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USING WORKPLACE PERSONALITY TO GUIDE IMPROVEMENT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT SELECTION

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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS

police, personality,
personnel selection,
validity generalization

Recurrent police–public conflict suggests misalignment in desired police behavior between police and the public. We explored differences in desired police characteristics between police and members of the American public. Although racial minorities endorsed more negative attitudes of police overall, we found no meaningful differences in desired police characteristics between police and the public or between racial minority and majority participants. Second, we combined multiple criterion-related validation studies in similar jobs via meta-analyses and synthetic validity analyses to identify personality predictors of police performance dimensions. Third, we assessed base rates and adverse impact of these personality characteristics in police. Incumbent officers scored significantly lower on desired characteristics and higher on undesired characteristics than applicants. Overall, scales measuring emotional stability, agreeableness, conscientiousness, excitability, and skepticism seem job-relevant across samples, predictive of performance, and unlikely to cause adverse impact. Focusing on these characteristics in hiring could contribute to positive changes in police performance.

The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon *public approval* of police existence, actions, behavior and the ability of the police to secure and maintain *public respect*. . . . The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that *the police are the public and the public are the police*.

-Sir Robert Peel, *Principles of Law Enforcement*, 1829

For over 40 years, scholars have called for police personnel guidance from psychologists (e.g., Lefkowitz, 1977). Yet, there is still progress to make (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing [PTFTCP], 2015; Ruggs et al., 2016). Tensions between police and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement emphasize the need to improve police interactions with diverse populations. Although this has reignited public attention, this police–minority conflict is not new. American police have had publicized issues with minority subgroups since the inception of their profession. For instance, the purpose of some of the first law enforcement agencies in the American South was to catch

runaway slaves (Shelden, 2001). In addition, recall the beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police in 1991 and the events that followed.

Community engagement is essential to improving police–public interactions and correcting this trajectory (Hardin, 2016). However, public confidence in police officers' willingness to protect the community from violence has declined since 2007. So, the PTFTCP (2015) encouraged law enforcement agencies to collaborate with the community in monitoring police performance. However, the officer is already on the job at the performance review stage. It may, therefore, also be beneficial to account for public expectations in the development of selection measures and performance appraisals. Standard job-analytic techniques incorporate the performance expectations of subject-matter experts (SMEs) but not of the public. It is unclear whether

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including public perceptions would change the job analysis outcomes for police. Filling this gap, we compare public and police SME expectations of desirable police performance and tendencies.

Research Question 1: Which personality and value characteristics do police and the public rate as desirable for police performance?

Much of the recent, and historical, issues in police conduct are racially charged. The BLM movement, which began as a Twitter hashtag created by Patrice Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi, symbolizes a social movement against police brutality (Rickford, 2016). In July 2014, for instance, an unarmed Black man, Eric Garner, died in a chokehold administered by a New York police officer (Hall et al., 2016; Ruggs et al., 2016). The BLM movement further gained momentum with the public response to the August 2014 shooting of an unarmed Black teenager, Michael Brown, by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri (Rickford, 2016). Matters only worsened as members of the public retaliated with violence. In July 2016, an enraged Black man, Micah Johnson, ambushed and killed five Dallas police officers at a BLM march (Fernandez et al., 2016). Again, in July 2016, a Black man, Gavin Long, ambushed and killed three Baton Rouge police officers (Schuppe, 2016). As a result, police–public relations continue to intensify in hostility, especially for racial minorities, increasing the likelihood of continued conflict (Hall et al., 2016) and personnel problems.

Indeed, such problems continue to plague police–community interactions. In March of 2020, a Black woman, Breonna Taylor, was shot to death in her bed during an erroneous raid on her apartment (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2020). On May 25, 2020, a Black man, George Floyd, was killed while handcuffed and unarmed in police custody as three officers pinned him face down in the street (How George Floyd died..., 2021). The entire incident was caught on camera, sparking large scale protests against police brutality across the globe (Rahim & Picheta, 2020). One officer, Derek Chauvin, was later found guilty of murdering George Floyd.

These instances provide just a few examples of many more similar occurrences across the nation. Between 2015 and 2020, police fatally shot unarmed Black individuals at three times the rate of unarmed White individuals (Belli, 2020). Moreover, among officers who fatally shot unarmed Black people since 2015, 75% were White (Thompson, 2021), raising important questions about department diversity and cross-racial interactions. Also, over 11% of the officers were repeat shooters, which further underscores the importance of understanding relatively stable tendencies, such as personality characteristics, in police. Given the role of race in police–community tensions, we investigate differ-

ences in desired police characteristics across race.

Research Question 2: Are there racial differences in desirable characteristics for police performance?

Police Performance

To understand how personality characteristics might impact relevant police conduct, it is important to examine the job performance domain. Hough (2016) reported important police competencies, or behavioral performance dimensions, relevant to a community-oriented approach: integrity, safety, community relations, teamwork, judgment and problem solving, and patrolling and enforcing the law. Similarly, Spielberg and Corey (2014) reported more specific competencies that map onto Hough's (2016) broader dimensions. We build upon this research by comparing competencies the public endorses as important to those perceived as important by police.

Borman and Motowidlo (1993) contrast task and contextual performance. Task performance involves behaviors that generate or maintain the production of the organization's services and products (Motowidlo et al., 1997). For police, this might involve issuing citations or making lawful arrests. Contextual performance is "behavior that contributes to organizational effectiveness through its effects on the psychological, social, and organizational context of work" (Motowidlo & Kell, 2013, p. 88). In police, this includes respectful interactions with others. Respectful interactions with the communities they serve should facilitate success in police operations. The public will be more cooperative when police build trust with the community through positive encounters (PTFTCP, 2015). Thus, police–community interactions likely overlap with contextual performance.

Competencies can be classified into two dimensions consistent with task and contextual performance (Hogan & Holland, 2003). Whereas competencies focused on productivity and competition (e.g., judgment and problem solving, patrolling and enforcing) align with task performance, competencies focused on cooperation and maintaining relationships (e.g., community relations, teamwork) align with contextual performance. It is unclear whether there are discrepant desired police competencies between the police and the public. Thus, it is useful to juxtapose police and public expectations for police performance competencies.

Research Question 3: Which competencies do police and the public rate as important for police performance?

Given the likely role of contextual performance in police–community conflicts, competencies in this category seem most salient to addressing current issues. Consequently, it will be especially interesting to compare endorsement of this domain of competencies. This task-contextual

performance distinction further aligns with our theoretical approach to understanding relevant personality dimensions that better predict contextual performance.

Personality Characteristics and Police Performance

Personality characteristics predict police performance (e.g., Varela et al., 2004) and differentially predict contextual and task performance competencies (e.g., Hogan & Holland, 2003; see also Borman et al., 2001). Socioanalytic theory (Hogan, 1983) posits useful generalizations regarding personality differences in how people behave at work. Humans work in groups structured with status hierarchies. At work, people will act to improve interactions with members in their group, called getting along, and to build their group status, called getting ahead. Individuals differ meaningfully in the ways and degree to which they get along and ahead (Hogan, 2005). Task performance aligns with getting ahead, and contextual performance aligns with getting along (Hogan & Holland, 2003).

Five-Factor Model Characteristics

The five-factor model (FFM; Digman, 1990) provides a useful tool for understanding personality through a socioanalytic lens. For instance, socioanalytic theory distinguishes between personality from the actor's perspective, identity, and personality from the observer's perspective or reputation. The latter perspective seems more useful in the workplace because one's reputation more directly impacts work outcomes and reputation can be measured in a more verifiable way (Hogan, 2005). Along these lines, the FFM represents a taxonomy of how observers describe others' behavior, or reputation, because it is based on adjectives we use to describe other people. The FFM further aligns with the themes proposed in socioanalytic theory. Specifically, two higher order factors of the FFM have been identified and align with getting along (i.e., Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, & Emotional Stability) and getting ahead (i.e., Extraversion & Openness; Digman, 1997).

