

VOLUNTARY CONSENT TO POLICE SEARCHES:  
A RESULT OF THE FOOT-IN-THE-DOOR TECHNIQUE

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A Thesis

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The Faculty of the Department of Psychology  
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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

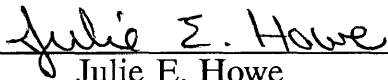
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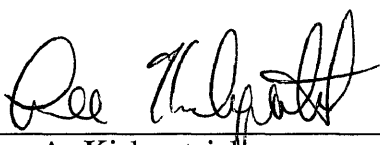
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Voluntary Consent to Police Searches:  
A Result of the Foot-in-the-Door Technique

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### Abstract

This study was designed to determine whether or not the Foot-in-the-door technique introduced by Freedman and Fraser (1966) affects the voluntariness of an individual's consent to a warrantless police search. Eighty male undergraduate psychology students were approached individually by a campus police officer in an experimental setting. The design was a 2 (level of commitment) x 2 (intrusiveness of the initial request) between-subjects design. It was hypothesized that a request for a "pat down" preceded by a relatively highly intrusive initial request with a high level of commitment would obtain the most compliance and that an initial request of relatively low intrusiveness with a low level of commitment would obtain the least compliance. Results indicate that the size of the initial request had no effect on compliance. Although the Foot-in-the-door technique was supported by the high compliance rates, it was not supported by observers who rated subjects in the high commitment condition as less compliant than subjects in the low commitment condition.

### Voluntary Consent to Police Searches:

#### A Result of the Foot-in-the-door Technique

The security of one's home, person and belongings is extremely important to most citizens. Because of the increase in crime, there are conditions under which this security is threatened not only by criminals but also by law enforcement personnel who are engaged in investigations. Thus there are instances in which law enforcement personnel ask citizens to give up their right to privacy by asking to search bodies or possessions. According to the law, citizens are not required to permit police officers to search their bodies or possessions without probable cause, or a search warrant unless subject to an arrest. Law enforcement personnel, however, are requisite interpreters of criminal law. Unfortunately this interpretation is often influenced by situational difficulties, danger and authority (Skolnick, 1975). In addition, there are situations in which there is more for police to gain than lose, as the illegality of a search may be tempered by the discovery of incriminating evidence on the suspect. Thus the prevailing legal standard may be compromised (Skolnick, 1975).

Despite these problems, citizens generally do comply with warrantless requests to search. Evidence obtained as a result of such searches can be used against the citizen in court, if the search followed voluntary consent by the citizen. Many factors affect voluntary consent to a police search, and these factors may be actively manipulated by police officers to obtain voluntary compliance to

interrogations, "pat down" searches, searches of a citizen's bags and other kinds of requests. In other words, officer's often use tactics to gain compliance that circumvent legal restrictions. This study attempts to identify how the foot-in-the-door technique (Freedman & Fraser, 1966) affects voluntary compliance, and to determine whether or not voluntariness, from a psychological standpoint, is the same as voluntariness defined by the Supreme Court.

### The Law on Consent Searches

The law on consent searches stems from the Fourth Amendment's protection of privacy, which states that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause" (United States Constitution, p. 45). The protection of the Fourth Amendment was extended to the states via the Fourteenth Amendment.

The exclusionary rule, which excludes evidence obtained in violation of the defendant's constitutional rights, such as an unreasonable search, was extended to all states via the Fourteenth Amendment in *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961). Six years later the Supreme Court protected citizens further. Based on the Fourth Amendment, in *Katz v. United States* (1967) the Supreme Court held that "wherever a man may be, he is entitled to know that he will remain free from unreasonable searches and seizures." Although *Katz* was decided in 1967, it remains "good law", that is, it is the key case in consent searches and has been continually upheld. This

protection against unreasonable searches may only be compromised by consent of the individual.

The Court recognizes that there are different kinds of consent, different ways to ask for consent, and different ways to interpret consent. It has focused specifically on voluntary consent as opposed to coerced consent. The test of voluntariness was first established in *Culombe v. Connecticut* (1961): "The ultimate test remains that which has been the only clearly established test in the Anglo-American court for two hundred years: the test of voluntariness. Is the confession the product of an essentially free and unconstrained choice by its maker? If it is, if he has willed to confess, it may be used against him. It is not, if his will has been overborne and his capacity for self-determination critically impaired, the use of his confession offends due process" (p. 1879).

In *Schneckloth v. Bustamonte*, (1973) the Supreme Court applied this voluntariness test and held that "the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments require that consent not be coerced, by explicit or implicit means, by implied threat or covert force. For, no matter how subtly the coercion was applied, the resulting 'consent' would be no more than a pretext for the unjustified police intrusions against which the Fourth Amendment is directed" (*Schneckloth v. Bustamonte*, 1973, p. 2048). Thus, consent may be voluntary if it is given in the absence of coercion, or in other words "where there is coercion there cannot be consent" (p. 2048). Continuing, the Court held that the consent issue should only be resolved

after assessing the "totality of the surrounding circumstances" (p. 2049). Thus the Court has recognized that consent may be deceptively induced and obtained by coercive techniques that are often unperceived by an individual (Grano, 1979). Such techniques may include the "good cop" - "bad cop" routine, suggestibility in interrogations, lying or implying more evidence than exists and, more to the point of the present study, gaining compliance to initial requests to increase the likelihood of gaining compliance to the larger more potentially incriminating request.

