive research relations with police personnel;
- Establish the researcher’s integrity and achieve acceptance from senior mainstream policing management and undercover police members; and
- Examine the fit between theory and undercover policing social dynamics.

2.3. Reporting on Field Research in the Dissertation

Among researchers working in applied settings, there seems little contention that the context and constraints experienced in the field crucially influence the design, implementation and outcome of research (Dixon, 1997; Johnson, 1975; May, 1997; Punch, 1994; Wolfgang, 1981). However, the researcher's experiences whilst working within the context of investigation are not often included in the write-up of fieldwork, particularly in psychological research. In this dissertation, some of the researcher's experiences whilst being part of the undercover policing context are reported. It is argued that reporting on observations from the covert police context offers a way of providing examples of "real life" social interactions that direct and elaborate on empirical findings reported in this dissertation.

Drawing on his publication experience as an applied researcher and sociologist, Maurice Punch (1994) observed that a great deal of published fieldwork studies have tended to gloss over the dilemmas experienced. Examples of "tales of the field" are gleaned from the academic circuit or they are not widely written about, as this kind of fieldwork knowledge is deemed by some as "unscientific" after all, those tales provide the very evidence on which the research is founded.

Examples or tales from field experience are integrated in the remaining chapters in this thesis with the aim of supplementing the interview and survey research data and to highlight the rationale behind the use of methodological procedures. The next section will describe the role of the researcher in the design of the research.

2.4. The Role of the Researcher

"While the fieldworker is undertaking a study of others, others are undertaking a study of the fieldworker." (Van Maanen, 1988, p.110)

In fieldwork particularly, the researcher becomes a research tool. For psychologists as clinicians, attention is given to reporting on rapport processes. However, as researchers this is often understated and defined merely by a sentence or paragraph without providing much detail on how rapport was built and its impact on the overall research process. The researcher's effectiveness largely depends on the level of acceptance received from the individuals in the research setting. Investing time in establishing the researcher's integrity and developing research practices in association with police personnel functioned as an important "quality control" mechanism in this research. It was a vital methodological process that set the foundation for the planning and implementation of later stages of the research.

Rapport building involved careful and deliberate consideration and management. To be seen as possessing professional integrity by police members was a critical component of the research and important to the overall success of the project. Gaining acceptance was a developmental process that could not be hurried with undercover police officers. Establishing trust and acceptance for not only the research but also the researcher was a vital part of the research process. Taking the time to form mutually trusting relations with police was an integral part of achieving organisational approval for the project, receiving guidance on police matters, gathering research data, acquiring police assistance with research methods as well as being crucial to implementing the selected methodologies. To achieve these outcomes, the researcher became involved in a range of policing contexts, at three different organisational levels of the police hierarchy. These included professional liaisons with senior police executives, covert police management and individual undercover police officers.

There were a number of reasons for taking the time to construct professional competencies at these separate yet interdependent organisational levels. Demonstrating professional research integrity at the senior executive level, contributed to gaining access and formal approval to carry out the research. In

turn, the co-operation and formal support from this level of the police hierarchy assisted in facilitating the development and conduct of the research at the covert management level. However, this initial phase in the research was designed to move beyond seeking formal approval from senior police management. Whilst formal organisational approval would obtain compliance from the covert police management level and most of its members, this was not sufficient. To complete the project, personal acceptance was sought from the undercover police personnel. There were a number of reasons for seeking such acceptance. It was thought that the predictive validity of the research findings would be adversely affected if the researcher were not accepted professionally by police members from all ranks within the hierarchy, particularly from officers attached to undercover investigation. The significance of this distinction between being granted access to undercover operatives by senior police in the hierarchy and achieving support or commitment from individual police members will become more apparent in the following chapters. Other factors such as the level of access and participation rates were likely to be affected if acceptance of the researcher and commitment to the project were not obtained from undercover management and its members. Personal acceptance of the research and researcher was needed to increase the likelihood that officers responded openly and positively to the studies. For a more detailed discussion of the practices or strategies used to build rapport with officers and dispel suspicions about the researcher's involvement in the undercover context see chapter three.

Drawing on their experience, fieldworkers have noted that the "truthfulness" of information given by members largely depends on the way they defined the researcher as a person and how the researcher's role was socially defined by other members in the setting (Blakie, 2000; Johnson, 1975; Neuman, 1997). Given these considerations, the researcher actively worked at constructing and maintaining police relations for the entirety of the project.

A core skill of undercover police officers is their ability to assess an individual's credibility. Although not an established police procedure, part of the screening process used informally by covert personnel involved "testing" the researcher. Her consistency and responses to questions and reactions to situations were key determinants in gaining acceptance from these specialised police officers. Maintaining researcher involvement in the undercover policing context was contingent upon being accepted and passing some of these "cognitive assessments". A number of examples are reported throughout the thesis to demonstrate that these tests were engineered to challenge the credibility of the researcher.

Special attention needed to be given to this undercover police work characteristic in the research procedures. To achieve this, a number of opportunities throughout the research process were provided to officers in each jurisdiction for personal contact with the researcher. This provided officers with an opportunity to make their evaluations of the researcher's professional and personal integrity and to assess the practical use of the dissertation.

In an effort to provide these opportunities, additional activities were undertaken over the duration of the research process and different levels of approval were sought both formally and informally. Formally, at the organisational level, the researcher was invited to participate in undercover policing seminars, to attend meetings and discussion groups. At these forums, the researcher contributed to discussions from a psychological perspective and assisted some police jurisdictions to formally incorporate reintegration programs into their undercover training practices.

Being a participant at organisational meetings was beneficial in that the information discussed at these meetings enabled the researcher to understand undercover police work from the managerial perspective. This knowledge together with the perspective gained from undercover police officers, enabled

the researcher to obtain a more holistic understanding of the police culture and current covert policing climate. In terms of its application to the thesis, this in-house information assisted with the design of the research and methods.

The researcher's involvement at the senior police and covert management level increased exponentially with the time spent in the undercover policing setting. With increased involvement, access to the operational undercover staff was made more readily available. It is argued that greater access and increased involvement in undercover police matters is a measure of organisational acceptance.

Active participation in informal activities with undercover police was also undertaken to diminish the level of suspicion that surrounded the researcher's involvement. This included attending social occasions; residing at training locations with undercover operatives attending courses (usually for a week); participating in some of the activities on undercover training courses in each police jurisdiction (exact nature of these activities cannot be defined because of confidentiality requirements); being readily contactable; and being available for meetings with officers who wished to discuss privately, aspects of the project or psychological issues relevant to the research.

Being part of these informal occasions gave officers an opportunity to evaluate the researcher and the nature of her involvement with covert duties. The researcher remained mindful throughout this research, that despite being supported and introduced by more senior members of the police hierarchy, undercover police officers tend to remain cautious on meeting unfamiliar individuals and particularly those who allege to be a non-police person. It was therefore important to be established as a competent researcher who exercised discretion. Discretionary behaviour engendered a sense of trust whilst being available and open to questions conveyed approachability as a personal characteristic of the researcher. It is argued that these professional

characteristics are essential to creating a sense of ease and the security to freely discuss issues associated with undercover operations.

Care was taken to ensure that the researcher was not perceived to be participating in an evaluation process. It was important to make it clear to officers that the research was not part of any internal investigation process or selection and training assessment and would not be stored as part of their personal records. Apart from spending time being part of the undercover context, covert management and the researcher regularly stated to officers that her presence in the field was as an observer in a research role. In terms of relating to officers, the researcher remained mindful of gaining an understanding of the operatives' experience but did not attempt to relate to the officers in terms of "trying to be like an operative" and overly develop rapport. This comment may seem obvious, however, failure to preserve distance and objectivity could have jeopardized the researcher's credibility because membership in this group is considered select and restricted. This point has been made also by an applied researcher in criminological/forensic settings:

*"In doing field research on criminals you damned well better not pretend to be 'one of them', because they will test this claim out."
(Polsky, 1985, p.140)*

Over a period of time police members began to accept and acknowledge that confidentiality was a working requirement operationalised and respected by the researcher. It was observed that, initially, police members appeared polite although formal and constrained to protocol. They were hesitant to discuss any information at an individual level and opted to respond to questions with a "policy orientation" or to give a general response. Officers tended to move to a private area that excluded the researcher to discuss tactical issues or personal thoughts. Over a period of 18 months, through numerous encounters with the researcher in their work setting, these behaviours lessened and conversations were more freely expressed with the inclusion of the researcher. Officers were

more comfortable in giving their opinions and recounting personal undercover policing experiences. This noticeable change in the officers' interaction style demonstrated the group's ease with, acceptance of, and increased trust in the researcher's professionalism.

2.5. Recording Fieldwork Research

Information was gathered from two main data sources. The first was observational data. General notes were made on the social dynamics, reactions toward the researcher and discussions with personnel in the field. It is important to be aware that no information was recorded that concerned policing methods or case-related information. Furthermore, the researcher did not record observations whilst working in the field but did so shortly after leaving the policing context. The researcher is of the opinion that recording could have inhibited the "naturalness" of the context and created a sense of evaluation that could have limited the flow of information. The second main data source collected during fieldwork was in-house police documents with a protected status. These were reviewed to up-date the researcher's knowledge of undercover policing issues relevant to the Australasian context.

In general terms, the following field notes were recorded:

- Observation notes from the experience in the undercover policing context, meetings with police members, discussions with an F.B.I agent and questions about social processes that required further clarification.
- Methodological notes on how to collect data, police procedures to follow, any reasons why the research procedures were modified, who to contact to carry out various aspects of the research, questions asked and behaviours toward the researcher.
- Theoretical notes on hunches on social processes, possible theories that fitted these real-life examples in the field that were later used to situate

the constructs of the social identity theory. Possible theories reviewed included those concerned with role-playing, cognitive dissonance and social identifications.

- In-house police documents were collected over the course of the research. Reference material was obtained from the following sources: International and Australasian covert policing seminars and conferences; documents generated from the International Working Group for Undercover Policing Activities; internal reviews and policy documents on the deployment of undercover police personnel; senior police management meetings; police psychological services; and human resource statistical reports. Information on historical and current training practices was also obtained. The researcher was asked by police services to be part of several assessment committees to review covert educational and training practices. The recommendations made by the assessment committee contributed to shaping current undercover policing practices in the Australasian context.

2.6. The Context Under Consideration: The Outcomes of Field Research

In summary, through field experience, knowledge was acquired on:

- Explicit and tacit aspects of undercover policing culture;
- The organisational structure of undercover policing;
- Managerial policing perspectives;
- Police protocol to observe to carry out the research;
- Individual characteristics of officers prior to induction processes in training courses;
- Socialisation process during training courses;
- Officers' use of protective strategies such as guarded behaviour;
- The style of undercover police work (i.e. teamwork approach, cohesiveness, social networks, roles and relationship between covert management, controllers and operatives);

- Environmental factors that officers are exposed to working as undercover operatives (i.e. what psychological characteristics of the work environment are unique to undercover police work and which are shared with mainstream police duties); and
- Behavioural changes toward the researcher, which were used to judge the level of acceptance from police members.

Throughout the fieldwork experience, the researcher's awareness of the complexities and differences between undercover police work and mainstream policing environments, the extent of isolation from the mainstream context and dislocation from other social supports developed. The researcher spent considerable time listening to the relevant police members and observing not only the undercover policing context but also the protocols and "ways of policing" in the mainstream environment. It was important to be aware of implicit protocols in both contexts to carry out the research successfully. Acquiring knowledge of relevant police protocols informed the design of research procedures for optimal accuracy.

Becoming familiar with social and organisational dynamics associated with covert duties contextualised the process of reintegration. Knowledge of all phases of undercover duties and understanding organisational links between undercover police, covert management and the mainstream policing hierarchy were acquired. Insight into police management's perspective on undercover policing was obtained. The role of police psychological services in selecting and monitoring undercover officers was also noted.

The application of the theoretical framework in the research was primarily defined from the variety of information gathered during field research. The social dynamics observed in the undercover police context were reframed into psychological theory. As new information was presented and new social processes were noted, the researcher reviewed the fit between theory and

social phenomena and informally tested the appropriateness of the theory in the field prior to collecting qualitative and quantitative data. In particular, this stage of research was used to actively look for social processes that did not support the theoretical framework. Social identity theory asserts that the social context greatly influences social identification processes and understanding the current social context creates insight into group processes. Therefore, it was beneficial to have a complete understanding of the undercover police context to appropriately apply the principles of social identity theory and to make research predictions.

Obtaining direct insight into the circumstances of undercover police officers was useful in better developing the researcher's analytical skills. The later interpretation of some of the interview information was assisted by the knowledge of the dynamics observed directly in the undercover context. For example, in the interview data (see chapter six), officers were asked to describe the differences between mainstream and undercover police work. Former operatives commonly replied that the differences were that undercover police work was "personal". The meaning of this comment was clarified from the fieldwork and the researcher's observations of the level of commitment and personal sacrifices required by officers to carry out undercover police work.

In another instance, the knowledge gained from fieldwork was used to clarify the work roles held by members of the undercover unit and to inform the analysis of the qualitative data (see chapter six). Observations of controllers in the setting provided a better understanding of their role and why operatives consider controllers as different to management despite being directly responsible for the management of the operative. This difference was important in the later analysis of the qualitative data because the issues that were discussed as "management" did not usually extend to include the operative's relationship with their controller. Therefore, data collected on operatives' perceptions of controllers and management were analysed separately.

The field research data also lent validity to the social psychological processes reported in the empirical data; for example, observations of the teamwork approach, the diminished differences between rank, and of the cohesiveness and reliance on “mateship” of the officers in this area. These were later confirmed by the presence of group relations and the extent to which the social dynamics encouraged attachment to the undercover policing unit. This cohesiveness is in part related to the shared experience. During field research it was also observed, and later clarified by management, that these strong bonds between members of the undercover unit were encouraged for organisational and security reasons. Maintaining strong ties with members of the undercover group and their controller helps to guard against the Stockholm Syndrome, or forming inappropriate social identifications with members of the criminal target groups.

Monitoring changes in officers’ interaction styles toward the researcher also was used to determine when a suitable level of acceptance from police members had been achieved. An adequate level of acceptance was a social cue used to determine the timing for administration of the formal research instruments in the data collection phases.

2.7. Summary

This chapter discussed the importance of field research in developing an understanding of the little known context of undercover policing. It argued that extensive involvement in the field was required to define research questions and hypothesis; obtain in-house police documents to supplement and update background knowledge on the Australasian undercover policing; shape the design of the research; identify and examine the fit between theory and undercover policing dynamics; and to identify relevant and practical procedures to collect information from undercover police members in such a guarded policing context. The significance of spending time developing strong

professional relations with covert personnel prior to the implementation of more formal research methods was also emphasised. In this chapter, it was argued that there is immense value to be gained from reporting on the researcher's experiences whilst being part of the undercover policing context. It is data that supplements the interview and survey research data and assists in explaining the significance and rationale behind the use of specific methodological procedures in this research.

In-depth knowledge of the Australasian undercover policing context was acquired through the field study. Conducting a field study was beneficial as it allowed the researcher to acquire knowledge of explicit and tacit aspects of the undercover policing culture; the organisational structure of covert policing; managerial policing perspectives; police protocol to observe to carry out the research; individual characteristics of officers prior to induction processes in training courses; socialisation process during training courses; officers use of protective strategies such as guarded behaviour; the style of undercover police work; environmental factors that officers are exposed to working as undercover operatives ; and behavioural changes toward the researcher used to judge acceptance from police members.

Appendix 2 supplements this introductory discussion by including additional information on practices that were carried out as part of the first major methodological process undertaken in the field research; gaining entry and establishing the research with police jurisdictions. Chapter three defines in detail the methodological and ethical considerations that arose out of the knowledge gained from fieldwork and negotiations held with police management on the research proposal and its research parameters. These methodological and ethical considerations are important in understanding the research practices used in the thesis and the subsequent impact on the validity of the reported findings.

Chapter 3

Methodological and Ethical Considerations

“...fieldwork is definitely not a soft option, but, rather, represents a demanding craft that involves both coping with multiple negotiations and continually dealing with ethical dilemmas.” (Punch, 1994, p.85)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion from the previous chapter on fieldwork and details the methodological and ethical considerations that arose during the course of the research. Some of these issues were planned in the research design, while others could not be predicted prior to entering the field. Most of these methodological considerations developed from the discussions held in the formulation stages of the research (as outlined in Appendix 2). The overall intention of addressing these considerations in research practices is to protect the anonymity and security of those involved in the research. In this doctoral study, addressing these issues became a professional priority and an integral part of the research design.

Understanding the issues arising from the undercover policing context assists in clarifying the choice of the qualitative and quantitative methods and administration procedures. It will be argued that these methodological considerations have been significant not only in the impact they have had on the design of the interview study and the cross-sectional survey study (as discussed in chapters six to nine) but also on the overall reporting of the dissertation. Therefore to clarify the research rationale and the format of the information contained (or not contained) in this thesis, the aim of this chapter is to review methodological issues that are specific to the undercover policing context and have shaped the research parameters.

The chapter is presented in three sections. The first section considers the context in which the research takes place. The second section outlines the key methodological and ethical considerations arising from the undercover policing context. These issues are presented in relation to the seven stages of the research process they impact on. Broadly, these considerations relate to processes that involved establishing collaborative research efforts; conditions of access; sampling procedures; data collection; characteristics of the client group, write-up; and ethical considerations. The final section in this chapter provides a brief summary of the information presented.

3.2. Context of the Research and Key Research Considerations

Speaking of the dilemmas faced by researchers in forensic and criminological settings, Australian criminologist David Dixon (1997) argues that the quality of research and indeed research methods applied to criminological and legal settings is affected by issues such as: confidentiality of the research data, the subject's informed consent to participate and the researcher's criminal liability.

He believes that:

"It's vital that research subjects should be protected so far as is possible by appropriate confidentiality and consent provisions. Equally, criminologists must be prepared to argue for their discipline and to resist interpretations of legal and ethical obligations which would make it impossible to carry out vital research...what is inevitably involved is the weighing up of competing claims, rights and interests."
(Dixon, 1997, p.214)

Applied research invariably requires a compromise. The present study is no exception. In this dissertation, the researcher was required to balance the strictures of research methods with ethical and methodological issues that arose from the undercover policing context. The choice and application of research

practices focused on matching best practice for research methods to investigate research questions with the characteristics of the context under investigation.

Tailoring the application of research methods has not compromised the methodological rigour of the study. There is little value in rigorous research methods in applied research if the researcher has not considered the characteristics of the client group. Rather, taking the time to learn the ways of the undercover policing culture enhanced the reliability and validity of findings. It is argued that tailoring research methods to suit the officers' circumstances and satisfy police managements' security concerns have improved the practical application of research methods and research relations with police members and, therefore, the quality of the findings.

Most methodological issues outlined in this chapter relate to the protected status of the undercover policing environment. In order to safeguard the involved officers, police jurisdictions, covert policing methods and to foster collaborative research relations with Australasian police services, it was necessary for the researcher to consider and be sensitive to the culture and environment in which undercover operatives work. In addition, the success of the study and in particular, the reliability of the data collected, was likely to be affected if careful consideration had not been given to certain aspects associated with the undercover policing context. It is believed that without giving consideration to security concerns and guarded behaviour, doubt would be placed on the officers' willingness to participate, and therefore the ability to report on reintegration with accuracy and candour. As a result, a number of issues specific to the undercover policing culture have been identified, addressed and incorporated into the design of the research methodology.

3.3. Key Methodological and Ethical Considerations

Chapter two briefly referred to some of the methodological and ethical considerations that were raised during negotiations to establish the research with police jurisdictions in this dissertation. This section continues to discuss in detail the methodological and ethical considerations that were mostly negotiated in these meetings with senior police management. These research considerations are in addition to the usual safeguards put in place to protect the confidentiality of the participants in research.

Some of these considerations were stipulated as research requirements by police management at the time of approval for the research. As the study progressed, other professional and ethical issues that needed to be addressed and incorporated into research practices were noted in the field by the researcher.

These methodological considerations impact on various stages of the research process. Table 1 summarises these key considerations according to the stage of the research process and the research practice and outcome adopted to address the issue. Research procedures to address these considerations are based on methods of best practice. The details of each consideration at each stage of the research process are addressed separately in Table 1.

Table 1. Methodological and Ethical Considerations for Research Practices

Stage in Research Process	Methodological Consideration	Impact on and Role in Research Practices
Establish collaborative research efforts	Police supervisor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Represent police service on research issues ➤ Advise on police protocols ➤ Arrange access to covert personnel ➤ Offer feedback ➤ Review police confidentiality issues
Conditions of access	<p>Police confidentiality agreements *</p> <p>Security issues on access and storage of research data*</p> <p>Feedback on findings to police services</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ No disclosure of police methodology ➤ Develop specific research procedures ➤ Restricted research involvement ➤ QUT supervision concentrating on psychological issues ➤ Access to names of participants restricted to researcher ➤ Secure storage of data ➤ Two reports and three presentations on work in progress
Sampling	Selection of undercover officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Police service collate participants using research criteria ➤ Operatives who remain part of Australasian police services
Data collection	Geographical distance, work schedules, restricted access to current operatives from one jurisdiction*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Employ flexible administration and best practice procedures: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews on individual basis - Mail out and conference call to two geographically distant officers - Administration by police representative in one jurisdiction - Use reply paid mail
Client group: Working characteristics of undercover police personnel	Maximise acceptance and dispel guarded behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Strategies to minimise potential psychological risk: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support from covert management to facilitate introduction process - Maintain the research independence from police services - Disclosure of information on background of the research and researcher - Use of undercover peer networks - Fieldwork and active involvement in the undercover context - Invest considerable time being part of the undercover context - Ensure individual contact with the researcher - Tailoring administration procedures and recording of information.

Table 1. Methodological and Ethical Considerations for Research Practices (continued)

Stage in Research Process	Methodological Consideration	Impact on and Role in Research Practices
Write-up	<p>Reporting undercover police sample</p> <p>Reporting police documents and informal discussions*</p> <p>Documenting police correspondence*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Use term “Australasian police service” in write-up ➤ No reporting of interview and survey findings by name, gender , jurisdiction ➤ Report findings to police services using aggregate data only ➤ No reporting of exact response rates achieved in the survey research ➤ No direct reference to in-house material in the dissertation ➤ Limit field notes to general issues ➤ Limit reporting of police correspondence ➤ Police security clearance of documents included in thesis
Ethical	<p>QUT ethical clearance protocol</p> <p>Australasian police services ethical clearance*</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Modification to original ethics protocol <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No recording of officers’ names -No documentation of support from participating police service ➤ Alternative protocols for informed consent: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Obtain verbal consent - Design information sheet ➤ Ethical clearance obtained from three Australasian police services

* Denotes restrictions placed on research by police services

3.3.1. Collaborative Research Relations

3.3.1.1. Police Appointed Supervisors

In the early stages of the project (see chapter two and appendix two) several meetings were held with senior police management in each jurisdiction to discuss and map out guidelines for conducting the research.

It was at these meetings that one police supervisor from each jurisdiction was appointed to the project. Usually, the supervisory role was given to the officers in charge of the covert investigation units. Their role was to act as advisors to the project and were to be the established point of contact through whom liaison with relevant officers occurred. These officers also advised the researcher on police protocol, arranged access to their covert personnel and assisted with the collection of data. A more detailed description of the types of assistance received from these police supervisors and the extent of their involvement in research procedures will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Designating a member of each police service as a reference point greatly benefited the efficiency of carrying out the research in the policing setting.

Over the course of the project, police representatives/supervisors were given several opportunities to provide feedback on the conduct and progress of the research. They were invited to review the questions contained in the interview format and the contents of the questionnaire before each research tool was administered to undercover police. Police representatives were also asked to provide feedback on the findings from the research as well as comment on the final draft of the dissertation. In all of these instances, the practice of consulting with respective police supervisors provided Australasian police services with opportunities to ensure that police confidentiality agreements had been maintained and that undercover policing methods had not been compromised at any stage of the research.

On all of these occasions, the police supervisors agreed to the original research content and no changes were made. In fact, the reader should note that each police jurisdiction was satisfied with the conduct and methodology carried out over course of the project and none of the components in the dissertation have been revised.

3.3.2. Conditions of Access

3.3.2.1. Police Confidentiality Agreements

As a condition of access, the researcher was required to sign a confidentiality agreement with some police services. This agreement prohibits the reporting of any information related to the specific case content, technology, methodology and location of covert police investigations. The agreement is in accordance with “Official Secrecy Acts”¹. This information bears little relevance to the study, as the research is of a psychological nature and is not presented from a law enforcement perspective. Nevertheless, these particular police guidelines have been respected in every stage of the research, particularly in the design of data collection methods. For example, in the qualitative interviews (see chapter six), any information mentioned that even slightly characterised covert police methods, specific criminal activity or made reference to particular police personnel was not recorded in the transcripts. This practice ensured that particular criminal cases, along with the covert methods performed by the officer, were neither exposed nor jeopardised. Therefore, the safety and identity of each officer interviewed remained protected.

3.3.2.2. Security, Access and Storage of Data

Senior police management requested clarification of the project’s supervisory arrangements within the university system. Their concerns related to security issues and the potential involvement in the project of individuals other than senior police and the researcher. Involvement in data collection and analysis was limited to the researcher. It was explained that any discussion held about the development and progress of this research with the researcher’s supervisor would solely be of a theoretical or psychological perspective. Under no circumstances would any confidential law enforcement processes be discussed.

¹ This term has been recommended to the researcher by the Australasian police services.

It was also agreed that the supervisor and other university representatives would not be privy to the identity or operations of the officers who participated in the study.

Storage of the data was also addressed. It was explained that data would be stored in secured premises and only the researcher could access the data files. Supervisors did not have access to these data files, but it was explained that they would be involved in reviewing the aggregate print-outs of data analysis.

3.3.2.3. Feedback from the Research

During the meetings held with senior police management to establish the research parameters, the researcher stated that the participating police jurisdictions would receive feedback from the findings of the research. It was anticipated this information would greatly benefit Australasian police services by assisting them in managing the psychological welfare of their undercover police officers.

This requirement has been fulfilled. Two reports and three presentations have been given on the progress of and findings from the study over the course of the project.

3.3.3. Sampling Considerations

3.3.3.1. Selection of Undercover Police Officers

Accessing police records is an organisational privacy and security issue. Police protocol stipulated that police supervisors and not the researcher were responsible for collating the list of officers who were eligible to take part in the interviews and survey research. The project was required to incorporate this police procedure into the design of the research for the purpose of protecting the security needs of the police services and their officers. Officers participating in the two studies were selected using sampling criteria provided to police

supervisors by the researcher. The list of names meeting the sampling criteria was then distributed to the researcher, who made contact with the officers on the list.

One methodological constraint arising from this requirement was that only former operatives who, at the time of this research, remained working within the Australasian police services could be included in the study. Organisational concerns over privacy meant that the names and contact numbers of former officers who were no longer part of the police service could not be disclosed to the researcher. It is important to take this into account when interpreting and generalising the findings from the research.

3.3.4. Data Collection Considerations

3.3.4.1. Survey Administration Procedures

Due to the confidential nature of undercover work, work schedules and geographical distance, administration of the questionnaire was not uniform across all undercover police groups. Survey administration needed to remain flexible to suit the work circumstances of the individual and police access agreements. In most cases, operatives were met on an individual basis and were given a questionnaire to self-complete during an interview.

Data collection procedures differed for a group of currently operational officers in one police jurisdiction. As part of their agreement to take part in the research, and for particular police security reasons (which cannot be disclosed), this police jurisdiction stipulated that the police supervisor and not the researcher must administer the questionnaire to their currently operational undercover officers. As a method of best practice, the police supervisor was trained to administer the survey on behalf of the researcher and each officer returned the questionnaire in a reply-paid envelope.

Among the 38 former undercover police officers who took part in the survey study, only two could not be surveyed personally due to geographic distance. In these instances, the questionnaire was mailed to the officers and a conference call was arranged in which the officer was briefed on the background of the project and instructed on the questionnaire. When completed, these officers returned their questionnaires in a reply-paid envelope.

3.3.5. Working Characteristics of Undercover Police Officers

3.3.5.1. Strategies to Maximise Acceptance and Dispel Guarded Behaviour

As mentioned previously, operative's work in an environment where meeting individuals independent of their own policing cultures is treated with caution and suspicion are high about the accuracy of an individual's personal background. It is unusual to allow outside involvement in this area of policing and it was the first time in Australasian undercover policing history that an outsider had attended undercover training sessions and was permitted to conduct psychological research. Subsequently, as the opportunity to conduct research into this area and the presence of an outsider in a much protected police environment is unique, operatives treated the researcher's background and her reason for involvement in covert policing with caution. Therefore, special consideration was required to maximise acceptance and dispel guarded behaviour in research practices.

In addition to those already mentioned in the description of fieldwork in chapter two, a number of other practices were employed to facilitate the acceptance process. These included:

- The use of police support and endorsement from covert management of the research;
- Maintaining research independence from police services;
- Disclosure of information about the background to the research and of the researcher;

- The use of covert peer networks to informally screen, check and verify the aims of the research and intentions of the researcher;
- The researcher's active involvement in the undercover policing context;
- Extensive time spent in the undercover policing context;
- Providing members with opportunities for individual contact with the researcher; and
- Tailoring the design of administrative procedures and the recording of information.

To be supported and introduced by the police hierarchy, in particular senior covert management, was a very important part of the research procedure as it assisted in lessening suspicions about the researcher's involvement in this policing context. However, a balance needed to be reached between the support shown by the police hierarchy and maintaining and emphasising the independence of the research.

Endorsement from police services had a number of research benefits in addressing officer's concerns about the research being conducting with their police service. Firstly, the support offered by police services created a snowballing effect. Endorsement offered by participating police services, for the research and the researcher, facilitated the introduction process with other police jurisdictions. The support shown from the first police jurisdictions involved in the study was useful in approaching the remaining jurisdictions that had not yet committed to being part of the research. Although the researcher needed to go through similar processes with the other jurisdictions to gain acceptance, the introductions from other police services implied that the researcher's credibility had already screened by police representatives.

Secondly, introductions to operatives by the police hierarchy were critical in reducing operatives' suspicions about the researcher's "real" intentions. Being

contacted by police personnel prior to meeting the researcher was an important ethical consideration, as the researcher set out to minimise any potential psychological risk to officers' sense of safety from having their previous undercover policing history disclosed to an outsider. In being initially contacted by covert management assured operatives that the research had been approved. Without this procedure, it is likely that some officers may have become concerned about being contacted by someone who knew of their previous police background. They may have felt concerned that the researcher was a reporter or someone with criminal connections, as some officers fear retribution from those they have previously investigated. Covert police management instructed their officers that the official police secrecy agreements signed as a condition of their undercover policing career had been waived for the purpose of this research. This was a significant milestone for the study. If the police confidentiality agreement had not been waived, operatives would not have been at liberty to discuss their undercover policing experience and would not have been able to take part in the research. Given the potential concern over their security, the researcher is also of the opinion that without this introduction from covert management, the refusal rate from these officers would have been high.

Management endorsement, however, was not sufficient to obtain full acceptance from operatives or to gain their personal trust. The researcher remained mindful of the level of concern that surrounded her involvement and throughout the study invested considerable effort in undertaking practices to dispel suspicion, guarded behaviour and to manage the expectations and assumptions made about her. It was important that the researcher was seen as independent of any policing authority and to show officers that their participation would in no way be part of their police records. To enforce this impression, a number of practices were undertaken (see research procedures in chapter five). For instance, an officer's willingness to take part in the research and the extent to which they were willing to disclose their experiences was likely to be affected by their suspicions about why the information was being collected and where and to

whom the information might be conveyed. A significant number of officers interviewed were concerned that the research might be part of an internal police investigation. They were also concerned that their opinions may be documented on their police records, disclosed to unofficial sources or agencies outside the police service, any of which could jeopardise their anonymity and personal safety. These concerns were addressed with officers during data collection.

To further create and convey the impression of independence, the researcher ensured that all data was collected without covert management present. The researcher advised management that it was important to research outcomes if she were able to exercise a substantial degree of autonomy in her interactions with officers on training courses. Police management agreed to these requests. The researcher's university card with her professional details was also given to operatives as a reference to check the validity of her background.

Level of disclosure was also employed as a research strategy. Two different types of researcher background information were disclosed to operatives. The first was about the research. Officers were informed of the reasons for the research, the background of the study, the uniqueness of the research, which university organisation was hosting the research, that it was part of a doctoral study, the anonymity and voluntary nature of participation and that the overall findings would be used to make practical recommendations to police services for the benefit of future operatives. However, neither operatives nor covert management were informed that police social identifications were being measured in the survey research. This information was deliberately not shared to avoid any possibility of the findings being misrepresented by prior knowledge of these items.

The second type of disclosure concerned information about the researcher. The researcher willingly shared information about her professional background, her

motivations for conducting the research and her personal awareness of covert police work stressors which were all of interest to those included in this study. Another strategy used by the researcher to minimise officers' concerns, to encourage participation and build rapport, was to make use of the informal social networks or "grapevines" that are particularly strong in this area of policing. It was observed that operatives continued to rely on the opinions of members from their former undercover work group. The researcher saw these informal networks as an opportunity to use peer feedback to encourage co-operation and to assist with the study's participation rates.

As an example, when the researcher contacted an officer to arrange a meeting to conduct an interview or administer a questionnaire (see chapter five), the officer was not given the names of other undercover police members who had already taken part in the research. By not divulging the names of other officers interviewed was a way of also assuring the operative that the researcher would not discuss their participation. They were, however, informed of the study's selection criteria. This information enabled the covert police operative to verify the background of the researcher by checking with a peer who also may have been part of the research. It was also noted observationally, that during some interviews, the officer received telephone calls from other covert police inquiring about the real intentions of the proposed meeting with the researcher. It was found that operatives who had spoken to a covert peer prior to being interviewed or surveyed appeared less guarded when first meeting the researcher. Therefore, verification received from their covert peers assisted in lowering the level of suspicion among police members that had yet to take part in the research. In fact, most officers emphasised the importance of this research for generating knowledge and educating interested parties about this protected area of policing.

The operatives' behaviour of checking and validating information among the undercover police peer network demonstrated, even at this early stage of the research process, the presence of group cohesiveness and the bonds forged

between members of the undercover work group. It was also observed that the level of acceptance for the researcher displayed by current operatives contributed to gaining acceptance from trainee operatives.

A core feature in the implementation of the research methods has been to ensure that operatives had substantial contact with the researcher prior to completing the interview or questionnaire. This procedure ensured that operatives were given the opportunity to “interview” and to make their own evaluation of the researcher. It also provided them with an opportunity to discuss any aspect or concern they may have had about the researcher and/or the research. Similarly, individual contact permitted the researcher to observe whether there was acceptance and ease in the officer about talking to the researcher on these issues. Former operatives in both studies were met on an individual basis and were given the responsibility of suggesting a meeting place to conduct the interview. Giving control to the operative to schedule a meeting place was deliberate. It was an attempt to optimise the conditions for conducting an interview or survey research. As a methodological strategy, control over the choice of the meeting place ensured that officers felt their personal safety was secure and that the environment was predictable. Consideration to the timing of research practices also greatly assisted in reducing officers’ concerns about the researcher’s involvement in undercover policing. For instance, data collection occurred only when it was observed that officers’ guarded behaviour had lessened and conversations with the researcher were more open.

Consideration was given to the manner in which data was recorded. For instance, in the qualitative research, all interviews were hand written as officers displayed strong concerns about being tape-recorded. In some interview scenarios, a few former operatives showed concern over whether the researcher had a recording device on her. To ease their concern, the researcher demonstrated that this was not the case. In the survey research, the only identifier on individual questionnaires was a numerical code. No names of

officers were kept on record. Once again, to avoid suspicion, the reason for the numerical code was explained to officers. During the field research, to avoid creating a sense of evaluation, observations of behaviour were not recorded until shortly after the researcher had left the undercover policing context. Throughout the remaining chapters, other strategies used to dispel guarded behaviour will be reported.

3.3.6. Write-up Considerations

3.3.6.1. Reporting the Undercover Police Sample

An important methodological, as well as an important professional ethical consideration in this research, has been to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of participant police jurisdictions and their undercover police officers in the reporting of the findings. Firstly, to mask police jurisdictions involved in the study, the sample used in this research is always referred to as “Australasian” police services.

Secondly, an important confidentiality issue in the reporting of research findings in progress reports to police services was maintaining the anonymity of the police jurisdiction from other participating police jurisdictions. The researcher informed each police service that the format of progress reports would detail findings according to aggregate data rather than according to their own police jurisdiction. It was explained to each jurisdiction that, due to the small and select group of officers in this study, reporting findings according to police jurisdiction would make individual officers more readily identifiable. The researcher suggested that if any significant differences were found in the data across police jurisdictions, a meeting would be arranged with the relevant police jurisdiction to discuss the practical implications for the design of a reintegration program. Sharing information specific to each police jurisdiction was at the discretion of participating police services. This research strategy ensured that the anonymity of the individual was protected from his/her police organisation

and thereby minimising the risk of any potential impact on an officer's policing career. It also was designed to safeguard the confidentiality of each police jurisdiction from the other police services participating in the research.

Thirdly, in order to respect police confidentiality agreements in the interview study, contrary to usual practice, interview quotes are not to be identified by name, sex or age. References are simply stated as an "officer" followed by a numerical code.

Fourthly, in reporting the survey findings, no analyses are reported by gender. Only the demographic information of the sample details gender-related statistics. The number of female police officers in police organisations is small, particularly in undercover policing areas. On this basis, it was felt that reporting results by gender would put the anonymity of the female operatives included in this research at risk. This reporting practice protects female police members from being distinguishable in the results.

Lastly, the exact response rate achieved in the survey research will not be mentioned in order to safeguard against disclosing the number of operational officers in the Australasian undercover police population. Therefore, discussion on the representativeness of the sample used in this research is limited and survey response rates are mentioned in general terms only.

3.3.6.2. Reporting Police Documents and Informal Discussions

An extensive review of in-house policing documents was performed and information was obtained from a number of secondary sources. These included existing covert policing documents; police seminars; international meetings of a covert policing working group; and numerous informal and formal discussions with members from the police hierarchy in each police jurisdiction. These sources have been an important resource over the course of the research as the information obtained provided the research with an historical perspective on

undercover policing, as well as current information specific to the Australasian context. Information related to recruitment, the undercover experience and reintegration into mainstream policing was obtained. To date, this information has not been made generally available. Vast amounts of this unpublished information are classified as confidential by police services and therefore cannot be quoted or referenced in the thesis.

Access to this material was made available to the researcher, only on the basis of acquiring an understanding of what it means to work as an undercover operative and to be a part of covert investigations. The material was made available to the researcher for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of relevant police protocol; to understand the current psychological issues that pervade covert investigations work; and to gain an understanding of each of the four phases an operative goes through whilst working in covert investigations (i.e. selection, training, operational work and reintegration). This material was also used to verify the uniqueness of the research and as a reference source to clarify questions that arose during the course of the research.

Although not overtly documented in the thesis, it is important to note that this material has been reviewed and is implicit in the reporting of the doctoral research. Moreover, it has influenced the design of the research methods and measures. Lastly, a detailed account of the field experience cannot be disclosed in order to protect covert policing methodology. Observations of a psychological nature, however, are noted throughout the chapters in this thesis.

3.3.6.3. Documenting Police Correspondence

Where possible, correspondence that transpired throughout the project has been documented in the thesis with the exclusion of the names of police personnel and jurisdiction. Police security clearance has been given to include this material (see Appendix 3). Confidentiality issues and police security

reasons, however, do not permit the bulk of the correspondence entered into be included and referenced in the thesis.

3.3.7. Ethical Considerations

3.3.7.1. Ethical Clearances from the Queensland University of Technology (QUT)

Ethical clearance from the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) was sought for all stages of the research. Initially, it was only granted for the interview and piloting stages of the research. The feedback received from QUT's ethics committee stipulated that as the project aimed to use different types of methodology to collect data (i.e. survey and interview methods), each separate methodology required a separate ethical clearance. Therefore, a second ethics approval was sought and granted for the use of survey methodology in the research (see Appendices 3b-3d).

As part of the first ethics application, the researcher requested that amendments be made to the university's original ethics protocol. As a usual requirement of the QUT ethics committee, researchers must keep names of participants as a safeguard. This procedure provides evidence that each participant has consented voluntarily to take part in the research. However, given the circumstances of this type of research, the issue of security, together with the level of concern felt by undercover police officers over the disclosure of their personal identity, it was believed that this project could not fulfil this requirement. In fact, this requirement not only would have impaired the level of co-operation received from the undercover police units but also could have posed a potential risk in exposing confidential personal identities.

The ethics committee also requested to receive a letter from at least one police service collaborating with the project, to confirm their participation and informed consent. The researcher felt this requirement was not suitable as it also

jeopardised the anonymity of the sample. It also jeopardised the agreement with police services to make reference to the sample as an Australasian police sample. Researchers of forensic/criminological settings such as Dixon (1997) confirm the rationale underlying this approach to seek modifications to the standard ethics protocol. Dixon believes that the written consent processes specified by ethics committees is more a function of conventional medical or scientific dominance and is not appropriate to applied areas of criminological and forensic research. Dixon (1997) goes on to state that to preserve the quality of research, researchers need to bring this to the attention of ethics committees and of the problems caused by artificial and unrealistic requirements. Other applied researchers argue that the practice of written consent is unethical. They are of the opinion that it puts at risk the anonymity and confidentiality of the information revealed by respondents, and therefore nullifies information sheets that explain the premises of research practices such as professional confidentiality and anonymity. Written consent has been known to reduce participation when the issue is highly sensitive and/or involves crime related information (Punch, 1994; Wolfgang, 1981).

To resolve these issues, and to discuss making amendments to the original ethics protocol, a meeting was held with the chair of QUT's ethics committee. During the meeting the special needs of the project were explained. The chairperson acknowledged the needs of the project and agreed that instead of obtaining the signatures from each officer; verbal consent of participation would prove adequate. Furthermore, the committee did not require a consent letter from a participating police service. However, as an alternative, the committee stated that before interviewing a undercover officer an information sheet must be shown to each officer informing them of the background of the study, the voluntary nature of their participation and detailed contact numbers for the researcher and the ethics committee should the officers wish to discuss aspects the study (see Appendix 3c). The committee agreed that officers were not obliged to keep this material if they considered it a risk in any way to either their anonymity as a participant or to their undercover policing identity. These

provisions were included in the project's research methods and the committee granted ethical clearance. It is important to note that these approved changes to QUT's original ethics protocol also apply to the second ethical clearance obtained for the use of survey methodology.

3.3.7.2. Ethical Clearances from Australasian Police Services

In addition to QUT's ethical clearance and as part of police protocol, the project was also required to obtain police ethical clearance from within the Australasian police services for the survey research. To implement survey research, three of the four Australasian police jurisdictions requested ethical clearance. Applications to each of these jurisdictions provided a description of the research, an outline of research methods, and indicated the extent of involvement required from police personnel to carry out the research. Police ethical clearance was granted from these jurisdictions (see Appendix 3e).

3.4. Summary

This chapter has outlined a number of methodological and ethical considerations involved in carrying out and reporting on this research. These issues highlight the complexity of the policing context under investigation. Police management raised some of these considerations, while others were noted by the researcher in the undercover policing context. These considerations are of professional concern to the researcher. The main goal of incorporating these considerations into research practices was to avoid possible psychological harm and concerns over security issues for officers and police jurisdictions involved in this study. In giving careful consideration to these issues in the planning of the design of this research, confidence in the validity and reliability in the findings is enhanced.

In this chapter, the significance of considering interpersonal issues in research practices was highlighted. A number of research strategies were detailed to

manage guarded behaviour and maximise acceptance of the researcher by covert police personnel and members of the police hierarchy.

In summary, the issue of anonymity and confidentiality in the reporting of findings was addressed using a number of research practices. These safeguards were put in place to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of:

- Officers from their police jurisdictions;
- Officers from other police members who took part in this research;
- Police jurisdictions from other police jurisdictions;
- Participating police jurisdictions from ethics committees;
- Police members involved in the study from other university researchers;
- Officers and police jurisdictions in the overall reporting of the dissertation findings; and
- The protected status of resource material and police correspondence.

Several research considerations had an impact on project management. That is, some of the issues outlined also played a part in developing efficient procedures to carry out the research and in maintaining positive collaborative research relations. For example, police supervisors not only ensured that police security issues were maintained throughout the research, but they were also a central point of contact to organise the implementation of research practices. This was the preferred approach to carry out the research, as the researcher was able to develop working relations with these officers who understood what was required. To have many involved in the management of the research and to be continually making new introductions to police personnel would have been less time efficient. The continuity of personnel also decreased the probability of confusion about what was required to carry out the research.

Police services were regularly informed of the rationale behind implementation procedures and were invited to examine research findings. Throughout the research period, police jurisdictions also received feedback on the findings in the form of reports.

The next chapter outlines some previous literature on the theoretical framework of social identity theory. This chapter will apply the principles of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972) to the social psychological factors present in the undercover policing and reintegration context under examination in this dissertation.

Chapter 4

Social Identity Theory

4.1. Introduction

Chapters two and three summarised the rationale for the research methods and administration procedures used in this dissertation research. This chapter discusses the theoretical framework operationalised in the dissertation. Rather than impose a framework within which to investigate the undercover policing reintegration process, the decision to investigate the research area using the constructs of social identity theory arose from the fieldwork knowledge of the Australasian police setting. The common behavioural themes identified in previously published undercover policing literature (see chapter one) that report on the difficulties experienced by reintegrating operatives such as conflicting professional identities and reactions to returning to mainstream duties can also be explained using a social identity theory framework.

This chapter begins with a section on the theories reviewed as possible frameworks to apply. A section outlining the focus of the social identity research reviewed in this chapter follows this. The next section provides an overview of the theoretical assumptions of social identity theory. The overview of the theory includes a discussion on how social identities develop and the motivations behind psychological attachments toward social groups. It will also outline behavioural manifestations associated with social identifications and the importance of the social context on the saliency of social identities. Environmental factors such as a social group's status, group size, comparison group similarity, and the conditions of change that challenge or threaten an individual's value attached to a social identity are considered. The final sections in this chapter concentrate on aspects of the theory that are of relevance to the undercover policing reintegration context.

4.2. Background Review

Prior to choosing the current research theoretical framework, several broad reviews of the literature were conducted to narrow the focus of investigating psychological factors underpinning the re-assimilation processes.

In addition to the undercover policing literature, two major areas of policing research were reviewed. The literature reporting on the notion of 'police personalities' (e.g. Coman, 1990; Coman, Evans, Stanley & Burrows, 1991; Clement & Rigby, 1992; Evans, Coman & Stanley, 1992; Hillgren & Bond, 1975; Homant, Kennedy, Howton; 1993; Mckew, 1985, Neiderhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Violanti, 1993; Violanti & Marshall, 1983) and such traits as aloofness, authoritarianism, suspiciousness, tough mindedness were considered, along with the plethora of literature that examined police organisations in terms of job related stress (e.g. Alexander, Walker, Innes & Irving, 1993; Anson & Bloom, 1988; Band & Manuele, 1987; Burke & Desca; 1986; Goolkasian, 1986; Gudjonsson, 1983; Hart, Wearing and Headley, 1994; Hollin, 1989; Lord, Gray and Pond, 1991; Martelli, Waters & Martelli, 1989; Price, 1996; Spielberg, Westberry, Grier & Greenfield, 1981; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Wilson, 1991; Wilson & Beck, 1995; Violanti, 1993).

To build a knowledge base on policing environments the literature on police socialisation processes and the emerging police culture (eg. Bryett & Harrison, 1993; Bennett, 1984; Bull, Bushin, Evans & Gahagan, 1983; Dixon, 1999; Engel & Worden, 2003; Lord, 1996; Moir & Eijkman, 1992; Murray, 2002; Yuille, 1986) were reviewed. A major shortcoming identified in the police socialisation and culture literature was that previous studies report that norms and attitudes are widely shared among officers (Herbert, 1998; Mercier, 1999; Paoline, Meyers, Worden, 2000; Skolnick, 1966). More recent studies acknowledge that police culture is modified by changes in police personnel (i.e. diversity in educational levels, race and gender) as well as philosophical and organisational changes such as the move to community policing. Researchers (eg Herbert, 1998; Chan,

1997; Prenzler, 1997) state that these changes encourage sub-cultures within the policing environment. Differentiation within the police environment has mainly been defined in terms of:

1. A distinction between two cultures- “management cops” and “ street cops” (Reusslanni, 1983)
2. Typologies of officers that describe individual officers (Reiner, 1985, Muir, 1977).

The literature criticises both of these approaches for the reasons that they de-emphasise group pressures and socialisation practices that shape officer’s perspectives and fail to account for shifts in perspectives (Herbert, 1998, Prenzler, 1997; Poaline, Myers and Warden, 2000). In Poaline, Myers and Warden’s (2000) review of policing culture research they forecast that the direction of future studies should focus on:

“analyses that examine patterns of attitudinal similarities and differences among officers, the bases (or at least the correlates) of the differences and changes over time will nevertheless expand and deepen our understanding of officers’ outlooks. Analyses exploring attitudes of officers in presumably different work environments –will reveal how extensively the differences in such environments are associated with differences in adaptations and outlooks.” (pp.602-603)

In the current examination of the Australasian undercover policing environment, some of the aforementioned criticisms are addressed. The current research perspective adopted investigates the influence of group processes (i.e. socialisation processes) on possible differences in the development of police identities and the associated normative behaviour (i.e. policing sub-cultures). The analyses undertaken in this dissertation will examine possible sub-culture differences by comparing undercover policing with mainstream police contexts

and possible correlates with the modification and differentiation of a police identity will be explored.

As the research area under investigation involves managing change processes in work related context, the organisational literature were also reviewed (e.g. Blake & Mouton, 1985; Ibarra, 1995; Moreland & Levine; 1997; Mowday & Sutton, 1993; Schweiger, Ivancevich, 1985; West, 1996). In understanding socio-cultural shifts, the dissertation also drew upon acculturation and repatriation research to explore cultural relocation effects on the self (e.g. Berry & Sam, 1997; Ferguson, 1989; Rhee, Uleman, Lee & Roman, 1995; Roccas, Horenczyk; Searle & Ward, 1990; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, Breakwell, 2000; Sussman, 2000). Repatriation was of particular interest as it involves a similar transitional process were the individual returns to their country of origin as opposed to adaptation to a new culture.

Early investigations also reviewed psychology theories on individual differences and the construction of the self in terms of personality and clinical indicators. These theories included: psychodynamic theories that examine ego strength and an individual's ability to resolve intrapsychic conflict (Freud, 1961; Graham, Rawlings, Ihms, Latimer, Foliano, Thompson, Suttman, Farrington & Hacker, 1985); Rogerian theory which emphasise the alignment between perceived self and ideal self (Rogers, 1959); motivational theories that explore ego-control and ego resiliency to consider boundary control and withholding of impulses (e.g. Lewin, 1935) and measurements of personality structures (e.g. Cattell, 1994, 1981; Krug, 1981; Zuckerman, 1979).

Coping strategies and the role of cognitive appraisal to tolerate stressful situations were also reviewed (e.g. Kobasa, 1979; Kobasa, Maddi & Kahn, 1982, Zuckerman, 1979). As mentioned, undercover police work requires officers to perform police behaviour that is at times incongruent with their

general police training. The impact of role related behaviour on the self in situations that are inconsistent with previous work behaviour was considered through the use of Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. This theory proposes that discrepancies between two cognitions leave the individual in a state of psychological tension. Psychological discomfort related to dissonance is a temporary state that is reconciled relatively quickly by individuals. According to the theory, either changing one of the cognitions or adding cognitions that are consistent with the attitude in an attempt to increase the ratio of consistent vs. inconsistent attitudes reduces dissonance arousal (Aranson, Blatin & Cooper, 1995; Fazio, Zanna, Cooper, 1977). The measurement of the arousal state experienced directly after performing dissonant behaviour is important in this theory. Without an experimental design, it would prove difficult to collect data in applied contexts. Further, this theory does not assist in explaining enduring attitude-behaviour inconsistencies.

4.3. Theory Justification

As mentioned in the previous section, a number of sociological and psychological identity theories were considered in the selection of a framework to explain the dynamics associated with Australasian undercover police officers reintegration experiences. A review of the literature found that two theories have been central to conceptualising identity processes.

Sociological perspectives such as role theory are related primarily to the maintenance of social order. Examples of role theory include identity theory or status passage theory and symbolic interactionism (e.g. Burke, 1980; Glaser & Strauss, 1971; Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Burke, 2000). These theories focus on relationships between social actors who have complementary roles (e.g. operative vs. controller, teacher vs. student). According to role theory, identities are formed from the interactions that occur within a specific structure and behavioural consistency is related to status or social position. Social structures define boundaries that encourage or impede certain behaviours (Stryker, 1980).

Sociological identity theories are constructive in explaining role-playing behaviour however, these theories of the self do not describe the internal dynamics, or rather, how identities develop in an individual. These theories have also been criticised for being static in terms of their examination of the person-environment dynamic; minimising the influence of the salient social context; and failing to account for identity variability and fluctuations of social roles in meaning and status (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995).

Psychological perspectives of identity formation state that individuals are less prone to merely adopting a prescribed role; instead, individuals cognitively seek social memberships that they consider are valuable personally. In giving consideration to the differences in theoretical perspectives, social identity theory was found to possess greater utility in explaining psychological processes of identity development and distinguishing between being a member of a group and internalising an identity (see Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). For example, an individual can act in a particular role but it does not necessarily follow that the individual internalises aspects of this role as part of their self-structure.

A number of commonalities also exist between role and identity theories, including the conceptualisation of the self in terms of multiple identities that possess a hierarchical structure of importance, and the emphasis that is placed on the influence of social factors on the self.

When considering the reintegration context under investigation, the social context not only involves what by Glaser and Strauss (1971) described as a rite of status passage, but there is also the potential for conflict to arise from weighing the value of two police groups of which the officer holds membership in each. The significance of the role of intergroup dynamics in identity formation was absent in the alternate theories reviewed. Social identity theory was considered more suitable in offering greater explanatory power on how an operative may negotiate police memberships in an intergroup context, while at

the same time, similar to role theories, account for the influence of status inconsistencies in an officer's decision to re-assume a mainstream police identity.