Researchers have also reported empirical findings, showing that the FFM predicts police performance. However, the relevant factors and scales appear to vary somewhat across studies. For instance, better performers scored higher on California Personality Inventory (CPI; Gough, 1975) scales measuring Extraversion and Openness (Hogan, 1971). Hogan and Kurtines (1975) again compared successful and unsuccessful police candidates. Subfacets of Extraversion and Openness exhibited the strongest predictions, which point toward the getting ahead domain.

Other researchers found additional relationships, suggesting a mix of getting ahead and getting along characteristics. Specifically, Emotional Stability, Extraversion, and Conscientiousness exhibited significant correlations with performance (Black, 2000). Detrick and colleagues (2004) demonstrated that subfacets of Openness, Extraver-

sion, Conscientiousness, and Emotional Stability predicted multiple academy performance dimensions. In contrast, entry-level officers who performed in the top 10% of their academy class differed significantly from the bottom 10% on Emotional Stability and Conscientiousness (Detrick & Chibnall, 2006), emphasizing the getting along factor.

The majority of police personality studies used training performance criteria. As an exception, Forero et al. (2009) showed training performance mediated relationships between personality scores and field performance in Spanish police candidates, explaining 60% of field performance variance. Further, meta-analytic evidence suggested that measures based on the FFM were better predictors of officer performance than clinical personality measures (Varela et al., 2004). However, the authors did not report results for specific personality characteristics or scales.

In sum, the FFM seems predictive of police performance. However, the available empirical findings have not provided consistent evidence for specific personality predictors of police performance across situations. Hence, we meta-analyze studies in a law enforcement context to identify specific, predictive FFM constructs of field performance. To our knowledge, this is the first study to meta-analyze specific FFM personality-field performance relationships in US police.

Research Question 4: Which FFM personality characteristics predict overall police performance or performance dimensions?

Dark Personality Characteristics

The FFM is criticized for only adequately explaining bright side personality, so workplace personality scholars look beyond the FFM for understanding flawed tendencies, or dark personality characteristics (Spain et al., 2013). Personality assessment is frequent in police selection. However, clinical personality assessments are among the most common psychological measures used in police selection (Sanders, 2008). Of 155 police departments surveyed, 72% reported using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and 19% reported using the Inwald Personality Inventory (Cochrane et al., 2003). However, such clinical measures are designed as diagnostic tools for mental disorders. As such, these measures identify disordered applicants rather than predict successful performance (Sanders, 2008). Hence, adding subclinical dark personality constructs into the selection process should help explain more performance variance in police behavior than is explained by typical police selection approaches. For example, subclinical dark personality constructs predict unethical and counterproductive work behaviors (Kish-Gephart et al., 2010; O'Boyle et al., 2012). Dark personality characteristics have even outperformed FFM characteristics in predicting job performance in some situations (Antes et al., 2007;

Hogan & Hogan, 2007; Nei et al., 2018).

Horney (1950) provided three broad themes of dysfunctional interpersonal behaviors that represent strategies for reacting to one's feelings of inadequacy. First, people may respond to self-doubt by taking a dominating approach with others, called moving against. An officer who moves against may become too aggressive with a suspect, escalating a hostile interaction. Second, people who feel inadequate might avoid interacting with others, called moving away. For example, an officer might isolate in a patrol car rather than interact with citizens. Third, people could seek to build social relationships to manage their own insecurities, called moving toward. An officer, for instance, might try too hard to impress superiors by counterproductive competition with coworkers or demands on subordinates. Individuals differ in the type and degree of such responses they use, which have implications for performance.

Horney's (1950) factors can be reexpressed in socioanalytic terms. An individual's attempts to move away may be understood as attempts to resist getting along in times of stress. An individual's attempts to move against could be characterized as one's excessive strategies to get ahead that interfere with their ability to get along. Finally, a person's attempt to move toward results from overusing efforts to get along. Scholars predict that dark personality primarily impedes an individual's contextual performance or ability to get along at work (Hogan & Hogan, 2009). Hence, dark personality characteristics seem especially relevant for addressing police–public tensions.

Growing out of this tradition is an approach that categorizes subclinical dark characteristics based on categories in the DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) Axis II personality disorders (Hogan & Hogan, 2009). Such characteristics cluster into dimensions consistent with Horney's (1950) three themes. These tendencies are distinct from psychopathological characteristics, which are the focus of clinical measures. In contrast, dark personality tendencies involve normal dispositions that result in negative performance outcomes under times of stress or low self-monitoring (Hogan & Hogan, 2009). Dark personality should provide insight into police performance under pressure because police work involves many high-stress situations.

Researchers have started to examine dark personality in police. Specifically, police exhibited two psychopathic profiles that likely have distinct implications for performance (Falkenbach et al., 2018). Harmata and Sherman (2021) identified four dark personality profiles in two large samples of law enforcement-related roles. These respective profiles corresponded to either (a) lower than average scores on all dark personality characteristics, (b) elevated moving away scores, (c) elevated moving against scores, or (d) elevated scores on both moving away and moving against scales. More than half of both samples were classified into

one of the three profiles with elevated dark personality scores, emphasizing the need to address dark personality in police hiring. The researchers then showed how these profiles relate to certain performance dimensions in the general population. However, researchers have not yet examined relationships between specific dark personality characteristics and performance in police roles. We report meta-analyses that fill this gap by providing a more in-depth picture of specific subclinical dark personality characteristics in relation to police performance.

Research Question 5: Which dark personality characteristics predict overall police performance or performance dimensions?

Values

Values also play a role in understanding work behavior (Hogan & Hogan, 2010). The police profession draws recruits for various reasons that may have distinct implications for performance. Previous research has documented power, control (Lester, 1983), helping others (Lester et al., 1980), and job security (Westley, 1970) as common values driving pursuit of police jobs. More recent research has identified similar values among police (e.g., Foley et al., 2008). However, studies have yielded mixed results in terms of the most frequently endorsed values (White et al., 2010). This may be due to differences in the values reinforced by specific departments. Understanding the values underlying police work may nonetheless help show what drives individuals who engage in desirable conduct on the job. Altruistic values would seem most desirable given the current societal atmosphere. However, those merely seeking to exert power and control over citizens would seem most problematic. To our knowledge, researchers have not examined value–police performance relationships.

Research Question 6: Which work values predict police performance or performance dimensions?

Improving Police Selection and Diversity

Despite evidence of criterion-related validity, adding assessments of constructs to current selection processes may be unnecessary if existing systems already effectively select for relevant characteristics. In earlier reports, less than half of a sample of police departments used FFM personality assessments in hiring (Cochrane et al., 2003). We found no reports of subclinical dark personality or work value assessment in police selection. Hence, we compare police incumbents' and applicants' scores on relevant predictor characteristics to see whether gaps exist.

Research Question 7: How do police incumbents compare to applicants in personality and value scores?

Furthermore, using personality to make selection decisions should help maintain applicant diversity (Ployhart & Holtz, 2008). Even if predictor constructs relate to performance, use of such in hiring assessments may be counterproductive if they have discriminatory effects. Police departments should reflect the demographic composition of the communities they serve to help improve police–community interactions (Alkadry, 2007; Hall et al., 2016; Ruggs et al., 2016). Yet, law enforcement agencies are historically White male dominated (Hassell & Brandl, 2009). In addition, more adverse impact cases in selection stem from law enforcement than from other jobs (Winterberg et al., 2019b). Current selection tools, such as physical ability tests, cognitive ability tests, and criminal background checks, commonly used in police hiring are likely to produce demographic subgroup differences and adverse impact.

For example, 89% of law enforcement agencies examined used some form of physical agility test in selection (Lonsway, 2003). Agencies with a physical agility test employed 31% less women than those that did not. Indeed, tests assessing muscular strength ($d = -1.66$) and cardiovascular endurance ($d = -1.09$) exhibited substantial sex-based gaps in scores across multiple studies (Hough et al., 2010). Likewise, cognitive ability tests are among the most frequent selection tool used across the entire workforce (Salgado, 2017). Cognitive ability tests facilitated the first acknowledgement of adverse impact by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 1971). The discriminatory risk of cognitive measures is well established (Roth et al., 2001). For instance, Roth and colleagues (2001) reported meta-analytic estimates showing Black applicants score one standard deviation lower than White applicants. In a subsequent meta-analysis, Hough and colleagues (2010) found a consistent mean difference. In addition, the average difference in cognitive test scores between Black and White participants is estimated at three times the size of the Black–White discrepancy in performance (Cottrell et al., 2015; cf. McKay & McDaniel, 2006).

Similarly, 99% of participating departments reported using background checks in police hiring (Cochrane et al., 2003). Criminal background checks are particularly concerning from a societal perspective because they impede offender rehabilitation (Travis, 2002). In addition, arrest and incarceration rates are disproportionately higher for Black and Hispanic men (EEOC, 2012). This suggests using criminal background checks in selection is likely to cause racial disparate impact.

Compared to cognitive ability and physical ability, personality assessments based on the FFM, exhibited relatively few meaningful subgroup differences (Hough et al., 2010). This is consistent with the finding that personality assessments have been one of the least frequently challenged selection techniques in adverse impact cases since 1978

(Terpstra et al., 1999; Williams et al., 2013; Winterberg et al., 2019b). On the other hand, physical ability tests, cognitive ability tests, and criminal background checks were among the top five most frequently challenged hiring tools. Among the most frequently represented jobs (i.e., law enforcement, government, and firefighters) in adverse impact cases between 2010 and 2018, criminal background checks were the most frequently challenged tool (Winterberg et al., 2019b). Therefore, predictive, nondiscriminatory constructs should help improve police selection. To our knowledge, researchers have not yet examined racial subgroup differences on personality characteristics or work values in police, specifically.

Research Question 8: Are their racial differences in personality and value scores in police applicants and incumbents?

METHODS

Job Analysis

We surveyed the American public through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). We used Hogan's Job Evaluation Tool (Hogan Assessment Systems, 2000) to obtain importance ratings on FFM characteristics, dark personality tendencies, work values, and competencies or performance dimensions. The characteristics examined on this job analysis survey align with the scales in the Hogan Personality Inventory (HPI; Hogan & Hogan, 2007), the Hogan Development Survey (HDS; Hogan & Hogan, 2009), and the Motives, Values, Preferences Inventory (MVPI; Hogan & Hogan, 2010). We also asked about participants' general view of and interactions with police (see Table 2 for a list of items). We followed guidelines outlined by Keith and colleagues (2017) to identify a quality MTurk sample. After screening, the final sample was $N = 229$. Table 1 presents the public sample demographics. On average, the public sample was 38.3 ($SD = 10.70$) years.

Police SMEs ($N = 30$) from four different states also responded to the same job analysis survey. The age of the SME sample averaged 39.63 years old ($SD = 7.35$). The sample was 23.3% female. Of the SMEs' job titles, 36.7% did not report a job title, 26.7% were officers, 13.3% were detectives, 10% were police sergeants, 6.7% were deputy chiefs, 3.3% were deputy sheriffs, 3.3% were police captains. Departments disallowed collection of additional demographic variables. To assess interrater agreement, we calculated intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) based on a random two-way model. We compared police and public ratings, and public racial majority and minority samples via independent-samples t -tests.

Meta-Analyses

Next, we oriented the police officer role within the pro-

TABLE 1.
Public Sample Demographics

Demographic variable	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Female	112	48.9
Male	117	51.1
Race/ethnicity		
Black	15	6.6
Hispanic	12	5.2
Asian	13	5.7
White	183	79.9
Multiracial	6	2.6
Political party		
Republican	41	17.9
Democrat	102	44.5
Independent	82	35.8
Other	4	1.7
Area population density		
Urban	66	28.8
Suburban	127	55.5
Rural	36	15.7
Employment status		
Not employed	1	0.4
Self-employed, part time	2	0.9
Self-employed, full time	25	10.9
Part time	22	9.6
Full time	179	78.2
Prior arrests		
No	203	88.6
Yes	26	11.4

protective service job family, which includes employees whose job focuses on protecting others (e.g., police, sheriff's deputies, guards), and conducted a meta-analysis of professional criterion-related validation studies within such job family. We used the *psychmeta* package in R (Dahlke & Wiernik, 2019) and followed guidelines provided by Hunter and Schmidt (1990). All criterion validation studies included used zero-order, product-moment correlations. We did not correct for predictor unreliability. We used the .52 reliability coefficient provided by Viswesvaran and colleagues (1996)

to estimate reliability of supervisory performance ratings.

For inclusion, each study met several criteria. First, the study sample must have contained only working adults in relevant protective service jobs. Second, the study must have been based on a personality-oriented job analysis. Third, the participants had to have completed at least one of the predictor measures rated in the current job analysis. Fourth, the participants must have had immediate supervisors provide ratings on their overall job performance in the field. We excluded studies using students, self-reported per-

TABLE 2.

Public Interaction With, Involvement in, and Views of Police

Demographic variable	<i>n</i>	%
Frequency of positive interactions with police		
Never	17	7.4
A few times	171	74.7
Yearly	27	11.8
Monthly	11	4.8
Weekly	3	1.3
Frequency of negative interactions with police		
Never	86	37.6
A Few times	128	55.9
Yearly	13	5.7
Monthly	2	0.9
Weekly	0	0.0
Previously an officer		
Yes	4	1.7
No	225	98.3
Family/friends are officers		
Yes	39	17.0
No	190	83.0
General view of police		
Very positive	14	6.1
Mostly positive	109	47.6
Neutral	58	25.3
Mostly negative	39	17.0
Very negative	9	3.9

formance criteria, laboratory or assessment center studies, and studies not conducted in the work context.

All constructs were measured with the same scales in each study, eliminating the potential of coding or classification errors. Predictor measures aligned with the characteristics rated in the job analysis survey. Specifically, we selected studies that used the HPI (Hogan & Hogan, 2007) to measure FFM personality and the HDS (Hogan & Hogan, 2009) to measure dark personality.¹ None of the protective service jobs included in the study reported value scores. Hence, our meta-analyses did not consider value–performance relationships. Job performance was measured either via direct supervisory ratings of overall performance or via composite supervisory ratings of multiple performance dimensions.

Synthetic Validity Analyses

For a more nuanced picture of specific performance criteria, we took a synthetic validity approach to aggregate personality–competency relationships. In this approach, the competency component, rather than job type, serves as the foundation for job similarity. Hence, studies were not required to be within the protective service job family for these analyses. This allowed us to further align criteria with work value predictors measured via the MVPI (Hogan & Hogan, 2010).

¹ Given limited space, please reference cited assessment manuals for more information on measures used in this study.

Base Rates and Adverse Impact

To explore how current selection practices capture the personality and value constructs examined above, we compared US police applicant ($n = 137 - 480$ by assessment) and incumbent ($n = 79 - 137$ by assessment) scores via independent-samples t -tests. The applicant sample was 24.8% female, 69.4% White, 14.6% Black, 7.9% Hispanic, 3.7% not indicated, 3.3% multiracial, 0.4% Asian, 0.4% Pacific Islander, and 0.2% Native American. The incumbent sample was, perhaps unsurprisingly, somewhat less diverse: 23.2% female, 72.8% White, 8.0% not indicated, 7.2% Hispanic, 5.6% Black, 4.0% Asian, 1.6% multiracial, and 0.8% Native American. Finally, police performance predictors may nonetheless be counterproductive if they hamper the racial diversity of the applicant pool. Hence, we examined racial differences via one-way analysis of variance in the same sample of US police incumbents and applicants who reported race and had scores on the HPI, HDS, and MVPI ($N = 245$).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Job Analysis

Table 2 presents the public sample's views of police. Racial minority ($M = 3.02$, $SD = .77$) members endorsed a significantly more negative overall view of police than did racial majorities ($M = 2.56$, $SD = .99$) with higher scores indicating more negative views ($t [85.70] = -2.97$, $p = .003$). This emphasizes the need for police to address public image in minority subgroups. We found no other significant differences by race in views or interactions.