From the field research and the published literature, problematic peer relations are consistently reported during this phase. Furthermore behavioural reactions such as acting out the undercover role were described in the context of a mainstream police audience (Girodo, 1984b). Adopting social identity theory as a theoretical framework was mostly based on the aims of the research to identify and describe key psychological process that occur during the reintegration phase. It is also used to explain previous reports of group dynamics in terms of difficulties fitting in with mainstream peers and the behaviours that are likely to occur as a result of these difficulties.

4.3.1. Focus of the Review on Social Identity Theory

The bulk of established social identity research remains experimentally based and in laboratory settings. This review, where possible, has drawn on applied social identity research. The primary reason for making this distinction is due to notable differences between research findings from naturalistic or "real" group settings and those based on constructed social groups in artificial settings (Brown, 2000; Mullen, Brown & Smith, 1992).

The review draws on transition related research, mainly from the domain of organisational psychology, which concentrates on the social dynamics that occur during company mergers and acquisitions, in retirement research, military inter-unit relations and acculturation processes. It is argued that there are parallels in the interactions in these studies with undercover policing reintegration dynamics and also with the organisational structures within Australasian policing agencies. That is, these previous studies also involve groups that have an established history, investigate change processes that are permanent and marked by high degree of uncertainty for the individual and

concentrate on examining valued social identities rather than artificially constructed memberships. Furthermore, an individual's reactions to changes in social identities are constrained by social realities such as organisational hierarchies, status relations and management initiatives. The contexts reviewed in this chapter also engendered intergroup relations (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

There has been little research into social identifications in organisations that have undergone under change processes (see Rousseau, 1998; Hogg & Terry, 2000). In particular, very little research examines the conditions under which individuals resist any new identification resulting from workplace change or the cognitive and behavioural manifestations of resistance to a new identity. There are assumptions made about the circumstances under which they may occur, but few researchers have explored this issue.

The dissertation investigates social identity processes in a context where an undercover operative is required to resume membership in a previously held identity. The research questions in this dissertation investigate what happens when an individual is required to cognitively choose between two valued identities (or ingroups). A review of the literature showed that investigations into multiple social identities in an individual are scant. Previous multiple identity studies have focused on improving intergroup relations rather than investigating reactions to, and decisions made to establish an order of importance in, conflicting multiple social identities (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989; Hornsey & Hogg, 1999, 2000; Schein, 1988).

4.4. Overview of Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972) provides a theoretical explanation of group processes and intergroup relations. It uses a social-psychological perspective to explain how an individual's identity is developed and shaped. It offers an explanation of the way self-identities develop, under what conditions and the expected behavioural outcomes.

The theory asserts that self-identifications respond to and are influenced by the social environment which the person interacts. The theoretical assumptions take into account the relationship between internal (psychological) and external (environmental) forces on self-identity formation. Whilst the theory acknowledges personal identity as part of the self-concept (i.e. how people view themselves as individuals), it is not concerned with the individual within the group. Instead, it is concerned with the individual's views of the social group to which she/he belongs (Crocker, 1992).

More specifically, social identity is defined as: "the part of an individual's self concept which derives from his (sic) knowledge of his (sic) membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63).

Social identification occurs when an individual feels that the social group has some psychological significance to their definition of the self. When an individual identifies with a particular social group, the attributes or characteristics that distinguish the social group become defined as characteristics of the self. For instance, undercover policing is characterised by innovative, flexible and adaptable investigations. In terms of this theory, an officer identifying with this group would perceive and describe their own personal attributes as being flexible, adaptable and creative.

An important aspect of the theory is that category membership is not the same as social identity. Nominal membership in a particular group can be voluntary or imposed, however, social identities are chosen. Psychologically, an individual makes the choice to belong to a particular membership. Further, it is not a requirement that an individual be physically involved with or contribute to the goals of the social group in order to identify with its members. Social identification is cognitive and can continue long after involvement with the social group, although social factors can foster identification. Thus, situational identification exists only when triggered by cues, whereas social identification is sustained over a variety of situations.

The extent to which an individual identifies with a particular social group is a matter of degree (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Individuals tend to invest more of themselves in a valued persona that offers personal satisfaction. Strong identifications formed with a particular group mean that the fate of the group becomes intrinsically linked with the individual's own fate and self-worth and the individual personally experiences the successes and failures of the group (Ashforth, & Mael, 1989; Brewer, 1993a; Bromley, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Rousseau, 1998). In the undercover policing context, officers put considerable effort, often at the expense of other aspects of their lives, into ensuring they achieve the goals and targets set by the undercover police unit. This subculture emphasises teamwork and offers personal support to the officer for their efforts. These socio-organisational dynamics potentially demonstrate to officers that they have a personal relationship with the undercover police unit and indirectly, the police service. Officers can become concerned not only with their reputation as an operative but also with the reputation of the unit and "the need to get a result". The boundaries between the individual and the police service can become less distinct and the successes of the unit for the police organisation are intertwined with an officer's personal achievements and sense of self-worth. This demand for a deep level of investment toward the success of undercover police unit investigations, although according to social identity theory this is not

a necessary condition, is likely to enhance the level and centrality of identification with the undercover police group.

4.5 How Do Social Identifications Develop?

The theory predicts that the extent to which an officer perceives themselves similar to other officers who perform covert police duties depends on two psychological processes. These processes, referred to as social categorisation and social comparison, operate together and underlie social identification formation.

4.5.1. The Social Categorisation Process

Social categorisation is the mechanism that transforms the individual into the psychological group. *Self-categorisation* is a process where individuals cognitively categorise the self with similar others (ingroup) and cognitively distance the self from dissimilar others (outgroup). Individuals within the ingroup are perceived as more similar to the self than members of the relevant outgroup. This is the process where by the individual is transformed and prescribes to the defining features of the group and of its ideal types (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Brewer, 1993a, 1993b; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Terry, 2000).

Social categorisation serves two functions. Firstly, it allows the individual to cognitively order the social environment by classifying others in the social world as possessing typical characteristics which are “like me or not like me” or “similar to me or not similar to me”. Secondly, it answers the question “who am I” by enabling an individual to conceptualise the self as defined in relation to others in their social world. (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This process of categorisation is most pronounced when the social category is salient and has personal value to the individual (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

4.5.2. The Social Comparison Process

The value of the individual's social categorisation is determined when social comparisons are made between the ingroup and the salient outgroup (i.e. "us vs. them"). When making comparisons, there is a tendency to maximise intergroup differences, which is an attempt to maintain the group's distinctiveness. The ingroup is distinguished from an outgroup on characteristics that are more positive to the individual's social identity (i.e. positive distinctiveness) in comparison to the outgroup.

The earliest experimental studies conducted by Tajfel and colleagues (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988) used *the minimal group paradigm* to demonstrate the effects of social categorisation and social comparison. These studies found clear evidence that simply assigning individuals with no previous shared history to groups can generate ingroup favouritism. Ingroup favouritism was not dependent on prior interpersonal liking and it occurred even when the groups had no interaction. Mere categorisation induced social competition for the allocation of resources. This finding is well established and has been replicated over time (Brewer, 1979; Diehl, 1988; Dobbs & Crano, 2001; Grieve & Hogg, 1999) but critics of this experimental study design suggest that its findings reflect measurements of group membership rather than group identification (Brown, 2000; McGrath, Arrow & Berdahl, 2000).

4.6. Motivations Behind Psychological Attachment Toward Social Groups

Social identifications are not only descriptive, they are also evaluative. According to social identity theory, increased self-esteem and uncertainty reduction are the motives behind social identifications. In the original conceptualisation of social identity theory, group identification was considered the process that imparts self-esteem. That is, the individual's motivation to maintain group membership stems from the desire to maintain high levels of

self-esteem and to regulate a positive identity. Social identity theory subscribes to the belief that the definition of the self is multifaceted and social identifications are ordered in importance within the self-structure (see Brown, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Support for the self-esteem hypothesis is reported in early laboratory research. These studies found that people felt better about themselves after having favoured their ingroup over an outgroup. Laboratory studies have also shown that individuals with low levels of self-esteem exhibit more differentiation or ingroup bias in an attempt to restore their self-esteem to an adequate level. Neither of these premises has received unequivocal support in applied and artificial settings. However, the majority of social identity research shows support for the first premise (Brewer, 1993a, 1993b; Brown, 2000; Cameron, 1999; Hunter, Platow, Bell & Kypri, 1997; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

More recently (Hogg & Mullens, 1999), evidence has been found that individuals are also motivated to reduce uncertainty (i.e. *the uncertainty reduction hypothesis*). Social identity theory argues that individuals possess a need to have confidence in how to behave consistently and what to expect (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Uncertainty arises when individuals become aware that their beliefs, attitudes and values are in conflict with those of similar others. According to social identity theory, self-categorisation is the process that reduces or resolves uncertainty through prescribing to cognitions and behaviours that are prototypical (or central) to a particular social group. Therefore, individuals are not only motivated to maintain a positive self-esteem but also to reconcile cognitive conflict through positive social identifications with, and adopting the stereotypical attributes of, the chosen ingroup (Brewer, 1993a; Hogg & Terry, 2000).

4.7. Behavioural Manifestations of Social Identifications

The extent to which an individual identifies with a social group can be used to predict behaviour. For example, the degree of religious identification can predict an individual's attendance at religious meetings. Other behavioural manifestations of social identifications include:

4.7.1. Providing an Individual with a Framework for Cognitions and Behaviour

Apart from imparting self-esteem and reducing levels of uncertainty, social identification processes provide individuals with a framework for behaviour that is appropriate to their identity. Members learn and ascribe to the general ways of acting and thinking that have come to represent the beliefs and characteristics of a particular social group (i.e. *normative behaviour*). Forming psychological attachments to a social group that has meaning and value to an individual provides norms or guides for cognition and behaviour. There is, however, a distinction between conforming (i.e. maintaining membership) and internalising (i.e. socially identifying) normative behaviours. Internalisation of norms is contingent on the degree of social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Brewer, 1993a, Bromely, 1993a; 1993b; Brown, 2000; Ellemers, Van Rijswijk, Roefs, & Catrien., 1997; Greenland & Brown, 1999; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Madrigal, 2001).

For example, undercover work is characterised by role-playing combined with police investigative norms. Officers are required to role-play or conform to the normative characteristics of criminal groups. Some officers modify their physical appearance for instance by building their bodies to fit in with steroid users who place importance on "working out" at the gym, while others may lose weight to fit in with other drug related targets. In contrast to this role-playing, examples of internalised undercover norms have been observed by clinicians in the undercover policing literature and confirmed in the present field research. That is, some former covert operatives continue to display undercover policing

behaviours long after they have returned to mainstream police duties. It was observed that these officers continued to behave like they were “back on the streets”. The role-playing described may not necessarily be role-playing a criminal character. According to social identity theory principles, such displays can be an affective reaction to leaving a highly valued police identification, the undercover police identity, and resuming mainstream duties.

4.7.2. Cohesiveness and Solidarity

In social identity theory, emotional states are also viewed as a consequence of identification. Generally, the more individuals become psychologically attached to a social group, the more they exhibit cohesiveness and solidarity toward the social group and its group norms. Research has found that individuals who remain strongly identified with a social group increase their solidarity with the group when their membership is under threat (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Guzzo, 1996; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Terry, 2000). It is plausible that some former operatives will resist mainstream identification because of their solidarity toward the undercover group. As a consequence of the threat of leaving covert duties and returning to mainstream policing, their attachments toward the undercover group may increase.

4.7.3. Positive Distinctiveness and Ingroup Bias

Social identity theory asserts that the reason individuals tend to exhibit ingroup bias and positive distinctiveness is to maintain a sense of self worth for having held membership in a particular social group. Individuals do not want to believe that their time as a member of a group was worthless. Generally, group memberships that are viewed negatively carry negative perceptions for the individual’s own self-worth (Brewer, 1993a; Brown, 2000; Ellemers et. al., 1997; Greenland & Brown, 1999; Jackson, 1999).

4.7.4. Intergroup Rivalry and Differentiation

Intergroup conflict is a form of social action and intergroup derogation occurs under certain conditions, namely conditions of threat. Previous social identity research has shown that individuals with strong attachments to a particular social group under threat from a relevant outgroup will use derogation and rivalry to defend their highly valued membership (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Hartley, 1996; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Jackson, 1999; Noel, Wann & Branscombe, 1995; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). The majority of social identity researchers have used these behavioural measures of ingroup bias and differentiation, or favouring of one identification group over another, as indicators of the level of attachment held toward a particular membership.

4.7.5. Organisational Commitment, Job Satisfaction, and Intentions to Leave

Organisational research has shown that individuals who are psychologically attached to their work and display positive attitudes toward being part of a work group are likely to express greater organisational commitment and job satisfaction. Further, individuals are less likely to express intentions to leave the organisation than those who hold little emotional attachment and negative attitudes towards their work environment (Allen, 1996; Ashford, 1988; Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993; Chatman, 1991; Ferrie, Shipley, Marmot, Stansfeld & Smith 1998; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, Paulsen, Callan & Gallois, 1997a, 1997b; Rousseau, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 1994; Terry, Tonge & Callan; 1998; Terry & Callan, 2001).

Some previous research has confused organisational identification with organisational commitment. It is important to be aware of the distinction between these variables. Organisational commitment is a consequence of an individual's attachment to their work group and their organisation (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Bromley, 1993; Mael & Tetrick, 1992).

4.8. The Influence of the Social Context

According to the theory, social identities are dynamic. Individuals use many social categories such as occupation, gender and ethnicity to define the self. At the macro level, the social context is an important consideration in activating an individual's social identification. Accordingly, the social context determines the saliency of a social identity and of the intergroup dynamics (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ellemers, 1990; Ellemers, Doosje & Wilke, 1992; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Kramer, 1991; Turner, 1991; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

For instance, in the context of a police officer performing undercover duties, the immediate important social groups in this context are the undercover police group (i.e. ingroup) and the comparison group of the negatively evaluated criminal target groups (i.e. outgroup). However, when the policing context changes and the operative is required to reintegrate into mainstream policing, the two most salient social groups become two police groups. They are the undercover group and the mainstream police group. Re-assimilation into the mainstream police environment now evokes contrasts and comparison with a similar ingroup, mainstream police officers. Unlike earlier phases of undercover police work, the reintegration phase requires that undercover operatives cognitively weigh the value of their dual police membership (i.e. undercover police attachments vs. mainstream police attachments) and establish an order of importance for these two police identifications. The officer's choice of which police identity to maintain in the mainstream context is thus an important indicator of psychological adjustment after undercover police work. The degree of fit or identity congruence between officer and the mainstream policing environment is therefore used as an indicator of psychological adjustment in this study.

According to social identity theorist Oakes (1987), category salience is determined by two main processes known as *accessibility* and *fit*. Social categories that are easily cognitively accessed are likely to become more salient

than categories that are more difficult to access cognitively. For example, the more significant or highly valued police identity will be accessed more readily in the work context. The degree of fit between the readily accessed social groups (i.e. police group) is determined in what Oakes (1987) terms of its *normative fit*. The term *normative fit* is used to explain whether norms of a salient social identity (for example, displays of undercover police norms) fit the expected norms of attitudes and behaviours in the social context (for example, the reintegrating mainstream police context) (Blanz & Aufderheide, 1999; Van Knippenberg, Twuyver & Pepels, 1994). For example, if the reintegrating officer's attitudes and behaviours are consistent with the expected norms of the mainstream police environment, social identity theorists argue there is a normative fit between the officer's conceptualisation of self as a police officer and expected norms of the mainstream environment (i.e. identity congruence).

Normative fit of the person-environment is considered an important issue when examining transitional processes of re-assimilation. Research has shown that identity incongruence is associated with poor psychological adjustment. Experiences that are inconsistent with an individual's identity threaten the valued social identity and promote psychological distress (Berry & Kim 1988; Burke, 1991; Rogler, 1994; Thoits, 1991, 1995).

4.9. Perceptions of Threat Arising from Environmental Factors

This section discusses the role of social factors in influencing the choices people make about their social identities and therefore the actions they take to maintain, protect and enhance their self-esteem, and reduce cognitive uncertainty. Social structures are considered key variables of social identity theory in moderating the relationship between identification and behavioural outcomes such as ingroup bias (i.e. positive ingroup attitudes), commitment, job satisfaction, and intentions to leave the police service (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993; Hogg & Terry, 2000).

As social identity theory is one based on conflict, social factors are conceptualised in terms of perceived threat toward a social identification. When threat is absent from the social context, then intergroup relations are generally more positive and there is minimal impact on individual's self-esteem and current salient self-identification (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

A review of the literature suggests that generally threat is ill-defined (see Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). In applied settings the perception of threat is complex. Threat to social identifications can arise from factors such as the social standing as well as group size, majority versus minority, and similarity and proximity issues. Threat has also been defined in terms of social and organisational conditions such as the management and socio-organisational history of the context. It is argued that the combination of these social structures can exacerbate group tensions and an individual's resistance to modify or accept another social identification.

The next sections concentrate on social conditions that potentially moderate an officer's ability to psychologically modify their current police identification to fit back into the mainstream environment. These particular social factors from the social identity theory literature are discussed because of their relevance to the social dynamics within each of the undercover policing phases. Although each socio-organisational factor is discussed separately in the following sections, they are not so easily disentangled in applied settings. Instead, it is argued that they can act in combination to contribute to a perception of threat when former operatives are required to modify their undercover policing identity.

4.9.1. Threat to a Social Group's Status

Previous reports of status inconsistencies among former operatives can be examined through the framework of social identity theory. The theory states that individuals form beliefs on the nature of social relations between groups. It argues that the prestige or status of a group is relative to other groups in a social hierarchy.

It has been shown that individuals are motivated to maintain valued social identities particularly if they are regarded as prestigious or elite (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). High status groups tend to evaluate their ingroup more positively, express greater bias, identify more with their group and are more negative to relevant outgroups than those in low status groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton & Hume, 2001; Bromley, 1993; Brown, 1986; Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 2000; Crocker, Blaine & Luhtanen, 1993; Diehl, 1988; Doosje, Ellemers & Spears, 1995; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Finchilescu & De La Rey, 1991; Hartley, 1996; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Skevington, 1981; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

Terry and Callan (1998) examined the effects of a hospital merger, where no job losses were anticipated, on work relations between members from the merging hospitals. Data was collected from 1,104 respondents at the time the merger was announced. In this study, status was not measured directly, instead, high status (i.e. the larger hospital) was defined according to the current work practices of the larger hospital being adopted by the smaller hospital and the relocation of employees from the smaller hospital. As predicted by social identity theory, the merger threat was greatest among low status employees. They rated the merger as stressful and were more concerned with its impact than high-status employees. These findings were verified in another study by Terry, Carey and Callan (2001) of a merger that involved 465 fleet staff from two Australian airlines not long after the merger was formalised.

In this second merger study, an international carrier (high status group) acquired a domestic carrier (low status group). As an indicator of the employees' adjustment, the level of their identification with the new merger culture was measured. There was no measure of identification with the previous airline included in the study. Other measures of psychological adjustment to the merger included ingroup bias, organisational commitment, self-esteem and emotional well-being. In both studies, the less dominant culture to merge was defined as the minority group and status was defined in terms of adoption of group norms in the merger rather than size. Overall, the employees from the domestic carrier reported lower levels of job satisfaction and were less committed to the new merger organisational culture. It was also found that employees from the low status group who perceived a chance for status enhancement by joining the international airline reported increased job satisfaction and commitment to the new merger airline, increased self-esteem and greater emotional well-being. However, not all social identity predictions were supported. Social identity theory predicts that when there is a chance for status improvement through individual strategies such as social mobility, collective actions such as ingroup bias should decrease. This assumption was not supported. There was also no evidence that ingroup bias was a function of status mediated by merger identity. Status and merger identity had independent effects. The researchers acknowledged that the results might have been influenced by the survey being implemented in the negotiation stage rather than at later stages of the merger process (Terry et. al., 2001).

In this situation it may have been beneficial to consider the extent to which the employees remained identified with their previous airline identity. It is argued that is important to measure previous identities in order to examine whether they inhibit the formation of attachments to a new identity. Considering within group differences may also be important as individuals may negotiate environmental change differently depending on the level of the previous attachments.

4.9.1.1. Combined Effects of Status and Group Size

Status effects have found to be accentuated by group size. In both real and laboratory settings, it has been shown that individuals prefer to belong to a minority ingroup than to a majority comparison group. When status structures were considered, individuals who held memberships in smaller or elite high status groups were more proud of their membership than majority high status groups (Ellemers, Doosje, & Wilke, 1992, Brewer, 1993a, 1993b; Jackson, 1999).

The minority size enhanced the exclusiveness of a high status group and members expressed a desire to preserve this exclusiveness when there was a possibility for increasing the group's size. However, when group size and status were separated in these experiments, loss of status was the more powerful predictor of group behaviour (Ellemers, Doosje & Wilke, 1992).

4.9.1.2. Legitimacy of a Social Group's Status

According to social identity theory, low group status is acceptable providing the position in the social structure is considered to be a legitimate outcome. Particularly, in organisational contexts, individuals focus on procedural justice because it provides information about their social standing. Unfair treatment implies the group is not valued (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Doosje, Ellemers & Spears, 1995; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Kramer, 1991; Mael & Tetrick, 1992; Rousseau, 1998; Silvester, Anderson & Patterson, 1999; Terry & Callan, 1998; Terry et. al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993)

Applying social identity theory to undercover police would suggest that an officer's belief about their treatment or fairness, the *legitimacy of the undercover group's status*, and recognition for having performed undercover duties by members in the new mainstream hierarchy impact on the degree of identification maintained with the undercover group.

Illegitimacy of status motivates individuals to take action to remedy the group's situation. For instance, Ellemers et. al's, (1993a,1993b) laboratory experiments found that when the low group status was illegitimate, group members reported stronger ingroup identification compared with members in the legitimately low status groups. It appears that when groups believe they are treated unfairly the negative experience forms a common bond among members. However, when members are individually assigned to a low status group, they have a tendency to show less attachment and to seek to move to another membership group.

4.9.1.3. Reactions to Status Threats

Conditions that threaten the prestige of a group and its distinctiveness, evoke status protection strategies to maintain the value of being part of this social group. According to social identity theory, protection strategies maintain and regulate self-esteem. For lower status groups, the chance to increase their status is more likely to evoke status enhancement strategies such as leaving the group to join a higher status group (Ashford, 1988; Ashforth, Lee, & Bobko, 1989; Bromley, 1993; Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 1986; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1993; Diehl, 1988; Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Finchilescu & De La Rey, 1991; Hartley, 1996; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Paulsen, Callan & Gallois, 1997a, 1997b; Skevington, 1981; Terry & Callan, 1998, Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

Spears, Doosje and Ellemers (1997) conducted four experimental studies to consider the effects on self-stereotyping and group distinctiveness of threats to identity caused by the superior status of outgroups. Across the four studies, it was found that initial group identification determined whether group members distanced themselves from the group or showed group solidarity when the group identity was threatened. Low identifiers distanced themselves whereas high identifiers were more collectivistic and loyal to the group. When status and distinctiveness were manipulated, similar patterns of difference between

high/low identifiers were found. This study supports examining variations within the groups as well as the group level.

Ellemers, Wilke and Van Knippenberg's (1993) experimental work found that behaviour directed at social change or social mobility depended on situational characteristics instead of legitimacy considerations. People are concerned with selecting the action that offers the greatest subjective utility.

4.9.2. Threat from the Comparison Group

4.9.2.1. Intergroup Similarity

Social identity research on the threat from intergroup similarity has received equivocal support. Groups that find themselves similar are motivated to show intergroup bias. It does not necessarily follow, however, that this differentiation leads to hostility. When groups are similar, the social situation is co-operative and groups are of equal status, individuals show less bias compared to a dissimilar group (see Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Brown, 2000; Diehl, 1988). The important component of similar comparison group effects is that the similar comparison ingroup is perceived as threatening to a valued membership. The greater the perceived threat to a highly valued identity, the more likely is it that individuals will engage in negative discrimination.

In the operational undercover policing context, potential threat or loss of the undercover identity is minimal. The risk most likely perceived during this period is that of forming social identification with an outgroup or criminal group. However, in the reintegrating context, the relevant comparison group is a similar majority ingroup, mainstream police officers, and the threat is high as it is difficult to sustain the undercover identity in this context.

4.9.2.2. Dual Membership

In order to fit into the mainstream policing context, former operatives are required to make adjustments to their previous policing behavioural norms and establish working relations once again with other mainstream peers. In addition to these behavioural adjustments to policing styles, undercover officers are required to cognitively evaluate and choose between two previously held memberships in terms of how they define themselves as police officers.

There is very little research literature on attitudes and group processes in negotiating dual membership. The majority of research in this area has focused on identifying conditions that facilitate harmonious relations between different membership groups (Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 1986; Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasia, Bachman & Rust, 1996; Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Houlette, Johnston & McGlynn, 2000; Hornsey & Hogg 1999; 2000a, 2000b; Thoits, 1983). Social identity research into this area focuses on re-assimilation of sub-group relations at the *superordinate* level. In these studies, individuals have membership in one or another social group (i.e. exclusive membership) under study rather than simultaneous membership; for example, psychology versus economics students subsumed under the classification of a particular faculty within a university (Brown & Wade, 1987; Crisp & Hewstone, 2001; Deschamps & Brown, 1983; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). This dynamic is very different from the undercover policing reintegration context where the superordinate category is the comparison group and the officer is required to re-assimilate into a previously held group membership of mainstream police. Therefore officers must choose between two ingroups of which they hold membership in each.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) have commented on the affective reaction that an individual may experience when faced with dual identities. The authors suggest that when an individual is forced to simultaneously choose between valued

identities, their ability to cognitively manage and order social identities creates conflict. The authors argue that role conflict is not in the identities that are in conflict but in the values, beliefs and norms that characterise the identities. Mainstream police work and undercover duties are similar in that both involve police identities. However, mainstream policing can be dissimilar in terms of attitudes toward criminals, investigate styles and differences in the emphasis on autonomy of the individual, teamwork and flexibility. These issues will be investigated further in the interview study.

According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), conflict between multiple identities is resolved through the process of ordering separating and buffering social identities. That is, the person can define the self in terms of the most salient identity and give it an order in the hierarchy of identities. For example, "I am an undercover officer primarily and a police officer second" or "I am a police officer first and undercover officer second". Another option is to defer to the identity that has the greatest environmental saliency at the time, for example, the mainstream police identity. By a third option, the individual may decouple identities. For example, "I am an undercover police officer who now works in mainstream police duties" or "I am a mainstream police officer who has performed undercover police duties".

4.9.3. Threat Arising from Conditions of Change

Social identity theory does not mention conditions of change directly, however, previous applied social identity findings reflect that the management of conditions of change influences the extent to which an individual modifies their social identity. Organisational dynamics are important in interpreting the effects of changes in social identities during transitional periods.

The psychological need to reduce uncertainty holds particular relevance to transitional periods such as reintegration. It is well established that transitional periods create a sense of uncertainty in individuals marked by stress, conflict at

work and problematic intergroup work and family relations, job loss, increased anxiety over the nature of their work, their position in the organisation and their career path (Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Callan, Terry & Schweitzer, 1994; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993; Gil & Foulger, 1978; Hartley, 1996; Marks & Mirvis, 1985; Rousseau, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Van Dijkhuizen & Reiche, 1980; Winefield, Montgomery, Gault, Muller, O’Gorman, Reser & Roland, 2002). It is also associated with organisational outcomes such as low organisational commitment and increased intentions to leave the organisation (Ashford, 1988; Bastien, 1987; Buona & Bowditch, 1985; Gil & Foulger, 1978; Marks & Mirvis, 1985; Robino & DeMeuse, 1985; Paulsen, Callan & Gallois, 1997a; Schwieger & Denisi, 1991; Schweiger & Ivancevich, 1985; Shirley, 1973; Sinetar, 1981; Smidts, Pruyn & Van Riel, 2001).

When two organisations merge it is usually a source of conflict for employees independent of any actual change (Cartwright & Cooper, 1993). Intergroup rivalry can engender resistance to change (Blake, & Mouton, 1985; Buona, Lewis & Bowditch, 1985; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993). If the change process is not perceived as positive, the merged culture and new organisational identity is likely to be rejected by the employees who are likely to try to retain the old work identity (Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1988; Blake & Mouton, 1985; Brickson, 2001; Buono & Bowditch, 1989; Callan, Terry & Schweitzer, 1994; Dekker & Schaufeli, 1995; Schwieger & Denisi 1991; Terry & Callan, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001). Successful merging of corporate cultures shows that cultural similarity or “culture fit” between the two organisations facilitates integration and the development of a new corporate culture (Cartwright & Cooper, 1993).

Preparing employees for change also impacts on the level of uncertainty, and therefore, negative interpersonal and organisational responses. Schweiger and Denisi (1991) used an experimental applied style of research where one of the organisations received information about the outcomes of the merger (both positive and negative) prior to the merger, while the other received very little information. Survey data was collected from four stages (four weeks before the

merger, two weeks after the merger, ten days after the second survey and three months after the third survey) over a four-month period. Negative effects arising from the merger, such as job dissatisfaction, lack of organisational commitment, perceptions of trust and intentions to leave, were more noticeable over time. Information flow influenced individuals' reactions to the change process. In this study, the authors acknowledge the effects of the research time frame. The data collection period (i.e. four-months) in this study was not sufficient to observe the long term effects of the merger on the workers.

Being prepared and maintaining a degree of personal control has been shown to be important when negotiating an identity. Webb, Nasco, Riley and Headrick (1998) examined the effects of retirement among 93 elite athletes. Overall, highly identified athletes reported more difficulties with retirement. Exercising control of retirement was found to be a key factor in being prepared for retirement. Injury related retirements were more problematic for highly identified athletes than de-selection or voluntary retirement. For these athletes who felt little control over the retirement event, they were more likely to report lower levels of overall life satisfaction, difficulty with the retirement event and an increased sense of uncertainty about the future.

Overall, the research outlined in this section demonstrates that reducing uncertainty appears to inoculate those undergoing the change process. These transitional studies have also highlighted the importance of obtaining measures of an individual's previous social memberships as well as their new social memberships in change research. The importance of giving careful consideration to time in the design of change research was emphasised as impacting on findings.

4.10. Theory Relevance to the Undercover Policing Reintegration Process

The research reviewed in this chapter implies that in order to understand the reintegration process, it is also critical to have knowledge of earlier social contexts. Table 2 summarises the links between the explanatory power of social identity and the social dynamics associated with undercover police work, the transitional period and the reintegrating context. The table summarises the social conditions at the three phases of undercover policing according to social factors that reinforce police identity formation and influence perceptions of threat to identity modification in the re-assimilation context.

Table 2. Summary of the Social Conditions Associated with the Reintegration Process

Undercover Policing Context	Transitional Context	Mainstream Policing Context
Elite area of policing	No formal transition period prior to returning to Mainstream duties	General policing
Minority group size	Marked by high degree of uncertainty	Dominant group size
Central police membership that often replaces other social identifications	Officers reintegrate on an individual basis	Dual membership
Isolated from regular police and social supports		Previous "old" superordinate police membership
Secrecy and unique experience of undercover work reinforcing highly cohesive and strong bonds among members		Mainstream peers are unfamiliar with previous former operatives undercover policing history
Unique/distinct policing norms		Hierarchical work structure
Teamwork approach among officers and support offered on personal basis		Salient similar comparison group (i.e. two ingroups)
Autonomous and flexible work environment		
Salient dissimilar comparison group (criminal outgroup)		
Time-limited activity in policing career		

As mentioned in chapter one, undercover policing is considered an elite area of policing in terms of the selection and training process that limits a position in covert policing to a minority of mainstream police officers. Individuals who undertake training in this area volunteer to become part of the undercover police environment. Officers who work in undercover policing are part of a highly cohesive police group. They rely heavily on the support provided by their “mates” who share in this unique experience. It is possibly the only period in the officers’ professional policing careers where they are purposively removed from their regular social and organisational support systems.

Whilst working in covert duties, operational undercover officers are not in close proximity with their former ingroup of mainstream policing. There are a number of other reinforcing social factors contributing to the possible formation of separate undercover policing norms that are unique to this area of police work. These include the style of work based on a teamwork approach, the work autonomy and flexibility, the secrecy and isolation from the mainstream policing environment and the enmeshment of criminal related activities with law enforcement objectives. Whilst not necessary, these work characteristics of undercover duties can foster identification processes in the sense that it is an uncommon, unique but shared experience among a select few and that it requires a high degree of personal investment from the officer to carry out undercover police duties.

Australasian undercover police work is of finite duration and returning to mainstream policing is compulsory. Therefore former operatives have little choice but to evaluate and modify their undercover policing membership. The actual process of reintegrating occurs on an individual basis and is not usually timed to coincide with other members’ re-assimilation. The Australasian undercover police officers included in the studies in this dissertation were not part of any formal reintegration program. Together with stress related to the reintegration process, it is not unreasonable to assume that officers experience a high degree of uncertainty during this transition period.

The threat or loss of the undercover persona is greatest during the reintegration period, as officers consider re-establishing ties with officers who are unaware of their previous policing background. They return to the general area of policing where the majority policing norms do not reward some of the officers' previous undercover policing behaviour. To fit in with the mainstream environment, operatives are required to make changes to their former police memberships and cognitively negotiate their affiliations with two police ingroups.

The decisions operatives make about how to define themselves is one of the principal research questions under investigation in the current study. The issue of dual membership and identity decision making will be explored in the thesis. To examine group dynamics within the re-assimilation process and to continue to explore previous reports of problematic relations with mainstream policing the social identity construct of ingroup bias and outgroup derogation will be applied. The role of social status in negotiating operatives' return to mainstream policing is examined as they leave behind an elite work group and return to a majority work group. To consider the role and reaction to changes in police memberships the social identity principle of legitimacy of the undercover organisational status is examined.

The extent of successful re-assimilation into the mainstream work environment is considered in terms of the person-environment fit or to use social identity terms, normative fit. To remain psychologically attached to the police organisation it is argued that officers must possess sufficient identification with the superordinate category of 'mainstream police identity'. Secondly, to remain committed to the policing context officers derive sense of satisfaction from being part of the police service and performing mainstream duties. Previous research has shown that psychological attachments in work groups are related to a number of organisational indicators that have previously been mentioned in this chapter. Therefore to consider the person-environment fit between the former undercover officer and their new work context, current police identifications

(person) combined with organisational indicators (environment) are included in this research.

4.11. Summary

This chapter outlined the principles of social identity theory to demonstrate its explanatory power to the reintegration experiences of undercover police officers in the Australasian context. The decision to adopt the social-psychological perspective of social identity theory was made from the knowledge acquired of the Australasian policing context during fieldwork. However, the suitability of social identity theory's application to the current Australasian undercover policing context is further tested in the interview study in chapter six.

Social identity is a theory based on group processes and intergroup relations. It explains how social identities develop within an individual and the motivation behind an individual's affiliation to belong to social groups. Similar to sociological perspectives, social identity theory also considers a number of environmental factors that impact on identity formation. Behavioural manifestations associated with social identifications were also discussed in this chapter.

This dissertation investigates social identity processes in a context where an undercover operative is required to resume membership in a previously held identity. During the reintegration phase of undercover police duties, the operative is required to cognitively choose between two valued identities, or two ingroups. That is, an aspect of the re-assimilation process involves social comparison processes to negotiate multiple ingroup memberships to fit into to the mainstream environment. The degree of fit or re-assimilation into mainstream police memberships is therefore considered a measure of psychological adjustment. As identified in the review of previous social identity literature, there is a paucity of research examining multiple identities. No research was found that empirically investigated how individuals reconcile

multiple identities or the individual's reactions when confronted with this scenario. Part Two in the dissertation reports findings from the investigations of this theoretical issue.

A number of relevant research issues to consider in the design of the dissertation research were identified from the review of previous social identity research. The next chapter provides an overview of the formal research methods applied in this dissertation. It outlines how these methodological issues raised from the literature review are addressed in the design of the dissertation research.

Chapter 5

Overview of Formal Research Methods

5.1. Introduction

Chapters two and three discussed the use of field research in methodological development. These previous chapters emphasised the importance of spending time in the covert context in order to become familiar with the issues that were likely to have an impact on the utility of research procedures and on the accuracy of the information collected. The knowledge acquired from previous literature (see chapter one) when combined with field research was instrumental in choosing a theoretical framework (see chapter four) to investigate and deconstruct the psychological processes associated with undercover police officers' reintegration experiences. Chapter five completes Part One of the dissertation.

In this chapter, an overview of the more formal methods used to report the findings in Part Two of the dissertation are presented. It outlines the use of interview and survey methods. It provides an overview of the aims of each research approach and the rationale for choosing these methods; the general characteristics of participating officers in each of these studies; the criteria used for sample selection; and methods of analysis.

The chapter consists of four sections. The first section outlines the main research design considerations identified from previous social identity research. The next section outlines the use of qualitative approaches and the methods employed in the interview study. This section is followed by a discussion of survey research designs and practices. Although discussed separately, triangulation techniques of combining findings from fieldwork, interview and survey studies were utilised in this thesis. The chapter is completed with a summary section.

5.2. Lessons Learned from Previous Studies

Two main research design considerations were identified from the previous social identity literature reviewed in chapter four. In conjunction with research objectives, these methodological issues are addressed and incorporated into the design of the studies reported in Part Two.

5.2.1. Artificial Versus Realistic Settings

Although there is a growing body of evidence in applied settings of experimentally based findings, there are still contradictions in social identity research (LaLonde, Moghaddam & Taylor, 1986; Mullen et. al., 1992). For example, predictions of ingroup bias as a result of threat to status or group identification have not always been supported in studies (Ellemers, Wilke & Van Knippenberg, 1993; Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). It is therefore argued that it cannot be assumed that these experimental dynamics necessarily reflect real life settings for the reasons that follow.

Laboratory research uses artificially constructed membership groups that are time limited. These social groups have no history or no future and any group formation that occurs only lasts as long as the experiment. Some experimental research uses the term “real groups” to refer to sampling student populations, however, student populations are distinct groups that may not always reflect community attitudes and patterns of decision making (Crisp & Hewstone, 2001). The role of identification in experimental settings may not be as clear as it is in natural settings because group membership is manipulated and individuals may not feel as emotive in artificial settings where social structures are considered mostly in isolation. McGrath, Arrow and Berdahl (2000) assert that, given the complexity of real groups, there is a need to abandon some of the control and precision of experimental research and consider the effects of a combination of

variables impacting on an individual's identification process. Taking into account the former criticisms, and whilst acknowledging the need to study variables in isolation, the external validity of social identity theory requires examination prior to its application in the current research context.

5.2.2. Temporal Element in the Research Design

Social identity theory has been termed a dynamic theory. This description implies that social identities are active, fluid, variable and respond to social contexts. The discussion of previous transitional studies highlights two research issues: the timing of data collection and the time period allocated to monitor social identities.

Mapping change across transitional periods is a critical component of the studies reviewed in chapter four. For example, Lalonde (1986) found measures of differentiation effects among spectators varied at several times during a hockey game and depended on the stage and score of the game. Some previous social identity researchers acknowledge that their results were affected by the timing of data collection or by not having followed the change process for a sufficient period of time. Studies collected data prior to change, during the change process or directly after the change occurred. Given that the relationship between identification and social context is reflexive, it is therefore argued that there is a need to consider and understand the social conditions that exist prior to and after the actual reintegration process.

In terms of the length of time spent monitoring change effects, the general consensus in the literature is that a period of two years or more may be needed before the full impact of the transition on the worker can be measured (see Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Terry, Rawle & Callan, 1995).

5.3. The Interview Study

5.3.1. Aim

The first more formal source of data collected in this dissertation is qualitative information from former undercover officers and controllers. The main purpose of the interview study was to explore, understand and represent covert officers' reintegration experiences (see chapter six). This stage of the research process involved both theory testing and data collection. It identified individual, social and structural factors underpinning the Australasian undercover policing experience.

The focus of this study is on the perceptions of the officers' experiences during undercover policing and reintegration and not necessarily on objective reality. That is, the study is concerned with the officers' interpretations of reality and representations of police experiences (Blakie, 2000; Elliot, Fischer & Rennie, 1999; Neuman, 1997). According to Neuman (1997) interview data is rich in detail, sensitive to context, capable of showing the complex processes of social life and redresses the imbalance of contextually relevant information that quantitative methods strip.

Apart from the rich detail afforded by an interview study, there were several other methodological reasons for choosing to conduct interviews. The first of these was to test the appropriateness of social identity theory as a research orientation. Rather than assume its usefulness, the theoretical framework was tested in the police context. As a technique, qualitative information is particularly useful for establishing the validity of theory to the topic under consideration (Blakie, 2000, Denzin, 1994).

Prior to conducting these interviews, the researcher gained insight into some of the general psychological issues surrounding reintegration experiences through field research and previously published literature. This background information

seemed to indicate that police identifications and relationships with police peers were noteworthy social-psychological processes that occur during the re-assimilation experience. Qualitative methods were selected to explore whether group processes were substantiated in the experiences of, and reports gathered from, former Australasian undercover officers.

Once the relevance of social identity theory was tested and deemed appropriate as a psychological framework, it was used to analyse themes present in the interviews. The findings from this study are presented in chapter six.

The second reason for use of interviewing concerns the limited availability of previous literature on undercover policing and of information on the current Australasian context. As mentioned in previous chapters, there is little published research that investigates this area of policing. The knowledge obtained from field research suggests that undercover policing has rapidly changed since its inception. Conducting interviews with former Australasian operatives was, therefore, beneficial in generating information that is context dependent and relevant to the current undercover police climate in Australasia.

Thirdly, the exploratory interview study has been used to generate and refine a set of hypotheses to direct analyses in the second study. The common themes identified in these interviews became constructs to further investigate with a larger and more recently reintegrated sample of operatives.

Fourthly, the interview information was used to construct question items on the survey. Basing the questionnaire on this information gave face and content validity to the quantitative measures. It ensured that relevant constructs were included, created the range of possible responses to specific questions and allowed the items to be expressed in a manner that was both specific to the

police environment and to the questions under investigation (Babbie, 1995; Blakie, 2000). Traditionally, policing has been cautious of accepting outside influences. To address this concern and to make it more acceptable and more meaningful to present officers, the survey was based on information obtained from former operatives and incorporated their attitudes and language styles.

Lastly, whilst the background information gathered on undercover policing guided the format of the open-ended questions used in the qualitative interview, the information obtained from these interviews was also used to guide further reviews of the literature.

To sum up, the focused interviews were descriptive and exploratory. The qualitative information was descriptive in that it provided a detailed account of the current undercover policing environment specific to Australasia. It also informed the overall research with current and context dependent information. The interviews were exploratory in terms of 1) testing the application of the selected psychological theory to researching undercover policing issues; 2) generating relevant research questions and hypotheses to investigate further; and 3) providing a resource to guide the design of the survey research.

5.3.2. Research Question

At this preliminary stage of the research process, the questions in the interview study were designed around the following research question: What are the relevant psychological issues surrounding undercover policing and the experience of reintegrating into mainstream policing? The next section presents research techniques used to perform content analysis on the interview data.

5.3.3. Method

5.3.3.1. Methods Employed in Content Analysis

Previously, qualitative research has been criticised for its lack of explanation of the way the data is analysed (Elliot et. al., 1999; Neuman, 1997). This has made it difficult for qualitative findings to be seen as explicit and systematic in approach. To address these concerns, the methods and approaches used to perform a content analysis of the qualitative data are detailed.

The qualitative data was analysed and reported with the assistance of two research tools. Firstly, data was managed and analysed with the assistance of the computer package *Nvivo* (Fraser, 1999; Richards, 1999) designed specifically for qualitative research. *Nvivo* functions as a research tool to manage unstructured data and to assist the researcher to search for patterns and investigate links within the data. This program is an index-based system, which can be used to construct new concepts, linking constructs into theories and models; and to validate impressions and conclusions (Richards, 1999; Loxley, 2001). Figure 1 in chapter six includes a diagrammatic representation of how constructs were linked during the content analysis process.

In addition to using a management tool, a number of research guidelines were applied in the analyses and reporting of findings. These guidelines, as outlined by Elliot, Fischer and Rennie (1999) were designed with the intention of providing credibility checks and good practice for the publication and review of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields.

Interviews were typed into discrete computer files. The following analyses were performed to investigate trends in the data and organise the data into a coherent format.

Using Nvivo to code and manage qualitative data

Two major forms of content analyses were undertaken with the assistance of Nvivo. These included, firstly, developing a coding system of relevant themes in the data and, secondly, performing more detailed analyses to investigate potential relationships between themes in the data.

Before beginning the process of coding data, the researcher became familiar with the range and diversity of the material collected. This involved reading all transcripts. A list of key ideas and recurrent themes was generated. It is here, at this stage of data analysis, the process of abstraction and conceptualisation began. From this list, the researcher formulated coding categories to begin an *index system*.

The purpose of forming conceptual categories was to tease out aspects of the officers' reintegration experiences. Sections of text from the transcripts were "cut out" and "pasted" with other texts that were consistent with the concepts represented at a category or node in the database. The term *node* is used in this computer package to refer to categories, which define a concept and possess an area in the database (Fraser, 1999). The context of the text was maintained by including information that surrounded the concept of interest.

As the content analysis of the transcripts progressed, broad substantive themes were derived to index data by demographic, social, clinical and organisational psychological characteristics of covert duties and reintegration experiences. These primary categories have been used to code text-referenced information on "undercover policing experience", "demographic details on personal and career" and "attitudes toward undercover policing, reintegration and social groups". The data within these broad categories were then re-analysed for more detailed themes, sub-divided and then refined into more specific content themes and subsumed under the original primary theme. For example, the information in the initial category attitudes toward social groups was

trichotomised into the specific themes of “criminals”, “mainstream police” and “undercover police”. Subsumed under themes related to mainstream police for instance, were the categories “norms”, “identification”, “social status” and “stigma”.

As the analyses progressed the coding of the data became more multifaceted and a hierarchical index system was formed outlining the interrelationship between categories or *nodes*. This index system is represented diagrammatically as a *tree* (see Figure 1 in chapter six) and was used to code the transcripts used in this study. The process of refining broad based categories and searching for themes within these categories was ongoing.

More sophisticated search operations were performed with Nvivo (Richards, 1999) that enabled the researcher to continue to identify patterns in the data. Nvivo search operations permit categorisation analyses, similar to cross-tabulation techniques performed with quantitative data, where transcripts are divided by key variables. Each transcript was given a number of headers that contained information about the officer’s demographic details and their policing characteristics (see section 6.3.3.4). Interviews were analysed according to the demographic details such as: the age of the officer, whether female officers reported different experiences to male officers, whether there were any differences in reintegration experiences according to years of police experience, years of undercover policing experience, length of reintegration and whether they returned to uniform or non-uniform duties.

Several searches were performed and abandoned when no clear patterns emerged among the transcripts. For example, analyses by demographic and police work characteristics details did not appear to show any clear and particular patterns in terms of psychological processes associated with re-assimilation. However, a set of patterned responses emerged in the data when interviews with officers who reported a more positive reintegration experience were contrasted with those who saw their return to mainstream policing as

difficult or negative. This contrast analysis was used to report findings in chapter six. Any overlap in the data across the contrasting profiles was identified and analysed according to the shared theme. Differences in the remaining coded data were then analysed. The consistent themes to emerge in the contrasting profiles related to reports on police identifications; relationships with their mainstream peers; work status; and the individual's behavioural reactions to returning to mainstream duties.

Using guidelines on trustworthiness of qualitative data

A concern often expressed by those who read qualitative research is the lack of information that reports on the extent to which the qualitative findings are valid and representative of a particular target group. There are also some researchers that suggest validity and reliability issues are not relevant to qualitative research (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1984). To alleviate concerns over the trustworthiness of the data, this study followed the standards or methodological guidelines set out by Elliott, Fischer and Rennie (1999) that assist with the publication of qualitative studies. Elliot et. al. (1999) anticipate that by adhering to these standardised practices, the trustworthiness of the data will be improved in both the conduct and reporting of findings. Consequently, the use of a methodological foundation with formal logic avoids mere opinion, speculation and undisciplined guesses in the reporting of the findings.

Seven specifications to control the quality of qualitative research publications have been proposed by Elliott et. al. (1999). The application of each specification in this study will be discussed in the following section. Briefly, these specifications include:

- Articulating one's theoretical and personal perspective;
- Situating the sample;
- Grounding the research in examples;
- Providing credibility checks;
- Coherence;
- Accomplishing general vs. specific research tasks; and
- Resonating with readers.

Owning one's perspective

As far as possible the researcher set aside her own personal perspective, however, the research orientation was directed according to the constructs from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972).

Situating the sample

To familiarise the reader with the characteristics of the officers interviewed and the context of the study, personal and work demographics of the sample are reported (see earlier sections in this chapter). Variations in the data that report on the experiences of reintegration have been also analysed by officers' personal and work demographics.

Grounding in examples

To demonstrate the presence and relevance of the social psychological constructs of social identity theory in the data, several specific examples considered to typify and thereby illustrate these constructs are included in the analyses reported in chapter six. Grounding interpretations in examples

enables the reader to determine the degree of fit between the data and the interpretations proposed.

Providing credibility checks

Elliott et. al. (1999) suggest undertaking credibility checks on the data during the course of the research. The authors recommend any of the following methods: 1) checking the understandings with the original informants, 2) using multiple qualitative analysts, 3) comparing qualitative perspectives, and 4) where appropriate triangulation with quantitative data. The researcher used the first and fourth methods. The second and third methods were impractical for this research because there is no other qualitative study using theory to explain the reintegration experiences in the literature and there were restrictions on the involvement of others in analysing data in this study.

Interpretations of their covert experiences were checked with officers throughout the interview. The researcher often asked former operatives to clarify and elaborate on the “true” meaning or intentions of their comments. For example, when operatives mentioned management, the researcher asked operatives to clarify and elaborate on whom they considered to be management. It was important to ascertain whether controllers were perceived as part of management or whether controllers were differentiated from the issues raised about police management, whether unit heads were perceived as management or whether management is regarded as the general police hierarchy. Clarifying these meanings meant that any information raised about organisational issues and management were to be analysed and reported separately from the information discussed about the operative’s relationship with their controller. As previously mentioned, the hand-recorded interview was checked with the operative for its accuracy and no changes were made. Also mentioned previously, triangulation techniques are used. In the second study, quantitative data is presented that substantiates the qualitative information. Inconsistencies in findings between the studies are also reported.

Coherence

To achieve coherence in the reporting of findings, data analysis is presented in the following manner. Two different profiles of the reintegration experience emerged from the analysis and these have been reported separately. Each profile summarises the stories recalled by former operatives and illustrates the differing perceptions of their reintegration experiences. The format of the analysis has been structured around positive and negative reintegration experiences. In each profile, the main themes are mapped out according to the principles of social identity theory. These profiles are also compared and contrasted to achieve a deeper level of analysis of the trends in the data.

Accomplishing general vs. specific research tasks

To provide an overall understanding of reintegration experiences, an appropriate range of instances and situations are reported. Examples of common situations and experiences are detailed. Where there are specific instances of situations that were not common to the majority of former operatives, the researcher has pointed this out in the findings. In terms of generalisability, the findings are drawn from the Australasian police context. The researcher recognises that it is possible that reports of reintegration experiences may vary from other international undercover policing contexts.

Resonating with readers

The last qualitative research guideline is concerned with material being presented in a form that is judged by the reader as meaningful and representative of the subject matter. The aim of the interview study was to use theory to clarify and expand the understanding of issues associated with reintegration. In addition to the reader's evaluation, the validity of the theory in explaining the reintegration process is explored in this first study. The validity of themes identified in the interview study will continue to be investigated in the survey study.

5.3.3.2. Selection Criteria

The qualitative study included former full-time undercover police officers and controllers who had resumed mainstream police duties for a period of more than three years. The reasons for purposively selecting these participants relate to the design of the survey research and the size of the undercover police population.

It is not good research practice to include participants in both the interviewing and surveying stages of the research when one of the uses of the qualitative data is to assist with the construction of a questionnaire. Furthermore, the population of former undercover officers is characteristically small compared to mainstream police areas. As officers could not take part in both qualitative and quantitative studies for these methodological reasons, it was important to ensure that the more recently reintegrated operatives remained part of the sampling pool for the larger cross-sectional survey study. Therefore, designating a minimum reintegration period of three years as part of the selection criteria, ensured that former operatives who took part in the survey were not participants in the interviews.

Although not recently experiencing reintegration, these former undercover operatives are, for a number of reasons, a valid group to provide relevant and contextually based interview data. Firstly, these operatives were the only source to gather experiential knowledge concerning reintegration in the Australasian undercover policing context. Secondly, former operatives in both studies draw on shared experiences. For instance, operatives interviewed had similar sample characteristics to the former operatives participating in the survey research in that they were full-time operatives and they had not been through any formal reintegration process. The two samples of former operatives also shared overlap in the time period of working in the covert context. That is, whilst the

operatives participating in the interview study had returned to mainstream duties for longer periods, some of the officers that were interviewed also worked in the undercover policing context around the same historical period as some former operatives in the survey research.

5.3.3.3. Participants

Face to face interviews were conducted with twenty former officers from undercover policing investigations (17 males, 3 females) from two Australasian police jurisdictions. Nine interviews were completed with officers from Sample A and 11 interviews were undertaken with officers from Sample B. The decision to utilise only two police jurisdictions was made on the basis of economic costs to the study.

Two of the officers interviewed had not worked as operatives but they have held important management roles in covert investigation work and had an extensive knowledge of the undercover policing environment. It was decided that in order to receive a balanced perspective of the psychological issues surrounding undercover operations, management perspectives would make important contributions. For the purposes of confidentiality and to protect police methodology, the exact capacity of their managerial roles will not be mentioned. Four of the eighteen former operatives interviewed are also experienced in working as controllers. The study was well received by officers who were approached to participate and a 100% response rate was achieved.

Respondents ranged in age from 25-48 years and averaged 15.2 years in the police service (*Range* 5-25 years, $n=20$). Prior to performing undercover police duties, officers averaged 5.5 years ($n=20$) experience in policing. The majority of officers performed uniform duties prior to undercover police work ($n=15$). The median age of operatives when commencing covert duties was 23 years ($n=18$) and, on average, respondents had spent 2.68 years (*Range* 2.0-5.5 years, $n=18$) performing undercover duties.