We conducted a public-facing job analysis to answer Research Questions 1–3, regarding important characteristics and competencies endorsed by members of the public and police. As shown in Table 3, SMEs rated the following scales as significantly higher than the public sample: Adjustment, Ambition, Prudence, Inquisitive, Learning Approach, Leisurely, Bold, Imaginative, Dutiful, Hedonism, Recognition, Security, and Tradition. Police rated Affiliation significantly lower than the public sample. However, in terms of FFM and dark personality, all scales rated important by the public were also endorsed as important by police, except for Reserved. This suggests that, although statistically significant, differences may not result in different conclusions about the samples' expectations for effective police performance.

Of 62 possible competencies, both samples endorsed decision making, dependability, handling stress, integrity, managing conflict, professionalism, rule compliance, safety focus, solving problems, and staying alert as critical to police performance (see Table 4). In addition, police rated accountability, dealing with ambiguity, managing conflict, caring about people, detail focus, communication, and listening to others. Interestingly, most of the competencies

endorsed by police, but not the public, were consistent with contextual performance. Future research should seek to confirm and explain this result. Overall, these competencies show substantial overlap with previous findings (i.e., Hough, 2016; Spillberg & Corey, 2014). Critical competencies further inform police performance appraisal development.

We then compared ratings of participants identifying as racial minorities to majorities in the public sample (see Table 5). Racial minorities rated Agreeableness significantly more important than majorities. However, Figures 1–3 illustrate the similarity in patterns of the ratings, suggesting that both samples recommend the same characteristics as important. Although the disproportionate group sizes for White ($n = 183$) and Black ($n = 15$) public participants limit the generalizability of such, we also conducted independent samples t -tests to compare White expectations to Black expectations specifically. There was no evidence of significant differences between Whites and Blacks in importance ratings for any characteristic. Overall, results suggest that personality may provide a common language for identifying public expectations of police amid the current polarized social environment.

Generalized Criterion-Related Validity

To address Research Questions 4–6 regarding personality and value predictors of police performance, we conducted validity generalization. We meta-analyzed correlations between personality and supervisory ratings of job performance for studies conducted in law enforcement roles. In Table 6, Emotional Stability, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness best predicted overall performance. Based on effect size, Excitable and Skepticism best predicted poor performance. In addition, excessive obedience (i.e., Dutiful) positively predicted performance. In terms of statistical significance, rule-breaking (i.e., Mischievous) best predicted poor performance.

Wide credibility intervals for a facet of Extraversion (i.e., Ambition) and a facet of Openness (i.e., Inquisitive) suggests predictor–performance relationships vary notably and bidirectionally across studies. The proportion of variance accounted for by sampling error and artifacts suggests important moderators exist for personality–performance relationships based on Emotional Stability, Conscientiousness, and facets of Extraversion and Openness. Similarly, our results point to the existence of moderators in dark personality–performance relationships. Future research should investigate moderators in personality–performance relationships in police. Some potential moderators may include geographic area, department demographic composition, job level, and job function.

Next, we gathered synthetic validity evidence by aggregating correlations across multiple validation studies for critical police performance dimensions. Average correla-

TABLE 3.

Police–Public Characteristic Importance Ratings Mean Comparison Results

		Police		Public		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
FFM personality								
ES	[Adjustment]	21.90	2.54	19.79	3.55	4.07	.00	-0.68
E	[Ambition]	16.80	1.99	13.60	3.76	7.27	.00	-1.06
	[Sociability]	8.30	3.27	8.45	3.60	-0.22	.83	0.04
A	[Interpersonal Sensitivity]	13.73	2.46	13.99	3.14	-0.43	.67	0.09
C	[Prudence]	19.47	2.05	17.55	3.63	4.30	.00	-0.65
O	[Inquisitive]	12.67	3.35	11.26	4.45	2.07	.04	-0.36
	[Learning Approach]	11.57	2.19	10.19	2.76	2.63	.01	-0.55
Dark personality								
MAw	[Excitable]	5.33	0.88	5.24	1.22	0.42	.67	-0.08
	[Skeptical]	4.23	1.07	4.07	1.4	0.62	.54	-0.13
	[Cautious]	4.40	1.10	4.08	1.39	1.20	.23	-0.26
	[Reserved]	3.93	1.74	4.38	1.3	-1.71	.09	0.29
	[Leisurely]	5.20	0.92	4.73	1.25	2.50	.02	-0.43
MAg	[Bold]	5.33	0.88	4.50	1.23	4.62	.00	-0.78
	[Mischievous]	4.70	1.29	4.86	1.39	-0.60	.55	0.12
	[Colorful]	4.03	1.22	3.88	1.47	0.54	.59	-0.11
	[Imaginative]	5.80	0.48	5.34	1.09	4.03	.00	-0.55
MT	[Diligent]	1.17	1.26	1.61	1.66	-1.74	.09	0.30
	[Dutiful]	5.43	0.82	4.76	1.36	3.87	.00	-0.60
Work values								
Recognition		3.79	2.80	2.57	2.72	2.27	.02	-0.44
Power		8.79	1.90	8.30	1.73	1.44	.15	-0.27
Hedonism		6.48	1.96	4.38	3.18	5.01	.00	-0.80
Altruism		7.72	2.17	8.44	2.42	-1.52	.13	0.31
Affiliation		6.07	2.10	7.64	2.68	-3.04	.00	0.65
Tradition		9.86	1.87	8.28	2.21	4.21	.00	-0.77
Security		8.34	1.70	7.29	2.29	3.01	.00	-0.52
Commerce		4.83	2.67	5.53	2.99	-1.20	.23	0.25
Aesthetics		5.45	2.84	5.70	3.17	-.41	.68	0.08
Science		5.03	2.68	6.14	3.05	-1.86	.06	0.39

Note. Public $N = 229$. Police $N = 30$. Public interrater reliability: FFM personality $ICC [C,k] = .99$, Dark personality $ICC [C,k] = .99$, Values $ICC [C,k] = .99$. Police interrater reliability: FFM personality $ICC [C,k] = .97$, Dark personality $ICC [C,k] = .97$, Values $ICC [C,k] = .95$. Total possible mean scores for FFM personality scales vary: 15 for learning approach, 18 for interpersonal sensitivity and sociability, 21 for ambition and inquisitive, 24 for prudence, and 27 for adjustment. ES = Emotional Stability; E = Extraversion; A = Agreeableness; C = Conscientiousness; O = Openness. MAw = Move Away; MAg = Move Against.

TABLE 4. Definitions, Means, and Standard Deviations for Critical Police Competencies

Competency	Definition	Police		Public	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Integrity	Acts honestly in accordance with moral or ethical principles	4.00	0.00	3.79	0.61
Decision making	Uses sound judgment to make timely and effective decisions	3.93	0.25	3.78	0.51
Professionalism	Acts in accordance with job-related values, principles, and standards	3.90	0.31	3.68	0.70
Handling stress	Manages pressure without getting upset, moody, or anxious	3.87	0.35	3.77	0.67
Accountability	Accepts responsibility for one's actions regardless of outcomes	3.87	0.35	-	-
Rule compliance	Adheres to directions, policies, and/or legal guidelines	3.87	0.35	3.70	0.69
Safety focus	Attends to precautions and proper procedures to guard against work-related accidents and injuries	3.77	0.50	3.63	0.76
Dealing with ambiguity	Comfortably handles unclear or unpredictable situations	3.77	0.43	3.76	0.62
Managing conflict	Resolves hostilities and disagreements between others	3.77	0.50	-	-
Solving problems	Identifies solutions given available information	3.77	0.43	3.58	0.66
Caring about people	Displays sensitivity towards the attitudes, feelings, or circumstances of others	3.73	0.45	-	-
Staying alert	Remains focused when performing monotonous tasks	3.73	0.45	3.71	0.72
Detail focus	Performs work with care, accuracy, and attention to detail	3.70	0.54	-	-
Communication	Communicates effectively with others	3.70	0.60	-	-
Dependability	Performs work in a reliable, consistent, and timely manner	3.60	0.50	3.56	0.68
Listening to others	Listens and restates the ideas and opinions of others to improve mutual understanding	3.60	0.62	-	-

Note. $N = 30$. Police $ICC [C,k] = .97$. Public $ICC [C,k] > .99$. $M =$ mean. $SD =$ standard deviation. Only competencies rated $M > 3.55$ (of 4.00) are reported.

TABLE 5.
Racial Mean Rating Comparisons

Characteristic	Majority		Minority		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
FFM personality							
Adjustment	19.74	3.55	19.96	3.56	-0.36	.72	0.06
Ambition	13.49	3.75	14.04	3.81	-0.89	.37	0.15
Sociability	8.32	3.54	8.96	3.81	-1.07	.29	0.17
Interpersonal sensitivity	13.79	3.22	14.80	2.67	-1.98	.05	0.34
Prudence	17.43	3.80	18.04	2.87	-1.02	.31	0.18
Inquisitive	11.18	4.47	11.59	4.40	-0.55	.58	0.09
Learning approach	10.02	2.82	10.87	2.44	-1.88	.06	0.32
Dark personality							
Excitable	5.27	1.24	5.09	1.17	0.92	.36	-0.15
Skeptical	4.02	1.44	4.26	1.18	-1.04	.30	0.18
Cautious	4.11	1.43	3.96	1.25	0.69	.49	-0.11
Reserved	4.37	1.33	4.43	1.22	-0.29	.77	0.05
Leisurely	4.72	1.30	4.76	1.06	-0.19	.85	0.03
Bold	4.50	1.23	4.48	1.24	0.12	.90	-0.02
Mischievous	4.89	1.39	4.76	1.42	0.54	.59	-0.09
Colorful	3.91	1.48	3.76	1.48	0.62	.53	-0.10
Imaginative	5.36	1.08	5.28	1.13	0.40	.69	-0.07
Diligent	1.57	1.67	1.76	1.61	-0.68	.49	0.12
Dutiful	4.85	1.37	4.41	1.27	1.95	.05	-0.33
Work values							
Recognition	2.43	2.73	3.13	2.66	-1.56	.12	0.26
Power	8.40	1.73	7.87	1.72	1.88	.06	-0.31
Hedonism	4.30	3.26	4.72	2.86	-0.80	.42	0.14
Altruism	8.39	2.47	8.65	2.22	-0.66	.51	0.11
Affiliation	7.57	2.72	7.89	2.50	-0.72	.47	0.12
Tradition	8.31	2.31	8.17	1.79	0.36	.72	-0.07
Security	7.25	2.35	7.46	2.04	-0.54	.59	0.10
Commerce	5.57	2.95	5.37	3.16	0.40	.69	-0.07
Aesthetics	5.71	3.18	5.67	3.18	0.07	.94	-0.01
Science	5.97	3.07	6.80	2.89	-1.67	.10	0.28

Note. Majority *N* = 183. Minority *N* = 46.

TABLE 6.

Meta-Analysis Results from Personality–Performance Correlations for Protective Service Jobs

Scale	<i>k</i>	<i>N</i>	R_{sw}	SD_{sw}	ρ	SD_{ρ}	% Var	80% CV	95% CI		
FFM personality											
Adjustment	16	1,674	.09	0.11	.16	0.04	93	.10	.21	.08	.24
Ambition	16	1,674	.04	0.18	.08	0.25	29	-.26	.41	-.08	.23
Sociability	16	1,674	.02	0.11	.03	0.06	86	-.04	.11	-.05	.12
Interpersonal Sensitivity	16	1,674	.10	0.09	.17	0.00	100	.17	.17	.09	.24
Prudence	16	1,674	.08	0.13	.11	0.14	50	-.08	.31	.01	.22
Inquisitive	16	1,674	.02	0.16	.03	0.18	38	-.22	.27	-.10	.15
Learning approach	14	1,323	.04	0.12	.06	0.09	75	-.06	.18	-.04	.16
Dark personality											
Excitable	5	548	-.05	0.06	-.07	0.00	100	-.07	-.07	-.22	.08
Skeptical	5	548	-.07	0.07	-.11	0.00	100	-.11	-.11	-.23	.02
Cautious	5	548	.02	0.09	.02	0.00	100	.02	.02	-.18	.22
Reserved	5	548	-.06	0.13	-.11	0.12	60	-.30	.08	-.35	.14
Leisurely	5	548	.02	0.10	.02	0.04	93	-.04	.09	-.18	.23
Bold	5	548	.00	0.12	.01	0.12	63	-.17	.19	-.23	.25
Mischievous	5	548	-.05	0.04	-.07	0.00	100	-.07	-.07	-.15	.00
Colorful	5	548	-.03	0.07	-.03	0.00	100	-.03	-.03	-.17	.12
Imaginative	5	548	-.05	0.15	-.10	0.20	41	-.41	.21	-.43	.22
Diligent	5	548	.00	0.09	.00	0.00	100	.00	.00	-.20	.20
Dutiful	5	548	.07	0.09	.12	0.00	100	.12	.12	-.06	.29

Note. Results corrected for range restriction and criterion unreliability. *k* = number of studies; *N* = sample size; R_{sw} = sample-weighted mean correlation; SD_{sw} = *s*-weighted standard deviation; ρ = operational validity; SD_{ρ} = standard deviation; % Var = percent of variance accounted for by sampling error and artifact corrections; 80% CV = 80% credibility values; 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

tions, in Table 7, suggest that Emotional Stability, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness exhibited the strongest relationships with performance dimensions. Across both validity generalization analyses, getting along characteristics appeared most consistently relevant to police performance. As shown in Table 8, Excitable and Skepticism, both moving away characteristics, were the strongest predictors of negative ratings on police performance dimensions. Table 9 demonstrates that Recognition and Hedonism were the strongest negative work value predictors across performance dimensions, and Tradition was the strongest positive value predictor. Readers are also encouraged to examine specific scale-competency correlations. To save space, we do not discuss all interesting relationships here. For example, predictors of Handling Stress, Accountability,

Managing Conflict, and Caring about People would seem particularly relevant to publicized problems associated with excessive use of force.