The period of time since leaving covert duties ranged from 1-18 years and averaged 5.6 years ($n=18$). Of the 18 former operatives interviewed, 7 officers reintegrated into uniform duties while the remaining 11 officers returned to non-uniform positions in mainstream policing.

Mistakenly, one officer was selected who had returned to mainstream duties for a period that was less than three years. This officer was more eligible (according to the selection criteria) to take part in the survey study rather than the interview study. The researcher was unaware of this until the interview process had begun. The researcher decided to continue with the interview and the data remains part of the findings. Procedures were taken to ensure that the officer was excluded from selection in the second study.

5.3.3.4. Measures: The Interview Format

The information gathered from the literature review and from fieldwork was used to guide and structure a semi-formal open-ended interview. The open-ended format allowed respondents to reply in any way they chose and to give an unlimited range of responses, as unanticipated findings can be revealed using this style of questioning (Neuman, 1997). The design of the interview questions took into account not only what should be asked but also what *should not* be discussed (i.e. covert policing methodology). The questions in the interview (see Table 3) were directed at eliciting information about:

- The motivations for volunteering to perform covert duties;
- Undercover policing experiences;
- Perceived differences between mainstream and undercover police duties;
- Perceptions of key personal characteristics required to perform effectively in undercover police work;
- Perceptions of the personal and professional impact of the undercover experience;
- Experiences of returning to the mainstream police environment;
- Perceptions of the type of organisational support required by undercover operatives;
- Attitudes toward criminal groups; and
- Attitudes toward mainstream peers.

Demographic and work characteristics collected include details of the operatives':

- Age;
- Gender;
- Number of years in the police service;
- Age at joining the police service;
- Age at the time of starting undercover police duties;
- Length of time spent in undercover policing duties;
- Length of time spent reintegrated into mainstream police duties; and
- Reintegrated policing area in uniform or non-uniform duties.

The interview sequence began with a non-threatening general question about policing, followed by questions relating to undercover experiences and reintegration experiences. The last question was phrased in positive terms so that the interview with the operative was ended in a positive manner. Organising the interview format in this sequence permitted the interview process

to flow more smoothly and logically, thereby avoiding possible confusion over topic changes (Neuman, 1997).

The interview questions were standardised to permit comparability between each interview. Where and when necessary, additional probing questions were asked to elicit more detail or to clarify a particular point in an officer's response that may not have been clear in meaning to the researcher. The length of interviews ranged from 1-4 hours. Conducting interviews continued until the number of interviews collected ($N=20$), had reached a saturation point where no new information was introduced and the same information was being regenerated by subsequent interviewees (Neuman, 1997). Table 4 details the questions used in the interview format.

Table 3 The Interview Format Applied in Study Two

Focus of Question	Question
Non-threatening introduction	Why did you choose policing as a career choice?
Motivation	Why did you choose to do covert activity?
Undercover experience	What did you personally like about undercover policing? What didn't you like about undercover policing? What aspects of the job structure did you like? What aspects of the job structure didn't you like?
Differences between mainstream and undercover duties	What are the differences between regular and undercover policing?
Personal characteristics	What sort of personal characteristics do you need to be an undercover police officer? Are these characteristics different from mainstream policing?
Personal and professional impact on the officer	What do you think the impact of undercover activity has been on you personally? Has it had any impact on you as a police officer?
Experience of reintegration	What was it like to go back to mainstream policing?
Organisational support	What sort of organisational support do you need as an undercover officer? Are these organisational supports different from regular policing?
Attitudes	What was it like working with criminals? Did you have different sorts of feelings for different sorts of criminals? Did your attitude change over time to your fellow police officers?
Personal	What would you do differently?
Organisational	What do you think the police organisation could do differently?
Non-threatening completion	What aspects do you think you did well in undercover work?

5.3.3.5. Procedures

Arranging an interview

As part of police protocol mentioned in chapter three, police representatives were responsible for collating a list of names of former undercover operatives to take part in the interviews. The researcher briefed police supervisors in each jurisdiction of the selection criteria used to create this list.

A member from the covert management telephoned each former operative to brief the officer on the background of the project, their role in the research, and to advise them that the interviews were about their experiences. They were instructed however not to discuss covert police methodology specifically. They were informed that the researcher would contact the officer in the ensuing weeks.

Once former operatives were made aware of the study, the researcher made telephone contact with each officer on the list. During these telephone conversations, officers were given a brief description of the research and an explanation about how their name had been accessed. It was important to identify the source of personal details so the officers could reconcile the conversation with the researcher with the information they had obtained from their police management. During these telephone conversations, the researcher's independence from the police service and the voluntary nature of participation were stressed.

Importantly, the officers interviewed were not briefed on the aims of the study by either police management or the researcher. Rather, officers were informed that the researcher was investigating issues associated with reintegration, as little was known about this period of covert activity. The researcher was interested in hearing about their unique experiences of returning to mainstream duties. They were told that rather than assume that management and the researcher were

aware of the key concerns that operatives encountered, it was considered important to seek their contribution to understand the re-assimilation experience. Operatives were also informed that there had been no research thus far on this issue and that their information would assist in generating a knowledge base specific to Australasian policing, thereby assisting future operatives through its use in the design of reintegration programs.

The meeting

Officers were met on an individual basis at a time and place convenient to them. The first part of the interview was spent building rapport and was achieved in a number of ways. The procedures applied largely depended on the individual. Some officers were more suspicious than others about the intentions of the meeting. In these cases, the researcher spent considerable time building trust and communicating confidentiality as a working requirement.

Meetings usually began with officers asking the researcher questions about herself and the project. Undercover police officers are skilled at assessing the trustworthiness and integrity of people they encounter. They are trained to use and rely on their verbal skills to evaluate information conveyed to them. As mentioned in chapter three, methodologically, it was important to give officers an opportunity to use these skills to make decisions about the researcher's credibility prior to actual data collection.

At all times, the researcher remained mindful of the suspiciousness that some officers may have felt. Observation of some of the officers' non-verbal behaviour at the beginning of the interview suggested that they felt particularly guarded. For instance, one officer appeared uneasy about the researcher wearing a heavy jacket. Although discreet, this officer repeatedly focused their gaze on the jacket. In this circumstance, the researcher took off the jacket in a gesture made to assure the officer that the meeting was not being secretly taped. This gesture changed the mood of the meeting. The officer relaxed and

proceeded to ask questions and willingly shared their undercover policing experiences. In another interview, an officer inquired whether the researcher had concealed a recording device. Again, to alleviate officers' suspicions, the researcher emptied the contents of her bag to show that there was no taping device being carried.

On other occasions during fieldwork, police members introduced the researcher to officers whom she had already met through the interviews. These introductions took place in a social setting or a police matter unrelated to data collection. In these situations, the researcher did not disclose that she had met the officer and allowed herself to be re-introduced. This behaviour maintained participant confidentiality and was intended to reinforce the researcher's professional integrity. It was only when the former operative admitted to previously meeting the researcher that this information was verified. For instance, on one occasion, the researcher was walking with a former operative to a setting where the interview was to be conducted and was introduced by the former operative to another officer who had already been interviewed. The researcher did not acknowledge already meeting the officer and the researcher allowed herself to be re-introduced. In this situation, the officer was most comfortable with maintaining their anonymity, while, on other occasions, officers were comfortable with disclosing their participation in the study. In all cases, disclosure of participation was left to the individual officer.

During interviews, officers were informed of the background of the research and were given a brief historical review of previous studies to demonstrate the relevance and need for such a study. The voluntary nature of their participation was reiterated and verbal consent to be interviewed was obtained. A cover sheet with information concerning the background of the study, the contact details of the researcher and QUT's ethics committee was also shown to each officer. Officers were given the researcher's card to show her university identity and were encouraged to contact the researcher if they had any queries or concerns about the research. Officers were also reminded that they were not to

discuss police methods and told that the project was only interested in their experiences of undercover duties.

Data were hand recorded as officers were not comfortable with the use of audiotaping. Information was recorded verbatim. Any information that referred to specific cases or police personnel was omitted from the transcripts. Omitting this material did not change any of the psychological issues discussed in the interviews.

The researcher kept all questions and recorded information within sight of officers. This technique suggested not only a sense of openness about the research process, but it also allowed officers to check that none of the information being conveyed had been inaccurately recorded. At the end of the interview, officers were offered an opportunity to review the accuracy of their transcript and make changes to the information. None of the officers made changes to their transcripts.

5.4. Survey Research

5.4.1. Aims

The second source of data collected in this thesis is a self-completed questionnaire that investigates social identifications among three samples of officers at three different phases of undercover investigation work as well as a control group from mainstream policing. Ideally, measuring change over time would require retesting the same respondents but it proved difficult to employ a pre and post testing design given the timeframe for research and the size of the undercover policing population. As not all officers who are selected for undercover training courses are immediately chosen to work in the covert policing context (i.e. generally no more than two or three trainee operatives at any one time are utilised from the training pool), the number of officers that could be monitored and tested since their undercover training phase would be very small (i.e. $n=2-3$) and therefore markedly reduce the statistical power and

type of analyses that could be performed(i.e. more likely to be analysed as case studies). To address these limitations it was decided to employ a cross-sectional research design and extrapolate from these findings. The findings from the survey research are reported in chapters' eight to nine.

In achieving the overall aim of the dissertation of identifying psychological factors associated with re-assimilation (see dissertation orientation), the survey research investigated more specific theoretical questions. The principles of social identity theory were applied to examine:

- Identity salience in undercover police officers
Hypotheses are generated to establish whether there are possible changes in police identities over the three phases of undercover police work;
- Whether affiliations with mainstream police change as a consequence of having performed covert policing
Hypotheses are generated to investigate group differences between the match control group of mainstream police officers and former undercover operatives;
- The order of importance allocated to police identities that are activated simultaneously (i.e. dual identities)
Hypotheses are generated to examine current ingroup status among trainee, current and former undercover officers in order to establish former operatives' currently held perception of themselves as police officers;

- Normative fit of identity salience
Hypotheses are generated and exploratory analyses are conducted to explore whether identity incongruence is associated with problematic reintegration experiences in more recent ex-operatives;
- Behavioural and cognitive manifestations related to identity incongruence
Exploratory analyses are undertaken to investigate the impact of identity incongruence (i.e. low mainstream police identification) on former undercover officers' self-esteem and reports of intergroup behaviour;
- Perceptions of and reactions to work status inconsistencies in the mainstream policing context
The current organisational status and legitimacy of work status were explored;
- The person-environment fit as a measure of re-assimilation
In conjunction with the use of the police identification measures (i.e. person measures), multiple organisational indicators (i.e. environmental measures) are included to assess former operatives' current level of job satisfaction within the mainstream environment.

There are several benefits achieved from the application of a cross sectional design to examine reintegration experiences. Firstly, the study compares the strength of police identifications among officers at different stages of undercover duties (i.e. training, operational and reintegration phases). This research design not only allows for policing identities to be reported in relation to their current policing context, it also allows conclusions to be drawn about possible changes in salient police identifications over the course of undercover policing duties.

Secondly, there is very little previous research examining the process and presence of social identifications in an applied setting and in particular, an

organisational setting. In designing the study, investigations began by examining whether changes are in fact made to policing identities throughout the stages of undercover duties. Thus, the generality of previous experimentally based social identity research are investigated.

Thirdly, interpretations of changes in former operatives' perceptions about their police identifications are given more meaning when these self-reports are compared with those who have yet to experience reintegration.

The survey method was chosen because of the ease of administration, relative anonymity and the capacity to collect large quantities of data across samples. It also enables consistency in questions asked of each police group and allows comparisons of responses across samples (Babbie, 1990; May, 1997; Neuman, 1997). In the majority of cases, survey administration was carried out with officers meeting with the researcher to discuss the research prior to completing the questionnaire. The advantage of face-face interview administration is that it facilitates the rapport building process; provides the researcher with an opportunity to observe non-verbal communication and to clarify questions about the questionnaire if required; and can achieve higher response rates compared to other types of survey research (i.e. mail questionnaires or telephone interviews) (Babbie, 1990; Neuman, 1997).

5.4.2. Method

5.4.2.1. Methods of Analysis

Data were analysed using the statistical computer package SPSSx version 9.0 (Norusis/SPSS Inc. 1999). Probability level for significance was pre-set at .05. As the sample size is small consistent patterns and trends of probability values slightly more than .05 are also reported.

5.4.2.2. Selection Criteria

Undercover police officers were recruited from three different populations. They were full-time undercover officers who were: 1) recently recruited for training, 2) currently operational, and 3) had returned to mainstream duties for a period of no more than three years. A matched group of mainstream police officers provided control group data. Purposive sampling was used to select officers from each of these policing populations. As far as the researcher is aware there were no officer attrition rates to consider in the trainee and current undercover police groups. That is, none of the officers who were selected for undercover police work had left the police service or returned to mainstream duties prior to the end of the tenured position in undercover operations. This alleviated issues such as whether only more cognitively hardier officers were surveyed. However the sampling of former operatives was constrained to officers who remained within the police service.

In terms of the impact on findings, the exclusion of disengaged officers in the sampling of the former operative group is likely to underestimate the significant differences that do exist between police groups in this study. It is expected that disengaged police officers are likely to report being least affiliated with the mainstream police group and express high levels of dissatisfaction with the mainstream police work. In these terms, the findings reported in chapters eight and nine are strengthened. That is, the reports of mainstream police identification and undercover police identification and the responses reported on the organisational indicators are more conservative than if these disengaged officers responses were included in the research.

The considerations given to sample selection differed in each police group. In order to clarify selection, the details for each group are outlined separately.

Trainee undercover operatives

Only trainee undercover officers who had been selected to attend undercover training courses were included in this study. At the time of the survey, these officers had not completed an undercover assignment. An important consideration in implementing the survey was determining the stage of the selection process at which it would occur.

The undercover police selection process entails a series of stages that include psychological assessment. This stage was initially considered as a possibility. However, administering the survey at an earlier stage of the selection process such as psychological screening, could have lead to confusion in distinguishing between the official police selection process and the research independence. The researcher also would have had to delegate administration of the questionnaire to police personnel, which would have increased the likelihood that the survey would be seen as part of the police services' selection process. To avoid the likelihood of impression management in responses, it was decided to administer the questionnaire to officers who were selected to take part in the final stage of the recruitment process, the undercover training course.

Currently operational undercover operatives

Officers currently working in undercover police units on a full-time basis were selected in this sample.

Former undercover operatives

Only former operatives who had returned to mainstream policing for less than three years were included in this sample. The project's police supervisors were given the selection criteria and were responsible for generating a list of names of full-time former operatives.

The decision to stipulate a cut-off reintegration period was made based on avoiding confounding effects in the data, the advice received from police services and the findings in the literature on monitoring the effects of organisational change. Without a cut-off period, the effects of reintegration may be weakened. At the time of designing the research procedures, the advice received from police personnel was that officers who continue to work in mainstream policing for more than three years were more likely to have fully reintegrated into their mainstream police work groups. Based on this information, it is also possible that former operatives who continued to experience adjustment problems may have chosen to leave the police service. The general consensus in the literature is that a period of two years may be needed before the full impact of the transition on the worker can be measured (see Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001).

Mainstream police officers

The control condition consisted of officers working in mainstream policing who had not previously undertaken any undercover policing duties. From this mainstream police population, a control group was selected that matched members from the three undercover police groups in years of experience in the police service, age and gender. Police personnel generated a list of officers who met these criteria. From these lists, a random sample was drawn. For every undercover officer surveyed, the names and mailing details of two mainstream police officers with matching demographics were listed. Planning to include the names of two mainstream officers meant that, if required, two rounds of surveying could be carried out if not all officers returned a completed questionnaire in the first round. Covert management, in each jurisdiction, screened the final lists of names to ensure that these officers did not have previous undercover policing experience. None of the officers chosen on the list had prior undercover policing experience.

5.4.2.3. Participants

Thirty-eight trainee undercover officers, 31 currently operational and 38 former undercover operatives from four Australasian police jurisdictions took part in the survey. All undercover officers included in the study performed covert duties on a full-time basis. The exact response rate cannot be disclosed as this may pose concerns over confidentiality of the size of covert police populations. The reasons given by officers for not participating included an unwillingness to discuss their undercover policing experience and a clash with present confidential work commitments.

A matched control condition consisted of 38 mainstream police officers with no prior undercover policing experience. The response rate to the first round of surveying of mainstream police officers averaged 70% across police jurisdictions. Data collection was completed with a second round of surveying. Table 4 summarises the personal and work demographics of these officers.

Trainee operatives

The modal age range of trainee operatives (12 females, 26 males) was 31-35 years. Among this group, 32% were married, 18% were living with their partner, 42% were single and 8% had divorced or separated. These officers' averaged 6.0 years of policing experience ($SD=3.23$). At the time of the survey, all but one officer were performing operational duties. The majority (60%, $n=23$) of these officers were performing uniform duties in mainstream policing, 25 were currently ranked as constables and 13 as senior constables.

Table 4. Demographic and Work Characteristics of Respondents

Present age range					
	Mode	31-35 years	31-35 years	31-35 years	31-35 years
Gender					
	Female	12	5	8	8
	Male	26	26	30	30
Present marital status					
	Married	32%	32%	40%	58%
	Living partner	18%	3%	8%	10%
	Single	42%	42%	26%	26%
	Divorce/sep	8%	16%	21%	3%
	Remarried	-	7%	5%	3%
Presently performing non-uniform duties		40% (n=15)		60% (n=23)*	40% (n=15)*
Present Rank					
	Constables	25	11	12	7
	Senior constables	13	18	23	24
	Sergeants	-	2	3*	7*
Policing experience					
	<i>M</i>	6.0years	9.7 years	10.2 years	10.2years
	<i>SD</i>	3.23	4.93	4.05	4.05
	<i>Range</i>	2yrs-13yrs	3yrs-27yrs	5yrs-20yrs	5yrs-20yrs
Policing experience prior to undercover duties					
<i>M</i>		6.0years	6.8 years	5.7 years	
	<i>SD</i>	3.23	4.63	3.46	
	<i>Range</i>	2yrs-13yrs	21mths-22yrs	26mths-14yrs	
Length undercover policing experience					
	<i>M</i>		2.9 years	3.3 years	
	<i>SD</i>		2.05	1.77	
	<i>Range</i>		5mths-9yrs	1yr-9yrs	
Age at time of commencing undercover police work					
	<i>M</i>		28.8 years	28.1 years	
	<i>SD</i>		5.79	6.26	
	<i>Range</i>		22yrs-41yrs	21yrs-55yrs	
Major type of undercover work performed			drug related investigations	drug related investigations	
Length of most operations					
	< 2 mths		19%	26%	
	2-6 mths		61%	58%	
	7-12 mths		20%	10%	
	13-18mths		-	3%	
	19 mths-2 years		-	3%	
How many ops performed					
	1-3		29%	13%	
	4-7		19%	24%	
	8-10		-	10%	
	10+		52%	53%	
Level of crime infiltrated					
	Upper		35%	50%	
	Mid		55%	47%	
	Street		10%	3%	
Reintegration time					
	<i>M</i>			15.61 months	
	<i>SD</i>			.84	
	<i>Range</i>			1mth-3years	

Note: mainstream officers are matched to former operatives on age, gender and years of police experience *p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

Currently operational undercover operatives

Among full-time currently operational undercover officers (5 females, 26 males), the modal age range was also 31-35 years. Of these officers, 32% were currently married, 7% had remarried, 3% were living with their partner, 42% were single and 16% had either divorced or separated. They averaged 2.9 years ($SD=2.05$) work experience in undercover police investigations and 9.7 years ($SD=4.93$) in their overall policing experience. Prior to performing covert investigation duties, these officers averaged 6.8 years ($SD=4.63$) in mainstream police duties.

At the time of commencing undercover policing duties, the average age of officers in this group was 28.8 years ($SD=5.79$). The data collected indicates that the majority of undercover operations performed usually ran for 2 to 6 months (61%), approximately one fifth of the group (19%) reported that most of their operations ran less than 2 months and a further fifth (20%) stated that most of their operations were between 7-12 months. Just over half the group indicated that they had currently completed more than 10 operations (52%), 29% had performed 1-3 operations, and 19% had completed between 4-7 operations. In terms of the level of undercover work performed, 35% indicated that had mainly infiltrated upper level criminal activity, 10% mainly performed street-level work, and 55% combined street-level work with mid level infiltrations of criminal activities. At the time the survey was conducted, 11 officers were ranked constables, 18 were senior constable and 2 were sergeants.

Former undercover operatives

Within the group of 38 former full-time undercover operatives (8 females and 30 males), the modal age range was again 31-35 years. Among this group, 40% were married, 5% had remarried, 8% were living with their partner, 26% were single and 21% had either divorced or separated. Officers averaged 3.3 years ($SD=1.77$) undercover policing experience and had 10.2 years ($SD=4.05$) overall

policing experience. Prior to undertaking undercover policing duties, officers averaged 5.7 years ($SD=3.46$) in mainstream police duties.

At the time of commencing undercover police work, the average age of these officers was 28.1 years ($SD=6.26$). Similar to current operatives, over half (58%) of the group reported that most of the undercover policing operations they had performed ran between 2-6 months, 26% reported that their operations mostly ran for less than 2 months, 10% said 7-12 months, 3% said 13-18 months and 3% said between 19 months-2 years. Again, similar to current operatives, over half (53%) the former operatives indicated they had performed more than 10 operations whilst working in undercover duties, 13% performed between 1-3 operations, a quarter (24%) had performed between 4-7 operations, and a tenth (10%) had performed between 8-10 operations. In terms of the level of undercover work performed, 50% indicated that had mainly infiltrated upper level criminal activity, 3% mainly performed street-level work, and 47% combined street-level work with mid level infiltrations of criminal activities.

Information on the type of undercover work performed was also collected. Officers were asked whether they mainly worked on covert investigations related to homicide, paedophilia, firearms, counterfeit, auto-rackets, drugs, property, all of the above or other. These categories were designed in consultation with police services. Despite the choice of response categories offered, this item did not discriminate between types of operations as all former and current officers indicated that their work was predominately drug related. Summarising the working conditions of Australasian covert investigations at the time of this survey, undercover work usually involves short-term drug related operations carried out on a high frequency basis.

The majority of former operatives returned to work in non-uniform duties (60%, $n=23$) in mainstream policing. Since finishing covert duties, officers had been a part of the mainstream police environment, on average, for 16 months ($Range= 1\text{month}-3\text{ years}$, $SD=.84$). When surveyed, 6 of 38 officers were

non-operational in their duties. At the time of the survey, 12 officers were ranked constable, 23 were senior constables and 3 were sergeants. Since they had commenced covert duties, 5 officers in the group had received a promotion and were ranked from constable to senior constable.

Mainstream police officers

The control group of 38 mainstream police officers (8 females and 30 males), were of the same age, gender and policing experience as former operatives. Among this sample of mainstream police officers, 58% were currently married, 3% were remarried, 10% were living with their partner, 26% were single, and 3% were divorced. At the time of the survey, 87% ($n=33$) were operational and the majority of officers in this group were performing uniform duties (60%, $n=23$). Seven of the officers in this group were constables, 24 senior constables and 7 sergeants.

Differences in demographic data

Further analysis of the data was undertaken to determine whether significant differences existed between the three groups of undercover police officers and the control group of officers on these personal and work related demographics. Non-parametric analysis using Mann-Whitney U test found no significant age differences at the time of commencing undercover policing, among current and former operatives ($U=545.00$, $Z=-.532$, $sig=.59$). No significant differences were found between currently operational and former operatives on years of policing experience prior to commencing undercover police work ($U=456.50$, $Z= 1.28$, $sig=.20$) or length of time spent in undercover police duties among ($U=473.50$, $Z= 1.39$, $sig=.16$). However, Wilcoxon matched signed rank test revealed that the control group of mainstream police officers received significantly more promotions than former operatives who had worked in the police services for the same number of years ($T=-2.324$, $sig=.02$). The advice from the Police Services was that undercover operatives generally return to non-uniform positions in mainstream policing. To check for this assumption, Fishers Exact one sided test was carried out and revealed that at the time of the survey,

significantly more (*sig*=.05) former operatives were performing non-uniform duties than of the control group of mainstream police officers.

5.4.3. Questionnaire Design (see Appendices 5a and 5b)

The questionnaire items were constructed to measure the major issues relating to the Australasian undercover police context and were obtained from two sources. The first source of item content was the information collected in the interviews. The second source was the use of relevant standardised psychological scales.

5.4.3.1. Pretesting the Questionnaire

Four pretests were performed. Potential standardised scales and attitudinal items were trialled with officers from mainstream policing who were not in the control group. The questionnaire was piloted to test the content and face validity of some measures and to ensure that any ambiguity and confusion in the meaning of instructions, item wording and use of response scales was identified. The organisation or sequence of questions was also assessed. Portions of the questionnaire were administered to three groups of mainstream police officers attending courses at a police training academy. In each pretest, feedback was encouraged and with this information, some items were refined.

Each draft of the questionnaire included an information sheet that explained to the officer that the research was independent of the Police Service and was being conducted by the researcher and Queensland University of Technology. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity were explained and contact details of the researcher and QUT's ethics committee were included. All questionnaires were administered in a group setting and demographic and work information was collected. Completed questionnaires were sealed in an envelope provided and collected directly by the researcher.

Pretest one (see Appendix 5a)

The first round of piloting was carried out with 35 mainstream police officers at a detective training course. The issue of status differences between mainstream police and undercover police officers had been reported in the interviews with former undercover officers. As it remained unclear whether this was also an issue for mainstream police officers, items to measure this construct were designed and pretested. A standardised measure of perceived social support was also pretested.

Two questions were designed to measure the rank importance of work areas in policing. Officers were asked to rank how important they perceived a list of areas in policing to be. These areas of police work were traffic, administration, child protection, special investigations, undercover policing and areas of general duties. Officers rated each work area from 1 (*very important*), 3 (*somewhat important*) to 5 (*not at all important*). The second status item asked how important officers thought the police service in general considered the same areas of policing to be, and again, responses were recorded on a 5-point scale (1=*very important* to 5=*routine importance*).

The third section in the pilot questionnaire contained the 23 item standardised Social Support Appraisals Scale (SS-A) (Vaux, Phillips, Holly, Thomson, Williams & Stewart, 1986). Example items included: "My husband/wife does not respect me", "I am loved dearly by my family", "People admire me", and "My friends respect me". Officers recorded their responses on a 4-point scale (1=*strongly agree* to 4=*strongly disagree*).

The SS-A did not prove to be a valid measure with this sample as the items lacked face validity. The scale items were worded in a manner that reflected overt tones of emotions and were not taken seriously by police members.

The two status questions provided information on rank importance of undercover policing, however, it did not define the attitudes held towards mainstream and undercover police groups. It was decided to redesign the measures of group status to a single item that tapped into the relationship between mainstream and undercover police officers. It was worded such that officers compared police in terms of work status in policing. Attitudinal items toward mainstream police and undercover police officers were also designed for the second pretest.

Pretest two (see Appendix 5b)

The second pretest used 17 mainstream officers from a detective training course. Twelve attitudinal items were trialled that compared officers' attitudes toward mainstream police officers and undercover police to measure the construct, ingroup-bias and out-group derogation. Responses were recorded on a 6-point scale (1= *strongly agree* to 6= *strongly disagree*).

A social identification scale of mainstream police identity comprising 4 items that used a 7-point scale (1= *not very much*, 4=*somewhat*, 7=*not very much*), a peer support index with 10 items that used a 6-point response scale (1=*strongly agree* to 6=*strongly disagree*) and an 11 items scale use to measure supervisor support (1= *strongly agree* to 6= *strongly disagree*) were tested. A single item comparing the status of mainstream police officers to undercover police officers with a 7-point response scale (1= *lower in status*, 4= *equal in status*, 7= *higher in status*) was also trialled.

The attitudinal items and the two measures of work support were constructed using the information gathered in the interviews with former operatives. The items on the social identification index and peer support index were drawn from existing measures in the literature (for example, Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a). All scales in the second pretest appeared to have content and face validity and item wording was considered unambiguous by participants. It was decided to change the 6-point response scale on the peer support indicator

and police attitudinal scales, to a 7-point response scale in the final version of the questionnaire.

Pretest three (see Appendix 5c)

A final and third pretest was performed, this time to refine the format of some of the questions on the second pretest. The sample questionnaire was administered to 20 newly recruited mainstream police officers. Only minor changes were made to the layout of the measures. Again social identification with mainstream police, attitudes toward mainstream police, attitudes toward undercover police and the single item tapping group status were included in the questionnaire. An additional 12 items measuring attitudes toward criminals were also included, however they are not analysed in this dissertation.

Trialling the draft questionnaire

The final methodological consideration in this piloting phase involved pretesting the final draft of the questionnaire. Five former operatives who had participated in the interview study completed the draft questionnaire. The researcher read each instruction to the operative to ensure that the meaning was clear and to explore whether the format of the items flowed smoothly and logically. Officers were asked to indicate a) any ambiguity in the items and instructions; and b) whether individual items and scales had construct and content validity (i.e. were believed to be measuring what they were designed to measure). Only minor changes were made to the wording of a few items. The overall feedback received from these officers was positive, as they considered that the survey accurately represented the core issues associated with the current undercover policing context.

5.4.4. Procedures: Survey Administration

Prior to meeting the researcher, all police members in each undercover police group were informed by their covert management of the background of the research and the researcher. Similar to the interview study's procedures, the majority of officers from each of the undercover police groups were provided with opportunities to interview and make their evaluations of the researcher prior to data collection.

During the formal data collection, officers were given background details of the research such as its unique nature, the Australasian focus of the study, along with the benefits of the study for future undercover police officers. Anonymity and confidentiality issues and the voluntary nature of the study were also discussed. Specifically, officers were informed that:

- Their responses would be collated with information collected in other jurisdictions and reported at the Australasian level;
- The information collected was not be part of their personal records;
- No-one from their police service would have access to their material;
- None of the information would be reported by gender in order to protect the anonymity of females in the study;
- No names were required and must not been written on the questionnaire. It was explained that each questionnaire would be given a numerical code for computer records only and that the code allocated did not identify officers on a personal basis; and
- Officers do not have to complete the survey and/or questions on the survey they were not comfortable answering. Officers were instructed that they were not obligated to complete the questionnaire and were encouraged to hand in an incomplete or unanswered questionnaire if they became uncomfortable when answering the questionnaire.

The cover letter attached to the front of the questionnaire reiterated these issues and included contact details of the researcher and QUT's research ethics committee. Informed consent was obtained from officers. Survey administration was carried out in the absence of covert management in an attempt to reinforce confidentiality, anonymity and the independence of the research. Completed questionnaires were allocated a numerical code to represent individual questionnaires, police jurisdictions and the police group. All questionnaires were also colour coded to distinguish visually between each police group.

Trainee undercover police officers were surveyed at covert training courses. At the beginning of the course, the researcher briefed the directing staff on her involvement in the course and the importance of maintaining her independence from the police service. She requested to be left to meet and interact with those attending the training course. However, it was requested that initial introductions be made by covert management to inform officers of the researcher's presence and purpose for attending the course. Approximately four days were spent at each training course in each jurisdiction.

At these courses, the researcher shared the accommodation facilities with trainee operatives. She also attended general training activities and social occasions. The time spent interacting with those attending was also useful in distinguishing the researcher from police psychological services performing the selection assessments. Despite being informed otherwise, trainee operatives frequently asked the researcher questions such as "What police building do you work in?" or "Are you here to evaluate us?" Officers would also repeat these questions in order to check for consistency in the researcher's responses. A number of officers also expressed surprise at their police service allowing a non-police person to be part of and obtain knowledge of undercover training courses. Questionnaire administration occurred in a group setting, usually toward the end of the training course.

Current undercover operatives were administered the questionnaire mainly in a group setting. Again, the majority of officers had prior contact with the researcher before the questionnaire was administered. When work commitments were a priority, alternative arrangements were made to meet with the current operative. Current operatives from one police jurisdiction had the questionnaire administered by a member of the covert management who had been trained by the researcher (see chapter three on methodological considerations). Operatives in this jurisdiction self-completed the questionnaire, which was mailed to the researcher in a replied paid envelope.

Former undercover operatives were sought individually. Similar to the methodology used in the interview study, covert management made initial contact with the officer and informed them of the nature of the research. The researcher telephoned each former operative to explain in more detail the background of the research and confidentiality and anonymity issues. Informed consent was obtained verbally from each officer. A face-face meeting was arranged at a location suggested by the former undercover operative.

The interviews began in a similar manner to that described earlier in the interview study. At this meeting, officers were given another opportunity to review whether they were willing to continue to take part in the survey. Meetings usually lasted between 45 minutes to 3 hours depending on the extent to which the officer needed to interview the researcher on the study and her professional background or discuss matters associated with their undercover experience. The majority ($n=32$) of former operatives self-completed the questionnaire and placed it in a sealed envelope at the time of the meeting. In the interviews with six former operatives, the meeting was interrupted by the officer's ongoing work commitments. In these cases, the officer mailed their self-completed questionnaire in a replied paid envelope.

Mainstream police officers were mailed a questionnaire and self-completed questionnaires were returned in a replied paid envelope. A mail-out was chosen due to time constraints. Mainstream officers are not bound by strict confidentiality or restrictions concerning information about their work environment and therefore were considered to be less concerned about completing the questionnaire without having previously met the researcher. A mail-out questionnaire was considered a suitable and time efficient method of survey administration.

The information sheet attached to this questionnaire differed from that for the undercover police officers. Mainstream police officers were informed that the researcher was interested in considering their experiences as police officers, their opinions about policing and their work environment in the service. There was no mention that the study related to undercover policing. This information was omitted in an attempt to avoid bias effects in attitudinal items about undercover police officers and mainstream police peers. The information sheet outlined issues of confidentiality and anonymity along with contact details of the researcher and QUT ethics committee.

Mainstream officers were given three weeks to return the questionnaire. Survey practices suggest that allocating a completion period encourages officers to complete and return the questionnaire. Officers who did not respond to the first round of the mail-out were not sent another questionnaire. Instead, data collection was completed with a second mail out of questionnaires to the remaining matched mainstream officers whose names appeared next on the police generated list of contact names.

5.5. Summary

This chapter outlined the more formal methods used to report findings in Part Two of the dissertation. The aims of the interview and survey research and the reasons for the choice of these methods were introduced. The choice of research approaches were concerned not only with investigating specific research questions, but also with addressing some of the research issues identified in previous chapters. These included the limited knowledge available on covert policing, the limited application to applied settings and addressing design issues identified in previous identity change related research. The selection criteria and description of officers in each study, along with the methods to collect and analyse data, were also outlined.

Given the exploratory nature of investigations, it was decided to begin with a study that used qualitative techniques to identify psychological factors associated with reintegration of undercover police personnel. This interview study (reported in chapter six) describes the experiences of returning to the mainstream context as recalled by 20 former undercover operatives who had been part of mainstream policing context for more than three years. This study also tested the suitability of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972) to explain the psychological dynamics present in the reintegration process and to generate further research hypotheses.

The second study in this dissertation is a survey study with a cross-sectional design. This study continues to investigate research issues identified in the interview study. The participants included 38 trainees, 31 current operational and 38 recently reintegrated operatives (i.e. no more than three years). The advantage of this research design is that it incorporates a temporal element into the study and enables possible changes in police identities to be mapped over the course of undercover police work. It incorporated a control condition of mainstream officers matched according to former operatives' age, gender and

years of policing experience. Comparing these mainstream police officers with the responses from former operatives gave more meaning in the interpretation of former operatives' perceptions about their police identifications with those who had not experienced undercover police duties.

The survey research also examined whether identity incongruence is associated with problematic reintegration experiences in more recent ex-operatives, reported on some of the behavioural manifestations related to identity stress, and explored some of the organisational implications associated with an operative's adjustment.

The process undertaken in questionnaire construction was discussed. Standardised measures and information from the interview study were used to construct items on the questionnaire. Extensive testing of the survey instrument prior to its use is also described.

Chapter six is the first chapter of Part Two. It presents findings from the interview study. Chapters' seven to nine continue to report findings from the survey research. Table 5 summarises the research issues under investigation in these chapters.

Table 5. Summary of Research Issues and Research Strategies Applied in the Dissertation

Research Issue	Research Action
Artificial vs. realistic settings	Field research to understand social context Test appropriateness theory using in-depth interviews
Temporal element - Map changes over time and various social contexts - Length of monitoring changes in re-assimilation	Consider more than one social context in reintegration process Cross-sectional design including recruits, current ops, former operatives in survey research Cut-off period of three years for time spent reintegrated
Changes in mainstream policing identity as consequence of the undercover experience	Incorporate control condition of mainstream police matched on age, sex, yrs police exp
Dual membership	Determine current ingroup status of former operatives and compare across undercover groups
Defining group status	Measure organisational status of undercover police work Determine perceived illegitimacy of undercover group status
Indicators of person-environment fit/ psychological adjustment	Relationship police identity incongruence and organisational- behavioural consequences such as intergroup rivalry, perceived difficulties returning to mainstream duties, organisational commitment and job satisfaction, intentions to leave
Investigate possible individual differences in negotiating identities during change periods	Examine possibility of individual pathways in interview data Low vs. high police identities and the impact on indicators of psych adjustment

PART 2

INTERVIEW AND SURVEY STUDIES

Chapter 6

Describing the Undercover Policing Experience

*“Only another can understand what it is like to be
an undercover police officer.”*

6.1. Introduction

Previously, Part One focused on the fieldwork practices and steps carried out in the formulation of the research. Part Two of this dissertation concentrates on presenting findings from the interview and survey studies.

The opening quote is an opinion commonly voiced by former undercover officers. It is partly true that the secrecy surrounding undercover work precludes mainstream police from understanding what it means to be an undercover officer. This quote also reiterates the psychological investment officers make in this work group. Officers' perceptions of their undercover policing experiences are the focus of investigation in this chapter.

This first chapter of Part Two presents findings from a series of interviews conducted with former Australasian undercover operatives and members from covert management. In this study, officers were asked to recall their experiences of working as a undercover police officer. The information gathered describes the meaning, context and individual experiences of returning to the mainstream policing environment after covert police duties ceased. In presenting information, key social-psychological processes underlying the reintegration process are identified.

The material in this chapter depicts former operatives' attitudes toward their former undercover group, mainstream peers and the criminal or target groups they infiltrate. It also outlines officers' perceptions of the current organisational

status of undercover and mainstream police duties. Themes in the interview data have been analysed according to the social-psychological theoretical framework of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972).

The next sections in this chapter report the patterns in the data and themes emerging from the content analyses performed. The analyses begin by testing the theoretical perspective's validity for use in further analyses. Findings concerning the commonalities in the data shared by all officers interviewed are detailed. Next, a group of operatives who reported few difficulties returning to mainstream duties are profiled. The second profile reports on the reintegration experiences of operatives who experienced greater difficulties returning to mainstream policing. The two profiles of reintegration experiences are compared and contrasted in the concluding section in order to clarify the social psychological processes that occur during this period.

6.2. Checking the Validity of the Theoretical Perspective

The first step toward analysing the data was to examine the appropriateness of social identity theory as a valid or plausible theoretical framework to deconstruct reports of reintegration experiences.

It became evident early in the interviews that work groups and peer relations were a very important aspect of reintegration experiences. Through the use of Nvivo search tools, the researcher performed a count procedure where the occurrence of references to police memberships were analysed. Preliminary analyses revealed that in all interviews, a prominent and re-occurring theme is the relationships officers have with members of the undercover group and their peers from mainstream policing. The similarities and differences perceived between their previous and new police groups impacted on how officers felt about their mainstream police work environment.

The transcripts were also checked for response bias. Transcripts were searched to examine whether officers' responses were related specifically to a particular question asked in the interview. For example, responses concerning officers' attitudes toward their mainstream police peers were selected along with the question asked in the interview that corresponded to this response. The exploratory analyses revealed that the themes in the data are not related exclusively to an interview question. These initial explorations of the themes in the data confirmed that social identity theory is a suitable theoretical framework to explore reports of reintegration experiences.

Figure 1 displays the tree diagram that developed from the coding analyses of the interview data. The themes in the data are presented in the next section. The shared attitudes toward undercover policing experiences are first reported. The two profiles of reintegration are contrasted according to the centrality of police identifications, the extent to which officers cognitively engaged in rivalry with mainstream peers and issues of status inconsistencies. Behavioural outcomes such as former operatives' willingness or ability to fit back into institutional norms and intentions to remain as a member of the police service are also presented.

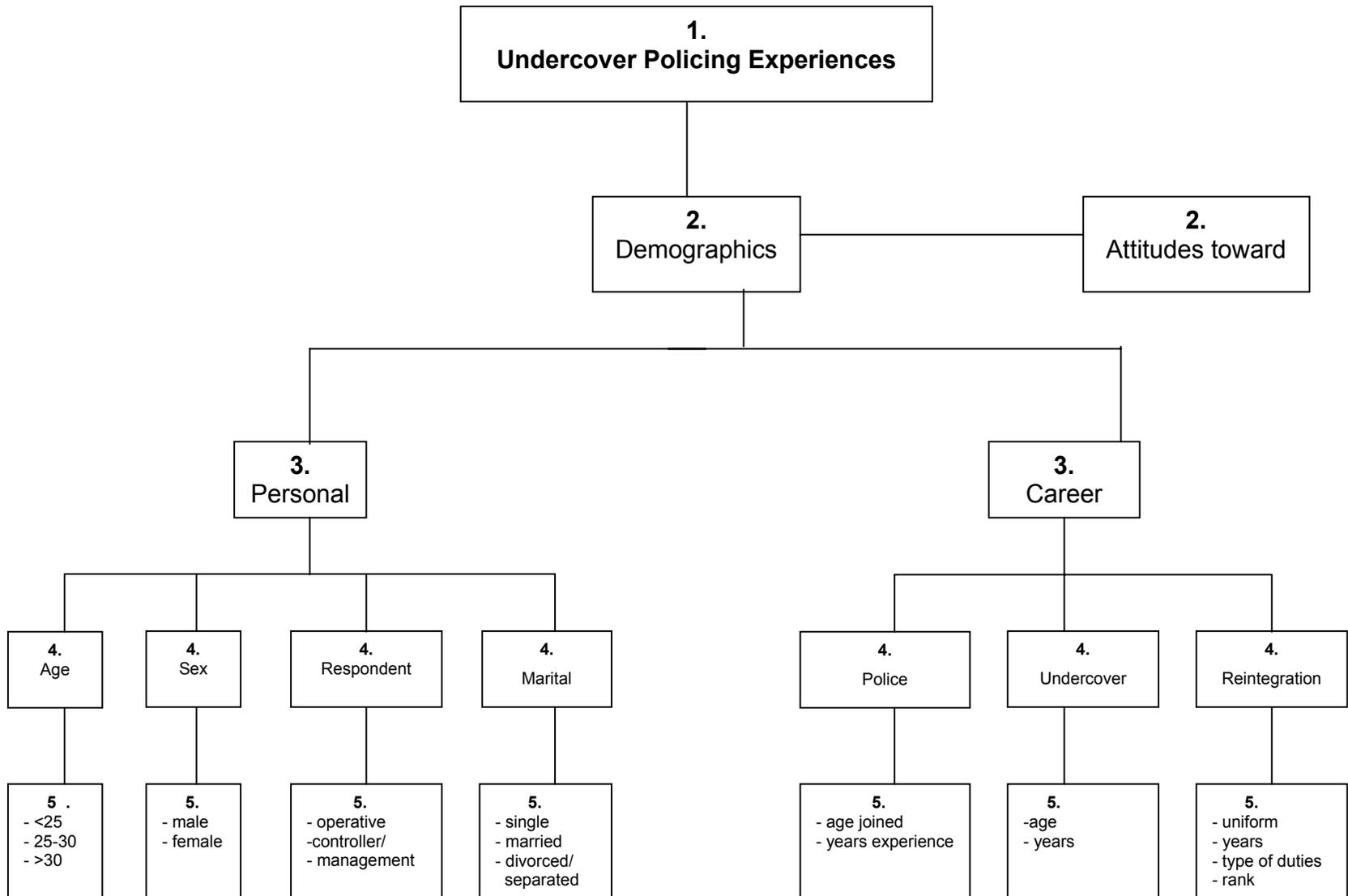
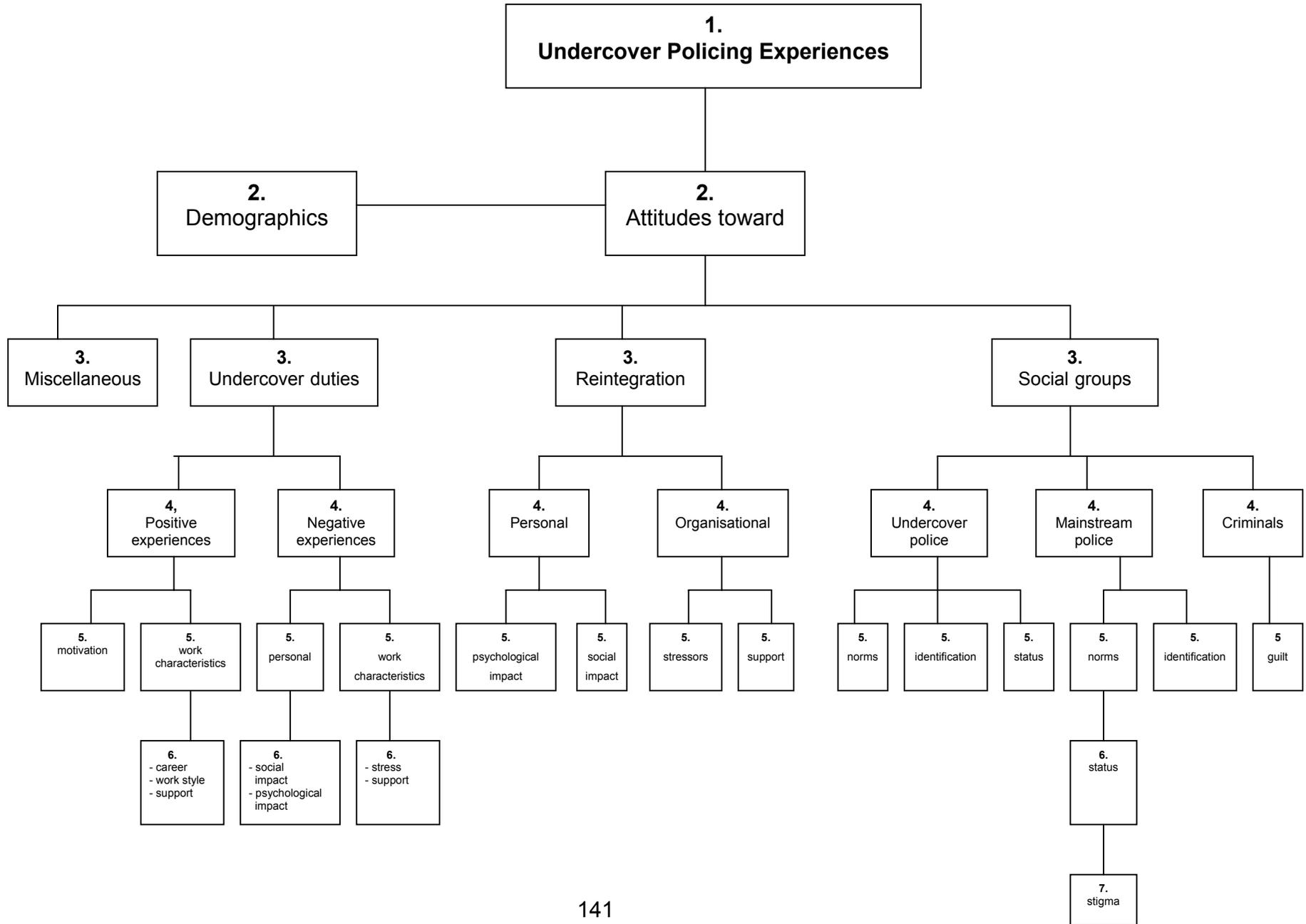


Figure 1. Data Analysis of Interviews: Coding Categories and Linking Themes

Figure 1. Data Analysis of Interviews: Coding Categories and Linking Themes (continued)



6.3. Profiling Reintegration

To respect confidentiality and ethics agreements, quotes are not identified by name, sex or age. Quotations will simply be referenced as an “officer” followed by a numerical code.

6.3.1. Shared Characteristics: Attitudes and Experiences

6.3.1.1. The Nature of Undercover Police Work

All former operatives interviewed described their undercover experience as “*personal*” to indicate the self-investment made in this role. They believed that the extent of their personal investment and sacrifices were far greater in the role as an undercover officer than working in mainstream duties.

“It’s all the effort you put into the job. You go above and beyond the call of duty.” (Officer 18)

Along with this self-investment, officers expressed considerable commitment to the undercover work and reported achieving a great deal of personal satisfaction - “*a rush*”- from acting and achieving in the undercover role.

“There’s a lot of satisfaction...You feel like you are making a difference.” (Officer 14)

“In undercover work I see it as making a measurable contribution to policing and investigative policing.” (Officer 17)

The cohesiveness and unity of the undercover group was also noted as members described themselves as being “*like a family and a very close knit bunch*” (Officers 2, 8, 9, 10, 12) and that the undercover unit “*is like a second family*” (Officer 19).

Regular social supports were replaced by ties or bonds with other members of the undercover group. They described the secrecy of the work, the isolation, displacement from regular mainstream police officers and family relations, immersion of the officer in the work and shared experiences among only a few as fostering the development of these close attachments with other members of the undercover group. These work dynamics together with the need to “de-police” (Officer 6) produce a highly cohesive work group where members depend on each other for support and advice to achieve in their role as an undercover police officer.

“You can’t go out with coppers. Can’t go out in case you are recognised. Your good friends become the undercover group. Can’t talk to regular police about it because they have no idea. An undercover lives it for 24 hours per day. If you have problems or a job goes bad, the first person you ring is another undercover agent for support and advice.” (Officer 11)

“My social support came from other undercovers because my partner didn’t want me to do it and my family would only worry. So I became close to them [other undercover officers].” (Officer 2)

“You sleep most of the day and lose contact with your family. They come to rely on their friends for their own emotional support which is hard to take. My own outside friends don’t really understand. My family didn’t understand or not the full extent at least.” (Officer 6)

6.3.1.2. Attitude Changes Toward Criminals

All of the former operatives interviewed noted attitudinal changes in terms of their previously held stereotypes of criminal groups. According to all officers, these attitudinal changes are directly related to the experiences they had whilst undertaking undercover duties.

“Now I can see there are always two sides to the story.” (Officer 19)

“Your attitude to crims changes. You can see the reason why they do it. They are no different from us. There is a possibility to be friends. Mainstream police see it as an ‘us and them’ attitude. It’s just the police culture and the bias...Now I think of them very differently.” (Officer 9)

These comments illustrate that officers are not only aware of changes to their previously held stereotypical views of a criminal, they also demonstrate an understanding of the targets as individuals. It is the direct contact with criminals and immersion in their targets’ social environment that appears to have influenced the way operatives perceive those who commit illegal acts. That is, officers’ temporary membership in this negative social group has been influential in changing their perceptions of criminals. The personal contact *de-homogenised* criminals. They are no longer defined at the group level with prototypical characteristics.

Some officers ($n=5$) noted that they experienced discrimination whilst working in their undercover roles. These officers mentioned that they were subjected to the negative judgements society can make about individuals who appear socially unacceptable and non-conforming. Being subjected, personally, to these prejudices challenged their own attitudes.

“The positives are that I have seen life from a totally different point of view. From being filthy and dirty and served last in a shop. You feel like grabbing them and saying if only you knew.” (Officer 12)

“One thing I noticed is that you can tell how other people judge you on appearance alone. People in the police think you are a junkie and I can understand how people feel now.” (Officer 2)

The use of the term “normal” individual was also commonly expressed among officers in their discussions of what it is like to work with criminals. Previously, officers perceived criminals as possessing personal characteristics dissimilar to police officers and their cognitive representations of attributes that defined “a criminal” were polarised from their own social groups.

“I think I’ve changed a lot....drug dealers are just normal members of the community...they had normal lives. They had wives and children and I was invited to their christenings, to dinner or social occasions. You realise that they are just normal people whereas other police have the attitude that they are crooks so they are bad and wrong. I still knew if someone breaks the law they still get charged for it.” (Officer 5)

Since performing covert duties, officers acknowledge that some criminals have personal and lifestyle characteristics similar to their own social groups, but it is the illegality of an individual’s actions that remain the defining attribute of a criminal.

“Quite often the drug dealer isn’t a bad person. Sometimes they are couples that need a bit of cash...whatever on the side and don’t really see the harm in it...Some may be the same age as me and I had so much in common with them. But the simple fact is that it’s a criminal offence full stop. I could always come back to that reality. It’s a little bit difficult sometimes but I never got too carried away.” (Officer 4)

“Some targets had the opportunity to do wonderful things but they chose the wrong path in life. In the end they are just a drug seller.” (Officer 1)

For the majority of former operatives the attitude change was positive, however, there were a few former operatives ($n=3$) from both profiles whose attitudes toward criminals had become more negative as a result of their covert experience.

“I hate criminals even more. They are just open to greed and self-interest.” (Officer 15)

“All crooks in general are pathetic. Now it’s stronger in my policing view.” (Officer 17)

“I despise criminals more than I did before.” (Officer 18)

6.3.1.3. Personal Characteristics as Group Characteristics

Former operatives described themselves in terms of the attributes used to define the work style of undercover policing. According to social identity theory, when an individual identifies with a particular social group, the attributes or characteristics that distinguish the social group become defined as the characteristics of the self. For instance, undercover policing is characterised by innovative, flexible and adaptable investigations. In terms of cognitively identifying with this police group, the majority of officers ($n=13$) perceived their own personal attributes as being *“flexible, adaptable and creative, sociable, lateral thinkers, open-minded..streetwise”* (Officers 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20).

Officer 18 believed that these individual characteristics are personal characteristics rather than developed or learned through experiences in covert duties.

“[Undercover officers] need to have the sociableness factor but I think you have that already. I don’t think it’s something that develops. The officer has to be able to push things along.” (Officer 18)

Officers are partly selected from psychological assessments that screen for desirable traits required to carry out duties as an undercover officer. The

researcher acknowledges that some of these positive attributes may be individual characteristics but it was observed that these social characteristics were deliberately nurtured throughout training courses and thereby enhanced as a result of the covert experience.