For FFM and dark personality characteristics receiving consistent support (i.e., Emotional Stability, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Excitable, & Skepticism), we averaged across sources of validity generalization analyses using the Nunnally (1978) equation: $\Sigma r_{xy} / \sqrt{\Sigma r_{xx}} * \sqrt{\Sigma r_{yy}}$. Such is calculated for both validity generalization methods and then averaged for the overall validity estimate for the specified battery of scales. The result suggests a job-analytic-based personality battery of these getting along and moving away characteristics would likely predict overall performance and important performance dimensions with a validity coefficient of about .27. This calculation does not include value

FIGURE 1.
Police–Public Characteristic Importance Ratings Mean Comparison Results

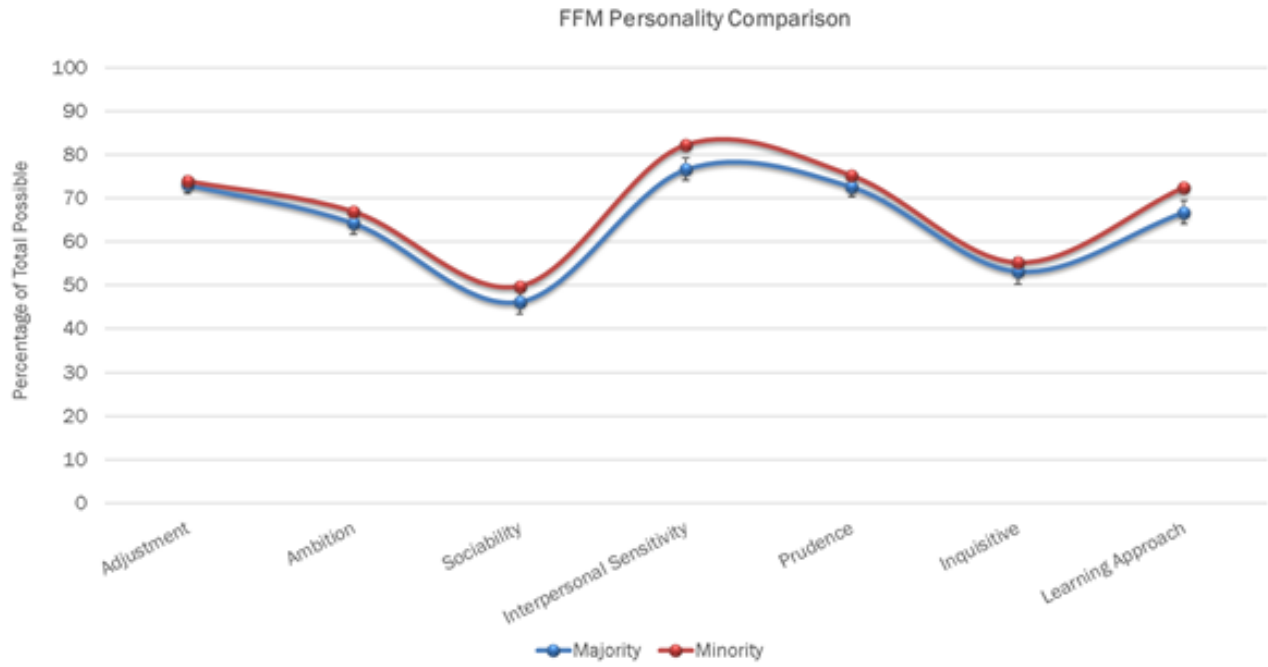


FIGURE 2.
Ratings of important Derailers for Police Performance by Racial Category

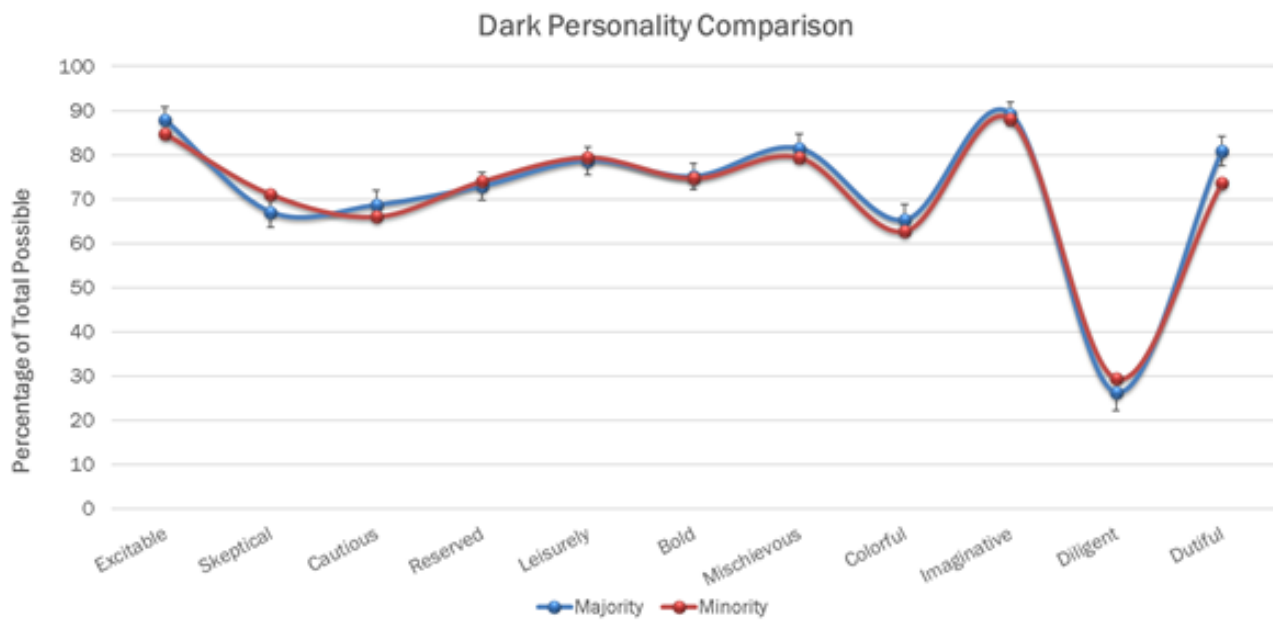
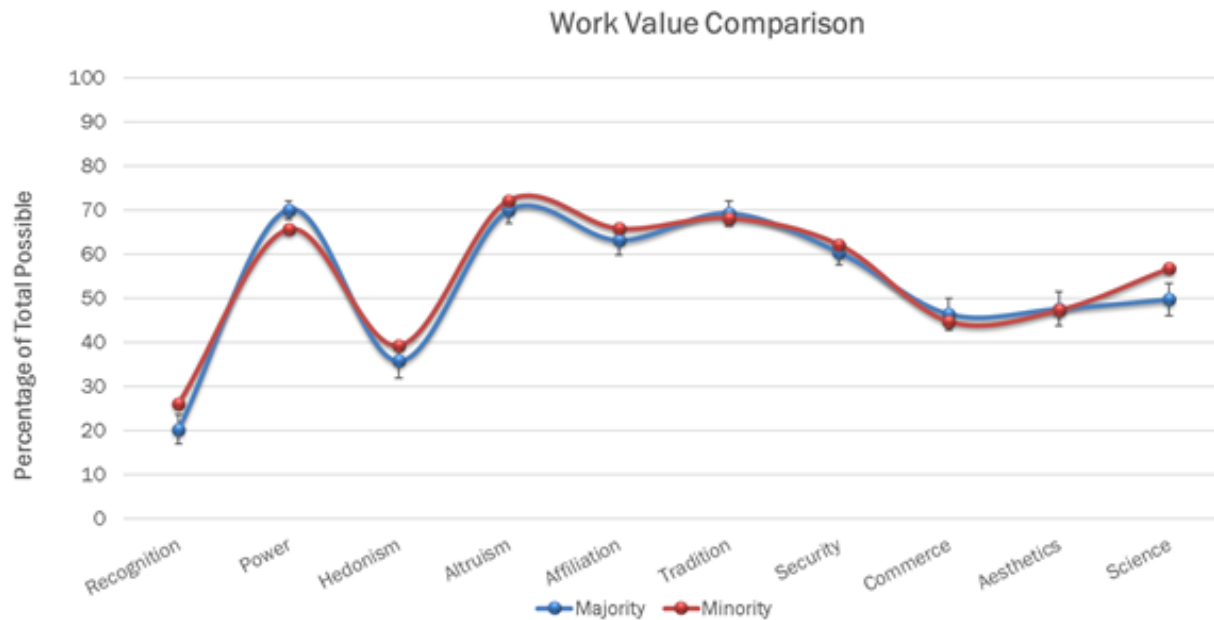


FIGURE 3.
Ratings of important Work Values for Police by Racial Category



scores, so addition of such into the battery would likely increase the expected coefficient.