6.3.1.4. Ingroup Bias Effects

Typically, when asked about the differences between mainstream and undercover officers, mainstream police were characterised more negatively.

*“I mean their [mainstream officers] outlook is conservative, they are not sympathetic toward people in general...they think they are better than anyone else. Undercovers are more flexible, more liberal in their views“
(Officer 5)*

Officer 5 not only defined members of the undercover group in terms of prototypical characteristics that define undercover work but the officers' perceptions of mainstream officers were more negative than their perceptions of fellow undercover officers. These comments suggest social psychological processes of social comparison and bias effects are present.

All former operatives considered the attitudes of mainstream police to be more *“black and white...judgmental...authoritarian...narrow-minded...naïve...conservative...rigid and lack empathy”* toward criminals. In all of the interviews, mainstream officers were stereotyped as carrying out police work based on asserting and maintaining power differences, *“power trips”... “do as I say”... with criminals.* These officers believed mainstream officers categorise criminals at a group level as *“all crims are bad and wrong”...“us versus them”... “good guys-bad guys stuff”* whereas former undercover officers considered themselves to be less stereotypical and less judgmental.

According to social identity theory, the perceived difference in attitudes toward criminals is known as ingroup bias. This ingroup bias technique is used as a way of distinguishing the undercover police group's characteristics from mainstream police (ingroup-outgroup) along favourable dimensions. Similarities with other undercover officers are maximised and differences with mainstream police are accentuated (Brewer, 1993a, 1993b; Brown, 2000; Cameron, 1999; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hunter et. al., 1997; Terry et. al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993).

6.3.1.5. The Use of Social Creativity Strategies

There is evidence in all the interviews of the use of social creativity strategies. Officers with undercover experience were distinguished from those with no prior experience in terms of policing practices when dealing with criminals.

All former operatives viewed their police practices more positively and believed they now had a better understanding of the reasons for criminal behaviour than officers who have not performed undercover work. By comparing mainstream officers with favourable undercover work practices, officers are able to maintain the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the undercover police group and the importance of having held membership in this work group. When asked about the impact of covert duties on them as a police officer, one former operative stated:

"I understand why people do stuff. I think I see things more at a deeper level and wouldn't know these things if I hadn't done it (undercover work). [You] Get more of a holistic view of a person but when you are a mainstream police officer they already think they know what you are and do." (Officer 9)

Unlike mainstream duties where officers are overt in their policing practices, undercover police officers primarily rely on their verbal negotiation skills to collect evidence and investigate crime:

*“You can’t rely on others. Your main weapon is your mouth.”
(Officer 11)*

In order to do this, operatives must behave on a more equal basis toward their targets.

“Regular policing have the power and dominance. Undercovers have more of a negotiation and they need this skill.” (Officer 8)

For another operative, a mainstream police attitude was described as:

“I’m a police officer and I have the power to arrest people. Do what I say or suffer the consequences...” (Officer 12)

Former operatives reported that their policing practices have benefited from working in undercover duties such that they were now better at rapport building, more open minded, possess more advanced interpersonal skills, could assess individuals more accurately and efficiently, have a greater understanding of the social implications for criminal activity; and interact with criminals as individuals and with less power differentials than officers without this policing experience.

“It’s [undercover work] all been good. Gave me a better understanding of the way people think generally but crooks in particular. Broadens your view. Gives you an expertise into people.” (Officer 3)

“You seem to be able to weigh up people more quickly and are able to figure things out more. It really is a benefit more than anything. It becomes ingrained in you.” (Officer 16)

“Undercovers’ have an amazing talent for working out what makes others tick. Good at picking temperament.” (Officer 7)

“Get good at character assessments. Little cluey things and the heightened awareness. It’s good for your police skills.” (Officer 19)

“My attitude is such that I can understand a bit and empathise with why it happened. I think through undercover work especially and through the drug scene I can see the social implications and why they are using.... I don’t just see them as criminals and bad....I can empathise.” (Officer 5)

“Gives you better insight...can think like they [criminals] think. Gives you more insight than others [mainstream police] who are on the same level [rank].” (Officer 6)

Officers felt that their heightened ability to rely on verbal negotiations and communicate with others on an equal basis enhanced their ability to investigate criminal activity in mainstream duties.

“You learn to know how they [criminals] think and commit crime. Can bring these skills back with you to regular policing. Have advanced people skills. Undercovers can manage a crisis situation better than regular police. Undercovers are good at conflict resolution as part of the role as a police officer. Undercover officers have a capacity to think laterally and they can be more innovative.” (Officer 1)

Although not formally recognised, Officer 5 commented that these social skills were often utilised by the officer’s mainstream colleagues to gather evidence from uncooperative suspects.

“The average inspector walks in and says I’m inspector so and so and this is what is happening etc. Being an undercover investigator you can relate a lot more to the criminal on their level to get their confidence. You just get a repertoire (sic) with them in ten minutes whereas before it could take you days....A lot of police I find sort of have the attitude, detectives anyway, that they are so much better than them. I found a lot of situations now that the guys at work get the crooks in that we are interviewing and they won’t talk to them. They [the officer’s mainstream police colleagues] pull me in and I can get on to their [criminals] level. I end up being their friend and a lot of times they admit everything to me.”
(Officer 5)

This section reported on shared characteristics among the former undercover officers interviewed. The next sections Profile Two contrasting experiences of reintegration. What differed in the interviews was the extent to which officers saw the undercover identity and mainstream police identity as competing or complementary police identities.

6.3.2. Profile One: Positive Reintegration Experiences

6.3.2.1. Mainstream Police Identification

There were only a few former officers ($n=6$) who indicated that they had encountered few difficulties returning to the mainstream context. Most apparent and common in these interviews was that undercover duties were discussed in relation to the overall or superordinate continuing social identification of “police officer”. These officers maintained undercover category membership rather than group identification. These officers believed that:

“You have to recognise that you are doing this for a couple of years and then you go on and do something else....have to recognise that you have something else to do rather than undercover. A lot of people get hung up on it. It’s good to have the commitment and drive but you need to be able to cut it off.” (Officer 3)

A re-occurring theme in these interviews in this profile is their perception of undercover police work as an aspect of their overall policing experience. These officers depicted their undercover duties as part of their policing career history rather than as an “undercover policing career”. Officers believe that undercover work was just the use of a different police methodology and not necessarily becoming a different type of police officer.

“It was a stage in my police career I had finished with and I didn’t want to rely on it...it’s just a part of policing.” (Officer 4)

“It’s just different goals and objectives...it’s just one part of policing.” (Officer 3)

It’s a different form of policing. It’s just methodology but they are doing the same thing. It’s still policing... (Officer 8)

“Undercover work is just like another area of policing. It doesn’t apply to all areas of policing and I recognise this. I don’t really think it’s an advantage or disadvantage.” (Officer 18)

Another officer described themselves as “*staunch police*” (Officer 10). This officer stated that they continued to be strongly influenced by the mainstream police culture. Throughout this set of interviews the mainstream policing norms appeared more influential when defining the self as a police officer.

6.3.2.2. The Importance of the Undercover Experience

These officers described undercover police duties as part of a repertoire of social categories they held. One officer discussed their attitude toward working in undercover duties as:

“I had other interests...when you come to work you bundy on and do your work and bundy off.” (Officer 4)

The officer did not necessarily discuss the undercover membership as holding an exclusive social identification or as being a core identification with which they defined the self. However, the undercover police work has made an important contribution to the officer’s policing identity. See comments outlined earlier in the section on shared experiences.

Former operatives in this profile also discussed their attachment to the undercover group and leaving covert duties. Leaving covert duties was discussed in terms of getting back to reality and in terms of expressing a willingness to move on from undercover policing duties. For these officers, undercover policing is considered an “unreal world” which implies that the experience is perceived as artificial, transitory and short-term in their overall police career.

“It was time to get out and get back to reality.” (Officer 17)

“Adjusting back will be difficult if you like it [undercover work] more than your real life. Some identify with the undercover role too closely and it’s dangerous. The lifestyle might be better than your own and you start to identify with it. Undercovers must be told to finish. Gets them back to reality that they are in the police.” (Officer 8)

*“There’s no tie back to real policing...I liked going back to the real world.”
(Officer 4)*

6.3.2.3. Intergroup Relations

Throughout this set of interviews there was no discussion of negative intergroup relations in their own experiences of reintegrating into mainstream police duties. That is, the officers in this profile did not perceive intergroup competition between having been affiliated with the undercover group and becoming involved with peers from the mainstream police groups. The absence of reported intergroup behaviour implies that these officers did not see the undercover group as a competing or separate police identity.

Relations with mainstream peers during this period were depicted as positive. Officers recalled positive feelings toward returning to the mainstream environment and mainstream peer relationships were highlighted as being beneficial and facilitative of their reintegration.

“I went back to an area where I knew everyone and had tremendous support. I liked going back to the real world. I had to cut the ties and get back. I got offered to go to other task forces. That was great for me and it made me feel good in myself.” (Officer 4)

Positive intergroup contact in the reintegrating environment influenced their process of assimilation and promoted positive feelings between ingroup members (the previous undercover group) and new comparison groups (mainstream police officers). The officers in this profile reported that they had found successful bases for supporting their identity in the changed police environment. Peer relations were familiar and supportive, which encouraged them to secure their police identification in the mainstream group. Their reintegrated environments were described as areas in mainstream policing where they could contribute some of their learned skills from undercover duties

and share in the goals of their new mainstream police unit. Social identity research on intergroup contact reports that equal status, co-operative interactions and supportive norms are conditions that assist in reducing ingroup bias as these conditions foster more inclusive memberships (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio & Bachman, 1994).

When speaking of undercover duties, one of these officers felt that...

“It gave me a lot more confidence. A lot of self-confidence, a lot of self-belief to do a job. So managed correctly you have your own skill but coming out from undercover you have that bit more confidence and more ability and a lot more direction. It’s helped my police career and it has opened up some doors.” (Officer 4)

6.3.2.4. Group Status

Former operatives acknowledged that there are some mainstream police who can be negative toward undercover police officers, however, they did not categorise all mainstream police as negative. These officers appeared less personally affected by these negative reactions toward their former police group than officers in Profile Two.

“Some police don’t think much of them [undercover officers]. They don’t know what they do and a lot of police think it’s just surveillance. Those that do and have done the work have an appreciation for it. Those that haven’t done the work think it’s a really easy job a trained monkey can do...You put an earring in and you swear a bit and buy drugs.” (Officer 4)

All of these officers noted that the work carried out by undercover officers is not given the appropriate recognition by the mainstream policing hierarchy. However, these former undercover officers did not perceive status differentials

between the undercover and mainstream police groups. They described it as “a bit of jealousy” but did not report it as detrimental to having been an undercover police officer. The general opinion amongst these officers was that whilst not increasing promotional opportunities, undercover policing has contributed to increasing their police skills and has afforded them opportunities back in mainstream policing.

“Undercover officers do not get the merit they deserve in mainstream policing for promotion.” (Officer 10)

“Mainstream are a bit jealous...think the undercover has had a good time and sub-consciously they make the operative pay a bit.” (Officer 17)

The officers felt that the status issue is related more to officers who have strong affiliations and derive high levels of self-esteem from being a member of the undercover group. They felt that officers who were strongly affiliated with the undercover group were most likely to react to the lack of recognition and loss of this police membership.

“It’s an exclusive tight little group...That’s why I think a lot of them have an identity crisis when they go back into it and they go back into undercover work again...they get carried away with their own importance...they think they are critical to policing but they are only a small part. They are just another policeman that has that sort of job...” (Officer 4)

“Some reckon they are on the front-line and have very big egos. They are just I, I, I...” (Officer 10)

“Undercovers can sometimes get wrapped up in their own self-importance. It can escalate. Supervisors can see the status thing

and the self-importance changing and can circumvent this. They need to redefine their role.” (Officer 8)

“Yeah, there is a status issue. It’s from the undercover side. Majority of police have no idea about undercover work and what it involves. From having status and fun and back down there and out of this exclusive tight group into general stream of policing.” (Officer 3)

6.3.3. Profile Two: Difficult Reintegration Experiences

6.3.3.1. Competing Undercover and Mainstream Police Identification

Profile Two includes officers who reported negative reintegration experiences. Returning to the mainstream policing culture jeopardised how they defined themselves personally. These interviews were characterised by reports that the undercover and mainstream police identifications continued to remain different and competing. This psychological conflict between two police identities negatively affected their experiences of reintegration. There was evidence in this profile of the use of a cognitive strategy where former operatives decoupled police identifications that lead officers to perceive the undercover police identification as separate to the mainstream police identification. Their description of reintegration indicates that their undercover membership continues to be the more important ingroup despite not working in undercover policing.

For the majority ($n=12$) the experience of returning to mainstream duties was considered “a culture shock” (Officer 15), “really hard or difficult” (Officer 2, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20) and “too hard to switch back just like that” (Officer 6).

All officers in Profile Two reportedly experienced a high level of uncertainty during their re-assimilation process. Officers stated that they “felt lost” when they tried to resume mainstream duties.

“It’s very stressful. The period away makes you unsure of yourself and not sure whether you can cope with procedural things. You have to ask what to do and you get afraid to ask.” (Officer 9)

6.3.3.2. Maintaining Cognitive Identification with the Undercover Police Group

All officers in this profile spoke of normative behavioural and attitudinal changes in their policing identities since covert duties. Their comments described a “lack of fit” between the current policing context, mainstream duties, and how they defined themselves as police officers.

Officers in this profile revealed that they continued to maintain some of the normative behaviour of undercover policing, such as features of their previous role-play appearance, the street talk or jargon, and elements of covert policing procedures (information on these exact procedures have been omitted from transcripts).

“I still feel like I’m working or not working but I’m undercover or something. I don’t like people knowing my true identity...I still treat myself like an undercover officer....I don’t really think I have gone back yet.” (Officer 5)

Continuing to display previous police behaviour suggests that the undercover identity and associated norms remain internalised in these officers.

“You can’t associate with other police. You can’t go to police functions and stations. You try to dress differently, talk differently and act differently. If you do this for certain periods of time you just act that way normally and it’s hard to get back to how you were. Even now I still act like an undercover and dress like an undercover occasionally. Just little things haven’t changed.” (Officer 2)

These comments also highlight that the undercover police identity is an important contributor to the officer’s definition of the self. Officer 2 acknowledges that these undercover norms remain internalised and continue to dictate displays of overt behaviour. The officer found it difficult to make changes to them despite not being rewarded or reinforced for this behaviour by mainstream police members. The use of the word “differently” implies that officers are aware that these normative attitudes and behaviours are not consistent with the norms of mainstream policing.

What is interesting in the comments from Officer 2, is how the officer did not define their display of dress as norms of a criminal outgroup. Instead, the officer has cognitively reconstructed this behaviour as a prescribed norm that belongs to their undercover police ingroup. Part of the work requirements for an undercover officer is to change their appearance to fit in with target groups such as “bikies, junkies or dance-ravers”. In reality there is no unique *undercover dress*, rather it is dressing and acting like another community social group that has defined itself by particular dress styles.

Similar to earlier quotes, Officer 20 suggests that psychologically belonging to the undercover group has important self-evaluative consequences. This officer also noticed psychological changes to their self-conceptualisation since performing covert duties.

"I came into the job as Peter [name changed] and he was a nice bloke. I liked him. Then in the job I became Ace, Terri, Alex [names have been changed]...whoever I was told to be and I acted like I had to. No worries. I knew who they were and that was fine. It sounds silly but now I am acting and thinking like this other bloke but I don't know who he/she is....you know. It's not Peter anymore. Sometimes it just comes out and I act like I'm back on the streets. (Officer 20)

When asked when this sort of behaviour happens.....

"I feel like acting that way when I'm feeling threatened inside. I feel pretty worthless these days...Sometimes I miss being those other characters, you know..." (Officer 20)

When discussing their personal experience of returning to the mainstream context, Officer 20 does not discuss his/her behaviour in terms of acting like the undercover role characters; instead, the behavioural changes are noted in relation to their personal identity. The officer believes he/she understood who they were before undertaking covert duties and was aware of the character roles they assumed to perform undercover work. The norms for behaviour were clearly defined and appropriately supported within the undercover policing context. Since leaving covert duties, the officer notes their self-conception or how they define themselves is in crisis and under evaluation. The officer appears surprised how internalised the undercover norms remain. The officer is aware of this internalisation as a consequence of the change in policing context and the increased prevalence of mainstream policing norms.

Implicit in these comments is a personal expectation that change in police context meant the officer would revert to the person they were before they began covert duties. There seems to be psychological confusion over how the officer is supposed to be acting like and how the officer actually feels like

behaving as the officer struggles to make the changes to their policing identity. Feelings of dissociation are also present. The emotional value attached to the undercover police group is evident as the officer mentions "missing" acting in the role as an undercover officer.

These comments also illustrate that social comparison processes are present during the reintegration process – "like me vs. not like me" and "appropriate behaviour vs. not appropriate behaviour". When asked when these inappropriate behaviours occur, the officer responded that it was when they felt threatened. According to social identity theory (see Hogg & Abrams, 1988), a challenge to a valued social identification threatens an individual's self-esteem. Individuals are motivated to display normative behaviours associated with that membership to continue to reinforce the value of having been a part of the undercover police group. Highly identified individuals will also be motivated to reduce the level of cognitive uncertainty felt when having to negotiate the former undercover policing identity with the expectations of the social rewarded norms in mainstream policing. Therefore, these behaviours are attempts to maintain the individual's self-worth associated with the undercover police identification and to reconcile the degree of cognitive conflict (i.e. reduce the level of uncertainty) felt by having to accept the change in policing context.

Officer 11 discussed their reintegration experience as wanting to be a police officer again.

"When you finish you need some sort of recognition for what you have done. You want to be a cop again." (Officer 11)

These comments express a willingness to fit in however the officer states that he/she found it difficult to immerse themselves in their "new-old" police membership. Realistically, undercover operatives are police officers. The officer's use of the word "again", suggests that undercover work is subjectively

perceived as different to and separate from the superordinate category of police officer. The word “again” implies the officer has psychologically moved away from and holds another police affiliation separate to the affiliations held by mainstream officers.

6.3.3.3. The Importance of the Undercover Experience

An important indicator of continued undercover police identity was how central the role the undercover social identification became whilst performing undercover duties. By the nature of the work, maintaining other social groups becomes limited. However, for some, the undercover identity replaced the importance or emotional significance of other social groups they had previously held. Previous social networks were replaced as the similarities with other members of the undercover group developed.

“A lot of my friends prior to doing this work I just didn’t associate with. I just hung around with other undercovers because you feel more comfortable with them. I didn’t feel comfortable with anyone else. Even my partner I didn’t like spending time with [her/him]. My whole social life stopped and I hung around with other undercovers.....” (Officer 2)

Again, others acknowledged the emotional significance of belonging to the undercover group. Former operatives noted the emotional despair they experienced when leaving behind their valued undercover policing membership and members of their covert team.

“I have no contact with ex-undercovers. It’s a pretty emotional time leaving the undercover area. I got upset leaving. Didn’t really want to leave. ...The undercovers are just like a big family. It’s like walking away from it. Nothing worse than being an ex-something. Can’t go back and pretend to live it. You know what you have done and I got satisfaction from it and have to move on.” (Officer 12)

“The undercover unit is like a second family. Have to break out of it. I still try to put it all behind. [It is] Very strong on mateship and officers band together.” (Officer 19)

6.3.3.4. Intergroup Relations

When asked to discuss their experience of returning to mainstream duties, peer relations were categorised as negative and characterised by conflicting intergroup behaviour.

“The negative about reintegration is that you are no longer an undercover officer. You are now a police officer. It is a love-hate relationship with undercovers and police officers.... It’s hard to talk to them...They [mainstream police] say we haven’t been a real cop for years.” (Officer 11)

“Your relationships with peers become hard. Conversations are different. You are so used to relating to people on the street. You feel like the odd one out.” (Officer 11)

All officers in this profile stated that they experienced problems re-establishing their police identity amongst their new mainstream police groups. They reportedly categorised themselves as dissimilar to other members of the mainstream police group. The use of evaluative words such as “they” and “we” suggest social comparison processes occurred.

Social identity theory (see Hogg and Abrams, 1988) states that people classify others on the basis of similarities and differences to themselves. On this basis, those who are similar are considered part of the individual’s ingroup and those who are different are considered the outgroup.

“I associate with ex agents because they are similar people. Don't like regimented people. Can't have an honest conversation with regular [mainstream] people. I try to put it behind me but regulars are hell bent on reminding you about who you were. Start thinking about it again and you are just trying to bury it. It does follow you.” (Officer 14)

“With the ex-agents [operatives] you can confide in each other because you have similar experiences.” (Officer 6)

Officers indicated that they had engaged in varying levels of psychological rivalry with mainstream police. In their descriptions of their reintegrating context, mainstream police peers were characterised more negatively than their old undercover ties.

“It was like going back 15 years in the police force...my co-workers are just not nice people.” (Officer 12)

Officer 14 characterised their reintegration experience as a period where interactions with mainstream peers were noted as considerably high levels of conflict.

*“After doing undercover your morals change. You sort of pick up an anti-police feeling. I didn't get on that well with regular police.”
(Officer 14)*

According to social identity theory (see chapter four), the process of categorisation does not necessarily predict that officers will engage in psychological rivalry with the salient comparison group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). However, previous social identity theory research has shown that when conditions are perceived as possessing a high degree of threat to a positively evaluated and strongly affiliated social group, an individual will engage in

increased conflict and greater polarisation of intergroup attitudes (Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, & Williams, 1986; Oakes, 1987). Officer 14's comments suggest that they accentuated the differences with mainstream police as a consequence of identity threat that occurred by re-assimilation. The mainstream police group were characterised as a negative outgroup as they described themselves as having an "anti-police feeling".

In this profile, feelings of estrangement from both undercover and mainstream police were common. Officers in this profile also highlighted the role that mainstream peer relations and organisational support played in the process of re-establishing their police identity in the reintegrated environment.

"Your confidence takes a bit of a beating. It becomes a solo game....some officers are supportive and have rank which helps you get back..."
(Officer 11)

"You need to be re-assured you are part of the police organization."
(Officer 6)

Others noted that the more time they spent reintegrated into mainstream policing the less negative they felt toward mainstream police. Their comments indicate that they slowly re-assimilated into mainstream policing although they still wanted to maintain their psychological ties with members of the undercover group.

"When I first got out of it [undercover policing] I didn't want to associate with police. I wasn't interested in what they had to say. It slowly changes though. Try to keep in touch with other undercovers and will always be close to them." (Officer 11)

It's a close knit group [undercover group]. You can sit down and relax with them. Most of the guys you can have a laugh with. I still keep in contact with them. I am mixing more with the guys at work [mainstream police] though and I also have outside friends.” (Officer 13)

“I had a high regard and was very loyal but I don't socialise as much and I don't have that same affinity for it or to be so loyal. I still have respect for the police service though.” (Officer 5)

Officer 5's comments imply that some officers in this profile have disengaged on an emotional level from the mainstream culture. They have withdrawn their connection with mainstream peers and assumed a more passive role. Socialising with their current police peers was kept to a minimum.

6.3.3.5. Group Status

The issue of how well regarded undercover police officers are by the police organisation was significant to the former officers in this profile. More importantly, the officers in this profile believed the undercover group is considered a stigmatised group that receives little recognition from mainstream police.

“Others view you as stupid and taking drugs. They lack an understanding of us because the activity is so covert. People view you in a certain way once you have done this...the stigma never leaves you.” (Officer 11)

“Others think of you as a burnt out druggie. You're not really a copper so that's what you do. It's ignorance by others because they haven't been involved.” (Officer 13)

Some stated that the negative attitudes toward undercover officers inhibited their reintegration and re-establishing their ties with mainstream police officers.

“You don't want to associate with regular police. They see ex undercovers as drugged out. Regular police constantly make jokes about undercovers. The stigma of being an ex undercover sticks so they don't want to mix with mainstream.” (Officer 14)

“Mainstream are jealous and envious. It's highly competitive and revered to get a position in undercovers. They think you get stuck into smoking dope and doing speed...I feel not accepted that undercover isn't police work.” (Officer 2)

The legitimacy or fairness coupled with strength of identification greatly influenced former operatives' reaction to status inconsistencies.

“Get labelled...A lot of senior police think it's a joke. Junior police get promoted over me. It's not recognised.” (Officer 13)

“The stigma never leaves you. Some uniform cops think you are a druggie. ‘How are you going mate? Still smoking dope?’ ‘Burnout agent [operative]’ Don't reckon they trust you. The recognition just isn't there. They think it's nothing (the detectives). It's freaky going back. The d's are sarcastic and put shit on you. So they keep the stigma going of the undercover. It's not a feather in your cap. It's detrimental to your career.” (Officer 20)

“Need recognition in mainstream work of undercover work.” (Officer 9, Officer 12)

In these reports, some officers made the distinction between senior police officers and junior police officers and attitudes held about undercover police officers. They felt that the negative attitudes toward undercover officers was generated from senior members of the police hierarchy.

“There was a stigma attached to being an undercover. Junior police think it’s good and have a healthy respect for undercovers. Senior police have a negative perception. They think we are nothing but drug smoking hippies. The stigma is the worst thing. It’s the negative reactions.”
(Officer 17)

6.3.3.6. Intentions to Leave the Police Service

An organisational outcome absent in interviews in Profile One but present in interviews in Profile Two, were reports of intentions to leave the police service. Although officers in Profile One acknowledged that undercover officers were subject to criticism by mainstream police officers, they did not report that undercover work had been negative to their policing careers. In contrast, officers in the second profile reported problems with promotions and tended to discuss their intentions to leave the police service.

“Career wise I feel like I have lost two years and have to prove yourself all over again. Regular police think you are drug fucked. It’s frustrating. It’s like you stand still for two years.” (Officer 14)

“Couldn’t do it anymore. It places constraints on your career. Does hold you back career wise. Counts for zero at the end of the three years. Others promoted over you.” (Officer 15)

Other officers spoke of their intentions to leave as part of their continual struggle to fit back into the mainstream context and to re-establish their police identification. According to these officers, the only reason they had not left the police service was their perceived lack of skills for other vocations.

“There is no recognition. I came close to resigning. Stopped because I was encouraged not to by other undercover staff.” (Officer 15)

“I would get out if I had something else to fall back on.” (Officer 13)

“I thought about leaving but I have no other skills.” (Officer 19)

“I want to leave regular policing. I would, however, do undercover work again.” (Officer 14)

“If I had some other trade I would consider leaving. The organisation does not realise the capability of agents to blacken the police image.” (Officer 12)

6.4. Drawing Conclusions

Overall, the findings in this chapter suggest that police identifications and intergroup relations are an important organisational consideration during the reintegration phase.

This interview study identified that the process of negotiating police identifications is an important social-psychological dynamic present in operatives' reintegration experiences. Analysis of the interviews revealed that not all officers report a similar reintegration experience. There are two distinct paths through which officers experience reintegration. The extent to which an operative's affiliations with the undercover police group was integrated into the overall mainstream police identity impacted on officers' recalled experiences of returning to the mainstream policing context. That is, some officers discussed

the professional value of having worked as an undercover officer while the majority (60% of those interviewed) discussed the significance of the undercover policing experience in terms of defining themselves as individuals.

In analysing the data, it was found that more than one police identity was present. The study found that some officers (from Profile Two) who perform undercover police work, develop stronger affiliations toward being part of the undercover police group than holding membership in mainstream policing groups. These former operatives also internalised aspects of their undercover policing norms, such as ways of communicating with criminal groups into their policing practices. However, officers in Profile Two, identified more closely with “being an undercover officer” such that they internalised their membership and used it to define aspects of the self. For these officers, undercover policing became more than just role-playing becoming an extension of their personal self-worth.

For these officers, returning to mainstream policing was a negative experience and leaving behind their undercover police group was an emotional experience. The decision-making process undertaken during the re-assimilation phase produced a high degree of uncertainty in more strongly identified former undercover operatives in Profile Two. For officers in Profile Two, the process of reintegration posed a personal threat as they weighed their loyalties toward two valued police groups. As a consequence of this evaluative process, cognitive confusion developed and officers expressed difficulty adjusting their perceptions of themselves as police officers during their reintegration. These officers experienced cognitive confusion not only over how to define themselves as police officers but also as individuals.

Most apparent in Profile Two, was the officers’ confusion over how to behave in the mainstream policing context. These former operatives identified that they carried over some of their old undercover behaviour to the reintegrating

mainstream policing context. On first thoughts, it would be likely to expect that because of personal security concerns, former operatives would be motivated to lose some of their old undercover police behaviours. This would make the former operative less conspicuous in overt policing and in their social settings. However, officers in this profile stated that although they made an attempt to re-assimilate, they felt more comfortable maintaining their undercover police memberships and the associated norms such as the dress and behaviour. These continued displays of old undercover police behaviour suggest policing identity incongruence and therefore re-assimilation difficulties. These behaviours have been termed unacceptable because they do not fit with the norms of the mainstream environment; however, it is argued that are acceptable and congruent with the former operative's current policing identity (i.e. undercover policing identity). Therefore the desire to maintain these old undercover behaviours provide an indication of the significance of the psychological value the operative attaches to having been part of the undercover group. Based on social identity theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg & Mullens, 1999), the motivation to maintain the undercover policing identity arises from an officer's need to reduce this level of cognitive uncertainty evoked by the re-assimilation experience and the negotiation of police identities.

The findings also identify an early indicator of possible adjustment difficulties. The replacement of other social memberships, including family supports, suggests that these officers are more likely to experience difficult reintegration than others who maintain diverse interests.

The qualitative data in Profile Two suggests that former operatives who described themselves as continuing to feel more strongly affiliated with their undercover police group, were more likely to report experiencing a high degree of conflict or intergroup rivalry with their mainstream peers, as well as an "anti-police feeling". Relations with mainstream police were characterised as being challenging, disparaging, stigmatising and thereby inhibiting their willingness to

be part of the mainstream police context. They were most likely to report status inconsistencies and to have intentions to leave the police service as a consequence of the difficulties of fitting back into mainstream policing.

Reflecting on these comments, it does not seem likely that officers would undertake police duties voluntarily if undercover duties are known overtly as detrimental to their police careers. Therefore, based on the principles of social identity theory, it is argued that the perception of stigma is a response to negative intergroup relations experienced upon returning to mainstream duties that threaten the value and status of the undercover police identity and undermine the officer's own positive self-evaluations. Comparing profiles on recalled reintegration experiences, reports of stigma are greater in former operatives who identified strongly with being an undercover officer.

In contrast, a smaller group of former operatives ($n=6$) reported more positive experiences of returning to mainstream duties. These officers defined themselves in terms of being a police officer who has performed undercover police work. In this profile, the undercover experience was described more in terms of being integrated into the officers' overall police persona. The officers in Profile One stated a willingness to return to mainstream duties and "to get back to reality". They found successful bases in the mainstream context to support their identity and invest some of the skills they developed from working in undercover duties. Mainstream peers were characterised positively, indicating that the support received from their mainstream peers assisted them to re-assimilate into their mainstream policing work group. The negative comments from some mainstream police did not impact on their self-worth to the extent of that reported by officers in Profile Two, who continued to identify more closely with their undercover group. Although officers in Profile One recognised that undercover work does not receive the appropriate recognition in the mainstream policing context, working as an undercover officer was seen as an aspect of overall policing instead of a different organisational status.

The research by Ethier and Deaux (1994) supports the findings from the interview study. Ethier and Deaux found that the strength of previous social identities and support available in the new environment were key factors in predicting how individuals negotiate a central and ascribed identity. They were interested in examining what happens to central identification, such as ethnicity, when the context for enacting that identity changed substantially. In this study, the authors followed Hispanic students in their first years at an Anglo university, over a six-month period. Their analysis suggested that students used two different paths based on their previous involvement in the Hispanic social group prior to the transition. Students with a strong cultural background were more likely to seek out and establish links with other Hispanic groups at the universities. These new social supports not only supplemented but also replaced their old social supports to sustain their identity. In the second path, students who did not have a strong cultural background reported lower levels of ethnicity identification since the change in context. This study highlighted the value of social supports in a new context to strengthen or reinforce membership identification.

All former undercover officers interviewed engaged in a degree of identity management strategies. In terms of shared experiences, attitude change toward criminals was a consistent finding in all the interviews conducted with all twenty former undercover police members. As a group, former undercover officers reported that they were less stereotypical in their perceptions of criminals compared to their mainstream peers. Their changes in their attitudes toward criminals were regarded as an outcome of their covert policing experience. Operatives' well-developed interpersonal skills were reported as beneficial to investigating crime in mainstream police duties. These were skills they were able to bring back to the mainstream context that were recognised as unique to officers with undercover police experience.

6.5. Use of Social Identity Theory

The data from this study supports the appropriateness of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1972) as a framework to apply in this research. It has utility in explaining why old undercover cognitions and behaviours are maintained, elaborates on under what conditions they are likely to occur, and offers an explanation of why some officers continue to display old undercover norms. It also has utility in explaining previous reports in the literature of problematic adjustments in mainstream, reports of entitlements, status inconsistencies and problematic peer relations. Problematic peer relations are explained in terms of social comparison and categorisation process. Intergroup dynamics are considered a protection strategy reaction when a valued social identification is threatened by the experience of reintegration.

Content analyses of the interviews revealed a psychological process that occurs during the re-assimilation experience is one of dual identity decision-making. This qualitative study revealed insight into officers' cognitive processing about how they reconcile and decide the importance of two simultaneous activated identities. The findings reveal at least two paths in which officers cognitively establish an order of importance of dual police identities. Although not investigated by previous social identity research (see chapter four), Ashforth and Mael (1989) hypothesis that individuals resolve conflict from multiple identities by ordering, separating and buffering social identities. In this study there is evidence that officers in each profile established an order of importance of the two salient police work identities. However, there was also evidence that the cognitive strategies, utilised by individuals to establish police ingroup status, differed across profiles. In the first profile there was evidence to suggest that former undercover operatives used a cognitive strategy where the undercover experience was absorbed or integrated within the super-ordinate category of "being a police officer". In the second profile the data suggests that officers used the cognitive strategy of decoupling the two police identities. That is, officers in profile two discussed their re-assimilation experience in terms of

“being an undercover officer working in mainstream policing”. Officers in this profile described returning to mainstream policing in terms of no longer being an undercover officer instead they were now a police officer which suggests a cognitive separation of the two police identities. The use of decoupling as a strategy appears to be utilised under the conditions of cognitive conflict in order to maintain incongruent identities in the changed context and to reconcile negative affective reactions felt by individuals over their choice of significance in the salient identity. Integration as cognitive strategy appears to be activated only when an individual’s chosen identity is congruent with the dominant and rewarded normative behaviours in the current social context.

6.6. Summary

The interviews with twenty former undercover officers have been beneficial in identifying the social psychological processes present in undercover policing experiences. Social identity theory was found to be a suitable framework to deconstruct the themes in the interviews and explain the psychological processes associated with covert officers’ reintegration experiences. As stated in chapter four, there is no previous social identity research that investigates the cognitive decision making processes utilised in reconciling simultaneous identities. This qualitative research extends social identity theory by providing evidence of at least two decision making pathways utilised by individuals to negotiate dual ingroup identities.

The study found evidence that some officers who work in covert policing not only role-play but also internalise aspects of their undercover police persona. The undercover membership defines aspects of the self and continues to be an important social identity long after undercover police work has ceased.

From these descriptions, it appears that the negotiating police identities and the norms attached to these work groups are an important consideration during reintegration. Not all officers report similar reintegration experiences. Two

distinct profiles of reintegration were identified in the data. Positive experiences of reintegration were related to the degree of integration of the undercover and mainstream police memberships. Reports of re-assimilation also depended on the conditions of the reintegration process and more importantly, the returning mainstream context. In each profile of reintegration experiences, officers' stressed the importance of peer relations in the re-assimilation process. More successful attempts in resuming mainstream police duties were made when the former operative found their new area and its members familiar and encouraging.

This thesis is not only interested in describing the experience of reintegration but it is also interested in measuring the degree of adjustment in officers who have since completed undercover police duties. The next chapter will continue and extend the examination of police identifications in undercover police officers. Chapter eight reports the findings from the survey research, which examines police identifications among trainee, currently operational, more recently reintegrated former operatives and a matched control group of mainstream police officers. These cross sectional comparisons contribute to understanding the changes in police identities over the span of the undercover policing career and establish whether former operatives' level of mainstream police identification is a function of having performed police work. It also examines the extent to which former operatives maintain psychological affiliation toward mainstream and undercover police work groups. Chapter nine explores former operatives' degree of satisfaction with their reintegrated work environment.

Chapter 7

Survey Measures

7.1. Introduction

Chapters' eight to nine report findings from the second study that employed survey methods with a cross-sectional research design. In this chapter the measures included on the questionnaire are detailed along with the factorial structure and reliability analysis of these measures. Some of these measures are standardised indicators while others have been developed for specific use in this research. Chapters eight and nine report findings from analyses of these measures.

The following measures were used to operationalise social identity constructs. To examine the:

- Police identifications in operatives, two measures of social identification were included;
- Motivational component of social identity theory, a measure of self-esteem was included;
- Role and impact of social factors, two measures of work status were included;
- Importance of the social context in facilitating re-assimilation into the mainstream police environment, four measures of social and organisational support were included;
- Behavioural manifestations related to social identifications a measure of intergroup rivalry was included; and
- To obtain an environmental measure of the extent of re-assimilation, three organisational indexes identified from previous research that are related to psychological attachment to work groups were included; and in addition

- To control for confounding factors, two measures of personality factors were included.

The following sections describe the measures developed for use in the survey to collect data on an officer's personal background and work history, police identification, attitudes about the relations between undercover and mainstream officers, personality, perceived social and organisational support and satisfaction with their current work environment. Each section provides an overview of the reason for the measures' inclusion in the study, items on the scale and results from component structure and reliability analyses. Appendices 7a and 7b includes the survey items included in the questionnaires.

Throughout the remainder of the chapters, the term psychological adjustment is used to determine the degree of re-assimilation in former undercover police officers. As psychological adjustment is a multifaceted concept, a number of indicators were operationalised. Firstly, a measure of mainstream police identification was used to determine congruence in police identity with mainstream environment (i.e. person-environment fit) and secondly a number of organisational indicators to depict operatives' current level of satisfaction in the mainstream police work environment, were included.

7.2. Personal Background and Work History

Background information was collected to describe officers' personal and current work history, undercover policing history and reintegration experience.

7.2.1. Personal and Current Work Demographics

Information has been collected on an individual's gender, current marital status, present age, present rank, whether they were currently performing operational/non-operational duties, years of police experience and whether they were working in uniform/non-uniform duties. With the exception of one item,

fixed response categories were included. The extent of an officer's policing experience was ascertained using an open-ended question.

7.2.2. History of Undercover Police Work

Several items on the questionnaire asked about the officer's undercover policing work history. The analysed items include officer's age when first started undercover police work; length of time spent performing undercover duties; full-time/part-time status; type of undercover work performed; the duration of most covert operations performed; the number of covert operations performed; and the level of crime infiltrated. The duration spent working in mainstream policing prior to performing undercover police duties has been calculated from other items in the questionnaire. Most of the questions used fixed response categories (with the exception of officer's age when first started and length of time spent performing undercover duties). The response categories to items asking about type of undercover work mainly performed, the level of crime infiltrated and the length of most operations were developed in consultation with the police services.

7.2.3. Returning to the Mainstream Policing Environment

Officers were asked a series of general questions concerning their transition back to mainstream policing and their personal expectations of reintegration. Analysed items included how long it had been since officers had performed undercover duties, whether they were ready to leave undercover duties at the time of reintegration, the police rank resumed on return, their perception of whether undercover work contributes to promotional opportunities and what proportion of the officer's current social and recreational activities involve their mainstream police colleagues. A combination of fixed response categories, open-ended questions and a 5-point scale were used to record answers to these measures.

7.3. Police Identifications

The social identity measures comprise two scales designed to measure the constructs of undercover police identity and mainstream police identity. These are not standardised scales but the constructs have been used extensively in the social identity theory literature (see Ellemers, Van Rijswijk, Roefs, & Catrien, 1997; Grieve, & Hogg, 1999; Hornsey, & Hogg, 2000a). These measures were pretested prior to inclusion on the questionnaire instrument (see chapter five).

Officers were asked four questions as a measure of undercover police identity. These items are 'How much do you think of yourself as being part of the undercover police group?', 'How much do you feel you have strong ties with your undercover police group?', 'How much do you feel like you belong to your undercover police group?' and 'How similar are you to other officers of your undercover police group?'. These questions were answered on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

The same four items were repeated in the second scale, this time referring to social identifications with the mainstream police group and responses were also rated on a 7-point scale. Items on each scale were summed and total scores ranged from 4 to 28. Higher scores reflect stronger identification.

7.3.1. Component Structure

A principal components analysis (PCA) using oblique rotation was performed on the eight items used to measure police identifications. As only officers from the undercover police groups answered all police identification items, the PCA was analysed on the total number of undercover police officers in the study ($n=107$).

Unlike confirmatory analysis, the use of PCA as a summary technique, allows some variation in meeting the assumption of normal distributions of variables, although transformation of the data is advised (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

Given the presence of a bimodal distribution (which cannot be improved by transformation) in the data, and the small sample size of each undercover police group, it was decided that performing PCA separately on each police group could degrade the solution. To enhance the reliability of the solution, PCA was performed on the total number of the undercover police officers. Oblique rotation was used in the solution as the components are likely to be correlated and orthogonality in factors is less likely to reflect the reality of applied environments (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

The PCA solution produced a two component solution that explained 77.82% of the total variance. Each component produced eigenvalues over one therefore all components were interpreted. Table 6 shows the component loadings for the measures, mainstream police identification and undercover police identification. All items were interpreted as item loadings are higher than the chosen cut-off of .45 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

The first component, mainstream police identification, contained four items with communality values ranging from .84 -.92 and accounted for 41.10% of the total variance. The second component, undercover police identification, also contained four items with component loadings ranging from .69 -.93 and accounted for 36.73% of the variance. See Table A7.1 in Appendix 7c for inter-item correlations. All items clearly separated and loaded on the relevant component factor and adequately correlated with other items on the scale. The clear separation of items indicates the internal consistency of each separate police identification scale.

Table 6. Items and Component Loadings on the Measures of Police Identification Using Undercover Police Officers (*n*=107)

Scale Items How much do you....	Mainstream Police Identity	Scale Items How much do you....	Undercover Police Identity
Think of yourself as being part of mainstream police group	.90	Think of yourself as being part of undercover police group	.93
Feel strong ties with officers from the mainstream police group	.89	Feel strong ties with officers from the undercover police group	.93
Feel like you belong to the mainstream police group	.92	Feel like you belong to the undercover police group	.93
How similar are you to other officers of the mainstream police group	.84	How similar are you to other officers of the undercover police group	.69

7.3.2. Reliability Analyses

Reliability analyses were initially performed separately on each undercover police group. Analyses revealed strong Cronbach alpha co-efficients across undercover police groups (alpha range=.86-.92 on mainstream police identification; alpha range= .85-.94 on undercover police identification) on each police identification scale. As all officers in this study were from an undercover policing population and reliabilities were consistent across groups, it was decided to report the reliability co-efficient using the total sample of undercover officers (*n*=107). Reliability analyses were not performed by gender as there were too few females in this study.

Alpha co-efficients for the mainstream police identification scale was .91 and .89 for the undercover police identification scale. Each of these scales were found to have good reliability (i.e. above .70) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

7.4. Attitudes Toward Police Intergroup Relations

According to previous social identity research identity threat arising can influence the cognitive-behavioural reactions in individuals (see chapter four). Three attitudinal measures were included in the survey to obtain a measure of whether the reintegration process evokes threatened responses in some operatives.

The first index measures relations between undercover and mainstream police officers. This index was used to assess the extent of cognitive ingroup bias felt toward being an undercover police officer. Individual items cover stereotypical characteristics used to describe undercover police officers and stereotypical characteristics used to describe mainstream police officers. The evaluative dimension employed to contrast undercover and mainstream police officers is based on officers' attitudes and behaviours toward carrying out police work.

Social identity explanations of the effects of group status were also tested. Work group status in the re-assimilation process was assessed using a scale that measures stigma associated with being an undercover police officer. This scale measures negative attitudes toward undercover police officers.

The third scale is a measure of the perceived organisational status of undercover police officers. The relevancy of these constructs to the Australasian undercover policing reintegration context was established in the interview study. All items on these three attitudinal indexes were pretested prior to inclusion in the final questionnaire (see chapter five).

7.4.1. Ingroup Bias Toward Undercover Police Officers

The first attitudinal scale measures cognitive ingroup bias toward being a member of the undercover police group rather than being a member of mainstream policing.

Some previous research on group processes suggests that positive ingroup bias without including negative outgroup evaluations are enough to determine intergroup competition. However, other studies have found that, under threat conditions, a combination of positive and negative evaluations is required to adequately measure intergroup competition (Bettencourt et. al., 2001; Branscombe et. al., 1993). In this study, the ingroup bias construct is considered a function of both positive attitudes toward undercover police officers and negative attitudes toward mainstream police officers. It is measured using nine attitudinal items.

The evaluative dimension of ingroup bias in undercover police officers is attitudes and behaviours related to police work styles. It became apparent from the interview study that undercover police officers favourably evaluated and differentiated themselves from mainstream police officers in terms of their attitudes toward carrying out police duties and in their style of interaction with the individuals they were investigating. The use of qualitative data in question development ensured that each item tapped into meaningful dimensions commonly used to describe a particular police work domain. It also avoided designing questions along dimensions that are not particularly associated with either the mainstream or the undercover police group.

Officers completing the questionnaire were told that the following statements had been made about undercover officers. They were asked to indicate how much they disagreed or agreed with each comment. Item wording was such that officers were required to draw comparisons between mainstream police and undercover police officers. Six items are worded negatively toward mainstream police officers and three items are worded positively toward undercover police officers.

Examples of such items include 'Compared to undercover officers, mainstream officers are very black and white in their judgements'; 'Compared to undercover officers mainstream officers are very authoritarian in their approach' and 'Compared to mainstream officers, undercover officers are better judges of people'. Officers were asked to rate from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) to what extent they agreed or disagreed with each item.

Items were summed and scores range from 9 to 63. Higher scores indicate greater ingroup bias toward undercover police officers and greater cognitive rivalry with mainstream officers.

7.4.2. Stigma Associated with Being an Undercover Police Officer

Mainstream police officers' attitudes toward the undercover police officers remained unclear from the interview study. The index of stigma associated with being an undercover officer is designed to investigate previous reports that mainstream police officers hold undercover police officers in low regard.

The construct, stigma associated with being an undercover police officer, is measured using three items and item wording developed from the interview data. Each item measures negative stereotypical beliefs about undercover police officers and undercover police duties.

Officers completing the questionnaire were informed that the following statements have been made about undercover officers. Items from the index include 'Ex-undercover officers always have more personal problems than mainstream officers', 'Compared to mainstream officers, undercover officers are more likely to end up being nothing more than burnt-out police officers' and 'Undercover policing isn't real policing'.

Officers were asked to rate from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) to what extent they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Total scores range

from 3 to 21 and high scores indicate that mainstream police officers hold more negative attitudes toward undercover police officers.

7.4.2.1. Structure of Attitudinal Measures

An initial PCA with oblique rotation was performed on the 15 attitudinal items on the questionnaire. Five items were reverse scored. The PCA was conducted using officers in the three undercover police groups and mainstream police officers from the control condition ($N=145$).

Components with eigenvalues greater than one were interpreted. This first PCA produced a five component solution that accounted for 67.57% of the variance. Although the number of eigenvalues greater than one indicated a five component solution, this solution was not theoretically interpretable, and a two component solution was instead chosen and interpreted (see Appendix 7c Table A7.2).

The second PCA with an oblique rotation and two component solution specified, explained 45.87% of the total variance ($N=145$). The first component accounted for 33.48% of the variance while the second component accounted for 12.39% of the variance. Three items had component loadings below the .45 cut-off (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996) and were therefore excluded from the third PCA. The excluded items include: 'It is undercover officers who investigate serious crime.', 'Mainstream officers work much harder than undercover officers' and 'Undercover officers take drugs as part of their job' (see Appendix 7c, Table A7.3).

The third PCA with oblique rotation using a two component solution was performed on the remaining 12 items ($N=145$). See Table 7 for component loadings. The items in this solution explained 55.31% of the total variance. The first component, a measure of ingroup bias and group rivalry with mainstream officers, comprised nine items with loadings ranging from .49 -.84. This first

component accounted for 40.50% of the total variance. The second component, stigma associated with being an undercover officer, was measured by three items with component loadings ranging from .62 - .79 and accounted for 14.81% of the total variance. Table A7.4 in Appendix 7c outlines inter item correlations.

Table 7. Intergroup Attitudinal Items and Component Loadings on Measures of Ingroup Bias and Stigma Associated With Being an Undercover Police Officer (N=145)

Attitudinal Item	Component 1 Ingroup Bias	Component 2 Stigma
Mainstream think better than anyone else	.49	
Mainstream have no idea what UC's do	.76	
Mainstream are jealous of UC's	.64	
Compared to UC's, Mainstream black and white in judgments	.84	
Compared to UC, mainstream single minded	.82	
Compared to UC's mainstream very authoritarian	.81	
Compared to mainstream, UC's better rapport with criminals	.69	
Compared to Mainstream, UC's better knowledge of drugs	.72	
Compared to Mainstream, UC's better judges of people	.70	
Undercover isn't real policing		.62
Compared to Mainstream, UC's officers are more likely to end up being nothing more than burnt-out police officers		.79
Ex-Uc's always have more personal problems than Mainstream		.77

7.4.2.2. Reliability Analysis

The nine item ingroup bias index showed good internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha=.88 (N=145). The three item index measuring the stigma associated with being an undercover police officer showed adequate reliability, Cronbach's alpha = .62 (N=145). The reliability analysis suggests that the stigma index is a relatively weak indicator (i.e. <.70) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), however, given the exploratory nature of this research, this index was included in further analysis. The low reliability of this index is considered in the interpretation of findings.

7.4.3. Organisational Status of Undercover Police Work and Measure of Status Legitimacy

Social identity theorists posit that two issues are relevant to an examination of the conditions that influence identification and intergroup attitudes. It is not only the position or standing of a social group within the social hierarchy or in this case, within an organisation, that may be important but also the legitimacy of the group's status (see Clay-Warner, 2001). In work related settings particularly, employers take note of the general regard for a particular work group and whether it is justly recognized as it conveys information about how valued their membership is in the workplace (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Doosje et. al., 1995; Kramer, 1991; Mael & Tetrick, 1992; Rousseau, 1998).

A single item is used to measure the construct, organisational status of the undercover group. This item asked officers, 'Compared to mainstream policing, what is the status of the undercover group?'. Officers responded to each item using a 7-point scale (1=*lower in status*, 4=*equal in status* and 7=*higher in status*).

A categorical measure of legitimacy of undercover police officer's organisational status was derived from this group status item. Scores ranging from 1-3 on this measure were classified as illegitimate organisational status and scores ranging from 4-7 were classified as legitimate organisational status. Higher scores reflect perceived legitimacy in the current organisational status allocated to undercover police work.

7.5. Indicators of Personality

7.5.1. Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale

The Rosenberg self-esteem scale (1965) is also included on the questionnaire. Two separate sets of analyses using this scale were performed. Firstly, reports of personal self-esteem were investigated for possible confounding effects on reported policing identities. Some previous researchers have shown that

individuals who report a high level of personal self-esteem tend to be more positive about future outcomes and regard themselves more positively overall. Low self-esteem individuals tend to report more uncertainty about the future (Aberson, Healy & Romero, 2000). To avoid possible confounds in the reporting of police identifications, preliminary analyses were performed to investigate whether significant differences existed between police groups in their reports of personal self-esteem. Secondly, the scale was analysed to assess the contribution of personal self-esteem as a motivational component of attachments formed toward the undercover and mainstream police groups.

The Rosenberg self-esteem scale consists of 10 items designed to measure self-worth. These items capture a single dimension of global self-esteem. Examples of the scale are 'I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others' and 'I certainly feel useless at times'. Officers were asked to indicate on a 4-point scale (1= *strongly agree* to 4=*strongly disagree*) the extent to which they agreed or disagreed about how they felt at present. Scores range from 10 to 40. Five items were reverse scored. Higher scores indicate low personal self-esteem.

As this scale is a standardised scale with normative data, no PCA has been performed. Normative data suggests that scores tend to be skewed toward low self-esteem with 20.1% of adult respondents ($N=2294$) recording a maximum score of 40. Mean scores for the total sample ($N=2294$) of 949 males and 1345 females aged 18-65 years was 34.73 ($SD=4.86$) (Gray-Little, Williams & Hancock, 1997; Hagborg, 1996; Robinson & Shaver, 1991; Rosenberg, 1965).

7.5.1.1. Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis using the undercover groups and the matched control group of officers ($N=145$) indicated that this scale has good reliability ($\alpha= .89$).

7.5.2. Impression Management Scale from Cattell's 16PF Test

The impression management scale from the Cattell's 16 PF test (Cattell, Cattell, & Cattell, 1994; Krug, 1981) was included as a measure of social desirability. Undercover police officers use a great deal of impression management in their duties. It was decided that a measure of impression management would be useful in identifying possible distortions in responses among those who may be slightly guarded and officers who had unknowingly distorted their responses through learned behaviour.

This scale comprises 12 items. High scores suggest socially desirable responses and low scores reflect a willingness to admit undesirable attributes or behaviours.

This scale correlates significantly with other social desirability scales such as Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale and Paulhus's Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) (Cattell et. al., 1994). If purposeful distortion is suspected and scores on this scale were above the 94th percentile or below the 5th percentile, it was decided to omit the case from the dataset, and subsequently from any further analysis.

7.6. Social and Organisational Support Factors

Although not measured directly in the original conceptualisation of social identity theory, more recent social identity research has acknowledged that socio-organisational conditions of change appear to contribute significantly to managing identity negotiations (Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Callan, Terry & Schweitzer, 1994; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993; Gil & Foulger, 1978; Hartley, 1996; Marks & Mirvis, 1985; Rousseau, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Van Dijkhuizen & Reiche, 1980; Winefield, Montgomery, Gault, Muller, O'Gorman, Reser & Roland, 2002). To determine the significance that each environmental factor holds in assisting

operatives to re-establish their police identity in the mainstream policing context measures of social support from; family, friends and from within the organisation were included on the questionnaire.

Previous literature suggests sources of support counteract negative effects of stress and specific social support buffers specific types of stressful situations. For example, it has been found that social support in the work environment is positively associated with affective attachments to an organisation and assists in buffering periods of workplace uncertainty. In other circumstances the support received from family and friends is a more effective buffer than work related social support (Abdel-Halim, 1982; Callaghan & Morrissey, 1993; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson & Sowa, 1986; Helgeson, 1993; Lord, 1996; Terry, Rawle & Callan, 1995). Consequently, measures of both work and non-work related support were included in the questionnaire. In terms of measurement, evidence suggests that perceived rather than received support is a stronger predictor of adjustment (Helgeson, 1993). Chapter nine investigates the relationship between perceived social support measures and operatives' reports of adjusting to the mainstream context. It examines the relevance and importance of the source of support in assisting former operatives to re-establish themselves in the mainstream context.

7.6.1. Perceived Support from Family and Friends

The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988) was used to measure subjective assessments of social support. Originally, it was designed to focus on three scales (family, friends, and significant other). However, only the family and friends support scales are used in the current research. Previous research conducted by the authors indicates that these sub-scales are psychometrically sound with good reliability (family scale $M=5.80$, $SD=1.12$, $\alpha= .87$, $test-retest= .85$; friends scale $M= 5.85$, $SD= .94$, $\alpha= .85$, $test-retest= .75$ using a sample of 275 undergraduates in psychology) factorial validity and adequate construct validity. It was also chosen

because of its parsimony, face validity with the target group and time conserving features. The face validity of these scales for use with police officers was pretested prior to inclusion in the questionnaire (see chapter five).

A total of 8 items positively worded (4 items relating to family, 4 items relating to friends) were used with a 1-7 point response scale ranging from (1) 'very strongly disagree' to (7) 'very strongly agree'. Example items from each scale include: 'My family really tries to help me.' and 'I can talk about my problems with my friends'. Table A7.5 in Appendix 7c reports correlations between items on these scales. The four items on each scale were summated and total scores range between 4-28 with higher scores reflecting greater perceived support from family and from friends.

7.6.1.1. Reliability Analysis

Both scales reported high internal consistency (perceived support family scale, $\alpha=.93$; perceived support from friends scale, $\alpha=.93$).

7.6.2. Perceived Support from Current Work Peers

A measure of perceived peer support available to officers in their present work environment was designed, based on previous psychometric tests of organisational behaviour and the interviews in study one. This measure was also pretested and found to have face validity with police officers (see chapter five).

Ten items were originally used in the questionnaire however after performing PCA, seven items were used in scale construction. The questionnaire asked officers to rate the extent to which they felt 'Officers in this unit are willing to help each other solve job-related problems', 'The people I work with are a close knit group', 'I can rely on a fellow officer to help me out', 'When I have any personal problems I can talk to my fellow officers about it', 'Fellow officers encourage

each other', 'I find my fellow officer approachable', and 'My fellow officers respect each other'. Responses were recorded using a 7-point scale from (1)=*strongly disagree* to (7)=*strongly agree*. Summated scores range from 7-49 and higher scores indicate greater perceived support from current work peers.

7.6.2.1. Component Structure

Three exploratory PCA's with a one component solution specified were performed using the total sample ($N=145$). The first PCA included all 10 items on the questionnaire (see above section) and explained 53.67% of the variance. The item, 'There is jealousy amongst the officers I work with', had a component loading below the .45 cut-off (Tabachnick & Fidell 1996) and was excluded from further analysis (see Appendix 7c Table A7.6 and Table A7.7).

The second PCA was performed using 9 items ($N=145$) and accounted for 57.99% of the variance. Appendix 7c reports findings from these principal components analyses.

The third PCA produced the most parsimonious solution and increased the scale's reliability, with the omission of two reverse scored items 'I could not confide in anyone I work with' and 'I can't trust anyone I work with'. This 7 item solution produced component loadings above .70 (see Table 9) and accounted for 64.39% of the total variance. The final 7 items used to measure perceived support from work peers are listed in Table 8 (see Table A7.8 for inter-item correlations in Appendix 7c).

7.6.2.2. Reliability Analysis

The 7 item solution produced a index with a reliability of .90.

Table 8. Items and Component Loadings on Perceived Support from Current Work Peers (N=145)

Item	Component Loading	Item	Component Loading
Officer in unit willing to help	.72	Fellow officers encourage	.91
Close knit to work with	.77	Fellow officers approachable	.87
Can rely on fellow officers	.81	Fellow officers respect each other	.73
Can talk problems with fellow officers	.78		

7.6.3. Perceived Organisational Support

A shortened version of a 7 item scale measuring organisational support was derived from the 15 item Perceived Organisational Support scale by Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson and Sowa (1986). The index is used in the current research to measure the extent to which an officer perceives support available to them from the police service.

Three items are negatively worded. Examples of items include ‘The service cares about my opinions’ and ‘Even if I did the best job possible the service would fail to notice’. Officers rated organisational support according to a 7-point scale (1=*strongly disagree* and 7=*strongly agree*). The four positively worded items were reverse scored in the analysis. Higher scores reflect low levels of perceived organisational support.

7.6.3.1. Component Structure

A PCA specifying a one component solution was performed (N=145) and accounted for 42.44% of the total variance. All items were included as all component loadings were above .45 (see Table 9). Appendix 7c Table A7.9 reports inter-item correlations.

Table 9. Items and Component Loadings on Perceived Organisational Support (N=145)

Item	Component Loading	Item	Component Loading
Service cares about my opinions (reverse)	.54	Cares general satisfaction (reverse)	.78
Help is available (reverse)	.64	Disregards my interests in decisions	.73
Cares well-being(reverse)	.62	Fails to appreciate any extra effort	.56

7.6.3.2. Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis found the items on the index of organisational support had high internal consistency ($\alpha=.76$).

7.7. Perceptions of the Current Work Environment

A number of occupational indicators were included in the questionnaire to measure psychological adjustment and the level of integration into mainstream policing since leaving undercover police work. These indicators measure satisfaction with the mainstream policing context and they have been identified in the social identity organisational-change research as behavioural outcomes (Allen, 1996; Ashford, 1988; Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993; Chatman, 1991; Ferrie, Shipley, Marmot, Stansfeld & Smith 1998; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Jones, Katz, Wanus, 1976; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, Paulsen, Callan & Gallois, 1997a, 1997b; Rousseau, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 1994; Terry, Tonge & Callan; 1998; Terry & Callan, 2001) (related to successful organisational identification).

Officers were asked to record how they felt about their present work environment and to indicate their satisfaction with and commitment to their current policing environment. Direct and indirect measures of officers' satisfaction with being part of the mainstream context were operationalised.

7.7.1. Index of Job Satisfaction with the Current Work Environment (see Davey, Obst, & Sheehan, in press)

Five items measures different aspects of job satisfaction in the mainstream policing context. The items can be used summated or analysed separately. Items have been analysed separately to ascertain information on how officers perceive their current work environment and to explore what aspects of job satisfaction are likely to vary between mainstream and former operatives.

Four items used a 5-point response scale. Officers were asked to rate the following items: 'I think I am - *Very-under worked (1), Under worked (2), About right (3), Over-worked (4) or Very over-worked (5)*.; I consider I am under pressure at work - *Constantly (1), Often (2), Sometimes (3), Rarely (4), or Never (5)*; I am in control of their work- *Always (1), Most of the time (2), Sometimes (3), Rarely (4), or Never (5)*; Overall the job is interesting- *Always(1), Most of the time (2), Sometimes (3), Rarely (4), or Never(5)*'.

The item that measures the extent of pressure felt in mainstream duties has been reverse scored. Together, higher scores reflect that officers consider themselves to be overworked, under constant pressure, lacking control over their work and disinterested in their current work context.

The fifth item is a direct measure of job satisfaction. It asked officers to rate on a 4-point scale whether 'Overall the job is'- Very satisfying (1), Satisfying, Dissatisfying, or Very dissatisfying (4). This item was reverse scored and higher scores reflect greater job satisfaction.

7.7.2. Intentions to Leave the Service

Work turnover intentions were used as an indirect measure of job satisfaction. This 3 item index was designed as part of the Michigan Organisational Assessment Questionnaire (Cammann, Finchman, Jenkins & Klesh, 1979 in Wilson, 1991; Wilson and Beck, 1995).

There were several reasons for the inclusion of this construct in the study. Firstly, some operatives from the interview study expressed a willingness to leave the police service, therefore, rates of intentions to leave in more recently reintegrated operatives required further exploration. Secondly, it is possible that some police officers feel dissatisfied with their profession however due to the limited scope for occupational diversity, time invested in their professional career and the likely economic cost of changing careers, officers may not be prepared to leave their jobs despite their dissatisfaction. Therefore the use of an indicator of intentions to leave the police service is more an appropriate measure of job dissatisfaction as direct measures of job turnover rates may not accurately reflect the extent of job dissatisfaction.

The first item asked officers to indicate, in the next year, how likely is it that they would actively look for a job outside of the police service. Responses were given on a 4-point scale (1=*not at all likely* to 4=*extremely likely*). The second item asked respondents how often they think of quitting and the third item asked whether in the next year, the officer would probably look for a new job. Responses were recorded on a 7-point scale (1=*strongly disagree* to 7=*strongly agree*). Item responses were standardised using z-scores and summed to give a total score. Higher scores on this index indicate stronger intentions to leave the service within the next year.

7.7.3. Perceived Organisational Commitment

Four items are used to measure dimensions of perceived organisational commitment (2 affective, 1 normative and 1 continuance commitment item). These items are drawn from the original 18 items on the Organisational Commitment Questionnaire by Meyer and Allen (Meyer, & Allen, 1991; Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993).

The type of organisational commitment measured in this study is a combination of affective, normative and continuance commitment to the police organisation. Meyer and Allen and Smith (1993) previously identified three forms of commitment as affective attachment to the organisation, perceived cost incurred in leaving an organisation, and obligation to remain part of the organisation. Each form of commitment measures a different psychological commitment to the organisation. Employees who feel *affective commitment* continue to be part of the police service because they want to, those who feel *continuance commitment* remain part of the service because they need to, while officers who feel they ought to stay are *normatively committed* to an organisation. Meyer et. al. (1993) argue that considering commitment multi-dimensionally, provides a better and more complete understanding of an employee's relationship with an organisation, as employees can experience varying degrees on each type of commitment.

Item wording was modified slightly and each item specifically referred to the police service. One item is negatively worded and reverse scored. Responses were recorded on a 7-point scale (1=*strongly disagree* to 7= *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate lower levels of organisational commitment to the police service.

7.7.3.1. Component Structure

A PCA was performed on four items ($N=145$). All items had component loadings higher than .45 and explained 58.70% of the variance (see Table 10). Table A7.10 in Appendix 7c reports inter-item correlations.

Table 10. Items and Component Loadings on Perceived Organisational Commitment ($N=145$)

Item	Component Loading
Too few options	.55
Given opportunity	.85
Feel very little loyalty	.86
Personal meaning (reverse)	.76

7.7.3.2. Reliability Analysis

This shortened version of Meyer and Allen's perceived organisational commitment scale reported good internal consistency ($\alpha = .75$).

7.8. Summary

This chapter outlined the measures used in the survey and their statistical properties. These measures included:

- Personal and work history demographics on officers current work, history of undercover work and returning to mainstream policing environment characteristics;
- Police identifications;
- Attitudes toward police intergroup relations using ingroup bias toward undercover officers, stigma associated with undercover work and perceived organisational status of undercover police work;

- Personality indicators of global personal self-esteem and impression management;
- Social and organisational support measures from family, friends, current work peers and the police organisation; and
- Perceptions of officer's current work environment that measures aspects of job satisfaction, intentions to leave the service and organisational commitment.

Analyses performed using these measures are presented in the next two chapters.

Chapter 8

Mapping Changes in Police Identifications: A Cross-sectional Study

8.1. Introduction

This chapter builds on findings from the interview study, that undercover operatives' perception of themselves as police officers and their sense of belonging to the mainstream police environment impact on their experience of re-assimilation.

A number of consistent themes emerged from the interviews with former undercover police personnel. The study found that some former operatives internalise their undercover police persona and can develop stronger affiliations toward being part of the undercover police group than holding membership in mainstream policing groups. When these officers were required to leave undercover police work and resume mainstream duties, the experience was characterised by cognitively evaluating their affiliations toward the two police memberships. These interviews also identified that the reintegration process can prove difficult for some operatives. However, there were a minority of officers who perceived the experience of returning to mainstream duties positively.

The rationale directing analyses in this chapter is to explore not only the validity of the themes identified in the interview study but also to contextualise the process of re-assimilation among a group of more recently reintegrated operatives. The main focus of this chapter is to map whether policing identities are different for officers within the three phases of undercover police duties.

This chapter will also investigate whether previous reports of changes in former operatives' affiliations with mainstream policing are a function of undercover

police work or of time spent in policing. Nine hypotheses based on the principles from social identity theory and background knowledge acquired from police personnel about the Australasian undercover policing environment directed analyses in this chapter.

The study uses a cross-sectional design to examine the experiences and identifications of three undercover police groups that include: a) officers who are training to work in undercover police duties; b) officers who are currently operational; and c) recently reintegrated former undercover officers (less than three years). The degree of internalisation of the mainstream police identity maintained by former operatives is compared with d) a matched control group of mainstream police officers.

In this chapter the issue of negotiating dual police identities during the reintegration phase is also investigated. To examine this issue, the current level of importance allocated to the undercover and mainstream police identity (i.e. ingroup status) among more recently reintegrated former operatives (i.e. less than three years) is compared with officers at early stages of undercover policing.

As a measure of psychological adjustment since completing undercover police work, “the normative fit” between former operatives’ current police identity and the mainstream work environment is reported. Investigations continue, using trend analyses, to explore the length of time it takes for covert officers to make adjustments to their policing identities on return to the mainstream work environment. The use of exploratory trends analysis provides information to address the issues of monitoring the operative in the mainstream policing context. By considering the relationships among these variables, it may be possible to identify vulnerability or risk factors associated with adjustment difficulties.

Lastly, the relationship between a number of social and organisational variables measuring characteristics of undercover work, the reintegration phase, and the degree of internalisation of mainstream identity in former operatives is explored.

8.2. Hypotheses

Two sets of hypotheses directed the analyses. The first set comprises six hypotheses based on identity salience that test undercover police cohort differences on police identifications. The second set of three hypotheses predicts the most salient police identification held by each undercover police group in order to examine the ordering of importance of two police ingroups. An examination of the possible differences between the control condition (i.e. mainstream officers) and former operatives was exploratory and therefore no specific hypothesis was tested.

Normative fit between the mainstream policing context and category salience is also investigated. A single prediction is made about the relationship between particular police identities and the degree of difficulty experienced in fitting back into mainstream policing.

8.2.1. Differences in Police Identifications over the Phases of Undercover Police Duties

As officers progress in the undercover policing experience (i.e. from training to operational duties to re-assimilation) Social identity theory predicts there will be changes in police identities according to the changes in the salient social comparison groups and the validity of the norms within the policing contexts. Hypotheses were made on the basis that it is the police context that will influence the saliency of these police identifications. The following predictions are made at a group level of analysis.

The strength of the mainstream police identity

Based on social identity theory and identity salience, it is hypothesised that:

- 1) Former undercover operatives will identify more than currently operational officers but less than trainee operatives;
- 2) Comparing officers at three stages of undercover police work, current undercover operatives as a group will identify the least; and
- 3) Trainee undercover operatives will identify the most.

The strength of the undercover police identity

Based on social identity theory and identity salience, it is hypothesised that:

- 4) Former undercover operatives will identify less than currently operational operatives but more than trainee undercover operatives;
- 5) Comparing officers at three stages of undercover police work, current undercover operatives will identify the most; and
- 6) Trainee undercover operatives will identify the least.

8.2.2. Current Police Identity (Ingroup Status)

Based on social identity theory, the cognitive decisions operatives are likely to make when they are required to order the importance of two police ingroups are predicted. Within undercover police group differences are examined to determine current police ingroup status and to investigate the cognitive ordering of their dual identities. Predictions are made according to the influence of the social context on identity decision making. Two hypotheses are tested to establish officers' current conceptualisation of themselves as police officers:

- 7) Officers from the trainee undercover police group will identify most with the mainstream police persona; and

- 8) Officers who are currently operational will identify most with the undercover police identity.

At earlier phases of the undercover experience, trainee operatives are willing to alter their police membership to be part of the undercover police group and operational operatives are removed from mainstream affiliations. However, during the reintegration process, two police ingroups are activated simultaneously. The interview study showed that during this transition, undercover officers cognitively compare and decide on which police group they feel more aligned with on a personal basis.

According to social identity theory researchers (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) comparisons between salient dual memberships involve a degree of cognitive conflict for the individual. However, social identity propositions do not make it clear at the group level, which police membership former operatives are likely to maintain. As a consequence of the lack of previous literature examining decision making in situations where individuals cognitively choose between dual memberships, it is difficult to predict the current ingroup status held by former operatives. Chapter four also mentioned that no previous social identity research located had explored the process of resuming an “old” or previously held social identification.

The data analyses from the interview study found individual differences in reintegration experiences and police identities. This second study showed that re-assimilating undercover operatives negotiate the choice between dual ingroups using at least two decision-making pathways. As the re-assimilation phase is undertaken on an individual basis, it is not unreasonable to assume that the former operatives surveyed are likely to negotiate police identities using different paths of decision making and also at different phases of the re-assimilation process. Given the individual differences in identity management that are likely to be present during this transitional period, it is not expected that

the current ingroup status at the group level analysis will be evident among the former undercover operatives surveyed. Therefore it is hypothesised that:

- 9) There will be no significant group differences found in the extent of undercover police identification and mainstream police identification in former undercover operatives.

8.2.3. Relationship between Police Identifications and Experiences of Reintegration

The final hypothesis under investigation in this chapter related to police identifications and the ease of reintegrating into mainstream context. In terms of exploring the person-environment fit, previous identity research (Burke, 1991; Degarmo, Forgatch, 2002; Thoits, 1992; Oakes, 1987) has shown that experiences inconsistent with an individual's social identity (i.e. identity incongruence) promote psychological distress in individuals. If policing norms expected in the mainstream policing context are related to mainstream police identifications, it can then be assumed that the degree of mainstream police identification maintained by operatives is a degree of psychological adjustment since undercover police work. Based on identity congruence and what Oakes (1987) terms "normative fit", it is hypothesised that:

- 10) Former operatives who report low levels of identification with mainstream police are also likely to report that they experienced difficulties becoming involved again in mainstream policing.

8.3. Results

8.3.1. Preliminary Analyses

Prior to analysis, accuracy of data entry and missing values were checked. Question order was varied on the format of the questionnaires and checked for order effects, with no significant differences found. Each questionnaire was also

checked for response sets, inconsistency in responding and extreme scores, with no anomalies found. The data were screened using the 16PF's impression management measure. None of the officers in this survey scored either high or low on this scale, therefore the complete dataset was used in the analysis.

8.3.1.1. Statistical Characteristics of the Data

Preliminary analyses were performed separately for each police group on all variables. Screening revealed that the distribution of police identification scores violated assumptions of normality as well as assumptions of univariate analysis. Each police groups' distribution of scores on these dependent variables was skewed. A bimodal distribution was found in the scores from former operatives on the measure of undercover police identification. Transformations were performed without any improvement in the distributions. As data sets with a small sample size have difficulty overcoming violations of assumption (Huck, Cormier & Bounds, 1974), it was decided that non-parametric testing would be a more appropriate and robust statistical technique to employ in the analyses using these variables. See Appendix eight for distribution of scores on police identification measures.

Sample size also limited the type of statistical analyses that could be performed. The data collected from each jurisdiction has been merged for all subsequent analyses, as jurisdictions were similar on a number of variables. For reasons mentioned in chapter three on methodological considerations, gender differences are not reported in the analyses.

8.3.1.2. Investigating Confounding Effects of Personal Self-esteem

Prior to performing analyses on police identification scores, the data was also checked for possible group differences on the measure of personal self-esteem. Table 11 summarises means, standard deviations and range of self-esteem scores for each police group. Low scores reflect higher personal self-esteem.

Inspection of the range of scores across police groups reveals that officers' scores are not indicative of very low self-esteem.

Kruskal-Wallis analyses revealed that personal self-esteem did not significantly differ across the undercover police groups ($H=1.78$, $df=2$, $sig=.41$). No significant group differences were found between former operatives' and mainstream officers' ($T=-.23$, $n=38$, $sig=.82$) reports of personal self-esteem. These findings indicate that reports of police identifications by each police sample group do not appear to be biased by group differences in personal self-esteem.

Table 11. Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Range on Personal Self-Esteem by Police Group

Police Group	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>
Trainee operatives	38	14.89	3.70	10-21
Current operatives	31	16.00	5.30	10-24
Former operatives	38	16.21	4.24	10-25
Mainstream police*	38	16.63	5.64	10-29
Total	145			10-40

* mainstream police matched according to former operatives age, gender, and length of police experience

8.3.2. Comparing Police Identities in Trainee, Currently Operational and Former Operatives

To investigate whether policing identities differ over the three phases of undercover police work, the extent of cognitive attachment toward being a member of the undercover and mainstream police group were examined.

Table 12 presents total mean scores (range 4-28) on police social identifications for each of the three undercover police groups. For simplicity of presentation, total mean scores on mainstream police identification for the matched control condition are also included (see section 8.3.3.).

Table 12. Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Range on Police Social Identifications by Police Group (N=145)

Police Group	N	Mainstream Police Identification		Undercover Police Identification	
		M	SD	M	SD
Trainee operatives	38	19.47	5.34	15.68	5.87
Current operatives	31	14.84	6.13	21.94	4.36
Former operatives	38	15.18	6.40	18.21	6.93
Mainstream police*	38	21.32	4.08		
Total range 4-28	145				

* mainstream police matched according to former operatives age, gender, and length of police experience

Analyses performed on ranked data using Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance test found significant group effects on the measures of mainstream police identification ($H= 12.50$, $df = 2$, $sig = .002$) and undercover police identification ($H=18.402$, $df =2$, $sig=.000$).

To assess the extent to which the mainstream police identity differs among undercover groups, multiple comparisons using the Mann-Whitney U test were performed. These analyses revealed that hypothesis one is only partially supported. As a group, former undercover operatives identified less with the mainstream police group than trainee undercover officers ($U=447.50$, $Z= -2.86$, $sig= .004$), however, no significant difference was found between former operatives and current operatives on mainstream police identification ($U=554.00$, $Z= -.42$, $sig =.67$). Hypothesis two is therefore not supported as currently operational officers did not identify least with the mainstream police group. The results support hypothesis three. Compared with the other groups of undercover police officers in this study, trainee undercover operatives identified most with members from mainstream policing (trainee operatives vs. current operatives: $U=325.50$, $Z= 3.18$, $sig=.001$).

Hypotheses four, five and six are supported by the data. Non-parametric multiple comparison analyses revealed that former undercover operatives identified less as an undercover police officer than current undercover operatives ($U=412.50$, $Z = -2.14$, $sig=.03$), however as a group, former operatives, identified more with undercover police than trainee undercover operatives ($U=533.50$, $Z= -1.96$, $sig=.05$) (hypothesis four supported). Current operatives identified most with the undercover police group (hypothesis five supported) and trainee undercover officers identified least with the undercover police group (hypothesis six supported) (trainee vs. current operatives: $U=222$, $Z= 4.44$, $sig=.000$).

8.3.2.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

These findings support the assertion that social identities are dynamic and respond to social contexts. However, the saliency of the more dominant or socially rewarded identity in a given social context is not always the identity chosen by an individual.

8.3.3. Comparing Mainstream Police Identification in Former operatives and Mainstream Police Officers

To assess whether reported changes in the mainstream policing identity are a function of working in undercover police duties, total mean scores were compared between former operatives and the control group of mainstream police officers (see Table 12). Results revealed that as a group, former operatives held significantly lower levels of identification with mainstream police than the control group with no undercover policing experience ($T=-4.02$, $n=38$ $sig =.000$). The analysis performed in the next section examines how trainee, currently operational and former operatives presently define themselves as police officers.

8.3.4. Current Police Ingroup Status

Reintegration is a period where operatives weigh the value of maintaining the undercover affiliations against developing ties with mainstream police. One of the questions to be answered in this study is the choice made by officers between dual police ingroup memberships as part of the re-assimilation process. To assess the current or enduring police ingroup status, Wilcoxon signed matched pairs rank tests for related samples were performed.

As predicted by hypothesis seven, trainee undercover officers identified more strongly with their mainstream police groups than with members of the undercover police group ($T = -2.97$, $n = 38$, $sig = .003$). Hypothesis eight is also supported. Current undercover operatives identified more strongly with undercover police than with their peers from mainstream policing ($T = -4.33$, $n = 31$, $sig = .000$).

No directional prediction (hypothesis nine) was made about former operatives' current ingroup status. Analysis revealed that former operatives did not differ significantly in their identifications with their undercover police and mainstream police groups ($T = -1.73$, $n = 38$, $sig = .08$). However, when examining the trend in these police identification means (see Table 12), it was found that former operatives remained higher on the undercover police identity than on the mainstream police identity. This trend further supports previous results which found that, as a group, former operatives' attachments toward being an undercover officer had decreased since performing covert duties but some operatives had not significantly strengthened their identification with mainstream police despite the change in policing context. Furthermore, it suggests that undercover identity continues to contribute to the officer's definition of the self, particularly in the occupational context.

8.3.4.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

These findings contribute to the under investigated area on multiple identity negotiations in the social identity research. When dual identities are not in conflict, predicting current ingroup status from social identity theory is clear and supported in the data. However when simultaneously social identities are activated group level analyses do not adequately predict identity decision making. At a group level analysis, the order of importance attached to former operatives policing identities remained undetermined. These findings draw attention to the significance of examining individual differences in multiple identity research, especially when investigating circumstances where individuals are required to evaluate and determine the order of importance of two salient central identities. Chapter nine investigates further the presence of individual differences in former operatives' experiences of returning to mainstream duties.

8.3.5. Negotiating Police Identities During Reintegration

Of interest, is whether operatives negotiate their policing identities during the reintegration phase. According to the principles of social identity theory, officers who report low levels of identification with one of the two salient police groups are also likely to report significantly higher levels of identification with the comparison police group. The current research sought to test the validity of this theoretical proposition as it applies to the reintegration context.

Measures of association were analysed using Kendall's tau-b for tied rank data. A significant association was found between strength of undercover identity and the mainstream identity among former operatives ($\tau\text{-}b = \text{-}.34, n=38, sig=.03$). These results indicate that former operatives who retained little identification with their former undercover police group tended to also report higher levels of identification as a mainstream police officer. Similarly, operatives who retained

a strong affiliation with their former undercover police identity tended to resist re-establishing attachments with mainstream police.

Non-parametric correlational analysis found no significant relationship between reports of identification with the undercover and mainstream police group among trainee operatives ($\tau\text{-}b=.11$, $n=38$ $\text{sig}=.37$) and a non significant relationship between these variables was also found among current operatives ($\tau\text{-}b=.24$, $n=31$, $\text{sig}=.07$).

8.3.5.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

These results, together with the previous findings, show that during attempts to fit back into mainstream policing, undercover police officers do experience a psychological process in which they negotiate and evaluate their police identity. These results also lend support to the socio-psychological process outlined by social identity theory.

8.3.6. Police Identification and Experiences of Reintegration

Analyses reported in earlier sections demonstrate that the policing identities of operatives are modified by their experiences of undercover policing. This section examines the extent to which these changes are linked to adjustment difficulties.

In this study, 64% of former operatives reported difficulties returning to mainstream duties. As predicted by hypothesis ten, it was former operatives who reported low mainstream identification who tended to experience greater difficulties in becoming involved again in the mainstream police environment ($\tau\text{-}b=.35$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.004$). No significant relationship was found between undercover police identification and perceived reintegration experiences ($\tau\text{-}b=.08$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.62$). From these findings it appears that it is the degree of internalisation of the mainstream policing persona that is more closely related to the degree of re-assimilation in undercover police personnel. For the

majority of officers in this study, the loss of the valued undercover police network is difficult and the psychological processes involved in resuming mainstream duties are challenging.

8.3.6.1. Correlates with Mainstream Police Identity

In measuring psychological adjustment since covert work, the previous results indicate that the level of identification with mainstream police is a useful indicator. This section explores whether there are any work related characteristics that impact on the degree of fitting back into the mainstream environment. The analyses performed in this section investigated the relationship between current and previous work characteristics, and reports of mainstream identification. Characteristics of the reintegration phase such as perceived readiness to return to mainstream duties, length of time spent reintegrated and sources of social support accessed during the process of re-assimilation were also investigated.

At the bivariate level of analysis, the officers' present age was the only current work characteristic indicator significantly related to mainstream identity ($\tau\text{-}b = -.26$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.04$) as older former operatives tended to report lower levels of mainstream identification. Non significant relationships were found between former operatives reports of mainstream police identity and their rank status ($\tau\text{-}b = -.10$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.44$); the length of policing experience ($\tau\text{-}b = .15$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.20$); whether they were currently performing uniform/non-uniform duties ($\phi = -.27$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.10$) or operational/non-operational duties ($\phi = .14$, $n=38$, $\text{sig} = .37$).

In terms of undercover work related characteristics, the only significant direct relationship was found between the number of covert operations officers had performed and reports of mainstream identity ($\tau\text{-}b = -.27$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.04$). This finding indicates that former operatives who had performed operations on a high frequency basis also tended to report lower levels of mainstream identity than

officers who had performed fewer operations. The officers' age at the time of commencing undercover police work ($\tau\text{-}b = -.17$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.16$); period of time spent in undercover duties ($\tau\text{-}b = -.03$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.79$); period of time spent in mainstream duties prior to undercover duties ($\tau\text{-}b = -.08$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.51$); and the length of operations were not directly associated with fitting back in with mainstream affiliations.

Characteristics associated with the reintegration process were also examined. Whether officers felt they were ready to return to mainstream duties ($\phi = -.12$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.38$) and the length of time since ceasing undercover policing duties ($\tau\text{-}b = .16$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.17$) were not significantly related to reports of mainstream identity in former operatives. More directly related was the type of social support available to the officer in the reintegrated work environment. In terms of social support variables, the stronger and more significant association with mainstream identity were reported by those who had reintegrated into a mainstream environment where they felt their peers were highly supportive ($\tau\text{-}b = .34$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.004$). Socialising with officers from their current work environment was kept to a minimum in ex-operatives who reported low levels of identification with mainstream police ($\tau\text{-}b = .29$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.02$). Organisational support ($\tau\text{-}b = -.18$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.13$) and non-work related support from friends ($\tau\text{-}b = .17$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.15$) and family ($\tau\text{-}b = .07$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.56$) did not show a significant direct relationship with mainstream police identification.

To sum up, other than age and the number of operations performed, it does not appear that there are other individual current work characteristics or characteristics of the undercover experience associated with anchoring the mainstream police identification during reintegration. Perceived peer support was the more significant predictor in facilitating the operative's re-adjustment to the mainstream police context compared to other forms of non-work and organisational supports.

8.3.6.2. Predicting Mainstream Police Identification

To continue to explore the degree of adjustment in former operatives, a logistic regression analysis was performed to examine the probability of predicting mainstream identity from a set of indicators associated with the reintegration phase. The reason for the choice of this statistical application in this study relates to data distributions and the need for a flexible analysis technique. Logistic analysis is capable of predicting the probability of group membership from a number of predictors that can be continuous, discrete, dichotomous or a mix. There are no assumptions about the distribution of predictors and predictors do not have to be linearly related nor of equal variance within each group (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

Due to the sample size, the number of predictors included in the logistics regression analysis was restricted to four. The regression analysis ($n=38$) included peer support, duration of reintegration, perceived readiness to return to mainstream policing and difficulties experienced during reintegration as predictors. All variables were entered in one step.

This solution was an adequate model of fit ($\chi^2=3.07$, $df=7$, $sig=.88$) for testing the predictors against a constant-only model. Table 13 reports regression co-efficients, standard error, df and significance levels for each predictor. Three of the four predictors adequately distinguished between officers who hold low levels of identification toward being a mainstream police officer and former operatives who hold strong ties to mainstream police culture ($\chi^2=19.34$, $df=4$, $sig=.001$). Mainstream peer support showed a strong positive trend in the solution and therefore is also interpreted in the solution. Prediction rates were similar for correctly classifying low identifiers (73.68%) and correctly classifying high identifiers (72.22%).

Table 13. Logistic Regression Analysis for Reintegration Variables Predicting the Probability of Mainstream Police Identification in Former Operatives (n=38)

Variables in Equation	B	SE	df	Sig
Mainstream peer support	.12	.07	1	.06
Length of time spent reintegrated	.14	.06	1	.03*
Perceived readiness to return to MP (cat)	2.33	1.12	1	.04*
Difficulty experienced re-assimilating	.66	.27	1	.02*
Constant	-9.78	3.51	1	.01**

*p<.05, ** p<.01*, ***p=.001

Officers who believed they were psychologically ready to return to the mainstream police environment, who experienced few difficulties during their transitional period, who had been part of the mainstream context for greater periods (i.e. up to three years) and who had returned to an area where mainstream police peers were perceived as supportive and encouraging; reported being more successful in re-establishing their mainstream police identity during the change process. Given the small sample of officers in this analysis, these results are considered exploratory. To increase confidence in these findings, replication on a larger sample of officers is required.

8.3.6.3. Implications for Social Identity Theory

Oake's (1987) notion of normative fit was found to be a useful predictor psychological adjustment in individuals. Determining which social identity is retained during transitional periods assisted in predicting the person-environment fit.

The findings from the previous sections in 8.3.6 found that individual characteristics were mostly unrelated to social identities. This finding supports social identity theory's assertion that identity development within individuals is a social psychological process.

Although not mentioned directly in social identity theory, these results highlight the importance of investigating specific socio-organisational conditions within a given social context in order to consider the effects on social identities. It was found that social factors within contexts influenced the development and modification of social identities. The role of specific types of social supports in assisting individuals to make changes or re-anchor their social identities in the changed environment was highlighted in the findings. Further the role of reducing uncertainty in preparing for changes in social identities was found to be a significant predictor of identity congruence. It was found that officers who were psychologically prepared for returning to mainstream duties were more likely to resume their mainstream police identification than officers who were not psychologically prepared for re-assimilation.

8.3.7. Changes to Operatives' Police Identity during the Reintegration Period

In this section, exploratory analyses were carried out to investigate whether there is a specific period during the three year reintegration phase in this study, where officers are most "at risk" of identity incongruence. These analyses also explore when psychological re-assimilation is most likely to occur.

Possible changes in former operatives' police identifications were mapped over three years of reintegration. Figure 2 displays the total mean scores on undercover police and mainstream police identifications at four intervals. These periods include: a) the first 6 months ($n=4$); b) 7-12 months ($n=16$); c) 13-18months ($n=10$); d) and more the 18 months ($n=8$). As there were too few

officers to map police identities between the second and third year time period the fourth interval was classified as more than 18 months.

To assess which police identity is most salient at these reintegration intervals within group differences were analysed. However due to the small sample size across the four intervals, analyses were performed only on two time periods: 1) less than 12 months and 2) over 12 months.

Trends analyses revealed that former operatives' mainstream policing identity continues to decline over the first 12 months of reintegration while attachments to the undercover police identity remained stable and the enduring policing identity among former operatives ($T=-.236$, $n=20$, $sig=.02$). In the first half of the second year (time three: 13-18 months) the data in Figure 2 shows a stable and upward trend in mainstream policing identity and a decline in the undercover police identity. There are some former operatives who continue to negotiate their psychological attachments to the undercover police group and the mainstream police group after the 18month reintegration period. No significant within group differences were found between undercover and mainstream police identification after the initial 12 month reintegration period ($T=-.24$, $n=18$, $sig=.81$).

Although, the sample size is small and requires replication, the trends in the data suggest that the most at risk period of experiencing difficulties fitting back into to mainstream police culture is likely to occur in the first 12 months of returning to mainstream police duties. The re-assimilation process appears to commence in the second year of reintegration.

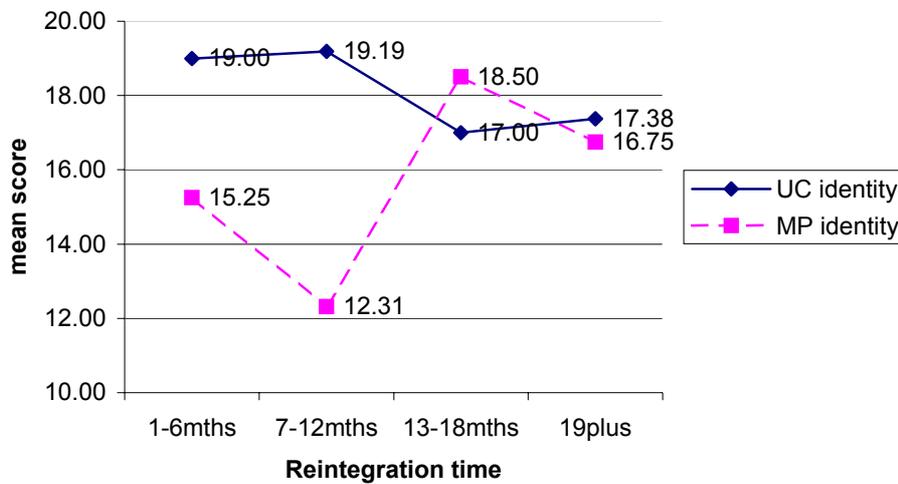


Figure 2. Trends Analysis of Former Operatives’ Police Identities by Reintegration Period (n=38)

8.3.7.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

Previous applied social identity research has acknowledged that changes in social identities have not been followed for sufficient periods (see chapter four section 4.9.3). The findings in this section demonstrate that to adequately map modifications in social identities a follow-up period of more than two years is necessary. When designing a research timeframe to monitor identity changes in transitional contexts this research suggests that consideration should be given toward a three-year or more follow-up period.

8.4. Discussion

The study in this chapter was directed by three main research questions that extended investigations from the interview study. Firstly, the survey research examined whether police identities differ over the phases of undercover police work. Although this study employed a cross-sectional design it is expected that one might observe analogous changes within a single individual over time.

By mapping police identities over time, former operatives' reports of police identifications are framed within the overall context of covert police work.

Secondly, the study was interested in determining the currently held police identity in former operatives. This question explores the order of importance allocated to the mainstream and undercover police identity when officers are required to choose between these two ingroups during reintegration.

The third main question under investigation in this chapter determined whether former operatives' current policing identity impacts on their experience of returning to the mainstream policing environment. This question was designed to provide an indicator of psychological adjustment in officers since completing covert police work. A number of predictions were proposed and not all were supported by the data.

The first set of analyses determined that changes do occur in operatives' police identity throughout covert police work. Hypothesis one stated that mainstream police identity would be stronger in former operatives than in currently operational undercover officers, yet weaker than that of trainee undercover officers. Only partial support was found for hypothesis one. Former operatives held a lower level of mainstream police identity than trainee undercover officers. However, former operatives did not differ significantly from current operatives on their identifications with the mainstream police group. As a consequence, hypothesis two is not supported. Former undercover operatives could not be discriminated from currently operational undercover officers in terms of their identification with mainstream police groups. However, hypothesis three is supported. Trainee undercover officers identified the most with the mainstream police group. Comparison with the control group of mainstream police officers show that the erosion in former operatives' mainstream policing identity is more an outcome of undercover duties than a function of policing.

The findings support all hypotheses (four, five and six) made in relation to the undercover police identity. Current operatives were most strongly affiliated with the undercover police group, followed by former operatives and trainee operatives, who identified the least.

Together, these results indicate that former operatives, as a group, have not significantly increased their mainstream police identity despite returning to the mainstream policing context. Further, the level of mainstream identity retained by former operatives does not return to a significantly similar level to that reported by officers with no undercover policing experience. However, strength of identification with the undercover group decreased once officers ceased performing undercover duties.

In interpreting these findings, it is not argued that in order to fit back into mainstream policing a former operatives' identification as a mainstream police officer be restored to a level of that prior to performing undercover police work, or to a level similar to officers without undercover policing experience. It is unlikely that their mainstream identity will be restored and more likely that the experience of a more autonomous policing style has influenced them as individuals and as police officers. However, the degree of mainstream police identity retained is important in terms of predicting psychological adjustment.

Further analysis of the data revealed that former operatives who held low levels of identification as a mainstream police officer were also more likely than those who maintained high degree of internalisation of the mainstream policing identity, to report experiencing greater difficulties re-assimilating into the mainstream context (hypothesis ten is supported). The degree of difficulties reported by former operatives about their reintegration experience related to the failure to increase in their mainstream police identity rather than a failure to decrease their previous undercover police identity. In terms of measurement, the findings in this chapter demonstrate that mainstream police identification is a

useful measure of psychological adjustment since undercover police work and an important predictor of which officers are likely to experience difficulties returning to mainstream police duties.

Operatives' currently held police identity was also investigated. This is an important research question to explore, particularly from a theoretical perspective. When operatives return to the mainstream context, they are required to cognitively choose between valued police membership in two ingroups. The interview study was able to determine that a degree of cognitive conflict arises from the experience of reintegrating. Loyalties to those with whom they have shared a unique experience are weighed against their similarities with mainstream police officers. However, the interview study was unable to draw firm conclusions about which police identification is adopted at the group level.

Hypothesis nine is supported in the findings. Analyses of the survey data indicate that, at the group level, more recently reintegrated former operatives remain undifferentiated in their current ingroup status. Trends in the data indicated that the majority of these former operatives chose to retain their undercover police affiliation over their mainstream police membership.

Trainee operatives' ingroup status remained mainstream police officers (hypothesis seven supported) while currently operational undercover officers identified more closely with members of the undercover police group (hypothesis eight supported).

In combination, these findings suggest that affiliations with mainstream police change through their undercover policing experience. Secondly, these results verify that some former operatives in this study are continuing to negotiate and re-establish their affiliations with new mainstream peers. This study confirms that negotiating an operative's police identity is a psychological process most pronounced during the reintegration phase. It found that former operatives who

continued to maintain strong affiliations with the undercover group reported low levels of identification with the mainstream police despite the physical change in their policing context, the style of police work performed and their work peers.

The influence of work related characteristics of operatives' current and undercover policing environment on their reports of mainstream identification was also investigated. Exploratory findings suggest that police identity formation is a social psychological process that appears mostly unrelated to officers' current individual characteristics. No direct relationship was found between former operatives' current rank whether they were currently in uniform or non-uniform positions, whether they were operational or non-operational and years of policing experience; and their mainstream police identification. Investigations did, however, reveal that older officers were more likely to report difficulties in adjusting their police identity to fit in with the mainstream context than younger former operatives.

Re-categorisation of an officer's policing identity appeared to be fostered by the increasing number of operations performed, as well as increased exposure to and interactions with target groups during the operative's time at the covert unit. The age of the officer at the time of commencing undercover police work, policing experience prior to performing covert investigations, the time spent working in undercover duties and the length of covert operations were not directly related to reported changes in mainstream policing identity. Therefore, changes in an operatives' mainstream identity are largely influenced by the social context in which they work.

The influence of the time spent working in undercover duties has produced mixed findings in the literature. In one study, Girodo (1991b) found that the longer an officer spent performing covert operations, the more likely they were to report mental ill health, whereas in another study by the same author (1991c), no significant correlations were found between mental health and time spent in undercover work. There are two possible alternative reasons for this finding in

undercover work in the current study. The first reason concerns the limits placed on undercover police work in the Australasian context. In the Australasian context, undercover police work is a limited activity and usually involves, on average, 2.5 years in this area of policing. It was not clear in the previous studies whether limits are placed on the time spent working in covert duties. Therefore, the restricted period imposed on undercover police duties may be an effective strategy in managing changes in officers' police identity. Another possible reason may be that the current findings are affected by the small sample size.

Social conditions related to the change processes and identity modification processes were also explored in this chapter. Several types of social support present within the re-assimilating context were considered for their influence on identification with mainstream police among former operatives. The significance of family, friends, work peers and organisational support was explored. Investigating the effects of work characteristics further suggests that what is important is the type of environment officers reintegrate into and the peers they share duties with. Matching the officer with their mainstream environment and returning to work environments where co-workers share similarities and are supportive of the officer are useful in building ties with mainstream police.

Organisational support did not have a strong association with mainstream identification. This finding does not suggest that organisational support is not important during reintegration, but in terms of enhancing affiliations with mainstream police, peer support was a more significant predictor in re-anchoring an operative's police identity.

Further multivariate analysis was conducted to examine the combined effects of predicting mainstream identity from factors associated with reintegration. Perceived support from mainstream police peers, an operative's psychological readiness to return to mainstream duties, and the difficulties encountered in attempting to re-assimilate into the mainstream environment were important in

facilitating the process of fitting back into mainstream policing. An operative who is psychologically prepared to return to mainstream duties and finds a successful base to support their identity is likely to make the adjustment to mainstream policing with less difficulty than officers who have not modified their policing identity prior to reintegrating. Ties with mainstream police also increased during the time spent reintegrated. This gradual increase in identification also supports social identity theory in that identities are not static. Rather, social identities respond over time to the enduring social context.

Exploratory investigations identified that former operatives are most at risk of experiencing cognitive conflict in the first 12 months of returning to mainstream policing. Affiliations with the undercover group are most likely to be salient during this period and tend to endure despite not being the dominant and socially rewarded police identity. Re-assimilation appeared to commence in the second year of reintegration, as officers developed stronger ties toward the mainstream police culture. A few officers, however, continued to struggle with negotiating their police identity into the third year of reintegration.

Finally, it is noted that although the results in this chapter concur with findings from the interview study, the exploratory studies in particular require replication and further investigation using a larger sample of undercover police officers.

8.5. Summary

This second study demonstrates that officers' policing identity changes over the course of undercover policing. Several findings in this chapter revealed that former operatives' mainstream identity had not significantly increased since undercover policing despite having returned to the mainstream policing environment, however, their undercover police identification had decreased. The changes to an operative's mainstream affiliations were a function of police work.

The study also found that as a group, former operatives' current police identity remained undetermined. The trends in the data indicate that the undercover police identity continues to be an important police group among former operatives. The findings in this chapter demonstrate the importance of individual differences when examining operatives' reintegration experiences and the process of establishing the psychological importance of dual ingroups.

Firstly identified in the interview study and later confirmed in the cross-sectional comparisons in this chapter, is that negotiating police identities is a psychological process most likely to occur during the reintegration phase of covert police work. The majority of operatives in this study found returning to mainstream policing a difficult experience. Operatives most likely to experience difficulties during this period were officers who maintained little internalisation of the mainstream policing identity. In terms of measurement, these findings show that the degree of mainstream police identification maintained in undercover operatives is a useful indicator of psychological adjustment after covert duties.

This chapter also explored the impact of individual and work related characteristics and fitting back into mainstream policing. Other than age of the officer, the extent of mainstream police identification maintained by former operatives was not significantly related to individual characteristics of the officer. The number of operations performed influenced former operatives' reports of mainstream police identification. These findings suggest that the re-categorisation process of an operative's policing identity is a social psychological process largely influenced by the policing environment within the criminal context.

The significance of the type of conditions present in the reintegrating context that are likely to assist operatives to re-anchor their policing identity was explored. The study found that perceived support from mainstream police peers, an operative's psychological readiness to return to mainstream duties,

and difficulties encountered in attempting to re-assimilate were important predictors of the process of fitting back into mainstream policing.

The assimilation process does not automatically occur when the operative returns to mainstream policing. An increase in operatives' mainstream police identification was related to increased time spent reintegrated. The data suggests that reintegration begins during the second year of reintegration as affiliations with the mainstream policing culture tend to increase mostly during this period.

The next chapter continues to explore former operatives' attitudes to being part of the mainstream policing context. These attitudes are compared with mainstream police officers to assess whether their current satisfaction levels with their work environment are significantly different from police officers that have not performed undercover police work.

Chapter 9

Attitudes toward the Mainstream Policing Environment

9.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on former operatives' current mainstream environment and the satisfaction felt in being part of the mainstream policing context. Previous chapters found that the lack of strong ties to mainstream police was an important predictor of the difficulties operatives' experienced in returning to mainstream duties. This chapter continues to investigate the fit between the officer and the current policing context. It continues to analyse data collected and examined in the previous chapter.

In the interview study, former operatives described some of the behavioural reactions they experienced after undercover police work. In this chapter, the motivational element of social identity theory, the personal value of having been an undercover officer will be examined, to understand operatives' cognitive-behavioural reactions toward returning to mainstream policing. The chapter will continue to investigate previous reports of problematic peer relations by examining ingroup bias and derogation of outgroup effects. The role of work status within the mainstream context and previous reports of perceived status inconsistencies are also investigated. The social identity theory principle operationalised to examine status inconsistencies is former operatives' perceptions of the legitimacy of undercover police officers organisational status.

To continue to build the profile of re-assimilation, a number of key organisational indicators that measure an operative's perception of the reintegrated environment are examined. These include operatives' current job satisfaction and organisational commitment, their satisfaction with aspects of their mainstream duties, and their intentions to leave the service. The last section in this chapter determines whether the degree of reported satisfaction felt toward

their current mainstream work and commitment to their police services is a function of undercover police work or of the work of policing.

9.2. Hypotheses

The analyses conducted in this chapter are mainly of an exploratory nature, however, investigations of intergroup relations were directed by two social identity theory based hypotheses.

Re-assimilation presents as a high threat context in terms of maintaining and being socially rewarded for the undercover police membership compared to earlier stages of undercover policing. It is also a phase marked by a high degree of uncertainty (see chapter four). To manage the degree of threat and uncertainty posed toward the undercover police membership during this transitional phase, it is hypothesised that:

- 11) Ingroup bias and intergroup rivalry will be greater among former operatives than trainee and current operatives; and that
- 12) Former operatives who continue to report a high degree of internalisation of the undercover policing identity will engage in more intergroup rivalry than former operatives who report lower levels of internalisation of the undercover policing identity.

9.3. Results

9.3.1. The Role of Personal Self-esteem in Police Identifications

Previous social identity research has not always found support for the relationship between group identities and personal self-esteem (Brewer, 1993; Brewer, 1993a; Cameron, 1999; Terry, Carey, & Callan, 2001; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). In this section the validity of the theoretical proposition is tested.

Correlational analysis verified that working as an undercover officer becomes a highly valued identity that contributes positively to an officer's personal self-esteem. It was found that the strength of the undercover identity was significantly related to global personal self-esteem in current operatives ($\tau\text{-}b = -.41$, $n = 31$, $\text{sig} = .003$). Strength of mainstream identity was not significantly related to reports of global self-esteem in current operatives ($\tau\text{-}b = -.17$, $n = 31$, $\text{sig} = .19$).

Police identifications were not significantly related to trainee operatives' reports of personal self-esteem (undercover identity: $\tau\text{-}b = .01$, $n = 38$, $\text{sig} = .93$; mainstream identity: $\tau\text{-}b = .01$, $n = 38$, $\text{sig} = .94$). Among former operatives, although not reaching significance at $p < .05$, there was a strong positive trend that suggests the experience of having worked and achieved in the role as an undercover officer continues to contribute positively to an officer's self-esteem ($\tau\text{-}b = -.31$, $n = 38$, $\text{sig} = .06$). As a group, the value of being part of the mainstream police group was not significantly related to former operatives' reports of personal self-esteem ($\tau\text{-}b = -.16$, $n = 38$, $\text{sig} = .17$).

9.3.1.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

These findings provide support for social identity theory's self-esteem hypothesis (see Brown 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In this applied setting, group identification was found to impart personal self-esteem. These results also imply that it is not only how valued a social identity is in predicting group identification but also how central the social identification is within an individual's overall self-structure.

The next section investigates some of the behavioural reactions that can occur when an officer leaves behind a valued social identity that has previously contributed positively to officers' self-worth.

9.3.2. Conflicting Relations with Mainstream Police

Using social identity principle of ingroup bias and intergroup rivalry, previous reports of problematic peer relations between former operatives and mainstream police are explored. Analyses are presented that examine undercover officers' attitudes toward mainstream police officers. Comparative analysis of former operatives' and mainstream police officers' attitudes on intergroup relations are also reported.

9.3.2.1. Ingroup Bias and Outgroup Derogation among Undercover Police Groups

Reports of intergroup relations (i.e. ingroup bias) were first examined across the three undercover police groups. Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance test was used to determine when intergroup rivalry is most likely to occur over the phases of undercover police work. Significant differences were found between the undercover police groups ($H=14.58$, $n=107$, $sig=.001$). Table 14 shows the results for Mann Whitney U tests.

Table 14. Reports of Ingroup Bias by Undercover Police Officers Using Mann Whitney U Tests

	Former	Current	Trainee	Former	Trainee	Current
N	38	31	38	38	38	31
U		332		395		576.50
Z		-3.11		-3.42		-.15
Sig		.002**		.001***		.88

* p=.05, ** p=.01, ***p=.001

As predicted by hypothesis eleven, former operatives ($M=49.00$, $SD=6.80$, $n=38$) engaged in significantly more intergroup comparisons than currently operational ($M=42.52$, $SD=9.27$, $n=31$) and trainee operatives ($M=42.89$, $SD=7.80$, $n=38$). Current and trainee operatives did not differ significantly in their attitudes toward undercover police and mainstream police. Together, these findings indicate that intergroup rivalry is most pronounced in operatives who have returned to mainstream duties.

9.3.2.2. Differences Between Former Operatives and Mainstream Police Officers and Ingroup Bias

To test whether the measure detected intergroup competition, a Wilcoxon signed rank test was performed. Analysis revealed that former operatives ($M=49.00$, $SD=6.80$, $n=38$) engaged in significantly more ingroup bias and differentiation than the control group of officers from mainstream policing ($M=29.75$, $SD=8.94$, $n=38$) ($T=-5.29$, $sig=.000$). This finding demonstrates the measures construct validity.

9.3.2.3. Strength of Police Identification and Reports of Ingroup Bias

The previous findings demonstrate that the effects of ingroup bias and differentiation from mainstream police are greatest during reintegration. These findings, however, do not suggest that all former operatives engage in intergroup rivalry or experience conflict with mainstream police. The extent to which operatives engage in intergroup conflict and experience problematic peer relations is investigated in this section.