Base Rates and Subgroup Differences

Research Question 7 asked about personality and value differences between police incumbents and applicants. We thus compared personality and value scores in a sample of incumbents and applicants assessed between 2015–2020 in US law enforcement (see Table 10). Incumbents scored significantly lower than applicants on most desired characteristics and higher on most undesired characteristics. This provides some, albeit inconclusive, evidence that the existing hiring practices used to select the incumbents in our sample did not fully capture characteristics rated as important by police SMEs and the public. Along these lines, adding assessment of FFM personality characteristics, dark personality tendencies, and work values may help fill important gaps in police selection. Finally, Research Question 8 focused on the likelihood of racial adverse impact in personality and value scores. To answer, we compared scores on the predictor scales across race. Race did not significantly distinguish between scores on any scale (see Table 11), suggesting low probability of racial adverse impact when using such scales in law enforcement employment decisions.

Implications for Practice and Research

From multiple angles, we examined constructs with potential to improve police performance through selection. Our job analysis provides useful implications for practitioners. First, we accounted for public expectations. Given

police–public conflict, practitioners should similarly consider public need in the development and implementation of police personnel procedures. However, this may not always require data collection from community members as our sample of SMEs submitted similar job-analytic ratings to members of the public. In addition, the critical competencies identified in the job analysis can guide alignment of police performance appraisals with public expectations. Our validity findings further suggest addition of subclinical, workplace personality and value characteristics warrant consideration in police selection. Our results not only point to important and job-relevant constructs but also show how these constructs might help maintain department diversity. Thus, we encourage practitioners to explore adding assessment of the characteristics and values highlighted as important and predictive of police performance to existing police hiring processes. Because police incumbents score worse than applicants on important characteristics, current selection approaches do not appear to capture desirable getting along or contextual performance tendencies. It will be important to keep unique department needs in mind, such as loss of department funding, small workforces and applicant pools, and data collection obstacles from unions.

Moreover, a subclinical orientation provides more flexibility with pre-offer assessment (e.g., Winterberg et al., 2019a). For instance, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals deemed the MMPI a medical exam that was generally prohibited from use in hiring before a conditional offer of employment (*Karraker v. Rent-A-Center, Inc.*, 2005). On the other hand, departments may use subclinical personality measures at the pre-offer stage to screen candidates earlier

TABLE 7.

FFM Personality Meta-Analytic Operational Validity Coefficients for Predicting Critical Competencies in the Police Officer Role

Competency	<i>K</i>	<i>N</i>	ADJ	AMB	SOC	INP	PRU	INQ	LRN
Integrity	62	7,140	.13*	-.02	-.06*	.11*	.14*	-.05*	.00
Decision making	47	6,039	.07*	.10*	-.01	.01	.03	.01	.05*
Professionalism	40	4,506	.17*	.11*	-.03	.13*	.15*	-.03	.00
Handling stress	83	9,524	.26*	.13*	-.01	.12*	.13*	.01	.05*
Accountability ^a	64	7,644	.10*	.01	-.05*	.04	.11*	-.03	-.01
Rule compliance	59	6,235	.11*	.01	-.09*	.10*	.18*	-.07*	.01
Safety focus	39	3,470	.13*	.06	-.06	.13*	.19*	.00	.02
Dealing with ambiguity ^a	13	1,135	.12*	.15*	.04	.13*	.09*	-.04	.03
Managing conflict	22	2,222	.20*	.14*	-.01	.07	.08	-.01	.02
Solving problems	53	5,587	.09*	.17*	.03	.00	.05*	.06*	.04
Caring about people ^a	36	4,184	.17*	.06	-.04	.18*	.16*	-.01	.02
Staying alert	11	932	.25*	.28*	-.03	.11	.21*	.11	.16
Detail focus ^a	44	3,650	.11*	.10*	-.09*	.06*	.19*	-.02	.02
Communication ^a	34	3,333	.08*	.21*	.09*	.14*	.09*	.09*	.10*
Dependability	76	7,453	.13*	.05	-.08*	.03	.19*	-.07*	.02
Listening to others ^a	39	4,197	.17*	.08*	-.07*	.16*	.14*	-.03	-.01
Average			.14	.10	-.03	.10	.13	-.01	.03

Note. Results presented in the table are operational validities. *K* = number of studies. *N* = number of participants across *K* studies. ADJ = adjustment. AMB = ambition. SOC = sociability. INP = interpersonal sensitivity. PRU = prudence. INQ = inquisitive. LRN = learning approach.

^a Critical for SME sample only.

* 95% CI does not include zero.

TABLE 8. Dark Personality Meta-Analytic Operational Validity Coefficients for Predicting Critical Competencies in the Police Officer Role

Competency	K	N	EXC	SKE	CAU	RES	LEI	BOL	MIS	COL	IMA	DIL	DUT
Integrity	37	4,234	-.13*	-.08*	.05	.00	-.04	-.07*	-.15*	-.11*	-.13*	.05	.02
Decision making	28	3,638	-.12*	-.06*	-.07*	.01	-.09*	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.08*	-.01	-.08*
Professionalism	8	945	-.24*	-.13*	-.05	-.05	-.12*	-.05	-.05	-.02	-.11	.02	.01
Handling stress	31	3,623	-.25*	-.14*	-.15*	-.09*	-.08*	.03	-.03	.02	-.08*	-.02	-.01
Accountability ^a	29	3,922	-.10*	-.04	.05	.01	.00	.01	-.07*	-.04	-.07*	.09*	-.01
Rule compliance	20	2,698	-.09	-.09*	.02	-.09	-.03	.01	-.08*	-.02	-.05	.11*	.01
Safety focus	15	1,219	-.02	-.07	.13	-.05	.01	.01	-.10	-.06	-.17*	.08	.07
Dealing with ambiguity ^a	5	392	-.11	-.19*	-.16*	-.23*	-.16	-.05	.06	.08*	-.08	-.10	-.04
Managing conflict ^a	5	402	-.23*	-.16	-.15	-.01	-.12*	.02	-.04	.04	-.09	-.09	-.05
Solving problems	21	2,423	-.07	-.03	-.11*	.01	-.01	.01	-.07*	.03	-.04	.02	-.08*
Caring about people ^a	12	1,404	-.19*	-.15*	.04	-.10	-.04	-.02	-.14*	-.03	-.05	-.02	.09*
Staying alert	7	679	-.22*	-.17*	-.17	-.13	-.08	.03	-.08*	.01	-.07	.24*	.09
Detail focus ^a	15	1,322	-.07	-.08*	.05	-.03	.04	.01	-.10*	-.08	-.16*	.22*	.08
Communication ^a	6	629	-.07	-.16	-.26*	-.28*	-.13	.09	.00	.27*	.15	.00	-.08
Dependability	26	3,050	-.09*	-.07*	-.01	-.02	-.04	-.06	-.14*	-.11*	-.18*	.12*	.01
Listening to others ^a	12	1,314	-.17*	-.14*	-.06	-.07	-.03	-.02	-.09	-.04	-.14*	.07	.03
Average			-.14	-.11	-.05	-.07	-.06	-.01	-.07	-.01	-.08	.05	.00

Note. Results presented in the table are operational validities. K = number of studies. N = number of participants across K studies. EXC = excitable. SKE = skeptical. CAU = cautious. RES = reserved. LEI = leisurely. BOL = bold. MIS = mischievous. COL = colorful. IMA = imaginative. DIL = diligent. DUT = dutiful.

^a Critical for SME sample only.
* 95%CI does not include zero.