The relationship between ingroup bias and former operatives' reports of undercover police identification were examined and hypothesis twelve was supported in the data. Reintegrated operatives who continued to identify strongly with undercover group engage in significantly more ingroup bias and differentiation from mainstream police than former operatives who maintained a low level of identification with the undercover police group ($\tau\text{-}b=.30$, $n=38$,

sig=.05). Correlational analyses indicated that there was no significant association between former operatives' reports on mainstream identity and ingroup bias (*tau-b*=-.10, *n*=38, *sig*=.38).

In contrast, intergroup comparisons among trainee operatives were not significantly related to police identifications (mainstream identification: *tau-b*=-.19, *n*=38, *sig*=.10; undercover police identification: *tau-b*=.03, *n*=38, *sig*=.77). Among current operatives, bias toward the undercover group and derogation of mainstream police was related to decline in the mainstream identity (*tau-b*=-.33, *n*=38, *sig*=.01) and not significantly related to undercover police identification (*tau-b*= -.19, *n*=38, *sig*=.16).

Together, these findings indicate that the loss of the undercover membership during the reintegration process creates a situation where highly identified undercover officers react by engaging in rivalry with mainstream police. These results also suggest that current operatives who cognitively distance themselves from their previous mainstream identity, and replace its importance with their current undercover membership, are also more likely to experience problematic relations with mainstream police officers during their re-assimilation process.

9.3.2.4. Implications for Social Identity Theory

The cross-sectional comparisons demonstrate that transitional periods pose a high threat condition for individuals. These socio-organisational conditions are likely to evoke intergroup conflict. The findings in this section support previous social identity research (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Hartley, 1996; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Jackson, 1999; Noel, Wann & Branscombe, 1995; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993) that found individuals with strong ingroup identity use intergroup rivalry as an identity protection strategy.

9.3.3. Perceived Organisational Status of Undercover Police Officers

The organisational status of undercover police work is examined from a number of perspectives. Firstly, officers' perceptions of the current status of undercover officers in policing are reported. Secondly, reports in the interview study of status inconsistencies between undercover work and other areas of police work continue to be investigated quantitatively. The concept of status inconsistency was analysed according to the social identity principle of legitimacy of status. Former operatives' reactions to the perceived legitimacy of status of the undercover officer are also reported.

9.3.3.1 Differences Between Trainee, Current and Former Operatives and the Organisational Status of Undercover Work

Table 15 reports mean scores and standard deviations on the single item measuring current organisational status of undercover police work. For simplicity in presentation, mean scores from mainstream police are also included. Low mean scores reflect perceptions that undercover police officers hold a lower organisational status than areas of mainstream policing.

Table 15. Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Range on Current Organisational Status of Undercover Policing by Police Group

Police Group	Organisational Status		
	N	M	SD
Trainee operatives	38	4.66	1.65
Current operatives	31	4.16	1.70
Former operatives	38	4.21	1.86
Mainstream police Scores range 1-7	38	4.82	1.11

* mainstream police matched according to former operatives age, gender, and length of police experience

Kruskal Wallis analysis of variance test was performed to examine differences on perceptions of status between trainee, currently operational and former operatives.

No significant group differences were found in officers' perceptions of the current status of undercover work ($H= 1.92$, $df= 2$, $sig = .38$). Group means in Table 15 indicate that undercover officers generally regard the status of undercover policing as holding a similar or equal status to other areas in mainstream police duties.

9.3.3.2. Comparisons with Mainstream Police Officers and Perceptions of Status

From the interview study, it is not clear whether mainstream police officers perceive undercover officers as holding a lower organisational status than other areas of police work. Wilcoxon signed ranks test revealed no significant differences between former operatives and mainstream police officers ($T=-1.54$, $n=38$, $sig=.12$). Examination of mean scores indicates that mainstream officers of the same age, gender and police experiences also regard officers who perform undercover work equal in organisational status to areas of mainstream policing. These results do not appear to concur with the opinions given by former operatives in the interview study. The possible reasons for these differences across studies will be detailed in the discussion section of this chapter.

9.3.3.3. Reactions to Status Inconsistencies

Status inconsistencies were examined using the construct legitimacy of undercover groups' organisational status. Scores that ranged from 1-3 were classified as a measure of illegitimacy in status. Officers that responded with scores that ranged from 4-7 (equal or higher in status) considered that undercover work is given a legitimate status in policing.

Just over one third (37%) of former operatives believed that the organisational status of undercover policing is not recognised for its organisational status (i.e. lower group status than mainstream police work).

Not surprisingly, former operatives that reported status inconsistencies were officers who continued to maintain stronger attachments to their undercover group ($T=-2.11$, $n=14$, $sig=.03$) (mainstream identification: $M=13.29$, $SD=6.93$; undercover identification $M=19.79$, $SD=6.04$). Whereas former operatives who believed the current organisational status of the undercover group to be legitimate (i.e. equal or higher than mainstream) did not hold ingroup status with either the undercover or mainstream police groups ($T=-.59$, $n=24$ $sig=.55$) (mainstream identification: $M=16.29$, $SD=5.94$; undercover identification: $M=17.29$, $SD=7.37$).

Former operatives who felt that the status of the undercover group was generally regarded as lower than mainstream police work, tended to cognitively engage in more ingroup bias and differentiated themselves from mainstream police officers more than former operatives who felt undercover policing was awarded a legitimate status in policing ($tau-b=-.28$, $n=38$, $sig=.02$).

9.3.3.4. Implications for Social Identity Theory

Previous experimental social identity research has found that when the position in the social hierarchy is perceived as an outcome of unjust procedures, individuals react by displaying more evaluative and behavioural bias toward their own social group (Caddick, 1982; Ellemers, 1993a, 1993b). This finding is confirmed in the current study. The results in this section also confirm that perceived illegitimacy in work group status is an important predictor of negative intergroup dynamics.

9.3.4. Stigma Associated with Undercover Police Officers

Earlier in this dissertation, the interview study identified the importance of stigma as an issue concerning operatives' experience of reintegration. In these interviews, some former operatives believed that most mainstream police regarded undercover officers negatively. Perceived attitudes of stigma

associated with being an undercover police officer impacted on them personally and professionally.

The issue of stigma raised a number of important research questions to further explore. These included:

- Do mainstream police officers perceive undercover officers as a stigmatised police group?
- Are reports of negative attitudes toward undercover officers related to former operatives' sense of self-worth and their experience of returning to mainstream policing?

The analyses reported in this section are exploratory. Previous reports of stigma are analysed in a number of ways. Firstly, reports from undercover officers of stigma are investigated for possible group differences. Secondly, to assess whether mainstream police officers hold more negative opinions of undercover officers, group differences between former operatives and mainstream police officers on the stigma index are compared. Finally, to investigate the personal impact on former operatives, the relationships between a number of social and organisational variables associated with the reintegration process and officer reports of personal self-esteem are explored.

9.3.4.1. Reports of Stigma Among Police Groups

Table 16 reports mean scores on the index of stigma associated with being an undercover police officer across police groups. Scores range from 3-21 with high scores reflecting more negative attitudes about undercover police officers.

Table 16. Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Range on Negative Attitudes toward Undercover Police Officers by Police Group

Police Group	N	M	SD
Trainee operatives	38	8.05	3.14
Current operatives	31	6.94	3.33
Former operatives	38	8.42	3.61
Mainstream police	38	8.03	3.57
Score range 3-21			

Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance test found no significant differences across the three undercover police groups on negative attitudes to undercover police officers ($H=3.37, df=2, sig=.19$). No significant differences were found between mainstream police officers and undercover officers ($T=-.79, n=38, sig=.43$). Further, the low mean scores reported in Table 17 do not support the assertion in the interviews that mainstream police perceive undercover officers as a stigmatised police group. At first glance, these results do not concur with the findings from the interview study, however, there are a number of possible reasons for these differences across studies.

Firstly, the reliability of the stigma index is low ($\alpha=.62$), therefore, the items constructed may not have adequately detected the construct of stigma. Secondly, in the interview study, former operatives who reported feeling stigmatised for having performed undercover work stated that it was mainly senior members in the police hierarchy who held these negative attitudes. In this study, the sample of mainstream police officers surveyed was matched according to former operatives' years of policing experience. Therefore, the sample of mainstream police surveyed does not include senior police members and these findings do not reflect the attitudes of senior police personnel.

Lastly, in the interview study, former operatives who reported feeling stigmatised also stated that these negative reactions adversely affected their personal self-esteem and "*feeling accepted*" as part of the police service (see chapter six).

With this in mind, previous reports of stigma were re-conceptualised in terms of how reintegration experiences impact on operatives' personal self-esteem.

Further exploratory analyses examined whether there was a relationship between the measures of stigma, organisational support and personal self-esteem. Results revealed that the stigma measure was highly correlated with organisational support ($\tau\text{-}b=.31$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.008$) and personal self-esteem ($\tau\text{-}b=.50$, $n=38$, $\text{sig}=.000$) measures and therefore provided empirical support to re-conceptualise stigma using these variables.

Given that the factor structure of the 3-item stigma index was found to be of low internal consistency, it was decided to continue investigations of previous reports of stigma, using the standardized items from the organisational support index to tap into negative attitudes held by senior police members. It was decided to continue exploratory analysis of stigma and previous reports of not feeling accepted by mainstream police using global self-esteem as a dependent variable. The next section reports findings from the multivariate analysis performed to examine possible predictors of personal self-esteem among former operatives.

9.3.4.2. Predicting Lower Self-esteem in Former Operatives

Present work demographics and undercover work characteristics outlined in chapter eight were examined for their relationship with former operatives' reports of personal self-esteem. None of these variables were found to be significantly related to former operatives' reports of global self-esteem and therefore have not been included in the correlation matrix in Table 17. Analysis of the effects of reintegration on an officer's personal self-worth concentrate on factors related to the reintegration process. Table 17 outlines correlations between reports of personal global self-esteem and key indicators included on the questionnaire relating to the reintegration phase.

Table 17. Non-parametric Inter-item Correlates for Measures of Former Operatives' Personal Self-esteem with Reintegration and Social Support Variables (n=38)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Self-esteem								
tau-b	-							
sig								
2. Legitimacy Status								
tau-b	-.24*	-						
sig	.05							
3. Ready to return								
Phi-co-eff	-.28*	.20	-					
sig	.04	.16						
4. Length of reintegration								
tau-b	.34**	.06	-.17	-				
sig	.004	.62	.23					
5. Difficulties Reintegrating								
tau-b	-.52***	.26*	.25	-.19	-			
sig	.000	.04	.09	.13				
6. Work peer support								
tau-b	-.26*	-.05	.03	-.07	.28*	-		
sig	.02	.66	.82	.54	.02			
7. Friends support								
tau-b	-.21	.06	.01	-.05	.05	.36**	-	
sig	.07	.60	.93	.67	.67	.002		
8. Family support								
tau-b	-.03	.04	.15	.12	-.09	-.002	.37**	-
sig	.78	.77	.29	.30	.49	.99	.002	
9. Organisational support								
tau-b	.34**	-.23	-.24	.26*	-.28*	-.21	-.003	.07
sig	.003	.06	.08	.03	.02	.07	.98	.54

*p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

Logistic regression analyses were performed to examine the probability of predicting, from a set of indicators associated with the reintegration context, lowered personal self-esteem in former operatives. The reasons for this statistical application in this study are the same as those outlined in the previous chapter.

Logistic regression analysis was performed to predict the probability of lowered personal self-esteem in former operatives. The more highly correlated variables with the dependent variable were chosen as predictors to use in the analysis. Inspection of Table 17 shows that although not reaching significance at $p < .05$, perceptions of legitimacy of the undercover group's status and organisational support share a degree of collinearity. The correlational data shows that

organisational support is a stronger predictor and a more standardised measure. Because of the sample size, the number of predictors in the equation was limited to four predictors. The undercover police identification variable for former operatives has been dichotomised at the median (i.e. score of 16) and this measure was treated as a categorical variable in logistic regression analyses.

The logistic regression analysis performed ($n=38$) included predictors: months spent reintegrated, difficulties experienced during reintegration, undercover identification and organisational support. All variables were entered in one step.

There was a good model of fit ($\chi^2=8.17$, $df=8$, $sig=.42$) for testing the predictors against a constant-only model. Table 18 reports regression co-efficients, standard error, df and significance levels for each predictor. Only two of the four predictors ($p<.05$) distinguished between officers who held lower levels of personal self-esteem and officers who reported higher self-esteem ($\chi^2=27.09$, $df=4$, $sig=.000$). Significant predictors of lower self-esteem in the reintegrating officer were the degree of difficulty experienced during this period and the amount of organisational support perceived to be available to them from the police organisation. Prediction rates were similar for correctly classifying lower self-esteem (89.47%) and correctly classifying high self-esteem (84.21%).

Table 18. Logistic Regression Analysis for Reintegration Variables Predicting the Probability of Former Operatives Personal Self-esteem ($n=38$)

Variables in Equation	B	SE	df	sig
Undercover identification (categorical)	2.63	1.49	1	.08
Length of time spent reintegrated	-.03	.06	1	.58
Difficulty experienced re-assimilating	-1.15	.40	1	.004**
Organisational support	.15	.07	1	.05*
Constant	-1.97	2.73	1	.47

* $p=.05$, ** $p=.01$, *** $p=.001$

In summary, these findings suggest that an operative's personal self-esteem is affected by the difficulties they encounter fitting into the mainstream environment after undercover police work. Given the exploratory nature of investigations and restrictions of sample size, replication of findings is required.

9.3.5. The Fit Between Former Operatives (person) and the Mainstream Policing Context (environment)

In the previous section, the personal impact of reintegration on former operatives' self worth has been explored. In this last section of the results, the issue of fitting back into the mainstream context is revisited.

To continue to profile re-assimilation after undercover police work, a number of key organisational indicators were analysed. These indicators explore some of the organisational-behavioural consequences associated with officers' resistance to developing ties with their new mainstream peers. Table 20 reports on non-parametric correlations corrected for tied ranks between mainstream identification and several organisational indicators.

As shown in Table 19, former operatives who did not identify strongly with being a mainstream police officer were more likely to express intentions to leave the service in the next year and were less satisfied overall with their mainstream police work than officers who maintained strong mainstream police identification. For these operatives, their mainstream police duties held little interest and they perceived undercover work as having been more detrimental to their promotional opportunities more than officers who retained a higher level of mainstream police identification.

Table 19. Non-parametric Inter-item Correlates for Measures of Former Operatives' Mainstream Police Identity with Organisational Indicators (n=38)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Mainstream identity								
tau-b	-							
sig								
2. Promotional opportunities								
tau-b	-.24	-						
sig	.06							
3. Organisational commitment								
tau-b	-.19	.33**	-					
sig	.10	.01						
4. Overall job satisfaction								
tau-b	-.47***	.28*	.55***	-				
sig	.000	.05	.000					
5. Intentions to leave service								
tau-b	-.32**	.22	.40***	-.32**	-			
sig	.006	.08	.001	.01				
6. Work load								
tau-b	-.02	-.23	.07	-.01	.02			
sig	.88	.11	.58	.94	.88	-		
7. Under pressure (Reverse item)								
tau-b	-.11	-.002	.21	.06	.15	.54***	-	
sig	.37	.98	.11	.65	.25	.000		
8. In Control								
tau-b	.04	.03	-.03	-.04	-.06	-.08	-.02	-
sig	.76	.85	.84	.79	.63	.59	.92	
9. Job Interesting								
tau-b	-.30*	.31*	.36**	.64***	.26*	-.13***	-.16	.11
sig	.02	.03	.005	.000	.04	.37	.26	.46

* p=.05, ** p=.01, *** p=.001

No significant relationship was found between mainstream identification reports of officers' current workload, work pressure or level of control they felt over their mainstream police duties. Further, the level of commitment to the police organisation was not significantly associated with reports of mainstream police identification.

Together these findings suggest that former operatives remain committed to the professional organisation but their lack of affiliation with mainstream police is directly related to their satisfaction with aspects of their current work environment and intentions to remain within the police service. A low level of affiliation toward the mainstream policing culture was not related significantly to former operative ability to cope with their current work loads.

To determine whether former operatives' reports of current job satisfaction, work loads and their degree of organisational commitment differed from officers in general areas of policing, a number of Wilcoxon matched pairs signed-rank tests were performed. Table 20 summarises the results from these analyses.

Table 20. Means Scores, Standard Deviations and Tests of Significance on Job Satisfaction, Organisational Commitment and Intentions to Leave the Service in Former Operatives (n=38)

	Mainstream Officers (n=38) M	SD	Former Operatives (n=38) M	SD	Wilcoxon Test and Sig
Organisational commitment	9.23	4.89	10.92	5.67	T=-1.20, sig=.23
Overall job satisfaction	2.05	.57	2.18	.83	T=-.80, sig=.42
Workload	3.74	1.29	3.13	.78	T=-2.48, sig=.01**
Under pressure (reverse item)	3.75	.94	3.32	.99	T=-1.83, sig=.06
In control	2.21	.81	2.08	.63	T=-.77, sig=.44
Job interesting	2.18	.77	2.50	.89	T=-1.58, sig=.11
Intentions to leave the service (z scores)	-.21	2.74	1.20	2.76	T=-1.98, sig=.05*.

*p=.05, **p=.01, ***p=.001

Former operatives were not significantly different from mainstream police officers of the same age, gender and years of policing experience in terms of their overall job satisfaction and organisational commitment to the police services. There were no significant differences found between the two groups of police officers in terms of the level of control over their work duties and the level

of interest in mainstream police duties. However there were significant differences between the police groups in relation to current workloads. Mainstream police officers in this study felt more over worked in mainstream duties compared to former operatives. Although not reaching statistical significance at $p=.05$, the strong trend in the data suggests that former operatives feel they are under less pressure than mainstream police in their current work environment.

The risk of job turnover was significantly greater among undercover operatives than among the control group of mainstream police officers. Among recently reintegrated operatives who took part in the survey, 29% expressed intentions to leave the service within 12 months of the data collection compared with 19% of mainstream officers in this study. This discrepancy between mainstream police and former operatives turnover intentions was also substantiated in the human resource data collected by Australian police services that found, on average, 6% of Australasian police personnel had intentions to leave the service. These quantitative results also replicate qualitative findings (see chapter six), that ex-operatives who continued to experience difficulties anchoring their police identity after covert police work also expressed greater willingness to leave the police service.

9.3.5.1. Implications for Social Identity Theory

Previous social identity research (Allen, 1996; Ashford, 1988; Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989; Cartwright & Cooper, 1993; Chatman, 1991; Ferrie, Shipley, Marmot, Stansfeld & Smith 1998; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, Paulsen, Callan & Gallois, 1997a, 1997b; Rousseau, 1998; Terry, Carey & Callan, 1994; Terry, Tonge & Callan; 1998; Terry & Callan, 2001) was confirmed in the current findings that lack of attachment to the superordinate organisational identification (i.e. the mainstream police group) are related to turnover intentions and job satisfaction. However there was no support in the data for previous

social identity research (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Bromley, 1993; Mael & Tetrick, 1992) that found a high level of organisational identification was related to a high level of organisational commitment. In this study former undercover officers remained committed to their profession despite the degree of their mainstream police identification they maintained after covert police work.

9.4. Discussion

The findings in this chapter concentrate on exploring the current mainstream policing environment and officers' reactions to returning to mainstream policing. Three main research questions were investigated in this chapter and the majority of analyses performed were exploratory.

Firstly, the survey research investigated possible behavioural and cognitive manifestations related to police identity threat. Two hypotheses, based on social identity theory, directed these analyses and were supported in the data.

Secondly, the study was interested in examining the role of and officers' reactions to the undercover police group's organisational status in the mainstream environment. This question explored the interplay of social status and re-adjusting to the mainstream work context.

Thirdly, a number of organisational measures were analysed to assess the degree of fit between former operatives and their reintegrated mainstream work environment. Former operatives responses were compared with a control group of mainstream police to determine whether satisfaction in the mainstream context is a function of policing overall or function of having performed undercover police work.

It was found that undercover officers not only derive a sense of satisfaction from their undercover work but also aspects of the role hold important evaluative components that are used by the officer to define the self positively. In theoretical terms, the significant relationship between personal global self-esteem and social identities have not always been found (Hunter et. al., 1997; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In part, previous research has manipulated artificial settings and memberships where individuals are not concerned with their membership beyond the time period of the experiment. In this applied study, the findings contribute to the body of research that has reported a significant relationship between global self-esteem and social identification. Furthermore, this relationship highlights that it may be not only the importance of the social identity that impacts on personal global self-esteem but also how central the social identification has become to the individual and how diversified an individual's social memberships are. In terms of undercover policing, being part of the undercover police team is an integral part of their professional and private lives. Other social groups to which the officer previously belonged are often replaced during this period. Therefore, it is argued that these results reflect not only the value of the undercover identity but also how central this police identification is in the officer's self-structure. The loss of membership in this police group for some officers, therefore, will make returning to mainstream policing difficult.

One of the cognitive-behavioural reactions associated with the re-assimilation process is problematic relations with mainstream police. This study determined that negative intergroup rivalry with mainstream police is most pronounced in operatives' during the reintegration period than other stages of covert duties (hypothesis eleven supported). There are several reasons for why these negative reactions toward mainstream police are most likely to occur during the re-assimilation phase. Firstly, the interplay between the threat of losing their elite undercover police membership and social comparison processes with mainstream police are most salient during this period. Other social conditions

present in this transitional period enhancing the likelihood that some former operatives will engage in rivalry with mainstream police are that officers integrate individually and that reintegration is imposed on officers who may not be cognitively prepared to return to mainstream duties. The pressure to maintain boundaries between being defined as an undercover officer and integrating into the majority, where the majority are not willing to validate their previous norms from undercover duties are heightened during this period.

Former operatives who continue to feel more strongly affiliated with their undercover group react to their change in policing context by engaging in rivalry with mainstream police officers (hypothesis twelve supported). Previous social identity research has shown that when the comparison group share more similar attributes (i.e. mainstream police share more positive similarities than criminal groups to undercover officers) with an individuals membership group, ingroup bias and negative reactions to the comparison group are greater (Brown, 2000; Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 1986). In the scenario of covert reintegration, returning to mainstream policing involves comparison not only with a similar but majority and previous police group. The results in this section suggest that mainstream police become an ingroup that is perceived negatively in terms of threatening former operatives' ties to their previous undercover work group. Mainstream officers, therefore, become 'an ingroup-outgroup' to these former operatives. These findings have implications for monitoring the risk of officers developing negative reactions to their police organisation and will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

Problematic peer relations are not only related to officers' desire to act out the undercover role in terms of feeling more comfortable in this role, but engaging in intergroup rivalry is also an identity protection strategy. Based on the principles of social identity theory, operatives who engage in greater intergroup conflict with mainstream police continue to maintain a positive sense of self for having worked as an undercover officer. Officers may also attempt to sustain their

valued undercover identity in the mainstream context, despite it not being organisationally rewarded or in the best interests of their personal security. Therefore, officers who continue to behave like they are on the streets are not merely role-playing and their behaviour is not necessarily inappropriate. For these officers, exhibiting the norms of their previous undercover membership is congruent with their current and valued police identity - being an undercover officer. It is, however, inappropriate behaviour in the context in which it is activated –the mainstream environment. In social identity theory terms, displays of previous undercover police norms have a *counter-normative fit* with the mainstream environment (i.e. do not correspond with the accepted mainstream policing norms) (Oakes, 1987).

Interestingly, cross-sectional comparisons found that trainee operatives did not differ from current operatives in the extent of ingroup bias and derogation or differentiation from mainstream police officers. Social identity theory would argue that because of an officer's ingroup, operatives are likely to exhibit more bias toward their own police group. For trainee operatives their ingroup is mainstream police officers (as mentioned in chapter eight) and thereby officers should exhibit greater bias toward mainstream policing. However, considering the theory in more detail, and the current social context of trainee operatives, they are aspiring to be part of this specialised area of policing. Trainee operatives are likely to see the undercover group as a desirable police group in which to belong. These officers have are presently in the process of undertaking rigorous selection processes where not all are guaranteed a future placement in the undercover police unit. Under these conditions, coupled with the pressure to gain acceptance to the undercover unit, the trainee operatives have in fact discriminated against their own ingroup in the anticipation of becoming a member of the undercover police group.

Ingroup bias and identification effects have not always existed in social identity research findings (Aberson et. al., 2000; De Cremer, 2001) however, this association was found in the current study. A possible reason for the difference between experimental and the current applied context relates to the type and level of threat that evokes this reaction.

The influence of social factors such as the organisational status of undercover police work on adjusting to the mainstream context was also examined. Despite the failure to find support for status inconsistencies in the attitudes of mainstream officers toward undercover officers, differences were found in terms of the legitimacy of the undercover group's organisational status (i.e. status inconsistencies) among former operatives. Inconsistency in occupational privilege was most likely to be reported among former operatives who continue to hold strong affiliations with their previous undercover group. These officers were also more likely to respond to perceived status inconsistencies by engaging in intergroup rivalry with their mainstream police peers. These findings support previous clinical observations (Girodo, 1984a, 1984b; Leonard, 1987b; Macleod, 1995). The current theoretical framework applied in the doctoral research extends these previous reports by offering a social psychological explanation of why officers respond by engaging in 'old undercover behaviour'. The quantitative findings also verify the interview profiles outlined in chapter six.

It is not clear from by either bivariate analysis or cross-sectional design the direction of the relationship between identity and reports of illegitimacy in status. The current design of the study does not permit analysis to determine whether maintaining identification as an undercover officer is the reason why officers are more likely to perceive status inconsistencies or whether negative reactions toward being an undercover officer increase identification and thereby increase resistance to becoming part of mainstream policing. To determine these effects, a pre and post testing of officers in the study is required. It is, however, hypothesised that it is a combination that high identifiers are more reactive to

negative reactions toward them and more likely to feel not validated for having been an undercover officer. At the same time, the negative reaction or lack of reward for their undercover police work from the mainstream police hierarchy inhibits their psychological willingness to become part of, and increase their identification with, mainstream police.

In the qualitative study, the issue of perceived stigma associated with being an undercover officer was highlighted among operatives who expressed greater difficulties returning to mainstream duties. The analyses reported in this chapter failed to find significant differences between mainstream police and former operatives' reports of stigma associated with being an undercover officer. The interview study found that former operatives identified that senior police members in the hierarchy mostly held negative attitudes towards them. The second study did not survey the attitudes of senior members, therefore failure to find differences may be explained by the sample of mainstream officers or this group of undercover officers does not perceive stigma. Another possible reason for this lack of consistency in findings across studies may be that former operatives who act inappropriately in the mainstream context, or display behaviour that is appropriate to the internalised undercover police persona, subject themselves to being a target of ridicule. These officers are therefore likely to feel unrewarded and are susceptible to believing that undercover police officers are a stigmatised police group. Further exploratory analysis was conducted on this issue by considering the effects of reintegration experiences on officers' self-esteem.

An examination of the effects on officers' personal self-esteem of negative reactions by the senior hierarchy was explored using a measure of organisational support. It was found that former operatives who reported greater difficulties during their re-assimilation process and required greater organisational support from the police hierarchy during this period, reported lower personal self-esteem. These findings are purely exploratory but suggest

that the difficulties experienced during the process of re-assimilation have an effect on the individual's self-esteem. However, these results require further investigation to draw conclusions about the impact of the reintegration process on indicators of personality.

Failure to modify the police identity during this period has a number of organisational implications. Analysis revealed that former operatives who resisted re-assimilation into mainstream policing were less satisfied with their current work environment, failed to find their current work interesting, tended to perceive undercover work as having been detrimental to their career and intended to leave the service within twelve months of the data collection.

In establishing the officer-environment fit, comparative analysis was undertaken with the control group of mainstream officers. Former operatives did not differ significantly from mainstream officers in terms of their overall job satisfaction or their commitment levels to the police service. In terms of how they perceived aspects of their current work environment, former operatives were not significantly different from mainstream police in the extent of control they exercised over their work or how interesting they found their current work.

Noteworthy was the finding that former operatives were more inclined to feel under worked in the mainstream environment compared with mainstream officers while mainstream police perceived greater pressures in their work than former operatives. These findings suggest that former operatives may find it more difficult to sustain their motivation for mainstream police work. This finding of feeling under-stimulated by mainstream police work is not surprising given the hours these officers have previously worked in undercover police work, and "the high of the bust" experienced when obtaining a prosecution and the level of full-time investment in their work all of which are reduced in the mainstream policing environment.

Consistent with the interview study, the turnover intentions among former operatives is most likely to be a function of the extent to which these officers have been able to fit back into mainstream policing with minimal difficulty. Turnover intentions were greater in former operatives than mainstream police officers who had not performed undercover police work.

In summary, former operatives remained committed to the profession of policing but were not satisfied with their current work environment. Overall, the findings in this chapter show that the difficulties of re-assimilation and intentions to leave the service are more related to identity conflict experienced by operatives during this period than the work load characteristics of reintegrating environment such as their work load pressure and perceived control over their work.

9.5. Summary

This chapter focused on former operatives' satisfaction in being part of the mainstream policing context. Personal, social and organisational indicators were used to measure the extent of an officer's re-assimilation into the mainstream work context. The findings discussed in this chapter verify that having worked and achieved in an undercover role contribute positively to an officer's personal self-esteem.

The findings in this chapter lend further support to previous reports in the literature and findings of field research, that the reintegration period is a problematic period characterised by the process of social comparison between previous undercover police ties and new mainstream work groups. The cross-sectional comparisons established that intergroup rivalry is most pronounced during the reintegration phase. The findings provided further evidence that operatives who engage in a high degree of intergroup rivalry with mainstream police come to regard their mainstream peers as an ingroup-outgroup. Those most likely to engage in intergroup rivalry with their mainstream peers were officers who continued to strongly identify with their

undercover police group. These results suggest that problematic relations with mainstream police are an identity protection strategy that enables the officer to maintain boundaries that protect their undercover police identification in the mainstream policing context.

This study continued to explore reports of status inconsistencies (i.e. illegitimacy of the undercover group's organisational status) and previous reports of the stigma associated with being an undercover police officer. This study was unable to find significant differences between trainee, current and former operatives, and the matched group of mainstream police officers, reports on the organisational status of undercover police officers. The general regard among these four police groups was that undercover police work is of equal status to areas of mainstream policing. These findings do not support former operatives' reports of status inconsistencies in the interview study. Differences in findings across studies relate to sampling considerations and the reliability of the measure used in the survey study. However, the findings demonstrated that reports of illegitimacy in the undercover group's organisational status is most likely to be reported by former operatives who maintain an ingroup status with their former undercover police group. This group of former operatives did not feel validated by officers in mainstream policing for having worked as a member of the undercover police group.

An operative's personal self-esteem is affected by the difficulties they encounter fitting into the mainstream environment after undercover police work. Reintegrating operatives who continued to identify strongly as an undercover officer in the mainstream context, who experienced difficulties returning to mainstream duties, and who perceived that they required more organisational support from the police hierarchy to assist them during this period, were likely to report lower personal self-esteem.

A number of organisational indicators were used to measure an operative's perception of the reintegrated environment. Overall, former operatives remain committed to their policing profession. However, former operatives who experienced identity incongruence with the mainstream environment were less satisfied with aspects of the current work environment than those who experienced few difficulties fitting in to the mainstream policing context.

The findings established that former operatives' overall job satisfaction and organisational commitment was not significantly different from mainstream police in this study. In terms of organisational characteristics associated with their current work environment, mainstream officers and former undercover operatives did not differ in terms of control over their work duties or their level of interest in mainstream duties. Interestingly, mainstream officers felt more overworked and under pressure than former operatives.

Of organisational concern were former operatives' incidence rates of intentions to leave the police service. At the time of this study, 29% of former operatives expressed intentions to leave the police service, which was significantly higher than mainstream police officers in this study (19%) and nearly five times higher than the turnover intentions reported from in-house police statistical documents. Former operatives most likely to express intentions to leave the police service within 12 months of this data collection were officers who maintained low levels of mainstream police identification.

Chapter 10

Summary and Conclusions

10.1. Introduction

Adopting a social psychological perspective, the studies in this thesis were designed to investigate the reintegration experiences of undercover police officers. There were four central research objectives achieved in this thesis. At the time of this research, there was no empirical research that investigated the process of reintegration of covert police personnel. Therefore, an objective to achieve in this thesis was to identify the key psychological processes that occur when undercover police officers cease working in covert duties and return to the mainstream policing environment (i.e. the reintegration phase).

Another objective was to develop and test research methodology that could not only be applied specifically to the Australasian undercover policing environment but also in a similar environment. A related objective was to test the application of social identity theory to this situation in which there is an explicit change in duties and defined roles.

Finally, the research was designed to provide information on the understudied, highly complex and important issue of reintegration of covert police personnel. The findings from this dissertation establish an empirical knowledge base on issues, which are specific both to Australasian undercover policing context and to the general issues raised by the process of reintegration of undercover police officers into mainstream policing.

To achieve these objectives, three studies were conducted. Given the protected status on knowledge of and access to officers performing undercover policing duties, investigations began using field research. As the knowledge available in the public domain is restricted, the researcher felt it necessary to begin

investigations by finding 'the problem' to investigate 'the problem'. Field research was highly beneficial in a) defining central research issues facing Australasian undercover police personnel; and b) identifying specific methodological issues facing this research investigation that were central to the choice and ways of implementing research practices to collect information from members of undercover policing.

The second study comprised interviews with twenty former undercover police personnel who, since their undercover policing experience, had worked in mainstream duties for more than three years. The focus of this study was to identify patterns in the information provided by these officers on their reintegration experiences. This study was also used to test theory and its explanatory power in the Australasian undercover policing context. From this research, two profiles of reintegration experiences emerged that identified a number of key psychological processes.

The third study employed a cross-sectional design and surveyed 38 trainee operatives, 31 currently operational operatives and 38 more recently reintegrated former operatives (i.e. a maximum reintegration period of three years). A control group of mainstream police officers matched according to former operatives' age, gender, and years of policing experience were also included. The survey research continued to investigate themes that emerged from the interviews. The focus of the third study was to employ cross-sectional comparisons in order to contextualise the process of re-assimilation and establish whether policing identities differ at each phase of undercover policing. The third study also determined the degree of fit between the operative and the mainstream context by examining their current level of organisational satisfaction in being part of the mainstream policing environment.

The next section in this chapter reviews findings and evaluates the effectiveness of the methods operationalised in the research. Following this section, a

number of practical recommendations to assist police services in their management of covert police personnel are made. It is anticipated that these recommendations will assist police management to critically assess their options for addressing the reintegration process for undercover operatives. The chapter concludes with an overview of the contribution to theory, discussion on the limitations of the current study and suggested future directions for research.

10.2. Evaluating Methodological Practices

In developing the methodology, the decision was made to employ data and method triangulation. This research strategy achieved the following:

- Built a profile of information available on psychological issues associated with reintegration;
- Created a layering effect of the information acquired on undercover policing; and therefore
- Presented a wider perspective of undercover police officers reintegration experiences; and
- Maximised confidence in the findings as the corroboration of findings using different methods, multiple indicators and different samples of undercover officers, thus strengthening the validity of the results reported.

In particular, field research was invaluable, and essential given the undefined nature of the topic under investigation. This research method was constructive in understanding and representing the dynamics and practices of this highly protected area of policing. The research questions investigated more formally in studies two and three, primarily emerged from the data gathered during fieldwork. The field study was also beneficial in developing a research framework to collect qualitative and quantitative data and in ensuring that the findings from studies two and three were not inaccurately biased by the lack of available background information on issues of reintegration.

10.3. Major Research Contributions to Social Identity Theory

The findings in this thesis demonstrate the utility of social identity theory as a theoretical framework to examine transitional experiences. The main body of previous social identity research has been experimentally based in laboratory settings. This research expands the application of social identity theory to applied settings by investigating social groups that have a long, functional history and established bonds rather than social groups that have been experimentally constructed. It broadens social identity research in organisational contexts. Furthermore, the application of theory in this thesis has supported the applicability of social identity theory in forensic related research settings, which to date, has been an area largely ignored by social psychologists.

This thesis added to the body of social identity theory knowledge by investigating the interplay of the social context in not only identity formation but also identity modification. The findings in this thesis documented not only individuals who are most likely to accept a change in social identification but also those who are most likely to resist modifying social identities. Social conditions in the change context that assist individuals to modify their work social identity were also identified. Using the principle of normative fit, the degree of fit between the person (police identities) and the environment (organisational indicators of the mainstream policing context) were explored to determine psychological adjustment since undercover police work.

Previous social identity literature focused on the process of becoming involved in new membership groups. The researcher was unable to find any studies that examined involuntary movement toward resuming memberships that required leaving a more elite membership status. A related issue is that there is little research on high status minority groups who are required to undergo involuntary movement into a majority group membership.

This doctoral research's major contribution is toward the body of knowledge on multiple social identities. That is the cognitive choices individuals make when two simultaneous group memberships are negotiated. Previously, research examining superordinate categories and multiple memberships has concentrated on building conditions that foster harmonious relations between social groups (e.g. Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a; Marcus-Newhall, Miller, Holtz & Brewer, 1993). These studies were designed around situations in which individuals held exclusive membership in one or another social group. Investigations concentrated on sub-group relations and not simultaneous membership where one social group is an "old" group membership.

In examining multiple identities, analyses were undertaken to determine former operatives' current ingroup status (see chapter eight). The survey research found that group level analyses are not sufficient to determine dual identity decision-making in individuals. The results in this thesis revealed a non-significant statistical difference between undercover and mainstream police identifications in reintegrated undercover officers (hypothesis nine). These research findings extend and emphasise the importance of examining individual differences in negotiating dual identities, particularly when collective action is not overtly possible and is constrained by social reality.

As identified from the literature review (see chapter four), previous social identity research (see chapter four) has not investigated the actual decision-making strategies individuals employ to decide on the order of cognitive importance of multiple identities. Ashforth and Mael (1989), however, hypothesised that there are a number of strategies (i.e. ordering, separating and buffering) that individuals may use to resolve identity conflict. The qualitative data has important theoretical utility for exploring identity negotiating processes. That is, the analyses of the qualitative data provided evidence on how individuals decide between two valued group identities and the study also reported on the affective reactions that arise during identity decision-making. All of the individuals

interviewed allocated an order of importance of the dual identities, however, individuals do not always choose the identity that is most socially rewarded. The findings from the interviews (see chapter six) showed that individuals negotiate dual ingroup ties using at least two cognitive strategies. In Profile One there was evidence that police identities were integrated into the overall superordinate category. In Profile Two officers described the level of cognitive conflict that they experienced from weighing their identity choices during their re-assimilation. They also discussed behavioural confusion over what is considered appropriate socially in the mainstream context (i.e. mainstream police norms) versus maintaining identity congruent behaviour (i.e. undercover policing norms). There was a lack of normative fit where the dominant police identity chosen by these operative was not consistent with the expected norms of the mainstream policing context. The ordering of the salient dual identities, among the officers in this profile, was carried out using the cognitive strategy of “decoupling”. That is, to maintain identity incongruence in the reintegrated context, the two police identities were perceived as separate social identities. This qualitative study makes a significant contribution to an under-investigated area in social identity research, however, further exploration of multiple identity decision-making processes is required.

The quantitative findings were able to show that when dual identities are not in direct conflict within the social context it is easier to predict the ingroup status and the order of importance of each identity. In the training context, the undercover and mainstream police identities were not in conflict as officers remained more strongly attached to the mainstream police group. They were however willing to leave this police group and resume membership in their new undercover police group. In the undercover policing context, the mainstream police membership is less salient as the direct comparison group is a negative outgroup (i.e. criminal target groups) and officers are not required to modify their undercover membership. Unlike these earlier stages, the re-assimilation phase is a high identity threat context. The social conditions within this phase are

such that two valued ingroups are highly salient. It is an involuntary change period where operatives are not cognitively prepared to negotiate two policing identities.

The findings in this thesis have shown that it is not only the value of a particular social identity that is important but also how central the social identity under investigation is within the self-structure. Previous research findings have not been clear about the relationship between identification and self-esteem (Brewer, 1993a, 1993b; Brown, 2000; Cameron, 1999; Hunter, Platow, Bell & Kypri, 1997; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). The survey research reported a significant correlation between undercover identification and self-esteem in current operatives. It is therefore argued that when predicting the order of importance of two salient social identities, the centrality of the social identifications is of consideration. It is argued that when predicting cognitive choices in identity decision making in situations where each identity is highly valued by the individual, central identities will be accessed more readily and therefore allocated greater importance.

The dissertation research also expands the knowledge of the complexity of long-term changes to social identities. The findings in the survey research verify that social identities are dynamic and require time to monitor for change. Tracking long-term changes in social identities over changing contexts has been largely under-researched in previous social identity literature. Generally studies that have investigated long-term changes in identity have been limited to a period of two years (see Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; Terry, Rawle & Callan, 1995). The trends in the present data suggest that the monitoring of identity resolutions in some situations needs to occur for at least a three-year period.

In examining the utility of social identity theory, Spears (2001) stated that:

“The role of context remains somewhat under theorised, especially in terms of the motivations it can elicit and strategic opportunities it affords.”
(p. 174)

The design of this study highlights the need to investigate multiple contexts and the elements within each of these contexts to predict and map social identity changes with more accuracy. This dissertation research shows that the role and type of contextual factors are particularly significant when modifying social identities. Social conditions such as the perceived support from work colleagues in the mainstream environment were more important in modifying work identities than the support from family, friends or at the organisational level. The survey research also found that the decline in mainstream police identification was affected by the social influence from target contexts.

This study investigated a situation that involved high degree of cognitive uncertainty that evoked identity protection strategies of intergroup rivalry. In previous social identity research the concept of threat has been poorly defined (see Hornsey & Hogg, 200a). It is argued that the inconsistency in previous findings on ingroup bias effects may be related to low threat conditions. The degree and type of threat present in applied contexts needs to be better defined in future research for predicting individual responses.

10.4. Summary of Findings

10.4.1. Shared Characteristics and Identifiable Differences in Reintegration Experiences

All officers in the interview study noted attitudinal changes in terms of how they perceived criminals. These attitudinal changes were related to their experiences of undercover policing and all former operatives acknowledged the benefits of the professional growth achieved through their undercover police duties, such as

advanced interpersonal skills and enhanced verbal negotiation skills. Some officers also noted that these skills, although not formally recognised, were utilised by their co-workers in mainstream policing to assist with investigations.

A major theme identified in the interview study, and later verified in the survey research, was that not all undercover police officers reintegrate in the same manner. Two distinct paths of reintegration emerged from the qualitative data. Content analyses of the interview data revealed that over time, interpretations of the undercover experience shaped how officers perceive themselves as both police officers and as individuals. The extent to which an operative's affiliations with the undercover police group were integrated into their mainstream police identity impacted on recalled experiences of reintegration.

10.4.2. Internalisation and Psychological Significance of the Undercover Role

Former operatives' descriptions of their reintegration experiences provided the first evidence that more than one police identity existed among operatives. Importantly, these interviews identified that some officers internalise aspects of their undercover policing experience. From these discussions, it was found that some former operatives continued to define themselves more in terms of an *undercover police identity* despite the change in policing context.

Across interviews, officers acknowledged that they received a great deal of personal satisfaction from working in undercover policing, however, further analyses of the data revealed that it is not only working in this role in policing that became important to operatives. The findings from both studies identified that being an undercover officer became an intrinsic element of officers' self-perception and contributed positively to officers' self worth.

The interview study found that not all elements of undercover work remained as role-playing. Prolonged behavioural manifestations of the undercover role after

covert duties had ceased, as outlined in Profile Two, provided further evidence that officers internalise and continue to maintain aspects of their undercover policing identity. The officers from Profile Two who reported more negative reintegration experiences, did not discuss their displays of undercover policing normative behaviour in terms of acting out the undercover role, rather this behaviour was noted in terms of changes in the officer's personal identity. Further, officers from this profile described being more comfortable maintaining these undercover norms (i.e. acting and dressing like an undercover officer) despite the lack of fit with the mainstream police environment. Leaving their undercover police group was described as an emotional and negative experience and resuming mainstream policing had important evaluative consequences for these officers.

Not all former operatives reported negative reintegration experiences. In contrast, the first reintegration profile in chapter six, were of former operatives who recalled positive reintegration experiences. In this profile, their undercover policing experience was described more in terms of their overall policing career. These officers ($n=6$) defined themselves in terms of a police officer who had, as part of their duties, performed undercover police work and the two police memberships were portrayed as components of a single police persona. Officers from Profile One, described category membership rather than group identification. They de-emphasised the centrality of the undercover identity in terms of the self-structure and described themselves as having more diffused interests outside undercover police work. Officers in Profile One believed they were more strongly influenced by mainstream policing norms and they expressed a greater willingness to return to mainstream policing than those who reported more negative reintegration experiences (i.e. Profile Two). Overall, the patterns in Profile One indicate that undercover work is perceived as an aspect of officers' policing careers rather than a separate police identity.

10.4.3. Changes in Police Identity During the Course of Undercover Policing

Cross-sectional comparisons in the survey research contributed to understanding former operatives' reports of police identifications. Two sets of predictions based on the principles of social identity theory and the saliency of police identities directed the analyses reported in chapter eight and not all hypotheses were supported by the data.

Analyses revealed that the extent of identification with mainstream and undercover police groups differ among officers at different stages of undercover policing. It was also found that the degree of identification as a mainstream police officer by former operatives is a function of having performed undercover police duties than policing overall.

As predicted (hypotheses four, five and six), as a group, former operatives remained more strongly identified with the undercover group than trainee operatives but less so than current operatives. Trainee operatives identified least, and current operatives identified most, with the undercover police group.

Only partial support was found for hypotheses predicting group differences in mainstream identification. Trainee operatives identified most with the mainstream police group (hypothesis three supported). It was also predicted that former operatives would report a greater degree of mainstream police identification than current operatives but less than trainee operatives (hypothesis one). The rationale for this prediction related to the expectation that along with re-assimilation, former operatives as a group would be in the process of realigning their policing loyalties and gradually adjusting their policing identity to fit into the mainstream environment.

The previously held assumption that undercover police officers resume their "*old*" mainstream policing identity upon return to mainstream duties is not

sustained in the current research. Two separate findings support this conclusion. Hypothesis one, and therefore two (i.e. current operatives identify least with mainstream police), were not supported in the quantitative data, as former operatives as a group, had not significantly increased their attachments to mainstream police when compared with current operatives' reports of mainstream police identification. Results also reveal that former operatives' internalisation of the mainstream identity was significantly lower than the control group of mainstream police officers who were matched according to age, gender, and years of policing experience.

Drawing conclusions from these cross-sectional comparisons, the findings in this section infer that former operatives' undercover police identity had lessened since leaving covert police work, however, they had not significantly strengthened their mainstream identification since leaving covert police work. Former operatives' lowered mainstream police identification is a function of having performed undercover police work.

Generally, these findings support the principles of social identity theory and identity salience. However, they also indicate that although there is a physical change in context, it does not automatically mean that operatives can readily modify the psychological value of their undercover police membership to suit the expectations of the mainstream policing environment. Psychologically adjusting to the mainstream work environment is largely a function of the value attached to the undercover police membership and its centrality in defining the former operative not only as police officer but as an individual.

10.4.4. The Significance of Negotiating Dual Police Identities During the Reintegration Process

The interview and survey studies found that the reintegration period is a difficult transitional period in an officer's undercover policing experience. The survey research reported that 64% of Australasian former operatives who had recently

returned to mainstream duties within a three-year period, reported difficulties fitting into the mainstream policing environment. In the interviews conducted with more long-term reintegrated operatives, 60% recalled negative reintegration experiences. Related to the difficulties of resuming mainstream policing duties was the extent to which former operatives had negotiated their police identifications and associated norms.

Several research findings confirm that negotiating the police identity is a psychological process that is most likely to occur during this phase of policing. The survey research found that as a group, former operatives remained undifferentiated in their current policing identity. As a group they did not identify significantly with either the mainstream or the undercover police group (hypothesis nine). These results indicate that not all officers in this study have negotiated their psychological affiliations with their former undercover police group. By comparison, in accordance with social identity theory and identity salience predictions, trainee operatives identified most with the mainstream police group and current operatives identified most with the undercover police group (hypotheses seven and eight supported).

Correlational analyses also revealed that not all former operatives resume a mainstream police identity. Analysis of the trends in the data suggested that the majority of recently reintegrated former operatives continued to remain more strongly attached to the undercover police membership than to their mainstream police membership.

Officers most likely to report difficulties returning to mainstream duties were those who resisted developing affiliations toward being a mainstream police officer (hypothesis ten). In terms of measurement, this finding demonstrates the utility of measuring operatives' strength of identification as mainstream police officer as an indicator of an officer's re-assimilation and therefore their psychological adjustment since undercover police work.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, resuming mainstream policing was found to have evaluative consequences for some undercover police officers. The interview study revealed that former operatives who perceived leaving covert police work more negatively also characterised their return to mainstream police duties as involving a high degree of cognitive conflict. Since leaving covert policing, officers from Profile Two reported that their sense of self was in crisis and under evaluation as they struggled to fit in with mainstream policing norms. Psychological conflict arose from the cognitive confusion over how operatives personally defined themselves as police officers and how they were supposed to behave once back in mainstream policing. Reports of estrangement from the police service were not uncommon in these officers. In an attempt to reconcile cognitive conflict (as reported in the interview study), officers must choose or assign an order of importance to these policing identities. As the findings have shown, an officer's choice of policing identity can be independent of what is socially or professionally expected or accepted and largely depends on the level of identification with undercover and mainstream police that exists prior to returning to mainstream policing.

Applying the principles of social identity theory, there are a number of reasons that the reintegration process is difficult for an undercover operative. One reason relates to personal indicators such as the extent of internalisation of the undercover policing persona among former operatives. There are also a number of factors in the social context that influence the reintegration process.

In terms of identity formation there are a number of environmental factors in the covert policing context, such as the cohesiveness and secrecy, along with the unique shared experience with only a few police officers which foster the development of an identity distinct from that held by officers who have not carried out undercover police duties.

Other reasons relate to the socio-organisational conditions most prevalent during reintegration. Social comparison processes are greatest during this period as operatives are now in direct contact with mainstream police. Former operatives cognitively weigh their attachments with officers with whom they have shared a unique experience and have relied heavily on for personal support in their role as undercover police officers, against mainstream police who have no awareness of their policing history. In order to re-assimilate, operatives are required to cognitively realign their loyalties toward their former undercover police group. In doing so, this process does not necessarily require the officer to abandon the bonds formed with members of the undercover group.

For instance, in the interviews, former operatives who reported more positive experiences of returning to mainstream policing (i.e. Profile One) also emphasised the significance of being a member of the undercover police group. However, in successfully re-assimilating, officers in Profile One psychologically invested in their mainstream police memberships.

The previous section reported that the degree of internalisation of the mainstream identity maintained in operatives is affected by the covert experience. It is not argued that in order to re-assimilate, operatives mainstream identification must be restored to that prior to conducting undercover police duties. Given the experiences gained, it is highly improbable that officers can turn their backs on their undercover policing experience and almost impossible that they can resume the extent of their mainstream police identification prior to performing covert police work. However, findings presented in this section show that the degree of internalisation retained of the mainstream police identity is closely related to the difficulties experienced in re-assimilating into the mainstream policing context.

10.4.5. At What Stage of the Reintegration Period is Psychological Re-assimilation Most Likely to Commence?

Although operatives make the physical change to resume mainstream duties, exploratory trends analyses were conducted to identify a) any potential 'at risk' periods to experience adjustment difficulties, and b) when psychological re-assimilation is most likely to commence among former operatives. The analyses were restricted to the three-year period under investigation in the survey research.

Not surprisingly, the first year of reintegration is likely to be the most difficult and critical period for operatives to experience problematic adjustment. Exploratory trends analysis found that former operatives tend to maintain the undercover police identity during the first twelve months of returning to mainstream policing.

Although the cross-sectional design does not permit the current research to investigate this issue, social identity theory would predict that the more highly identified undercover officers are likely to increase in their identification with the undercover group during this early period of reintegration as a consequence of the increased threat of losing their membership and distinctiveness.

Cognitive assimilation begins in the second year of returning to mainstream duties. Attachments to the mainstream police group steadily increased over the second year. The pattern in the data also suggests that some former undercover officers continue to experience identity incongruence after the second year. However, given the exploratory nature of these analyses, replication of these findings is required.

10.4.6. Risk Factors Associated with Identity Adjustment

Exploratory analyses were undertaken to identify indicators of 'vulnerability' that predict which operatives are most at risk of experiencing difficulties in realigning their police identity.

Other than the age of the former operative (older operatives tend to report lower levels of mainstream police identification), identity formation is a social psychological process that appears unrelated to specific demographic characteristics of the officer, such as current rank, whether officers performed uniform or non-uniform duties or their overall policing experience. However, personality correlates may be a more important predictor of changes in police identification than the demographic attributes included on the survey. Further examination of the way personality influences operatives' mainstream police affiliations is required in future research.

In terms of undercover work characteristics, decline in former operatives' mainstream policing identity was fostered by the number of operations performed in covert duties and increased exposure and interactions with target groups. The length of time spent working in undercover duties was non-significant at the bivariate level of analysis. Girodo (1993, 1991b) also found that in 271 former operatives, that the greater number of covert investigations conducted was associated significantly with more reports of disciplinary problems in mainstream policing. It is suggested that Girodo's findings, together with those of the current study, reflect the social influence of working with target groups and normative shifts of behaviour and, subsequently, erosion of the identification with mainstream police groups. Therefore, police identifications are more influenced by environmental work factors in the covert context than personal work related demographics of the officer.

One possible reason for this non-significant relationship with the time spent in undercover work is that in the Australasian context, covert police work is a time limited activity with the average time spent working in undercover work approximately 2.5 years. Consequently, the findings may show that the restriction on time spent in undercover duties is an effective strategy in managing changes in police identities. It is also possible that these correlational findings were affected by the small sample size used in these studies.

The dissertation identified early indicators of possible adjustment difficulties. An early indicator, evident in the interview study and verified in survey research, was the high level of replacement of other social interests and family and friends support systems in preference for their undercover police members. Erosion of the mainstream police identity and exclusive replacement with attachments toward the undercover police group in current operatives is an important predictor of who are most likely to resist adaptation and acceptance of mainstream policing norms in their re-assimilation stage.

10.4.7. Social Conditions that Facilitate the Reintegration Process

Positive reports of fitting back into the mainstream police environment depend largely on the social conditions in the mainstream policing context. The type of environment officers reintegrated into and the peers with whom they share duties facilitated the process of re-assimilation. Returning to work environments where co-workers shared similarities with the operative and were supportive of the officer was useful in building ties with mainstream police. Being psychologically prepared to return to mainstream policing was also an important predictor.

Support offered from peers in the immediate work environment was more important in facilitating adjustments than support received from family and friends or overall organisational support. Former operatives who successfully

found bases to “*re-anchor*” themselves were more likely to express greater satisfaction with mainstream police duties. Social identity researchers argue that it is the affiliation with other members of the organisational group that is important in social identity formation, while organisational support from the police service may be interpreted as support from higher management who are not part of the officer’s daily police context (Hogg & Terry, 2000). These results do not necessarily reflect that organisational and family support are not important during this period. Instead, similarities with and support received from mainstream peers in their immediate work environment appear more facilitative in re-establishing a successful work base for reintegrating operatives.

10.4.8. Organisational and Behavioural Consequences

The survey study also concentrated on exploring former operatives’ satisfaction with the mainstream police environment. As a consequence of the lack of fit between officers’ professional identity and the mainstream policing environment, a number of behavioural and cognitive manifestations were reported. These included continued displays of incongruent policing norms, problematic peer relations during this period, effects on officers’ personal self-esteem, job dissatisfaction with intentions to leave the police service.

10.4.8.1. Continued Displays of Undercover Policing Norms

Highly identified undercover police officers in the interview study described how they continued to maintain and display norms from their undercover role. The context in which these ‘undercover norms’ become activated was important and mostly occurred when strongly affiliated operatives perceived that the value of having been a member of the undercover group was threatened by being forced to assume membership in mainstream policing. Therefore, displaying behaviour consistent with their undercover policing norms in the mainstream policing

context is was a way of reinforcing and therefore maintaining the personal significance of their undercover identity.

Girodo (1984a, 1984b) also observed that former operatives displayed behaviours consistent with their undercover work such as maintaining dress, hair, using street language with mainstream peers and seeking out locations similar to those frequented with targets. Girodo describes these operatives as if they had split personalities and noted that unpredictable shifts in 'personality' frequently occurred when the stimulus was mainstream peers. These observations (apart from personality disorders) can be explained in terms of social identifications and intergroup relations. The 'split personality' implies cognitive conflict from having to face two positively valued identities simultaneously. The displays of behaviour are not necessarily inappropriate behaviour, as they are consistent with the undercover identity, however, the displays of behaviour are inappropriate for the current policing context. It is argued, and the findings in this dissertation support the assertion that it is not only strain from prolonged role-playing but also the internalisation of an undercover police identity that leads to these behavioural reactions after undercover police duties.

10.4.8.2. Problematic Peer Relations

In Profile Two (i.e. of negative reintegration experiences) in the interview study, relations with mainstream peers during this phase were depicted as negative and conflicting and the undercover and mainstream police identities were portrayed as competing. The survey study verified that problematic relations and intergroup rivalry with mainstream police were most likely to occur during the reintegration phase (hypothesis eleven supported).

Officers most likely to engage in rivalry with mainstream police peers and experience unwillingness to become involved with mainstream police, were

former operatives who continued to maintain the undercover police identity (hypothesis twelve supported). Interpersonal networks were also affected.

These officers were also less likely to mix socially with their current mainstream police colleagues.

Together, these results suggest that former operatives with a high degree of internalisation of the undercover police identity perceive mainstream police as 'an ingroup-outgroup'. Mainstream police are perceived as an ingroup that is perceived negatively in terms of threatening former operatives' ties to their previous undercover work group.

According to social identity theory, problematic relations with mainstream police peers are a cognitive-behavioural reaction that is most likely to be observed when the value of an important identity is in jeopardy. Intergroup bias and differentiation effects are considered a strategy used by officers to protect the value of having been a member of the undercover police group. At earlier stages of undercover police work the threat to the value of having worked, as an undercover officer is minimal in terms of the salient comparison group during this period which is an outgroup- a criminal target group.

Some officers interviewed stated that they held an anti-police sentiment after undercover policing ceased. It is argued that the finding that intergroup rivalry is greatest during this period is an important organisation consideration. Police organisations are well aware of the risks to operatives in developing inappropriate relations with criminals. They are concerned with any potential displays of anti-police behaviour in operatives who are immersed in these criminal contexts. This is a critical factor in managing covert operations and there are procedures in place to manage the risk of developing the Stockholm syndrome. Whilst it is a serious concern identified in the operational phase, the findings in this thesis also indicate that there is also high risk in some former

operatives of developing an “*anti-police*” sentiment after undercover police work. The development of negative attitudes to other mainstream police officers is strongly related to the difficulties of fitting back into mainstream policing and

the degree of undercover police identification. As admitted by one officer in the interview study, there is a potential risk to “*blacken the police image*” as a consequence of a prolonged estrangement from the mainstream policing context long after covert duties have ceased.

10.4.8.3. Responding to Perceived Status Inconsistencies

Organisational status inconsistencies were also identified as an issue among former operatives in the interview study. It was not clear from this study whether reports of lower organisational status for undercover work is a perception of reintegrating operatives or of policing overall. The survey research continued to investigate the issue of status inconsistencies between undercover police and mainstream police officers. It was investigated from a number of perspectives.

Firstly, to determine whether reports of status inconsistencies were a function of reintegration experiences, cross-sectional comparisons were performed. These investigations failed to find group differences between the three undercover police groups and the control group of mainstream officers on their perceptions of the current organisational status and previous reports of stigma surrounding undercover police officers. The inconsistency in findings may relate to the sample control group. Using a match group of mainstream police meant the attitudes of senior police hierarchy were not surveyed in this research. Therefore, previous concerns about senior members of the police hierarchy’s attitudes toward these officers were not investigated in this second study. It may also be that there are no real differences in how officers perceive the organisational status of undercover police officers.

Exploratory analysis was performed to consider which former operatives are most likely to perceive that undercover officers hold an illegitimate organisational status in policing. Inconsistency (i.e. illegitimacy in the undercover police group's status) in occupational privilege was most likely to be reported among former operatives who continued to identify closely with their previous undercover police group and these officers were likely to respond by engaging in intergroup rivalry with their mainstream police peers. These correlational findings corroborated the interview study findings. Officers who described a high degree of conflict with members of mainstream peers also reported feeling *"not accepted for having worked as an undercover officer"*. Therefore, perceptions of illegitimacy of undercover work by the mainstream hierarchy may inhibit officers' willingness to realign their affiliations with mainstream police.

It is not clear from these findings whether maintaining identification as an undercover officer is the reason why officers are more likely to perceive status inconsistencies or whether negative reactions toward being an undercover officer increase identification and increase resistance to becoming part of mainstream policing. To determine these effects, a pre and post testing of officers in the study is required. It is hypothesised that high identifiers are more reactive to negative reactions toward them and more likely to feel not validated for having worked as an undercover officer. At the same time, the negative reaction or lack of reward for their undercover police work from the mainstream police hierarchy inhibits their psychological willingness to become part of and increase their identification with mainstream police.

10.4.8.4 The Impact on Former Operatives' Self-esteem

As it is unlikely that officers would volunteer to perform police duties that are considered detrimental to their policing careers, previous reports of stigma associated with being an undercover police officer were also explored in terms of the personality indicator, personal self-esteem.

Although former operatives in the survey study were not found to have significantly low personal self-esteem, the reintegration experience did have a personal impact on some officers. Logistic regression revealed that former operatives who experienced difficulties in returning to mainstream police duties and felt that they lacked sufficient organisational support during this period reported lower personal self-esteem. Therefore, the level of uncertainty experienced during this period and the difficulties of adjusting to the mainstream environment impacted negatively on the operative's personal self-esteem.

10.4.8.5. Commitment and Satisfaction with the Current Mainstream Work Environment

In general, former operatives in both studies remained committed to the policing profession, but their lack of affiliation with mainstream police was directly related to their satisfaction levels with aspects of their current work environment and their intentions to leave the police service.

In the survey research, former operatives who found it difficult to realign themselves with mainstream police were more likely to express greater intentions to leave the service in the next year and were less satisfied overall with their mainstream police work. For these operatives, their mainstream police work held little interest and they perceived their previous undercover work as having been detrimental to their promotional opportunities. However, mainstream police identification was not significantly related to officers' workload, work pressure or the level of control they felt over their current work duties in mainstream policing.

Former operatives' reports of current satisfaction with the work environment were also compared with that of mainstream police officers. Former operatives' current satisfaction levels were not significantly different in terms of the extent to

which they felt under pressure or in control of their work; whether they found the job interesting; their overall job satisfaction and commitment to the police service. However, they differed from mainstream officers in that former operatives felt underworked in their mainstream environment. This finding suggests a degree of boredom on behalf of these officers. Field research revealed that undercover work involves a high degree of stress and demands active participation from the operative over lengthy time periods. It is therefore not surprising that operatives did not find the regulation of mainstream policing as dynamic and demanding as covert police duties. Adjusting to pace of workloads in mainstream policing is part of the reintegration process. However, it is not the demands of the workload, but the identity stressors experienced during reintegration, that make it difficult for the operative to fit in with the mainstream environment.

Interestingly, former operatives were more likely to express an intention to leave the service than officers who had not performed undercover police work. Among recently reintegrated operatives who took part in the survey, 29% expressed intentions to leave the service within 12 months of this study. The discrepancy between mainstream police and former operatives turnover intentions was also substantiated in police documents of human resource data, which found average 6% of Australasian police personnel have intentions to leave the service (document cannot be cited).

10.4.9. Integrating Findings

The general conclusion from this research is that the strength and focus of police identifications are an important organisational consideration during the reintegration phase of undercover police work. Negotiating the change from an undercover police identity along with its associated norms and shared beliefs is a significant factor in the difficulties experienced in re-adjusting to the mainstream policing environment.

The findings in this thesis support the assertion that not all undercover police officers perceive the norms of the mainstream policing context as familiar and similar to their current definition of themselves as police officers. The studies found that the most likely period for operatives to experience cognitive conflict over how they define themselves as police officers and as individuals is during the reintegration phase. Some former operatives continue to psychologically maintain their identification as an undercover police officer despite its inappropriateness in the mainstream context. In addition the most likely period to experience problematic adjustment is during the first 12 months of returning to mainstream duties. Also identified in this research is the potential risk of developing an anti-police sentiment after undercover police work.

10.5. Recommendations

A number of practical recommendations are proposed based on empirical findings in this thesis. The suggestions do not aim to eliminate stress nor advocate that operatives return to previous mainstream attitudes. Former operatives will need to make some level of adjustment that will involve a degree of stress during their re-assimilation into the mainstream policing environment. The following recommendations are suggestions to assist with management of the reintegration process. They are proposed to reduce the level of uncertainty and threat experienced during the reintegration process; minimise social comparison processes in an attempt to reshape policing identities; inhibit the likelihood of problematic peer relations in mainstream policing, and redress negative organisational outcomes such as intentions to leave the service, as identified in this research. These recommendations are designed to capitalise on the positive attitudes and skills developed through undercover police duties, which are likely to benefit mainstream policing procedures.

The emphasis in all these recommendations is recognising undercover work, despite its unique and specialised nature, as a component of overall policing rather than being differentiated from other areas of the police service. Realistically, the covert policing environment encourages close bonds between members, which not only offer support to the operative but also function as an important security mechanism. However, there is adequate evidence to suggest that undercover policing be looked upon as part of the career path in an officer's police history and not be considered an undercover policing career.

This research showed that perceptions of status differentials were influential in terms of an officer's willingness to be a part of their mainstream police groups. Anchoring undercover duties into an overall police work history may decrease the status differentials between these two police groups. Strategies will need to promote and redress the imbalance between loyalty and identification with the undercover unit with loyalty and identification to the police organisation as a whole.

The key elements of these recommendations are continuity in phases of undercover policing duties and consultation and communication between covert management, the operative and mainstream superiors. The recommendations outlined below make structural changes to the phases of undercover policing.

Recommendation 1: Designate a Reintegration Period

To facilitate changes in an officer's police identity, it is suggested that a specific reintegration period be designated and incorporated into the undercover policing experience. Rather than returning to mainstream duties, a gradual transition into this police context is suggested to allow undercover officers to modify the previously held undercover social identifications that have shaped their standard policing behaviour. Although identities are dynamic, implying the capacity to

change, a stable framework is required to make the modification to an officer's policing identity and associated policing norms.

Recommendation 2: Commence Reintegration Within the Context of Undercover Policing

The findings in this thesis raise an important research question that has been thus far absent from discussion both in the police literature and in discussions among police management. At what stage of the undercover policing experience does the reintegration phase begin? The documented changes in policing identities and reports of cognitive conflict between police memberships when officers resume mainstream duties suggests that the transitional period should commence whilst the operative remains part of the undercover policing environment.

The current research also demonstrates that negotiating social identities is facilitated by the conditions under which the change process takes place. Commencement of the reintegration process before an operative changes policing context assists officers (if necessary) in beginning to cognitively reconceptualise their policing identity; lessen social comparison processes with mainstream peers and decrease problematic relations; reduce threats to distinctiveness; and therefore, lessen the difficulties experienced in returning to mainstream police duties. Enhancing similarities with mainstream peers before the operative returns to the mainstream policing context will lessen the threat of change and increase the saliency of the mainstream identity prior to returning to mainstream duties.

To modify this police identification it is not necessary to emphasise the sameness of policing behaviour. What is important here is continuity in the change from one police identification to another. By beginning the reintegration process in the covert policing context it can assist in linking the phases of training, operations and re-assimilation thereby providing continuity across the

conversion experience. The assistance an officer receives from their covert police colleagues in beginning this transitional period will convey that the link still exists in the undercover unit and communicates the value of having been a member in this area of policing. Preparing for mainstream police duties within the covert environment is an effort to modify the undercover police identity within the context of the past. Gradually, the undercover police identity is subsumed within the mainstream police identity and this increases the likelihood that officers will accept the change. These suggestions place importance on beginning the re-assimilation process under the management of covert members rather than senior police officers in the mainstream environment who are likely to have very little knowledge about what the operative has been through. Therefore the process commences with covert management and gradually responsibility is transferred to mainstream senior managers, with management from these two police areas working in conjunction with each other.

It is recognised that whilst working in covert duties the undercover police persona cannot be compromised. Therefore, the purpose of extending covert operational duties to include a 'cooling off' period is to ease the operative gradually from covert operations. It may involve undertaking minor covert operations and/or fewer operations, more police administrative duties or possibly undertaking skills retraining.

Recommendation 3: Career Planning

The findings of this thesis showed that mainstream police officers had achieved significantly higher ranks over the same years of policing experience than former operatives. There was also a belief among the majority of operatives that undercover police work did not contribute to their promotional opportunities. To redress this issue career planning throughout covert duties is recommended. A career-planning inventory could be used to store information to assist officers in

applying for promotional positions and recognising their undercover policing skills. Such an inventory could assist in psychologically reminding operatives of the finality of covert duties and remind officers that undercover policing are part of their experiences they gained in their policing career.

Career planning is recommended to begin at selection. For example, trainee operatives, in consultation with covert management, designate an area they would like to resume mainstream duties once covert duties have ceased. This information can be stored as an inventory to be re-evaluated over the course of covert duties.

Recommendation 4: Include Operatives in the Decision Making

It is suggested that undercover operatives play an active role in the decision making about their reintegration. The collaborative processes could include the operative assuming some responsibility for their chosen reintegration path. Direct consultation with the operative about their re-assimilation and their preferred area to return to in mainstream policing would assist in communicating a sense of personal control over the change process.

Recommendation 5: Consider the Fit Between the Officer and the Reintegrating Context

A crucial consideration in establishing a reintegration process is the police context to which the operative will return. In each report of reintegration experiences in chapter six, the importance of peer relations in the re-assimilation process was stressed. Officers who did not find successful bases in the mainstream environment reported higher levels of uncertainty and experienced difficulty re-assimilating. They were also more likely to express a willingness to leave the service.

More successful attempts at reintegration were reported when the officers found their new areas and its members familiar and encouraging. The officers in Profile One were able to anchor their police identity in an environment that fostered their re-assimilation and were able to utilise their undercover skills in some area of mainstream policing. Officers' perceived intra-group similarities between themselves and new mainstream police peers and in these circumstances, intergroup competition was minimal. They were also less likely to report that undercover police duties had been detrimental to their career.

Based on these findings, matching the officer to the returning police context is suggested. Being able to contribute with either their knowledge from undercover duties or re-training received during reintegration and sharing similarities with mainstream peers can provide psychological cues that facilitate the process of identification with mainstream police work peers. It is a person-environment matching process and a way of investing some familiar policing norms from undercover work in the new-old mainstream policing environment.

Investing some of their undercover skills in the mainstream context fosters a sense of similarity to policing overall along with a level of distinctiveness in the skills acquired in undercover police work. Previous superordinate research (see Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994b; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c) demonstrates that allowing officers to invest the experience gained from the covert context into assimilated work roles it is likely to contribute to a sense of having performed and achieved in the undercover police role. It communicates to the officer they have made an investment in their career and that undercover policing has contributed to building up their work profile.

Recommendation 6: Continued Monitoring in Mainstream Policing

The trends in the data reveal that adjustments to police identities continue at least over the three year period under investigation in this thesis. Some operatives continue to take longer to re-adjust. It is suggested, therefore, that operatives be monitored following their return to mainstream policing. The data suggests that psychological adjustments and therefore monitoring continue for at least three year period and be most intense during the first year of an officer's return to mainstream police duties.

Recommendation 7: Proposed Stages of Undercover Police Work

It is proposed to extend the existing stages to include four overlapping phases in undercover police work. These phase include: 1) Training phase; 2) Operational phase; 3) Reintegration beginning with a 'cooling off' phase in covert operations; and 4) Monitoring in mainstream duties.

10.6. Limitations of Study and Future Directions

It is recognised that the findings in this thesis are specific to the Australasian undercover policing setting and statistical analyses performed are constrained by the small sample size of each group of operatives. While the use of data triangulation and multiple indicators increase confidence in the findings, their generalisability would increase with replication of findings in other law enforcement contexts. An extension of this research to include other law enforcement agencies would further validate the findings reported in this thesis.

The limitations of cross-sectional data are recognised. Another issue for future research is the use of a longitudinal design and pre-post testing measures for long-term monitoring of operatives. Potential research questions such as

whether undercover identity increases in officers as a result of threat in the reintegration experience could then be examined.

The sample of officers studied in this thesis does not include operatives who have left the police service. It is likely that other dimensions associated with reintegration and other motivations in decisions to leave the police service could be obtained from these officers.

The interview data suggested that status inconsistencies were an important factor in re-assimilation difficulties. The initial field research revealed the importance of status in reports of re-assimilation experiences. Further investigation of status inconsistencies in the survey was unable to confirm these differences. One possible answer is that status inconsistencies are not present among mainstream peers but may be present in the perceptions of senior police personnel. It may be that former undercover officers are expressing perceived limitations on promotional opportunities. Further study is required to examine reports of status inconsistencies and to survey the attitudes held by senior police personnel about covert police officers. It is also possible the status measure used in the survey was not sensitive enough to measure the construct adequately. Extending the sample size of mainstream police interviewed may also be required. Further clarification of this issue is needed in future research.

This thesis has shown the importance of the transitional period and its management in re-assimilation and negotiating the dual identity issue. A suggested direction for future research is to examine the extent to which preparation for the change period would impact on negotiating police identities. This would require designing a study with operatives who have returned to mainstream policing through a managed program compared to those who have not.

10.7. Concluding Remarks

Throughout this thesis, the researcher worked closely with four Australasian police services to identify and clarify relevant issues considered to impact on undercover police officers' experiences of returning to mainstream duties. Police services were regularly updated with information on the findings from this research. These findings build a broad empirical foundation of knowledge on issues specific to the Australasian undercover policing context. It is envisaged that this body of work will stimulate future thought on issues relevant to covert policing and reintegration in such a unique, complex and highly protected area of policing.

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Appendix 2

Entering the Research Context

A2.1. Introduction

This Appendix chapter is designed to explain the first and perhaps the most essential methodological stage undertaken in this thesis, formulating and establishing the research with Australasian police services. Chapter two discussed the significance of, and benefits achieved from, conducting a field study. To continue with these discussions on developing a methodology specifically for use within the covert policing context, this appendix outlines the process undertaken to enter the research context. To provide a complete overview of the doctoral study's research process, this appendix chapter begins with a descriptive account of how the research was operationalised from a research proposal to a research undertaking. Several key stages are outlined in what was a dynamic and ongoing process. That is, although this introductory phase is reported separately to the methods and data collection phases, it was interactive and continual throughout all stages of the research.

This appendix chapter contains four sections. The first section discusses the rationale behind the time spent and the methodology used to establish research links with Australasian police services. The second section outlines the aims of this initial stage of the research process. The third section concentrates on mapping seven key steps undertaken to operationalise the research proposal with the four police jurisdictions in this thesis. The chapter concludes with a summary section.

A2.2. Rationale

In light of the security issues surrounding covert personnel, it was imperative to provide police management with a sound rationale and clear research guidelines in order to obtain formal approval from the senior members of the police hierarchy to undertake the study. To achieve this, several meetings were held with senior management to discuss the objectives of the doctoral research, to provide documentation on the research protocol and to establish guidelines for research and the dissemination of findings.

The process undertaken was crucial, not only in demonstrating to police personnel the relevance of the research and the professionalism of the researcher, but it also served to familiarise the researcher with the relevant police protocol and experience necessary to conduct the research in this applied setting. Hence, it created an awareness of the current organisational climate within each of the four police jurisdictions. Through an extensive review of in-house documents and detailed discussions with various members of the police hierarchy, an historical perspective of the covert investigation environment was obtained and incorporated into the thesis (refer to chapter three for a discussion on these research considerations).

A2.3. Aims and Orientation

In this phase of the thesis research, the following aims guided the research process, however, there was no planned methodological structure to achieve these. It was thought that the research procedures should be less constrained during this establishment period in order to maximise opportunities that may have presented to the researcher. Therefore, the research process described in this chapter largely developed from an inductive approach in which a series of stages undertaken to operationalise the research evolved mostly as a consequence of discussions held with and opportunities provided by key

stakeholders. Snowballing techniques were employed to obtain access and increase the size of the sample in the doctoral research, to four police jurisdictions.

In summary, the aims during this phase of the research process were to:

- Obtain formal organisational entry and approval from senior management in the police hierarchy to conduct research with undercover police officers in an official capacity;
- Become familiar with the current social and organisational climate within each Australasian police service;
- Become familiar with literature relevant to covert policing and the current organisational policing climate in Australasia and internationally by conducting a review of in-house documents;
- Achieve acceptance for the research and the researcher from covert operations management and relevant police personnel; and
- Establish trust and build rapport with individual police officers associated with undercover policing.

Entry and acceptance into the undercover policing context was progressive. The next section will discuss the seven stages in formulating the research project and developing collaborative links with Australasian police services.

A2.4. Stages in Formulating and Establishing the Research Project

Formulating the research proposition and establishing collaborative links with each of the four undercover police units was achieved within a period of 18 months. In seeking formal approval and in obtaining a level of acceptance from police personnel, a number of important milestones were achieved. These included gathering data that is not available in the public domain, carrying out a needs analysis for such a research project, negotiating and defining the

parameters of the research, understanding the situation and circumstances of the Australasian policing context under investigation to assist in the design of research procedures, and obtaining police security clearances to gather data. During this period ethics clearance was also obtained from the participating police services as well as Queensland University of Technology.

A diagrammatic representation of the establishment process, together with the outcomes attained at each stage is included in Table 1. It is recognised that providing an outline of the organisational structure of the command of covert operations and associated areas would prove useful for understanding the level of interaction with members of the police hierarchy. However, confidentiality concerns over the disclosure of the identities of individuals and particular processes involved in covert operations do not permit this. It is acknowledged that these agreements affect the level of background information that can be reported.

Seven Key Stages and Outcomes Achieved in Establishing the Research with Police Services

Key Stages	Outcomes Achieved
Review of published material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Data gathering ➤ Identify the existing knowledge base on reintegration issues and undercover police officers ➤ Establish the need to conduct review of unpublished police material ➤ Develop preliminary research proposal
Informal discussions with police personnel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Conduct needs analysis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Test feasibility of conducting study - Determine extent of in-house material available on reintegration ➤ Gather in-house information ➤ Invitation to attend F.B.I. conference and opportunity provided to meet with relevant covert police personnel
F.B.I Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Meeting with and introduction of researcher to covert management personnel ➤ Introduction of research proposal to heads of covert units (no formal approach made) ➤ Gather in-house information ➤ Introductions to other international law enforcement agencies
Formal discussion with police jurisdiction one	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Formal approval granted from police service one to conduct research ➤ Develop specific methodology and research practices in consultation with police representatives ➤ Define key confidentiality issues ➤ Incorporate police protocol in research procedures ➤ Agreement to maintain psychological focus in the doctoral research
Formal discussion with police jurisdiction two	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Formal approval for research received from police jurisdiction two ➤ Increase sample size
Seminar presentation at International Undercover policing conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Increased exposure for the research ➤ Methodological issues to consider in research parameters ➤ Build rapport with covert personnel ➤ Formal approval received from police jurisdiction three ➤ Increase sample size ➤ Police security clearance and access to covert members
Second seminar presentation at International Undercover policing conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Feedback on work in progress ➤ Formal approval received from police jurisdiction four ➤ Increase sample size to four police jurisdictions

A2.4.1. Review of Published Literature

As mentioned previously, the first stage of the research process began with a review of previously published literature. That review (see chapter one) established that there has been only limited research into undercover policing and particularly the psychological issues surrounding undercover police officers' return to mainstream policing. Moreover, the published information relating to issues of reintegration were largely anecdotal and out-of-date. From this review, the originality of the research was confirmed. In order to understand the current organisational climate within the Australasian policing context and to determine the relevant psychological issues pertaining to this area in policing, it became apparent that a review of existing in-house covert police documents was essential.

A preliminary research proposal was formulated from the literature available in the public domain. This proposal was refined and up-dated after reviewing secondary source police documents.

A2.4.2. Informal Discussions with Police Personnel

The second stage involved carrying out a needs analysis for the current doctoral proposal. A series of informal discussions were held with lower ranking officers from mainstream policing to obtain information about the general issues surrounding undercover policing and the current status of information available to police services on psychological issues related to reintegration. Here the research proposal was introduced and feedback was obtained about the relevancy and feasibility of conducting the study.

Informal information associated with the current police organisational climate was acquired together with police personnel's general opinions on undercover policing issues. The information received at this stage suggested that such a study would be most beneficial to police services. The information received

suggested that there were varying opinions among senior policy makers as to what is the best approach in assisting covert personnel with reintegration. It was found that undercover policing welfare practices were generally based on historical policing practices. Reintegration issues were also managed mainly from a policing perspective than a social science perspective. This does not mean a psychological perspective was not involved in welfare issues however it was predominately managed from a policing perspective. The knowledge obtained indicated that the doctoral research would begin to develop a knowledge base for Australasian police services on the psychological issues associated with the reintegration of undercover officers.

A2.4.3. Conference Attendance: F.B.I. National Academy Associates Conference, Asia/Pacific Chapter, Sixth Re-training Session

A crucial milestone in establishing collaborative links with Australasian police services was achieved as a result of the preliminary discussions held with mainstream personnel. The researcher was invited to attend an international conference for F.B.I. agents. Conference attendance is usually restricted to a select group of highly trained police officers. In this case, an F.B.I. trained officer and conference organiser extended an invitation to listen to a session at the conference on psychological issues associated with undercover policing. Along with the knowledge gained from the seminar presentation, this forum proved particularly beneficial to the research project as it provided an opportunity to meet Australasian undercover police personnel.

After the seminar presentation, a separate meeting of senior management from various undercover police units took place to discuss a number of topics including reintegration. The researcher was also included in these discussions and it was here that the opportunity was taken to introduce the proposed project to key stakeholders. Undercover police management were now aware of the researcher and the intentions of the research proposition, however, they were not approached at this stage about participating in the research. Contacts were

made and informal information was obtained from International and Australasian police officials (see Appendix 3a)

A2.4.4. Discussions Held With Senior Police Management From Police Jurisdiction One

Soon after attending the F.B.I. conference, the researcher made a formal approach to police jurisdiction one. Meetings were organised with senior management who were now aware of the study after its introduction at the *F.B.I. National Academy Associates Conference, Asia/Pacific Chapter, Sixth Re-training session*. The researcher outlined the research proposal in depth to the senior management from police jurisdiction one. At these meetings, information was presented on the rationale and potential gains from the research outcomes for Australasian police services, as well as the methodology that would be employed to conduct such a project. Here the structure of the proposed sampling was explained, along with the application of interview and survey methodology.

During these discussions, issues of confidentiality, as well as mechanisms to maximise the officers' personal security and police procedures, were considered in depth. As a condition of access and commitment from police jurisdiction one to take part in the research, specific methodological guidelines concerning confidentiality and police protocol were developed. These research considerations centred on reportage of the study, assurance to maintain a psychological focus (i.e. the study would not report aspects of covert policing methodology) and the requirement that the researcher adhere to certain police protocol. For a full discussion on these research guidelines see chapter three. Police management were in agreement that research on this topic was needed.

A2.4.5. Inclusion of a Second Police Jurisdiction

The number of police officers undertaking or having undertaken undercover policing duties is fewer than other areas of mainstream policing. Exact figures however cannot be disclosed. To increase the sample size and thus the predictive power of the research, a second police jurisdiction was approached and invited to participate in the research. Senior management from this second police jurisdiction were approached in a similar manner as senior management from police jurisdiction one. With the research guidelines already mapped out, police jurisdiction two agreed with the conditions of the project and consented to take part in the study.

A2.4.6. Presentation at the International Undercover Policing Seminar

The researcher was given another opportunity to broaden the exposure of the doctoral research. An invitation was extended by police jurisdiction one and the hosting police service to the researcher to present an outline of the study at an international undercover policing seminar (conference name withheld).

A presentation to senior officers from various undercover police units was given to inform them of the focus of the research. Once again, the presentation addressed issues of confidentiality and research methodology. This forum provided the researcher with an opportunity to address, collectively, police members' concerns/or questions about the doctoral research. The informal social occasions during the conference provided an additional opportunity for undercover police members to weigh up and decide on the researcher's level of professionalism and personal credibility.

In addition to the methodological issues discussed in earlier meetings with police jurisdiction one and two, questions on the identity and number of the personnel within the researcher's university system who would become involved in and

privity to the information collected were raised in the seminar. Management were concerned as to the extra involvement from university personnel in the research process. These police concerns have been addressed in research procedures and are discussed in more detail in chapter three.

A consequence of widening the exposure of the research was that the sample of police jurisdictions participating increased. Commitment from an additional police jurisdiction to be part of the study was obtained. The sample had now grown to include three Australasian undercover police units.

Another key milestone in the research was achieved during this stage of the negotiations. Police security checks were carried out on the researcher's personal background. This procedure proved an important milestone as collaboration with the researcher and access to this guarded area of policing was heavily dependent on security clearance. Once granted, the researcher was able to precede with data collection stages.

A2.4.7. Second Presentation at the International Undercover Policing Seminar

A second presentation at the *International Undercover Policing Seminar* (name withheld) of work in progress was given a year after the initial introduction to and participation in this police seminar. After the report on the project's interview findings, a fourth police jurisdiction agreed to take part in the project's second study. The research had now grown to include four police jurisdictions.

A2.5. Summary

The information reported in this appendix summarises the first methodological stage undertaken in this thesis, namely gaining entry into the undercover policing context. It has outlined several key stages that occurred in the process of establishing the doctoral research and forming collaborative links with

Australasian police services. The formulation and operationalisation of the research undertaking was achieved within a period of 18 months and a number of important methodological outcomes were achieved during this initial phase of the research. During this period the following occurred:

- The void of empirical psychological research on the reintegration of undercover police officers was identified;
- Formal organisational approval from senior management from four police jurisdictions was sought and granted;
- Police security clearances for the researcher was granted;
- Background information was obtained through discussions with police personnel from different levels of the police hierarchy and from published and in-house police documents;
- Methodological and professional issues relevant to undercover policing were defined and identified in discussions with police personnel. The design of research practices were adapted to incorporate these pertinent issues;
- Snowballing techniques were used to increase the number of police jurisdictions involved and number of undercover police officers participating in the research; and
- Rapport and professional credibility began to build with senior officers in the police hierarchy and members from covert management.

SEMINAR- UCA 6th FBI International Conference

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

When selecting officers for covert operations, what is the selection criteria and what personal attributes are looked for in a suitable UCA? What sort of psychological assessments are used? How were they chosen as suitable testing criteria?

ANS. Screening not part of personal record however the officers are informed that this information will be discussed amongst the panel

Psychometric tests used- 16PF

MMPI

FiroB (measures three personality dimensions 1. inclusion (attitudes and attributions) 2. leadership (measures two scales acceptance and demonstrating ability) 3. affection. He also stressed in the seminar that officers are told they have made the selection process and if they pass the first batch of tests it does not guarantee selection as an UCA. Follow with role-plays and spouse tests. The [name omitted] the COQ and have been using this form of selection for the past 4yrs: psychometric test plus 1and 1/2 hr question time. The spouse is included in this selection process so they know what the situation will be.

How long is that most agents stay in covert operations? Is there a specified time limit? Are agents able to cut short this duration? In terms of assignments are these agents able to self select them?

ANS. In the [name omitted] maximum is 2yrs. In the FBI max has been 9yrs. Agents can cut short their duration by approaching the behavioural unit and are able to have themselves pulled out calling it 'save face' meaning they can say the behavioural unit made them quit to their peers.

Is there a certain type of undercover work that is more stressful?

ANS. think he didn't want to answer this qu and replied simply it was identification that made it stressful?

Have there been instances that an agent has identified with the operation too closely and what was the process then? Is it the supervisors responsibility to notice these changes or whose?

ANS. Yes there have been instances and he described a case in his seminar. Most are not pulled out of the operation but monitored until it is absolutely necessary to replace them in the operation. It is the supervisors responsibility to notice these changes.

Are there any provisions while the UCA is still in the operation that they are reminded of their role in the FBI and the purpose of their duties? Intervention prior to the actual debriefing.

ANS. YES there is an intervention prior to debriefing. There are psychosocial checks done on the agents for them to be able to continue with the operation.

what is the general organisational structure for undercover policing? eg. contact and proximity to controller/supervisor. Contact with those involved in the operation- frequency.

After agents have ceased duties in covert operations, what sort of re-orientating back to the workforce provisions are there? Could you give a brief outline of what it entails? What stress programs are used? How are these programs developed?

Are these programs mandatory or on a voluntary basis? Have they been evaluated in terms of their effectiveness?

ANS. Didn't really want to answer this. Debriefing is worked on the fear. The fear of acceptance by their peers and families. Use a cognitive strategy- send the agent to talk to new bunch of recruits at the academy who are graduating and talk about exp as UCA. FBI found this strategy helps re-orientate them as they are clapped and given recognition and reminded of the organisation they began in. Talked in terms of diet and exercise and their given role plays such as what happens if your family is in trouble and needs you what do you do? alleviate the problem of sleeplessness prescribes benedril as it is not addictive.

In an article it mentioned that family and marital training is provided what is entailed in this? Is it making the agents families aware the job requirements- what?

ANS. Spouses are given a support system. In some instances when distance is a problem for the UCA his/her family are moved closer but only in extreme cases. Preference is given to UCA with no children or very young children. Spouse is put through the exact interviewing as the UCA and the UCA is not told of how the spouse responded.

Do most UCA continue to work within the FBI for extended periods of time? In your opinion do officers that have been involved in covert operations continue to

work in the organisation as long as officers in the FBI who have not been part of covert operations?

In your opinion do you see that there are any difficulties agents may go through as they re-orientate themselves back to their previous lifestyles and resume normal work duties? Do agents go back to their previous positions or request other work duties?

ANS. See notes on the seminar. UCA do maintain their previous rank They are retrained in that area but do not have to sit the exam for it.

In your own opinion what is it that makes it difficult for some officers to make the adjustment more easily than others? Stress, normative changes, attitudes.

ANS. Believed they were wrongly selected. Personality wrongly selected.

Does the FBI check on its previous UCA to see how they are coping?

ANS. 1 year after the cessation of the operation.

Is there research material that you know of that looks at this type of policing and is it accessible? Ask for contacts and suggestions.

ANS. Michael Girodo uni of ottawa CANADA. Also look at military psychology.

Further info- Said gangs have been sitting in the back of the courtroom just trying to identify other UCA. No disclosure leg.

contact for the UCA is called the control officer
Livingstone case talk about the cross-over identity issue.

Looked at stressors (behav science unit, FBI)

Personality characteristics (EPI)

- Extroversion.....>
- Anxiety <.....
- Alertness>
- Independence>
- Neurosis <.....
- Leadership>
- Creativity>
- Scholarship>

UCA alternatives (safeguard selection program)

- 1) informants
- 2) electronic surveillance
- 3) analysis of intelligence
- 4) aggression investment efforts

Personality characteristics

- ability to convince
- able to impress
- con artist
- manipulative
- lack of anxiety
- streetwise

Choice for long-term UCA operations

- not vulnerable to anxieties or depression
- underlying motivation
- resourceful natured
- mental strategies and coping skills
- self confidence
- flexible/team player

Transitional phase problems identified as scared to return to previous peers.

Major stressors for UCA

1. supervisor/management
2. UC role requirement
3. personal/family problems
4. relationship with subjects
5. lack of punctuation
6. loss of identity
7. distance from home base
8. fear of discovery
9. working with other agencies (different goals)
10. pressure of observation
11. keeping distance

Showed a video on a UCA who identified too closely with the drug operation and lost his beliefs and values. Quote 'can't be two people at the one time- its one or the other' -- UCA hung himself after he had quit the force and retrained as another occupation. Still received counselling to no success.

Went on to mention betrayal of the relationship which is stressful (perhaps SI theory, talking about reference and membership groups)

Certification program for selection

- 1) volunteer. min 3yrs exp in organisation
- 2) field office must recommend
- 3) orientation/evaluations. role-play scenarios
- 4) certified
- 6) selection/assignment. (role compatibility. contact compatibility)
- 7) field monitoring
 - 6mths USP environment
 - term/ re-entry USP debriefing
 - follow-up USP interview

Sypmtomology of UCA operations

- increased drinking drugs
- sexual relationship with target group
- increased risk taking behaviour
- preferring to be alone
- helplessness-hopelessness
- sleeplessness
- inability to imagine end of operation
- prefer target group to colleagues or/family
- health problems

Safeguard check-up sample questions asked to UCA

- are meeting truthful with contact officer?
- does UC have sufficient resources?

Drug policy with UCA

- taken only in violent situation. drug tests in FBI on the spot throughout the organisation.

Organisational structure

USOC

Behav unit - selection/training

APPENDIX 3b
QUT Ethical Clearance for Interview Study



UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Ms N French
School of Social Sciences
QUT Carseldine

16 June, 1997

Dear Ms French

At its meeting on 10 June 1997, the University Research Ethics Committee considered the additional information/revisions you provided in relation to your project "The nature and type of reactions toward undercover policing: An examination of the re-integration phase associated with covert operations" (Ref No QUT 1136H).

The Committee is satisfied that the information provided addresses its concerns.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. Allen', written over a horizontal line.

Gary Allen
Secretary, University Research Ethics Committee
QUT Secretariat
Telephone: (07) 3864 2902
Facsimile: (07) 3864 1818
Email: gx.allen@qut.edu.au

cc Prof M Sheehan, School of Social Science



CONFIDENTIAL
INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

To the participant,

The interviews that are being conducted are in order to understand issues that relate to experiences as an undercover officer. We are interested in hearing about what you think are some of the positive and negatives about being an undercover operative.

It is important to note that the interviews are not conducted as part of the police organization. No one from the police organisation will have access to any of this material. It is only the researcher herself, Nicole French, and her supervisor Prof Mary Sheehan who are also part of this study. The responses from this interview will not be attached to any personal records.

These interviews are part of a study conducted by the School of Social Science at the Queensland University of Technology. The study aims to provide an understanding of covert policing and the impact it has on covert officers. Data gathered from these interviews will be used to develop a questionnaire, which will later be given to officers as part of a national survey.

The aim of the interviews is to help get a better understanding of the issues associated with undercover policing and to enable us to develop a questionnaire that would be relevant to officers who are at present involved in undercover activity.

All information in this interview is treated with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity of responses is guaranteed. To ensure this we do not require any names or information that would otherwise identify individuals. All results will be reported at a group level with no mention of the individual.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to leave the room at any time. Take your time to consider whether you would like to participate. It should take you about an hour.

Thank-you for your involvement in this very important study. If you have any questions about the interview, please phone Nicole French on (07) 3864 4559. In addition you may also contact the Secretary of the University Research Ethics Committee (ph 07-3864 2902) should you wish to raise any concerns about the ethical constraints of the interviews.

APPENDIX 3d
QUT Ethical Clearance for Survey Study



UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Ms Nicole French
School of Social Science
QUT CARSELDINE

1 November 1999

Dear Ms French

I write in relation to the ethical clearance awarded to your project "The nature and type of reactions toward undercover policing. An examination of the re-integration phase associated with covert operations" (Ref No QUT 1136/1H). This project was awarded ethical clearance, for the period 25/11/1997 to 25/11/2000.

The terms of reference of the University Human Research Ethics Committee prescribe that it monitor the conduct of research projects which involve experimentation until their completion so as to ensure compliance with the *NHMRC Statement on Human Experimentation and Supplementary Notes*.

As the University Human Research Ethics Committee is obliged to monitor the conduct and progress of projects to completion, it has established reporting procedures which meet the legitimate requirements of the Statement but which are not overly burdensome for researchers.

The Committee requires researchers to report on the progress of their projects in relation to the protocol approved by the Committee annually, or at intervals determined by the Committee.

My records show that a progress report for your project is now due and I enclose a copy of the progress report for completion. May I ask you to return the completed form to me in the Secretariat by 22 November 1999. The report provides space for you to indicate that:

- the data collection phase of the project is complete, has not commenced, or has been abandoned;
- you wish to apply for an extension of the project's ethical clearance; and
- you wish to apply for a minor change to the ethical clearance for the project (eg change to research team, minor change to subject pool, or minor change to the testing / data collection methods).

The period of your ethical clearance may have already, or may be about, to lapse. If this is the case, you should either:

- i) complete and return the enclosed progress report, and indicate that the experimentation / data collection phase of your project will/did indeed conclude on 25/11/2000; or

APPENDIX 3e Example of Police Ethical Clearance Correspondence

Project number Working title Principal researcher Additional researchers Additional researcher type Contact points principal researcher (address phone &c)	<p>Research into re-integration of undercover police into mainstream policing</p> <p>Ms Nicole French Dr Mary Sheehan and Mr J Davey Supervisors C/- School of Social Sciences Queensland University of Technology Carseldine Campus</p> <p>Beams Road</p> <p>Carseldine Qld 4034</p> <p>Phone (07) 38644559 <u>Fax (07) 38644640</u> School of Social Sciences</p> <p><u>Queensland University of Technology</u> Academic qualification and University of Queensland Scholarship</p> <p>PhD thesis</p> <p>The research has two aims which are:</p> <p>a) To focus is on identity, and the change members make when moving from undercover duties into mainstream policing.</p> <p>b) To assist Australasian police forces in assessing how best to help undercover members reintegrate into mainstream policing. A questionnaire is distributed to undercover and former undercover police members and a to a matched sample of 120 mainstream police members who have not been involved in undercover operations.</p> <p>The results will be aggregated as an Australasian Police Group. Each participating Police Force will receive aggregated data from their own members' responses as well as the overall results.</p> <p>Development of a matched list of 120 members by Human Resources Management following advice from Nicole French on the sample criteria..</p> <p>Nicole French - Re-integration of undercover police into mainstream policing 3 June 1998 8 July 1998 Approved</p>
Organisation	<p><u>Queensland University of Technology</u> Academic qualification and University of Queensland Scholarship</p>
Purpose of research (academic qualification, funded research, private research) Details of purpose (specify degree) Project content and outcomes Aims and objectives of project	<p>PhD thesis</p> <p>The research has two aims which are:</p> <p>a) To focus is on identity, and the change members make when moving from undercover duties into mainstream policing.</p> <p>b) To assist Australasian police forces in assessing how best to help undercover members reintegrate into mainstream policing. A questionnaire is distributed to undercover and former undercover police members and a to a matched sample of 120 mainstream police members who have not been involved in undercover operations.</p> <p>The results will be aggregated as an Australasian Police Group. Each participating Police Force will receive aggregated data from their own members' responses as well as the overall results.</p> <p>Development of a matched list of 120 members by Human Resources Management following advice from Nicole French on the sample criteria..</p>
Methodology (principal methods and quantification of force contact)	<p>The results will be aggregated as an Australasian Police Group. Each participating Police Force will receive aggregated data from their own members' responses as well as the overall results.</p>
Results	<p>The results will be aggregated as an Australasian Police Group. Each participating Police Force will receive aggregated data from their own members' responses as well as the overall results.</p>
Recommendations Internal stakeholders (list) Action by the force	<p>Development of a matched list of 120 members by Human Resources Management following advice from Nicole French on the sample criteria..</p>
Administration Force file number (main file) Force file title Date application received Date application determined Outcome of determination (approved or rejected) Date completed Report lodged in library? (or where) Library reference	<p>Nicole French - Re-integration of undercover police into mainstream policing 3 June 1998 8 July 1998 Approved</p>



CONFIDENTIAL

POLICE ATTITUDE SURVEY

To the participant,

This questionnaire is part of a research project undertaken by the Queensland University of Technology. There are two sections in this survey. The first part examines your preferences toward certain areas of policing and the second relates to your relationships with family and friends.

The questionnaire is treated as **confidential** and strictly **anonymous**. Do not write your name or address on the questionnaire. It is important to note that the survey is **not** conducted as part of the police organisation and any completed questionnaires will be seen only by the research team at Queensland University of Technology.

Please take your time to answer all the questions openly and honestly. If you do not wish to participate in the study feel free to return the survey any time.

Remember to put your completed questionnaire in the addressed reply paid envelope provided. Please seal the envelope for collection.

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this research and if you have any queries about the study please contact the researchers, Nicole French and Prof Mary Sheehan at the School of Social Sciences, QUT, on (07) 3864 4559.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Your sex ?
(circle one number only)

Male	Female
1	2

2. Your marital status ?
(circle one number only)

Married	Living with partner	Single	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Write your age in years



4. Your rank in the Service ?
(circle one number only)

Constable/ Senior Constable	Sergeant/ Senior Sergeant	Other
1	2	3

5. Are you mostly:
(circle one number only)

Operational	Non-operational
1	2

6. Write your number of years in the Service



SECTION A

Question 1.

How important do **you** consider these areas of policing?

Rate each of these areas of policing on the scale provided below.

(Please circle one number on each row).

	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	Not at all Important
Specialised investigations drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Anti theft	1	2	3	4	5
General duties	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations fraud	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations licensing	1	2	3	4	5
Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations child protections	1	2	3	4	5
Traffic	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations homicide	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations armed hold-up	1	2	3	4	5
Administration	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations undercover policing	1	2	3	4	5
Patrol/Criminal Investigations	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations surveillance	1	2	3	4	5

Question 2.

How important do you think **the police service in general** view these areas of policing?

Rate each of these areas of policing on the scale provided below.

(Please circle one number on each row).

	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Of Minor Importance	Routine Importance
Specialised investigations drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Anti theft	1	2	3	4	5
General duties	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations fraud	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations licensing	1	2	3	4	5
Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations child protections	1	2	3	4	5
Traffic	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations homicide	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations armed hold-up	1	2	3	4	5
Administration	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations undercover policing	1	2	3	4	5
Patrol/Criminal Investigations	1	2	3	4	5
Specialised investigations surveillance	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B

Below are a list of statements about your relationships with family and friends. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement as being true.

(Please circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
My friends respect me	1	2	3	4
My family cares for me very much	1	2	3	4
My husband/wife does not respect me	1	2	3	4
I am not important to others	1	2	3	4
My family holds me in high esteem	1	2	3	4
I am well liked	1	2	3	4
My husband/wife cares for me very much	1	2	3	4
I can rely on my friends	1	2	3	4
I am really admired by my family	1	2	3	4
I am respected by other people	1	2	3	4
I am loved dearly by my family	1	2	3	4
My friends don't care about my welfare	1	2	3	4
Members of my family rely on me	1	2	3	4
I am held in high esteem	1	2	3	4
I can't rely on my family for support	1	2	3	4

My husband/wife hold me in high esteem	1	2	3	4
People admire me	1	2	3	4
I feel a strong bond with my friends	1	2	3	4
My friends look out for me	1	2	3	4
I feel valued by other people	1	2	3	4
My family really respects me	1	2	3	4
I am really admired by my husband/wife	1	2	3	4
My friends and I are really important to each other	1	2	3	4
I feel like I belong	1	2	3	4
If I died tomorrow, very few people would miss me	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am loved dearly by my husband/wife	1	2	3	4
I don't feel close to members of my family	1	2	3	4
My friends and I have done a lot for one another	1	2	3	4

PLEASE CHECK THAT YOU HAVE ANSWERED EVERY QUESTION.
 THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.



CONFIDENTIAL

POLICE ATTITUDE SURVEY

To the participant,

This questionnaire is part of a research project undertaken by the Queensland University of Technology. The first part of the study asks you to give your attitudes to different groups in law enforcement. The latter section considers aspects of support you may encounter in your job.

The questionnaire is treated as **confidential** and strictly **anonymous**. Do not write your name or address on the questionnaire. It is important to note that the survey is **not** conducted as part of the police organisation and any completed questionnaires will be seen only by the research team at Queensland University of Technology.

Please take your time to answer all the questions openly and honestly. If you do not wish to participate in the study feel free to return the survey any time.

Remember to put your completed questionnaire in the addressed reply paid envelope provided.

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this research and if you have any queries about the study please contact the researchers, Nicole French and Prof Mary Sheehan at the School of Social Sciences, QUT, on (07) 3864 4559.

PLEASE NOTE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Your sex ?
(circle one number only)

Male	Female
1	2

2. Your marital status ?
(circle one number only)

Married	Living with partner	Single	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Write your age in years

 _____

4. Your rank in the Service ?
(circle one number only)

Constable/ Senior Constable	Sergeant/ Senior Sergeant	Other
1	2	3 

5. Are you mostly:
(circle one number only)

Operational	Non-operational
1	2

6. Are you presently working in:
(circle one number only)

Plain Clothes	Uniform
1	2

7. Write your number of years in the Service

 _____

1. THINK ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT BEING PART OF THE **POLICE** SERVICE. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO HOW YOU SEE YOURSELF AS A MEMBER OF MAINSTREAM POLICING . (circle one number on each line)

	Very Much		Somewhat			Not Very Much	
How much do you see yourself as being a member of the police group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel you have strong ties with other officers from the mainstream police group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you see yourself belonging to the mainstream police group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How similar are you to other members of the mainstream police group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Compared to mainstream policing, how do you see the undercover group?
(circle one number only)

<i>Lower in status</i>				<i>equal in status</i>			<i>Higher in status</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. The following statements are made about mainstream officers
How much would *you* agree or disagree with these attitudes.
(circle one number on each line)

	Strongly agree					Strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mainstream police officers compared to undercover officers:						
Think they are better than anyone else	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are so black and white	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are single minded	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are authoritarian in their approach	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are unprofessional	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. The following statements are made about undercover officers
How much would *you* agree or disagree with these attitudes.
(circle one number on each line)

	Strongly agree 1	2	3	4	5	Strongly disagree 6
Undercover officers compared to mainstream police officers:						
Are better at establishing rapport with criminals	1	2	3	4	5	6
Have a much better understanding of crime	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are not doing real policing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are better judges of people	1	2	3	4	5	6
Always have personal problems	1	2	3	4	5	6
Are better at infiltrating serious crime	1	2	3	4	5	6
Take drugs as part of their job	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. Think about the fellow officers you **presently** work with. In your interaction with these officers, how much would you agree or disagree with these statements.

(circle one number on each line)	Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
Officers in this unit are always willing to help each other solve job-related problems	1	2	3	4	5	6
The people I work with are a close knit bunch	1	2	3	4	5	6
I can always rely on a fellow officer to help me out	1	2	3	4	5	6
When I have any personal problems I can always talk to my fellow officers about it	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fellow officers always encourage each other	1	2	3	4	5	6
I find my fellow officers very approachable	1	2	3	4	5	6
I could not confide in anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6
There is a lot of respect amongst each other	1	2	3	4	5	6
I can't trust anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6
There is alot of jealousy amongst the officers I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. Think about the relationship you had with your Supervisors. To what extent would you agree or disagree with these statements. If you have had more than one Supervisor, please indicate your general impression of the supervision.
(Circle one number on each line)

	Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
My Supervisor place too much pressure on me to get the job done	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor knows of the personal sacrifices I make to do the job	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor gives me with feedback on job-related matters	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor lacks experience in undercover work	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor is reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't fully trust my Supervisor	1	2	3	4	5	6
I can always talk to my Supervisor about personal problems	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor keeps me in touch with procedural and policy changes in the service	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor is always there to offer advice and provide assistance when I need it	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor/s is more concerned with making cases than looking after my welfare	1	2	3	4	5	6
My Supervisor and I work well as a team	1	2	3	4	5	6

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY



CONFIDENTIAL
POLICE ATTITUDE SURVEY

To the participant,

This questionnaire is part of a research project undertaken by the Queensland University of Technology. The study asks you to give your attitudes to different groups in law enforcement.

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Please take your time to answer all the questions openly and honestly. If you do not wish to participate in the study feel free to return the survey any time.

Thank-you for taking the time to participate in this research and if you have any queries about the study please contact the researchers, Nicole French and Prof Mary Sheehan at the School of Social Sciences, QUT, on (07) 3864 4559.