TABLE 9. Work Value Meta-Analytic Operational Validity Coefficients for Predicting Critical Competencies in the Police Officer Role

Competency	K	N	REC	POW	HED	ALT	AFF	TRA	SEC	COM	AES	SCI
Integrity	33	4,543	-.12*	-.06*	-.08*	.01	-.01	.08*	.04	-.05	-.08*	-.06*
Decision making	22	2,935	-.09*	.00	-.05	-.03	.01	.02	.01	.00	-.01	-.01
Professionalism	9	1,006	-.13*	-.02	-.04	.05	.04	.04	.02	.00	-.06	-.01
Handling stress	30	3,504	-.04	.05	-.07*	-.02	.08*	.04	-.03	.05	-.07*	.00
Accountability ^a	33	4,656	-.08*	.02	-.05*	-.03	-.02	.06*	.04	.00	-.07*	-.04
Rule compliance	22	3,160	-.09*	-.01	-.07	.01	.00	.07*	.10*	-.03	-.05	-.06*
Safety focus	12	966	-.07	.03	-.01	.03	.01	.10	.07	-.07	.05	-.04
Dealing with ambiguity ^a	7	548	-.01	-.01	-.04	.01	.11	.02	-.10*	-.01	-.05	-.14
Managing conflict ^a	6	587	-.09	.04	-.08	.06	.09	.07	.00	.10	-.10	-.06
Solving problems	20	2,364	-.07*	.06	-.06	-.05	-.01	.04	-.03	.02	-.10*	-.01
Caring about people ^a	13	1,505	-.03	-.01	-.07	.12*	.05	.07	.01	-.05	.04	-.05
Staying alert	6	585	-.06	.09	-.21*	.00	.11	.17*	.07	-.01	-.09	.09
Detail focus ^a	12	909	-.10	-.02	-.11*	.04	.01	.12*	.06	-.10	-.06	.00
Communication ^a	9	977	-.03	.10	-.13	.08	.11*	.20*	-.14*	-.06	.04	-.10
Dependability	21	2,369	-.09*	-.01	-.03	-.05	-.02	.02	.10*	-.04	-.15*	-.08*
Listening to others ^a	13	1,457	-.09*	.02	-.04	.01	.00	.06	.04	.01	-.03	-.04
Average			-.07	.02	-.07	.02	.04	.07	.02	-.02	-.05	-.04

Note. Results presented in the table are operational validities. *K* = number of studies. *N* = number of participants across *K* studies. *REC* = recognition. *POW* = power. *HED* = hedonism. *ALT* = altruism. *AFF* = affiliation. *TRA* = tradition. *SEC* = security. *COM* = commerce. *AES* = aesthetics. *SCI* = science.

^a Critical for SME sample only.
* 95%CI does not include zero.

TABLE 10.

Comparison of Law Enforcement Applicant and Incumbent Personality and Value Scores

	Applicants		Incumbents		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
FFM personality	<i>N</i> = 480		<i>N</i> = 125				
Adjustment	67.64	26.69	43.47	30.90	8.00	.00	-0.84
Ambition	58.91	28.68	51.31	29.55	2.62	.01	-0.26
Sociability	43.58	26.16	46.34	28.65	-1.03	.30	0.10
Interpersonal sensitivity	63.60	27.33	41.42	29.72	7.93	.00	-0.78
Prudence	64.44	26.25	44.03	28.96	7.58	.00	-0.74
Inquisitive	57.04	29.04	52.19	29.99	1.65	.10	-0.16
Learning approach	47.34	31.15	35.42	28.53	4.08	.00	-0.40
Dark personality	<i>N</i> = 381		<i>N</i> = 136				
Excitable	40.28	24.89	58.46	27.57	-7.10	.00	0.69
Skeptical	53.63	27.48	71.15	25.98	-6.48	.00	0.66
Cautious	42.68	25.17	55.80	27.25	-4.92	.00	0.50
Reserved	59.44	25.20	69.63	24.88	-4.06	.00	0.41
Leisurely	54.95	24.53	59.81	28.80	-1.75	.08	0.18
Bold	54.45	31.56	54.59	32.39	-0.04	.96	0.00
Mischievous	41.01	28.91	52.26	31.87	-3.62	.00	0.37
Colorful	40.86	26.40	45.38	28.29	-1.68	.09	0.17
Imaginative	57.22	28.34	58.63	29.81	-0.49	.62	0.05
Diligent	74.06	26.31	64.57	29.91	3.48	.00	-0.34
Dutiful	74.20	21.74	57.88	25.80	6.59	.00	-0.68
Work values	<i>N</i> = 137		<i>N</i> = 79				
Recognition	35.85	27.61	49.94	30.51	-3.47	0.00	0.48
Power	49.52	25.76	53.13	27.34	-.97	0.33	0.14
Hedonism	50.47	28.22	64.58	26.47	-3.62	0.00	0.52
Altruism	63.16	24.81	54.00	30.82	2.25	0.03	-0.33
Affiliation	48.96	27.11	44.71	32.80	0.98	0.33	-0.14
Tradition	68.35	26.14	61.22	28.18	1.88	0.06	-0.26
Security	74.66	23.42	61.77	31.39	3.18	0.00	-0.47
Commerce	50.24	26.48	40.95	30.89	2.24	0.03	-0.32
Aesthetics	44.53	28.32	52.28	28.23	-1.94	0.05	0.27
Science	53.28	26.51	50.95	28.95	0.60	0.55	-0.08

Note. Means are based on percentile scores normed on a US working population.

TABLE 11.

Score Differences by Race in US Peace Officer Sample

Characteristic	df_B	df_W	MSE	F	p
FFM personality					
Adjustment	5	239	986.08	1.19	.31
Ambition	5	239	874.26	1.02	.41
Sociability	5	239	771.88	.15	.98
Interpersonal sensitivity	5	239	994.70	.67	.65
Prudence	5	239	972.70	.79	.56
Inquisitive	5	239	820.12	.58	.72
Learning approach	5	239	828.02	2.21	.05
Dark personality					
Excitable	5	239	808.14	.14	.98
Skeptical	5	239	720.98	.33	.89
Cautious	5	239	769.46	1.01	.41
Reserved	5	239	622.70	.98	.43
Leisurely	5	239	730.78	1.61	.16
Bold	5	239	876.64	1.42	.22
Mischievous	5	239	1011.80	.39	.86
Colorful	5	239	814.23	1.66	.15
Imaginative	5	239	753.51	1.47	.20
Diligent	5	239	779.68	1.81	.11
Dutiful	5	239	690.66	1.36	.24
Work values					
Recognition	5	239	903.72	.46	.81
Power	5	239	746.30	.61	.69
Hedonism	5	239	855.88	.33	.90
Altruism	5	239	704.65	1.13	.35
Affiliation	5	239	826.48	.85	.52
Tradition	5	239	720.60	1.62	.16
Security	5	239	717.45	1.80	.11
Commerce	5	239	762.33	.72	.61
Aesthetics	5	239	818.22	1.28	.27
Science	5	239	710.04	1.04	.40

Note. $N = 245$. Racial categories examined include Black ($n = 36$), Hispanic ($n = 28$), Asian ($n = 7$), Native ($n = 2$), White ($n = 167$), and two or more races ($n = 5$). MSE = mean square error. Scores were based on percentile scores normed on a US working population.

in the process. This may also provide departments a way to reduce costs of more expensive hiring procedures positioned later in the process.

Future research should continue to investigate the nuances of the personality–police performance relationships, including examining incremental validity, curvilinearity, contextual moderators, and various specific performance criteria (e.g., excessive use of force). We echo recent calls for the applied psychology community to help police (e.g., PTFTCP, 2015; Ruggs et al., 2016). Police departments are understandably under pressure to make personnel improvements to achieve more peaceful and productive police–community interactions. Addressing personnel processes should help improve cultural and systemic problems over time, especially solutions targeting leadership roles. Applied psychology practitioners have the expertise to guide such efforts through job analysis, validation, selection, and performance management. In doing so, it is critical to attend to the needs of the public and reinforce the tradition in the opening quote from Sir Robert Peel, “*the police are the public and the public are the police.*”

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