PLEASE NOTE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Your sex ?
(circle one number only)

Male	Female
1	2

2. Your marital status ?
(circle one number only)

Married	Living with partner	Single	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Write your age in years

 _____

4. Your rank in the Service ?
(circle one number only)

Constable/ Senior Constable	Sergeant/ Senior Sergeant	Other
1	2	3

5. Are you mostly:
(circle one number only)

Operational	Non-operational
1	2

6. Are you presently working in:
(circle one number only)

Plain Clothes	Uniform
1	2

7. Write your number of years in the Service

 _____

1. THINK ABOUT WHAT IT IS LIKE BEING PART OF THE **MAINSTREAM POLICE FORCE**. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO HOW YOU SEE YOURSELF AS A MEMBER OF THE MAINSTREAM POLICE GROUP.
(circle one number on each row)

	Not at all				Very Much		
How much do you think of yourself as being part of the mainstream police group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel strong ties with officers from the mainstream police group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel like you belong to the mainstream police group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How similar are you to other officers of the mainstream police group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Compared to mainstream policing, how do you see the undercover group?
(circle one number only)

Lower in status *Equal in status* *Higher in status*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. The following statements have been made about criminals. How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments?
(circle one number on each line)

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
Anyone who takes drugs is a criminal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy talking to criminals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Criminals are full of greed and self-interest.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Once a criminal always a criminal. .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have nothing in common with anyone associated with the criminal element.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It doesn't matter what the crime is, anyone who breaks the law deserves to be charged.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Criminals really aren't that different from me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could never be friends with a criminal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Some criminals are good people, it's just their circumstances that make them the way they are.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone caught smoking marijuana should be charged.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone involved with illegal drugs should be charged.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Questions 4-5 refer to mainstream police officers and undercover officers.

4 The following statements have been made about mainstream officers
How much do *you disagree* or *agree* with these comments.
(circle one number on each line)

	Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
Mainstream officers think they are better than anyone else.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Mainstream officers have no idea what undercover police officers do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Mainstream officers are jealous of undercover officers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Compared to <u>undercover officers</u> , mainstream officers are very black and white in their judgments.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
In comparison to <u>undercover officers'</u> mainstream officers are very single minded.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Compared to <u>undercover officers</u> , mainstream officers are very authoritarian in their approach.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

5. The following statements have been made about undercover officers
How much would *you disagree* or *agree* with these comments.
(circle one number on each line)

	Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
Compared to <u>mainstream policing</u> undercover officers are better at establishing rapport with criminals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Compared to <u>mainstream policing</u> undercover officers have a much better knowledge of drugs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Undercover policing isn't real policing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Compared to <u>mainstream officers</u> Undercover officers are more likely to end up being nothing more than burnout police officers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Compared to <u>mainstream officers</u> undercover officers are better judges of people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Ex-undercover officers always have more personal problems than mainstream officers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
It is undercover officers who investigate serious crime.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Undercover officers take drugs as part of their job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

APPENDIX 7a
Questionnaire Used with
Former Operatives



CONFIDENTIAL
UNDERCOVER POLICE STUDY
QUESTIONNAIRE

To the participant,

This questionnaire is being conducted by Queensland University of Technology and looks at the experiences of undercover police officers. This questionnaire considers not only aspects associated with working in undercover duties but also examines important issues associated with the reintegration of operatives back into mainstream policing.

The questionnaire has been based on extensive interviews with previous undercover officers who gave their opinion on what they thought were important issues for both current and former undercover police.

The questionnaire is part of a three year research study being conducted at an Australasian level. The information from this questionnaire will be used to assist undercover officers during their reintegration into mainstream policing.

All information will be treated confidentially and no officer can be identified through their questionnaire. Please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Place your completed questionnaire in the reply paid envelope provided and return it as soon as you can.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate and may leave at anytime. If you do complete the questionnaire, it should take you about 40-50 mins.

It is important to note:

- **This study is not conducted as part of the police service.** No one from the police service will have access to any of this material. Only the researcher herself, Miss Nicole French and her supervisor Prof. Mary Sheehan from the Queensland University of Technology will have access to the completed questionnaires. Individuals cannot be identified from the questionnaire and information cannot be attached to any personal records.
- **All information obtained is treated as confidential and anonymity is guaranteed.** All results from this national study will simply be referred to as 'An Australasian police group'. Absolutely no individual or police jurisdiction will be referred to in any manner.
- **The information from this study is invaluable for future undercover officers.** A study of this kind has not been conducted before and any results will assist future undercover police. **If you have any questions about the study, please phone Nicole French on (07) 3864-4559.** In addition you may also contact the secretary of the University Research Ethics Committee (07-3864 2902) should you wish to raise any concerns about ethical constraints of the study.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

<p>1. Your sex? <i>(Circle one number only)</i></p> <p>Male.....1 Female2</p> <p>2. Your marital status? <i>(Circle one number only)</i></p> <p>Married1 Living with partner2 Single3 Separated.....4 Divorced5 Widowed.....6</p> <p>Remarried.....7 Other _____</p> <p>3. How many marital/defacto relationships have you been in? <i>(Indicate the number of relationships)</i></p> <p>_____ relationships</p> <p>4. Your present age? <i>(Circle one number only)</i></p> <p>18-211 22-252 26-303 31-354 36-405 41-456 46 +7</p>	<p>5. Your rank in the Service? <i>(Circle one number only)</i></p> <p>Constable1 Senior Constable2 Sergeant.....3 Senior sergeant.....4</p> <p>6. At present are you mostly: <i>(Circle one number only)</i></p> <p>Operational.....1 Non-operational2</p> <p>7. How many years have you have been in the Service? <i>(Indicate the number of years)</i></p> <p>_____years</p> <p>8. Are you presently working in: <i>(Circle one number only.)</i></p> <p>uniform duties.....1 non-uniform duties2</p>
---	--

PLEASE CHECK THAT YOU ANSWER EVERY QUESTION

**THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS REFER TO
UNDERCOVER DUTIES**

1. How old were you when you started Undercover work?
(Indicate your age in years) _____ years

2. What was your marital status when you started Undercover duties? (Circle one number only)

Married.....	1
Living with partner.....	2
Single.....	3
Separated.....	4
Divorced.....	5
Widowed.....	6

3. How many years were you an Undercover officer for? (Indicate years & months) _____ years _____ months

4. Were you mainly: (Circle one number only) Full-time.. 1 Part-time . 2

5. What type of Undercover work did you mainly perform?
(Circle one number only)

Street level.....	1
Mid-level.....	2
Street and Mid-level.....	3
Upper level.....	4

6. What type of Undercover policing did you mainly do?
(Circle one number only)

Homicide.....	1
Paedophilia.....	2
Firearms.....	3
Counterfeit.....	4
Auto-rackets.....	5
Drugs.....	6
Property.....	7
All the above.....	8
Other.....	_____

7. Were most of your operations:
(Circle one number only)

less than 2 months.....	1
2-6 months.....	2
7-12 months.....	3
13-18 months.....	4
19months-2 yrs.....	5
Other.....	_____

8. How many operations did you work on?
(Circle one number only)

1-3.....	1
4-7.....	2
8-10.....	3
10+.....	4

9. Briefly outline the main reason for choosing to perform Undercover duties.

10. The following statements were made by former Undercover officers about their perceptions of Undercover activity. To what extent do these statements relate to you?

Undercover work has: (Circle one number on each row)

	Very Much	Some-what	Unsure	Not Very Much	Not At All	Not Applicable
Made me a better judge of people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Improved my communication skills	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my understanding of criminal behaviour	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my knowledge of drug activity	1	2	3	4	5	0
Made me more suspicious of people in general	1	2	3	4	5	0
Made me a better police officer	1	2	3	4	5	0
Made me more emotional	1	2	3	4	5	0
Made me mature	1	2	3	4	5	0
Harmed my family/marital relationships	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my investigative skills	1	2	3	4	5	0
Boosted my self-confidence	1	2	3	4	5	0
Had financial gains for me	1	2	3	4	5	0

QUESTIONS 11-12 look very similar however they are **slightly different**.

QUESTION 11 refers to your former Undercover group.

QUESTION 12 refers to Mainstream policing.

Please read them carefully.

11. Think about what it was like being part of the **Undercover unit**. The following questions relate to how you see yourself as a member of the Undercover group.

(Circle one number on each row)

	Not At All						Very Much
How much do you still think of yourself as being part of your former Undercover group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you still feel strong ties with officers from your former Undercover group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel like you still belong to your former Undercover group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How similar are you to other officers of your former Undercover group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. Think about what it is like being part of the **Mainstream police service**. The following questions relate to how you see yourself as a member of the Mainstream police group.
(Circle one number on each row)

	Not At All						Very Much
How much do you think of yourself as being part of the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel strong ties with officers from the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel like you belong to the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How similar are you to other officers of the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. In your opinion, what **should** the status of the Undercover group be compared to Mainstream policing?
(Circle one number only)

Lower In Status	Equal In Status				Higher In Status	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. Compared to Mainstream policing, what **is** the status of the Undercover group? (Circle one number only)

Lower In Status	Equal In Status				Higher In Status	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**‘.....PLEASE KEEP READING,
YOUR OPINIONS ARE A VERY
IMPORTANT
PART OF THIS STUDY.....’**

15. In terms of promotional opportunities,

Undercover work has:

(Circle one number only)

Been beneficial to my career 1

Had no effect on my career2

Been detrimental to my career3

16. Many officers report feeling guilty about doing Undercover work.

How guilty did you feel?

(Circle one number only)

Not at all Guilty		Somewhat Guilty			Very Guilty	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Here are some reasons why other Undercover officers felt guilty.

17. To what extent did any of these circumstances contribute to your guilt?

(If you answered NO to the above question, circle 0 = *not applicable* on the following items.) **Please Note that this time 1 = A lot and 5 = Not at all.**

(Circle one number one each row)

	A Lot	Somewhat	Not At All	N/A No Guilt		
The deceptive nature of Undercover work	1	2	3	4	5	0
Having to betray people who trusted me	1	2	3	4	5	0
Being part of some of the activities the criminals did and then having to charge them for it.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Having to arrest criminals I came to like personally	1	2	3	4	5	0
Thinking about the consequences for the families of the criminals	1	2	3	4	5	0
The use of unconventional methods to gather evidence against the criminals	1	2	3	4	5	0

Questions 18-19 ask for your opinion about YOUR CONTROLLER.

18. How important did you see your relationship with your Controller?
(Circle one number only)

Very Important						Not At All Important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Think about the relationship you had with your Controller/s.

19. To what extent would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements?
(If you have had more than one Controller, please indicate your general impression of the supervision.)
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The Controller places pressure on me to get the job done	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller knows of the personal sacrifices I make to do the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller reminds me that I belong to the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller gives me feedback on job-related matters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller lacks experience in Undercover work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller is reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I don't fully trust the Controller	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can talk to the Controller about personal problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller keeps me in touch with procedural and policy changes in the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller is there to offer advice and provide assistance when I need it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller is more concerned with making cases than looking after my welfare	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller and I work well as a team	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Controller makes sure that I remember I am a police officer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

THESE QUESTIONS RELATE TO THE REINTEGRATION PERIOD AND YOUR EXPERIENCES IN RETURNING TO MAINSTREAM POLICING

1. How long has it been since you did Undercover work? (*Indicate number of years & months*) _____years _____months

2. Were you ready to finish working in Undercover duties? (*Circle one number only*) Yes.....1 No..... 2

3. Given the opportunity, would you do Undercover duties again? (*Circle one number only*)

Not At All	Probably Not	Maybe Likely	Very	Yes Definitely
1	2	3	4	5

4. Which area of policing did you return to? (*Please indicate*) _____

5. Did you return immediately to uniform duties? (*Circle one number only*) Yes 1 No.....2

6. What rank did you return to? (*Circle one number only*)

Constable1
Senior Constable.....2
Sergeant.....3
Senior Sergeant4

7. How easy did you expect it would be to become involved in Mainstream policing again? (*Circle one number only*)

Extremely Difficult	Neither Easy Nor Difficult			Extremely Easy		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. How easy was it to actually become involved in Mainstream policing again? (*Circle one number only*)

Extremely Difficult	Neither Easy Nor Difficult			Extremely Easy		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Listed below are **sources of pressure** other Undercover officers have experienced when they returned to Mainstream policing. Please indicate to what extent the following statements relate to your own reintegration experience.
(Circle one number on each row)

	Very Definitely is NOT a Source of Pressure				Very Definitely IS a Source of Pressure			
Lack adequate organisational skills to do the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Have too much paperwork to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Have set work hours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not enough scope to show initiative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Investigative skills are not used enough	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being responsible for junior police officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Wearing a uniform	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Working in an environment that is too structured and regimented	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The boredom of the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being disciplined by superiors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of freedom and autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The routine of the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of teamwork in the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of recognition for Undercover experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Lack of promotional opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Having to be constantly accountable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Negative attitudes to Undercover work from other police who haven't had the experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Trouble catching up with policy and procedures ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Having to look conformist and conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being recognised as a police officer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Fearing for my personal safety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being subject to an investigation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

10. The following statements have been made about Criminals.
How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments?
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Anyone who takes drugs is a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like some of the criminals I've met.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All criminals are full of greed and self-interest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Once a criminal always a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have nothing in common with anyone associated with the criminal element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It doesn't matter what type of crime it is, anyone who breaks the law deserves to be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Criminals really aren't that different from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could never be friends with a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Some criminals are good people, it's just their circumstances that make them the way they are	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone caught smoking marijuana should be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone involved with illegal drugs should be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel sympathy for some criminals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. The following statements have been made about Mainstream officers.
How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments?
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Mainstream officers think they are better than anyone else	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers have no idea what Undercover officers do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers are jealous of Undercover officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers</u> Mainstream officers are very black and white in their judgements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers,</u> Mainstream officers are very single minded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers,</u> Mainstream officers are very authoritarian in their approach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers work much harder than Undercover officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. The following statements have been made about Undercover officers. How much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments? (Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Compared to Mainstream policing Undercover officers are better at establishing rapport with criminals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Compared to Mainstream policing Undercover officers have a much better knowledge of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undercover policing isn't real policing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Compared to Mainstream officers Undercover officers are more likely to end up being nothing more than burnout police officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Compared to Mainstream officers Undercover officers are better judges of people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ex-Undercover officers always have more personal problems than Mainstream officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is Undercover officers who investigate serious crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undercover officers take drugs as part of their job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following questions asks for your personal opinion about fellow officers, the Service, and family/friends.

13. Think about the fellow officers you presently work with. In your interaction with these officers, how much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements. (Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Officers in this unit are willing to help each other solve job-related problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The people I work with are a close knit group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can rely on a fellow officer to help me out	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When I have any personal problems I can talk to my fellow officers about it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fellow officers encourage each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I find my fellow officers approachable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could not confide in anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My fellow officers respect each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can't trust anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There is jealousy amongst the officers I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. How much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements about the Police Service.

(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree				
The Service cares about my opinions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
The Service fails to appreciate any extra effort from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
Help is available from the Service when I have a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
The Service disregards my best interests when it makes decisions which affect me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
The Service really cares about my well-being	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
The Service cares about my general satisfaction at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
Even if I did the best job possible, the Service would fail to notice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I feel very little loyalty to the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
The Service has a great deal of personal meaning for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
Given the opportunity I would not be a member of the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				

15. Think about your relationships with family and friends who are **outside** the Police Service. How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with each of these statements. *(Circle one number in each row)*

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree				
My family really tries to help me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I get the emotional help and support I need from my family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
My friends really try to help me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I can count on my friends when things go wrong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I can talk about my problems with my family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I have friends with whom I can share my ups and downs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
My family is willing to help me make decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
I can talk about my problems with my friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				

16. What proportion of your social and recreational activities involve police colleagues?

(Circle one number only)

- None 1
- Less than 25% 2
- 25% to 49% 3
- 50% to 74% 4
- 75% to 99% 5

17. Listed below are some personal statements. Indicate the extent to which you **agree** or **disagree** about how you feel **at present**.

(Please Note: this time 1= Strongly Agree and 4=Strongly Disagree)

(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others	1	2	3	4
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	1	2	3	4
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	1	2	3	4
I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	1	2	3	4
I take a positive attitude toward myself	1	2	3	4
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
I wish I could have more respect for myself	1	2	3	4
I certainly feel useless at times	1	2	3	4
At times I think I am no good at all	1	2	3	4

18. Do you have any suggestions how the Police Service could make the transition to Mainstream policing easier for fellow Undercover officers? If you need more space please write on the back of the questionnaire.

**THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO YOUR
PRESENT WORK ENVIRONMENT**

1. The following questions ask you to record your feelings about work and/or to describe your present circumstances and aspirations.

a. In the next year, how likely is it that you will actively look for a job outside of the Service?

(Circle one number only)

Not At All Likely	Somewhat Likely	Quite Likely	Extremely Likely
1	2	3	4

b. I often think about quitting:

(Circle one number only)

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. In the next year, I will probably look for a new job:

(Circle one number only)

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. Would you like to be working in another section of the Police Service?

(Circle one number only)

Yes 1 No.....2

e. If you responded YES to the last question, specify the area of interest.

2. I think I am :

(Circle one number only)

- Very under worked 1
- Under worked 2
- About right..... 3
- Over worked 4
- Very over worked 5

3. I consider I am under pressure at work:

(Circle one number only)

- Constantly 1
- Often 2
- Sometimes 3
- Rarely 4
- Never 5

4. I am in control of the work:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Always..... | 1 |
| Most of the time | 2 |
| Sometimes | 3 |
| Rarely | 4 |
| Never | 5 |
5. The job is interesting:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Always..... | 1 |
| Most of the time | 2 |
| Sometimes | 3 |
| Rarely | 4 |
| Never | 5 |
6. Overall the job is:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Very satisfying..... | 1 |
| Satisfying | 2 |
| Dissatisfying | 3 |
| Very dissatisfying | 4 |

**THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO YOUR INTERESTS
AND GENERAL OPINIONS**

On the following page are a number of statements.

PLEASE:

- Read each statement and choose the one that best describes you. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' answers; just answer what is true for you.
- Don't spend too much time thinking them over. Give the first answer that you think of.
- Answer every question.
- **Try to mark the 'a' or 'c'. Note the middle answer is a question mark '?'. Only mark this when neither 'a' nor 'c' is better for you.**
- It is important that you be as honest as you can and give answers that describe you best. DO NOT give the answer because it seems like the right thing to say or because it is what you might like to be.

1. When something upsets me,
I usually get over it quite soon.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
2. In joining a new group, I usually
seem to fit in right away.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
3. There's usually a big difference
between what people say they'll do
and what they actually do.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
4. A lot of people will "stab you in the
back" in order to get ahead
themselves.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
5. I am willing to help people.
a. always
b. ?
c. sometimes
6. I tend to be too sensitive and worry
too much about something I've
done.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
7. If people act as if they dislike me:
a. it doesn't upset me.
b. ?
c. I usually feel hurt
8. I have said things that hurt others'
feelings.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
9. I feel that:
**a. some jobs just don't have to be
done as carefully as others;**
b. ?
**c. any jobs should be done
thoroughly if you do it at all.**
10. It's hard to be patient when people
criticise me.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
11. I can be quite comfortable even in
a disorganised setting.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
12. If my carefully made plans have to
be changed because of other
people:
a. it annoys me;
b. ?
c. I'm happy to change plans
13. When one small thing after
another goes wrong I:
a. feel as though I can't cope;
b. ?
c. just go on as usual.
14. I sometimes make foolish remarks
in fun, just to surprise people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
15. When the time comes for something
I have planned and looked forward to,
I occasionally do not feel up to going.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
16. I am shy and cautious about
making friends with new people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
17. It's always important to pay
attention to other people's motives.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
18. People form opinions about me too
quickly.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
19. I may deceive people by being
friendly when I really dislike them.
a. true
b. ?
c. false

20. After I make up my mind about something, I still keep thinking about whether it's right or wrong.
a. usually true
b. ?
c. usually false
21. When people get angry at each other, it usually bothers me more than most people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
22. I usually leave some things to chance rather than make complex plans about every detail.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
23. I frequently have periods where it's hard to stop a mood of self-pity.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
24. If people interrupt me while I'm trying to do something, it doesn't bother me.
a. true, it doesn't
b. ?
c. false, it does
25. I always keep my belongings in tip-top shape.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
26. Sometimes I get frustrated with people too quickly.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
27. In my personal life I reach the goals I set, almost all of the time.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
28. I feel that my emotional needs are:
a. not too satisfied;
b. ?
c. well satisfied.
29. I tend to get embarrassed if I suddenly become the centre of attention in a social group.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
30. Starting conversations with strangers:
a. never gives me any trouble;
b. ?
c. is hard for me.
31. I let little things upset me more than they should.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. rarely
32. It's wise to be on guard against smooth talkers because they might take advantage of you.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
33. People are lazy on a job if they can get away with it.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
34. When people criticise me in front of others, I feel very downhearted and hurt.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
d. often
35. Sometimes, I would like to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
36. I sometimes feel too responsible for things that happen around me.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
37. I don't usually mind if my room is messy.
a. true
b. ?
c. false

38. Even when someone is slow to understand what I'm explaining, it's easy for me to be patient.
a. true
b. ?
c. false, it's hard to be patient
39. I'm somewhat of a perfectionist and like to have things done just right.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
40. When I have to wait in a long line for something, I don't get as restless and fidgety as most people.
a. true, I don't
b. ?
c. false, I get restless
41. People treat me less reasonably than my good intentions deserve.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. never
42. I don't let myself get depressed over little things.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
43. I feel dissatisfied with myself.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. rarely
44. I have always had to fight against being too shy.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
45. When I'm in a group, I usually sit and listen and let others do most of the talking.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
46. If people are frank and open, others try to get the better of them.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
- c. often**
47. It seems that more than half the people I meet can't really be trusted.
a. true, they can't be trusted
b. ?
c. false, they can be trusted
48. I make smart, sarcastic remarks to people if I think they deserve it.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. never
49. Sometimes I feel as if I've done something wrong, even though I really haven't.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
50. I think about things that I should have said, but didn't.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
51. If there is a chore to do, I'm more likely to:
a. put it off until it needs to be done;
b. ?
c. get started on it right away.
52. I am patient with people, even when they aren't polite and considerate of my feelings.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
53. When I do something, I usually take time to think of everything I'll need for the job first.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
54. I get frustrated when people take too long to explain something.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
55. I usually go to bed at night feeling satisfied with how my day went.

- a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
56. I have more ups and downs in mood than most people I know.
a. **usually true**
b. ?
c. **usually false**
57. I consider myself a very socially bold, outgoing person.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
58. I'm usually the one who takes the first step in making new friends.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
59. I suspect that people who seem friendly to me could be disloyal behind my back.
a. **hardly ever**
b. ?
c. **often**
60. Many people are too fussy and sensitive and should toughen up for their own good.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
61. When asked to do volunteer work, I say I'm too busy.
a. **sometimes**
b. ?
c. **rarely**
62. I consider myself less of a worrier than most people.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
63. People say I tend to be too self-critical.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
64. I take advantage of people.
a. **sometimes**
b. ?
c. **never**
65. I like to plan ahead so that I don't waste time between tasks.
a. **rarely**
b. ?
c. **often**
66. When I'm feeling tense, even small things get on my nerves.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
67. In carrying out a task, I'm never satisfied unless I give careful attention even to small details.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
68. I've trained myself to be patient with all kinds of people.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**
69. There are times when I don't feel in the right mood to see anyone.
a. **very rarely**
b. ?
c. **quite often**
70. In my everyday life, I hardly ever meet problems that I can't cope with.
a. **true, I can cope easily**
b. ?
c. **false**
71. I find it hard to speak in front of a large group.
a. **true, I usually find it very hard**
b. ?
c. **false, it doesn't bother me**
72. In social groups I tend to feel shy and unsure of myself.
a. **true**
b. ?
c. **false**

APPENDIX 7b
Questionnaire Used with
Former Operatives



CONFIDENTIAL
POLICE WORK ENVIRONMENT
STUDY
QUESTIONNAIRE

To the participant,

This questionnaire is being conducted by Queensland University of Technology and looks at the experiences of police officers. This questionnaire considers not only opinions about policing but also examines important issues associated with the work environment in the service.

The questionnaire is part of a three year research study being conducted throughout Australasia. Information gained from this questionnaire will be used to assist police officers.

All information is treated as confidential and no officer can be identified through their questionnaire. Please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Place your completed questionnaire in the reply paid envelope provided and return it to the researcher by June 21st.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate. If you do complete the questionnaire, it should take you no longer than 40 mins.

It is important to note:

- **This study is not conducted as part of the police service.** No one from the police service will have access to any of this material. Only the researcher herself, Miss Nicole French and her supervisor Prof. Mary Sheehan from the Queensland University of Technology will have access to the completed questionnaires. Individuals cannot be identified from the questionnaire and information cannot be attached to any personal records.
- **All information obtained is treated as confidential and anonymity is guaranteed.** All results from this national study will simply be referred to as 'An Australasian police group'. Absolutely no individual or police jurisdiction will be referred to in any manner.
- **The information from this study is invaluable for future police officers.** A study of this kind has not been conducted before and any results will assist police.
If you have any questions about the study, please phone Nicole French on (07) 3864-4559. In addition you may also contact the secretary of the University Research Ethics Committee (07-3864 2902) should you wish to raise any concerns about ethical constraints of the study.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

<p>1. Your sex? <i>(Circle one number only)</i> Male..... 1 Female2</p> <p>2. Your marital status? <i>(Circle one number only)</i> Married 1 Living with partner2 Single3 Separated.....4 Divorced5 Widowed6</p> <p>Remarried.....7 Other _____</p> <p>3. How many marital relationships have you been in? <i>(Indicate the number of relationships)</i> _____ relationships</p> <p>4. Your present age? <i>(Circle one number only)</i> 18-21 1 22-252 26-303 31-354 36-405 41-456 46 +7</p>	<p>5. Your rank in the Service? <i>(Circle one number only)</i> Constable 1 Senior Constable2 Sergeant.....3 Senior sergeant.....4</p> <p>6. At present are you mostly: <i>(Circle one number only)</i> Operational.....1 Non-operational2</p> <p>7. How many years have you have been in the Service? <i>(Indicate the number of years)</i> _____years</p> <p>8. Are you presently working in: <i>(Circle one number only.)</i> uniform duties1 non-uniform duties2</p>
---	--

“IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION.

**WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE,
PLEASE CHECK YOU HAVE ANSWERED EVERY
QUESTION.”**

**THESE QUESTIONS REFER
TO YOUR OPINIONS ABOUT POLICING**

1. The following statements have been made about Mainstream officers.
How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments?
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree			
Mainstream officers think they are better than anyone else	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers have no idea what Undercover officers do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers are jealous of Undercover officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers</u> Mainstream officers are very black and white in their judgements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers,</u> Mainstream officers are very single minded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Undercover officers,</u> Mainstream officers are very authoritarian in their approach	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mainstream officers work much harder than Undercover officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Think about what it is like being part of the **Mainstream police service**.
The following questions relate to how you see yourself as a member of the Mainstream police group.
(Circle one number on each row)

	Not At All			Very Much			
How much do you think of yourself as being part of the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel strong ties with officers from the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you feel like you belong to the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How similar are you to other officers of the Mainstream police group?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Many officers report feeling guilty about doing Police work.
How guilty do you feel?
(Circle one number only)

Not at Guilty	Somewhat Guilty			Very Guilty		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. *The following statements were made by former police officers about their perceptions of policing. To what extent do these statements relate to you?*

Police work has: (Circle one number on each row)

	Very Much	Some-what	Unsure	Not Very Much	Not At All	Not Applicable
Made me a better judge of people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Improved my communication skills	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my understanding of criminal behaviour	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my knowledge of drug activity	1	2	3	4	5	0
Made me more suspicious of people in general	1	2	3	4	5	0
Harmed my family/marital relationships	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increased my investigative skills	1	2	3	4	5	0
Boosted my self-confidence	1	2	3	4	5	0
Had financial gains for me	1	2	3	4	5	0

5. The following statements have been made about Undercover officers. How much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments? (Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
<u>Compared to Mainstream policing</u> Undercover officers are better at establishing rapport with criminals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Mainstream policing</u> Undercover officers have a much better knowledge of drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undercover policing isn't real policing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Mainstream officers</u> Undercover officers are more likely to end up being nothing more than burnout police officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Compared to Mainstream officers</u> Undercover officers are better judges of people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ex-Undercover officers always have more personal problems than Mainstream officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is Undercover officers who investigate serious crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undercover officers take drugs as part of their job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. In your opinion, what should the status of the Undercover group be compared to Mainstream policing?
(Circle one number only)

Lower In Status		Equal In Status			Higher In Status	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Compared to Mainstream policing, what **is** the status of the Undercover group? (Circle one number only)

Lower In Status		Equal In Status			Higher In Status	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. The following statements have been made about Criminals. How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with these comments?
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree			
Anyone who takes drugs is a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like some of the criminals I've met.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All criminals are full of greed and self-interest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Once a criminal always a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have nothing in common with anyone associated with the criminal element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It doesn't matter what type of crime it is, anyone who breaks the law deserves to be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Criminals really aren't that different from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could never be friends with a criminal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Some criminals are good people, it's just their circumstances that make them the way they are	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone caught smoking marijuana should be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anyone involved with illegal drugs should be charged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel sympathy for some criminals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO YOUR PRESENT WORK ENVIRONMENT

1. Listed below are **sources of pressure** other officers have experienced while working in the Service. Please indicate to what extent the following statements relate to your own experience.
(Circle one number on each row)

	Very Definitely is NOT a Source of Pressure				Very Definitely IS a Source of Pressure			
Lack adequate organisational skills to do the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Have too much paperwork to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Have set work hours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not enough scope to show initiative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Investigative skills are not used enough	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being responsible for junior police officers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Wearing a uniform	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Working in an environment that is too structured and regimented	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The boredom of the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being disciplined by superiors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of freedom and autonomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The routine of the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of teamwork in the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The lack of recognition for experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Lack of promotional opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Having to be constantly accountable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Trouble catching up with policy and procedures ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Having to look conformist and conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being recognised as a police officer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Fearing for my personal safety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Being subject to an investigation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Questions 2-3 ask for your opinion about YOUR PRESENT SUPERVISOR.

2. How important do you see your relationship with your present Supervisor?
(Circle one number only)

Very Important						Not At All Important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Think about the relationship you have with your present Supervisor/s.

3. To what extent would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements?
(If you have more than one Supervisor, please indicate your general impression.)
(Circle one number on each row)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The Supervisor places pressure on me to get the job done	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor knows of the personal sacrifices I make to do the job	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor reminds me that I belong to the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor gives me feedback on job-related matters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor lacks experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor is reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I don't fully trust the Supervisor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can talk to the Supervisor about personal problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor keeps me in touch with procedural and policy changes in the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor is there to offer advice and provide assistance when I need it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor is more concerned with making cases than looking after my welfare	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor and I work well as a team	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Supervisor makes sure that I remember I am a police officer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following questions asks for your personal opinion about fellow officers, the Service, and family/friends.

4. Think about the fellow officers you presently work with. In your interaction with these officers, how much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements. *(Circle one number on each row)*

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Officers in this unit are willing to help each other solve job-related problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The people I work with are a close knit group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can rely on a fellow officer to help me out	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When I have any personal problems I can talk to my fellow officers about it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fellow officers encourage each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I find my fellow officers approachable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could not confide in anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My fellow officers respect each other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can't trust anyone I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There is jealousy amongst the officers I work with	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. How much would you **disagree** or **agree** with these statements about the Police Service. *(Circle one number on each row)*

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The Service cares about my opinions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Service fails to appreciate any extra effort from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Help is available from the Service when I have a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Service disregards my best interests when it makes decisions which affect me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Service really cares about my well-being	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Service cares about my general satisfaction at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Even if I did the best job possible, the Service would fail to notice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel very little loyalty to the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Service has a great deal of personal meaning for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Given the opportunity I would not be a member of the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving the Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Think about your relationships with family and friends who are **outside** the Police Service. How much do you **disagree** or **agree** with each of these statements. (*Circle one number in each row*)

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
My family really tries to help me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I get the emotional help and support I need from my family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My friends really try to help me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can count on my friends when things go wrong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can talk about my problems with my family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have friends with whom I can share my ups and downs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My family is willing to help me make decisions ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can talk about my problems with my friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. What proportion of your social and recreational activities involve police colleagues? (*Circle one number only*)

None	1
Less than 25%	2
25% to 49%	3
50% to 74%	4
75% to 99%	5

8. Listed below are some personal statements. Indicate the extent to which you **agree** or **disagree** about how you feel **at present**.

(Please Note: this time 1= Strongly Agree and 4=Strongly Disagree)

(*Circle one number on each row*)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others	1	2	3	4
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	1	2	3	4
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	1	2	3	4
I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	1	2	3	4
I take a positive attitude toward myself	1	2	3	4
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
I wish I could have more respect for myself	1	2	3	4
I certainly feel useless at times	1	2	3	4
At times I think I am no good at all	1	2	3	4

**THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO HOW YOU FEEL
ABOUT YOUR PRESENT WORK ENVIRONMENT**

1. The following questions ask you to record your feelings about work and/or to describe your present circumstances and aspirations.

a. In the next year, how likely is it that you will actively look for a job outside of the Service?

(Circle one number only)

Not At All Likely	Somewhat Likely	Quite Likely	Extremely Likely
1	2	3	4

b. I often think about quitting:

(Circle one number only)

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. In the next year, I will probably look for a new job:

(Circle one number only)

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. Would you like to be working in another section of the Police Service?

(Circle one number only)

Yes 1 No.....2

e. If you responded YES to the last question, specify the area of interest.

2. I think I am :

(Circle one number only)

- Very under worked 1
- Under worked 2
- About right 3
- Over worked 4
- Very over worked 5

3. I consider I am under pressure at work:

(Circle one number only)

- Constantly 1
- Often 2
- Sometimes 3
- Rarely 4
- Never 5

4. I am in control of the work:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Always | 1 |
| Most of the time | 2 |
| Sometimes | 3 |
| Rarely | 4 |
| Never | 5 |
5. The job is interesting:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Always | 1 |
| Most of the time | 2 |
| Sometimes | 3 |
| Rarely | 4 |
| Never | 5 |
6. Overall the job is:
(Circle one number only)
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Very satisfying..... | 1 |
| Satisfying | 2 |
| Dissatisfying | 3 |
| Very dissatisfying | 4 |

**THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO YOUR INTERESTS
AND GENERAL OPINIONS**

On the following page are a number of statements.

PLEASE:

- Read each statement and choose the one that best describes you. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' answers; just answer what is true for you.
- Don't spend too much time thinking them over. Give the first answer that you think of.
- Answer every question.
- **Try to mark the 'a' or 'c'. Note the middle answer is a question mark '?'. Only mark this when neither 'a' nor 'c' is better for you.**
- It is important that you be as honest as you can and give answers that describe you best. DO NOT give the answer because it seems like the right thing to say or because it is what you might like to be

1. When something upsets me, I usually get over it quite soon.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
2. In joining a new group, I usually seem to fit in right away.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
3. There's usually a big difference between what people say they'll do and what they actually do.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
4. A lot of people will "stab you in the back" in order to get ahead themselves.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
5. I am willing to help people.
 - a. **always**
 - b. ?
 - c. **sometimes**
6. I tend to be too sensitive and worry too much about something I've done.
 - a. **hardly ever**
 - b. ?
 - c. **often**
7. If people act as if they dislike me:
 - a. **it doesn't upset me.**
 - b. ?
 - c. **I usually feel hurt**
8. I have said things that hurt others' feelings.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
9. I feel that:
 - a. **some jobs just don't have to be done as carefully as others;**
 - b. ?
 - c. **any jobs should be done thoroughly if you do it at all.**
10. It's hard to be patient when people criticise me.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
11. I can be quite comfortable even in a disorganised setting.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
12. If my carefully made plans have to be changed because of other people:
 - a. **it annoys me;**
 - b. ?
 - c. **I'm happy to change plans**
13. When one small thing after another goes wrong I:
 - a. **feel as though I can't cope;**
 - b. ?
 - c. **just go on as usual.**
14. I sometimes make foolish remarks in fun, just to surprise people.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
15. When the time comes for something I have planned and looked forward to, I occasionally do not feel up to going.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
16. I am shy and cautious about making friends with new people.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
17. It's always important to pay attention to other people's motives.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
18. People form opinions about me too quickly.
 - a. **hardly ever**
 - b. ?
 - c. **often**
19. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.
 - a. **true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **false**
20. After I make up my mind about something, I still keep thinking about whether it's right or wrong.
 - a. **usually true**
 - b. ?
 - c. **usually false**

21. When people get angry at each other, it usually bothers me more than most people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
22. I usually leave some things to chance rather than make complex plans about every detail.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
23. I frequently have periods where it's hard to stop a mood of self-pity.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
24. If people interrupt me while I'm trying to do something, it doesn't bother me.
a. true, it doesn't
b. ?
c. false, it does
25. I always keep my belongings in tip-top shape.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
26. Sometimes I get frustrated with people too quickly.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
27. In my personal life I reach the goals I set, almost all of the time.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
28. I feel that my emotional needs are:
a. not too satisfied;
b. ?
c. well satisfied.
29. I tend to get embarrassed if I suddenly become the centre of attention in a social group.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
30. Starting conversations with strangers:
a. never gives me any trouble;
b. ?
c. is hard for me.
31. I let little things upset me more than they should.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. rarely
32. It's wise to be on guard against smooth talkers because they might take advantage of you.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
33. People are lazy on a job if they can get away with it.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
34. When people criticise me in front of others, I feel very downhearted and hurt.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
35. Sometimes, I would like to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
36. I sometimes feel too responsible for things that happen around me.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
37. I don't usually mind if my room is messy.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
38. Even when someone is slow to understand what I'm explaining, it's easy for me to be patient.
a. true
b. ?
c. false, it's hard to be patient
39. I'm somewhat of a perfectionist and like to have things done just right.
a. true
b. ?
c. false

40. When I have to wait in a long line for something, I don't get as restless and fidgety as most people.
a. true, I don't
b. ?
c. false, I get restless
41. People treat me less reasonably than my good intentions deserve.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. never
42. I don't let myself get depressed over little things.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
43. I feel dissatisfied with myself.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. rarely
44. I have always had to fight against being too shy.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
45. When I'm in a group, I usually sit and listen and let others do most of the talking.
a. true
b. ?
d. false
46. If people are frank and open, others try to get the better of them.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
47. It seems that more than half the people I meet can't really be trusted.
a. true, they can't be trusted
b. ?
c. false, they can be trusted
48. I make smart, sarcastic remarks to people if I think they deserve it.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. never
49. Sometimes I feel as if I've done something wrong, even though I really haven't.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
50. I think about things that I should have said, but didn't.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
51. If there is a chore to do, I'm more likely to:
a. put it off until it needs to be done;
b. ?
c. get started on it right away.
52. I am patient with people, even when they aren't polite and considerate of my feelings.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
53. When I do something, I usually take time to think of everything I'll need for the job first.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
54. I get frustrated when people take too long to explain something.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
55. I usually go to bed at night feeling satisfied with how my day went.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
56. I have more ups and downs in mood than most people I know.
a. usually true
b. ?
c. usually false
57. I consider myself a very socially bold, outgoing person.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
58. I'm usually the one who takes the first step in making new friends.
a. true
b. ?
c. false

59. I suspect that people who seem friendly to me could be disloyal behind my back.
a. hardly ever
b. ?
c. often
60. Many people are too fussy and sensitive and should toughen up for their own good.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
61. When asked to do volunteer work, I say I'm too busy.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. rarely
62. I consider myself less of a worrier than most people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
63. People say I tend to be too self-critical.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
64. I take advantage of people.
a. sometimes
b. ?
c. never
65. I like to plan ahead so that I don't waste time between tasks.
a. rarely
b. ?
c. often
66. When I'm feeling tense, even small things get on my nerves.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
67. In carrying out a task, I'm never satisfied unless I give careful attention even to small details.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
68. I've trained myself to be patient with all kinds of people.
a. true
b. ?
c. false
69. There are times when I don't feel in the right mood to see anyone.
a. very rarely
b. ?
c. quite often
70. In my everyday life, I hardly ever meet problems that I can't cope with.
a. true, I can cope easily
b. ?
c. false
71. I find it hard to speak in front of a large group.
a. true, I usually find it very hard
b. ?
c. false, it doesn't bother me
72. In social groups I tend to feel shy and unsure of myself.
a. true
b. ?
c. false

APPENDIX 7c
Survey Instruments: Inter-item Correlations
& PCA Component Loadings

Table A7.1 Inter-item Correlations on Police Identification Scales for Undercover Police Officers, (n=107)

	Mainstream think	Mainstream Strong ties	Mainstream belong	Mainstream similar	Undercover think	Undercover Strong ties	Undercover belong
Mainstream think	-						
Mainstream strong tie	.74	-					
Mainstream belong	.83	.74	-				
Mainstream similar	.61	.69	.70	-			
Undercover think	-.04	-.09	-.11	-.06	-		
Undercover strong ties	.01	-.06	-.06	-.06	.84	-	
Undercover belong	-.07	-.08	-.07	-.02	.86	.84	-
Undercover similar	.02	-.02	.05	.05	.51	.52	.49

Table A7.2 Intergroup Attitudinal Items Component Loadings from PCA with Oblique Rotation, 5 Component Solution, (N=145)

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4	Component 5
M think better than anyone else	.45	-6.36E	.53	3.74E	.20
M have no idea about UC	.75	.11	-4.17E	-9.70E	-6.95E
M jealous of UC	.75	-9.36E	-9.78E	3.38E	2.62E
M black and white	.85	-5.18E	2.62E	9.15E	-7.62E
M single minded	.88	2.38E	2.48E	7.43E	-8.43E
M authoritarian	.83	2.46E	-3.87E	-2.43E	-7.37E
M work harder (reverse)	-4.33E	-4.41E	-.16	.31	-.87
UC better rapport	.18	5.03E	.26	-.29	-.51
UC better knowledge drugs	.23	2.53E	.13	-.28	-.57
UC work isn't real policing	5.98E	.56	8.56E	-.20	-.11
UC are nothing but burnout police officers (reverse)	-8.53E	.84	-7.85E	8.80E	5.83E
UC better judges	.25	-1.79E	.19	-.25	-.47
Ex UC always have more problems (reverse)	-1.10E	.83	-9.20E	.12	7.04E
UC investigate serious crime	-.20	-2.39E	.90	.14	-5.53E
UC take drug (reverse)	-.12	-2.08E	-.17	-.91	9.00E

Table A7.3 Intergroup Attitudinal Items Component loadings from Second PCA with Oblique Rotation and 2 Component Solution, (N=145)

	Component 1	Component 2
M think better than anyone else	.46	-.25
M have no idea about UC	.76	7.66E
M jealous of UC	.63	-.18
M black and white	.82	-.17
M single minded	.81	-.14
M authoritarian	.81	-5.27E
M work much harder (reverse)	.42	4.64E
UC better rapport	.70	.19
UC better knowledge drugs	.74	.19
UC isn't real policing	.24	.60
Ex UC nothing but burnout officers (reverse)	-.12	.76
UC better judges	.70	.11
UC always have more problems(reverse)	-8.28E	.74
UC investigate serious crime	.12	-.21
UC take drugs(reverse)	7.56E	.36

Table A7.4 Inter-item Correlations on Measures of Intergroup Attitudes, (N=145)

	MP think better	MP no idea	MP jealous	MP black & white	MP single minded	MP authoritarian	UC better rapport	UC better drugs	UC better judges	UC not real policing	UC burnout
MP think better	-	-									
MP no idea	.31	-									
MP jealous	.35	.47	-								
MP black and white	.36	.60	.55	-							
MP single minded	.36	.55	.48	.83	-						
MP authoritarian	.33	.63	.49	.69	.74	-					
UC better rapport	.33	.37	.32	.42	.42	.44	-				
UC better drugs	.27	.48	.38	.48	.44	.44	.56	-			
UC better judges	.26	.45	.30	.46	.46	.46	.57	.54	-		
UC not real policing (reverse)	-.03	.18	.02	.06	.10	.08	.18	.19	.13	-	
UC burnout (reverse)	-.17	-.10	-.21	-.21	-.21	-.14	-.01	-.09	-.09	.26	-
UC personal problems (reverse)	-.16	-.04	-.14	-.19	-.13	-.12	-.06	-.02	-.09	.22	.55

Table A7.5 Inter-item Correlations between Family and Friends Scales, (N=145)

	Family try to help	Family emotional	Family talk problems	Family help decisions	Friends try to help	Friends count on	Friends share ups and downs
Family try to help	-						
Family emotional	.82	-					
Family talk problems	.71	.74	-				
Family help decisions	.72	.79	.77	-			
Friends try to help	.45	.48	.37	.48	-		
Friends count on	.16	.26	.30	.33	.69	-	
Friends share ups and downs	.14	.24	.32	.37	.57	.73	-
Friends talk problems	.15	.22	.31	.40	.62	.71	.80

Table A7.6 Ten Peer Support Items and Component Loadings from First PCA with Oblique Rotation, (N=145)

Item	Component loading
Fellow officers encourage	.88
Fellow officers approachable	.86
I can rely on fellow officers	.79
Can talk problems with fellow officers	.78
I can't confide in fellow officers (reverse)	.62
Fellow officers respect each other	.74
I can't trust fellow officers (reverse)	.66
Fellow officers are jealous (reverse)	.42
Fellow officers willing to help	.69
Close knit to work with	.76

Table A7.7 Nine Peer Support Items and Component Loadings from Second PCA with Oblique Rotation, (N=145)

Item	Component loading
Fellow officers encourage	.89
Fellow officers approachable	.86
I can rely on fellow officers	.79
Can talk problems with fellow officers	.79
I can't confide in fellow officers (reverse)	.62
Fellow officers respect each other	.74
I can't trust fellow officers (reverse)	.66
Fellow officers willing to help	.69
Close knit to work with	.77

Table A7.8 Inter-item Correlations on Perceived Support from Current Work Peers Index, (N=145).

Items	Help	Close knit	Rely	Talk problems	Encourage	Approach
Willing to help	-					
Close knit group	.50	-				
Rely on fellow officers to help	.53	.57	-			
Talk personal problems with fellow officers	.48	.58	.52	-		
Encourage each other	.64	.63	.71	.71	-	
Find approachable	.54	.58	.67	.63	.77	-
Respect each other	.39	.50	.50	.47	.63	.65

Table A7.9 Inter-item Correlations on Organisational Support Index, (N=145)

	Service cares about my opinions	Help is available when I have a problem	Cares about well-being	Cares about general satisfaction	Even if did best job possible service fails to notice	Disregards my interests when making decisions
Service cares about my opinions	-					
Help is available	.31	-				
Cares well-being	.27	.39	-			
Cares general satisfaction	.38	.42	.51	-		
Service fails to notice best job	.20	.24	.16	.40	-	
Disregards my interests in decisions	.21	.31	.34	.45	.52	-
Fails to appreciate any extra effort	.19	.26	.16	.26	.35	.39

Table A7.10 Inter item Correlations on Perceived Organisational Commitment Index, (N=145)

	Too few options	Given opportunity	Little loyalty
Too few options	-		
Given opportunity	.37	-	
Feel very little loyalty	.31	.64	-
Personal meaning (Reverse)	.19	.51	.57

Appendix 8

Distributions of Police Identification Scores by Police Group

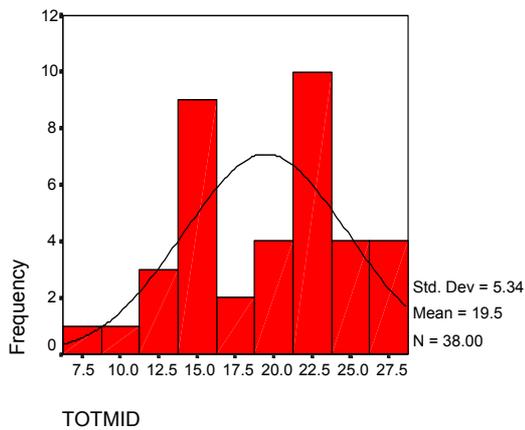
Group category = Trainee operatives

Statistics

		TOTMID	TOTUCID
N	Valid	38	38
	Missing	0	0
Mean		19.4737	15.6842
Std. Deviation		5.3410	5.8730
Skewness		-.357	-.304
Std. Error of Skewness		.383	.383
Kurtosis		-.581	-.092
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.750	.750

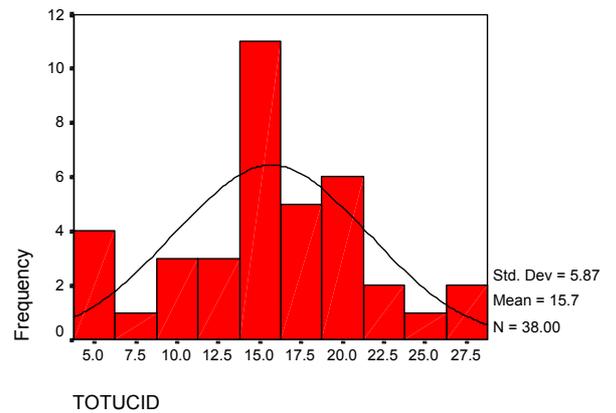
total mainstream police id

V2: 1 Trainee operatives



Total undercover police id

V2: 1 Trainee operatives



Group category = Current Operatives

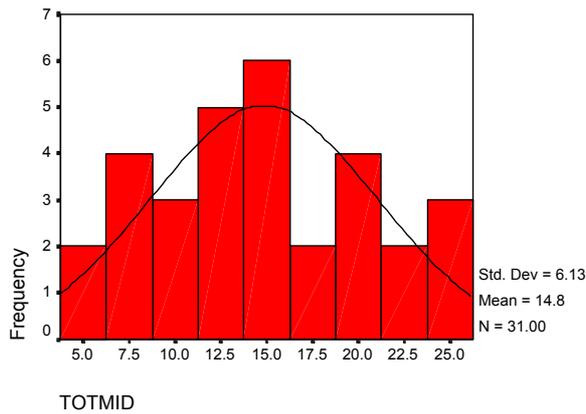
Statistics^a

		TOTMID	TOTUCID
N	Valid	31	31
	Missing	0	0
Mean		14.8387	21.9355
Std. Deviation		6.1324	4.3584
Skewness		.230	-1.038
Std. Error of Skewness		.421	.421
Kurtosis		-.797	.863
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.821	.821

a. Group category = Current

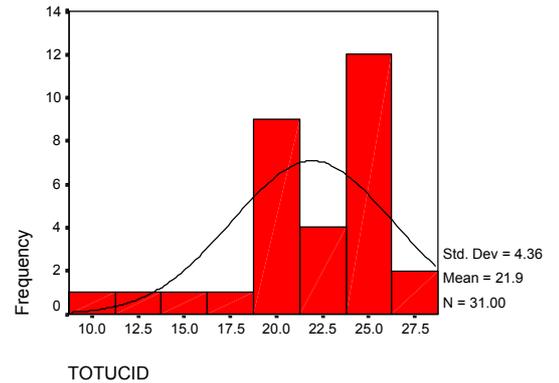
Total mainstream police id

V2: 2 Current operatives



Total undercover police id

V2: 2 Current operatives



Group category = Former operatives

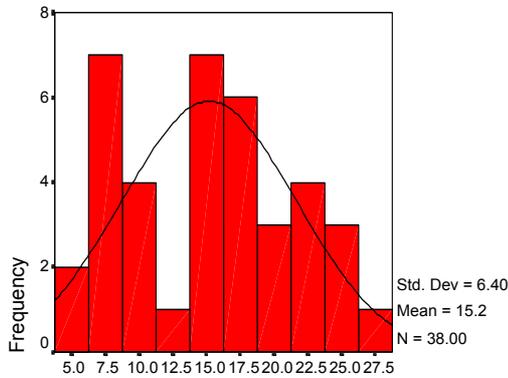
Statistics^a

		TOTMID	TOTUCID
N	Valid	38	38
	Missing	0	0
Mean		15.1842	18.2105
Std. Deviation		6.4004	6.9327
Skewness		.006	-.514
Std. Error of Skewness		.383	.383
Kurtosis		-1.025	-1.112
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.750	.750

a. Group category = Exited

Total mainstream police id

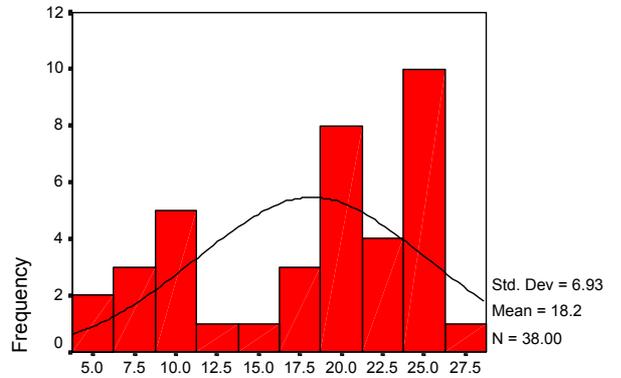
V2: 3 Former operatives



TOTMID

Total undercover police id

V2: 3 Former operatives



TOTUCID

Group category = Mainstream police officers matched with former operatives

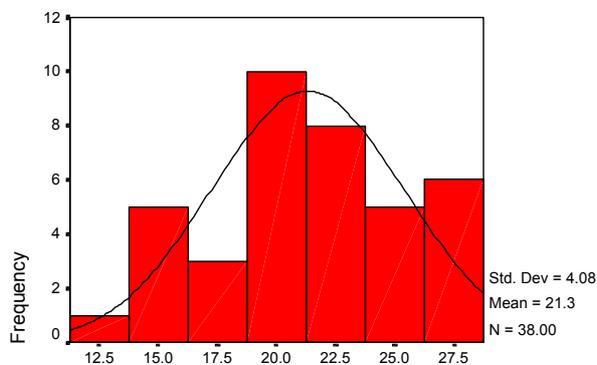
Statistics^a

		TOTMID	TOTUCID
N	Valid	38	0
	Missing	0	38
Mean		21.3158	
Std. Deviation		4.0810	
Skewness		-.165	
Std. Error of Skewness		.383	
Kurtosis		-.503	
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.750	

a. Group category = Control

Total mainstream police id

V2: 4 Control-mainstream police



TOTMID