Because of the importance the Court places on voluntariness, the voluntariness of consent searches needs to be examined more closely. Although the presence and demeanor of police officers are not considered as coercive per se (*United States v. Stone*, 1972), the Court recognizes that intrusions that are the product of police deception or coercion raise serious Fourth Amendment difficulties. Thus far, the Court has defined show of authority only as physical force, intimidation, harassment, threats, promise of leniency in treatment or punishment. Such behavior by the police is sufficient to support exclusion of testimony/evidence due to involuntary consent (*California v. Hodari*, 1991). On the other hand, such tactics by no means exhaust the possible forms of interrogation of crime suspects (Inbau, Reid, & Buckley, 1986). Because of the multitude of police questioning strategies, there needs to be more analytical research on the voluntariness of consent to police searches.

### Relevant Research on Compliance to Police

Thus far three lines of research have emerged. First, the persuasiveness of police interrogation techniques was investigated by Kassin and McNall (1991). Second, Kagehiro (1986) has examined the perceived voluntariness of warrantless searches. Third, a previous study by Howe (1992) examined compliance rates while manipulating determinants of perceived voluntariness in a vignette study.

Basing their work on suggestions made in Inbau, Reid and Buckley's (1986) interrogation manual, Kassin and McNall (1991) studied maximization and minimization. Maximization is a technique that exaggerates the strength of the evidence and the magnitude of the charges. This technique includes scare and intimidation tactics. In contrast, minimization techniques mitigate the crime. In such techniques the "investigator tries to lull the suspect into a false sense of security by offering sympathy, tolerance, face-saving excuses, and even moral justification, by blaming the victim or accomplice, by citing extenuating circumstances, or by playing down the seriousness of the charges" (Kassin & McNall, 1991, p. 235).

Kassin & McNall (1991) had subjects read interrogation transcripts. In each transcript the interrogator used one of five interrogation techniques to elicit a confession: a promise of leniency, threat of punishment, minimization, maximization, and none of the above. Results revealed that maximization and explicit threat of punishment communicated expectations of harsh sentences,

whereas minimization and an offer of leniency led to expectations of lenient sentences. They also found that conviction rates increased when confessions followed from promises or minimization. Thus, the more seemingly subtle, less coercive interrogation techniques yielded confessions that were more likely to be believed by mock jurors. It should be noted, however, that confessions were always present in the study. It remains to be seen whether minimization and other subtle compliance techniques will actually elicit compliance as effectively as more coercive means. For example, is it possible to gain compliance to an incriminating search request after engaging in conversation and obtaining compliance to smaller initial requests to the same degree as a more direct and immediate show of authority request to conduct a search?

Perceived voluntariness was examined by Kagehiro (1986) using vignettes manipulating perspective (consenter/observer), request form (interrogative/declarative) and request specificity (nonspecific/specific). It was found that requests phrased interrogatively resulted in higher perceived choice in permitting entry for a subsequent search. It was also found that observers overestimated the consenters perceived freedom to revoke consent and to limit the scope of an unspecified search. Interestingly, there were no differences between consenter and observer perceptions. This is most likely due to the fact that it was a vignette study and often what subjects report about others is actually a reflection on what they would do in the given situation. In addition, it should be noted that there

are often differences between what subjects perceive in a vignette, or claim they will do, and what they actually feel and would do in the same situation. The present study attempts to eliminate such experimental biases and examine how subjects behave when confronted with a request to conduct to a "pat down" search.

Instead of asking subjects to rate sentence and conviction expectations as a result of interrogation tactics (Kassin & McNall, 1991), or perceived voluntariness to warrantless searches (Kagehiro, 1986), Howe (1992) examined compliance rates by placing the subject as the target person in vignettes. One-hundred and twelve undergraduate psychology students read vignettes in which a police officer requests to search their bags. Subjects were asked how likely they would be to ignore the officer, refuse the officer, let the officer open the bag or open the bag for the officer. The design was a 2(options versus no options presented to the subject) x 2(questions versus no questions answered by the subject) x 2(guilt versus innocence) factorial design with the last factor repeated. Subjects reported that they were more likely to comply when innocent than guilty. In addition subjects who read the innocent vignette first were more likely to comply when innocent and subjects who read the guilty vignette first were least likely to comply when guilty. However, when subjects read the guilty vignette first, they were less likely to comply when innocent and when subjects read the innocent vignette first they were more likely to comply when innocent. The gender of the subject also

affected compliance. Males were more likely to ignore or refuse the officer when they were guilty than females. Males who were innocent, however, responded similarly to females who were guilty and females who were innocent. In short, although commitment to the situation and number of options presented had no differential effects on reported compliance, innocence or guilt, presentation order and gender of the subject all affected claimed compliance to a police officer's request to search the subject's bag.

Although whether the subject had answered questions prior to the request to search the subject's bag did not have a significant effect, the present study is attempting to further understand this factor by eliminating other factors such as guilt/innocence, gender, options and presentation order. In addition the present study is an attempt to increase the external validity of Howe (1992) by having real police officers ask subjects to present identification, open their bags and stand up for a "pat down." Thus, it is a replication of Howe (1992) that manipulates only commitment to the situation, in a setting with substantially enhanced external validity. This commitment to the situation is also known as the foot-in-the-door technique.

### The Foot-in-the-door Technique and Compliance

Psychological study of voluntary consent to warrantless police searches can build upon a persuasion technique called the foot-in-the-door technique (FITD). This technique assumes that once someone has agreed to a small request, he or

she is more likely to comply with a larger request. The classic example of this research was provided by Freedman and Fraser (1966). In one condition they asked women to put small signs in their front yard urging motorists to drive carefully and all the women complied. Then two weeks later they asked the same women to put a "monstrous" sign with the same message in their front yard. In the other condition they asked a comparison group who did not receive the initial request to put the same "monstrous" sign in their front yard. Significantly more women agreed to the larger request when they had already agreed to the smaller request as compared to the women who did not receive the smaller request. Thus the fact that the women had already complied with a "small" request made them more likely to comply with a "larger" request. This study has been replicated many times in different settings with a variety of other factors added in and with males as well as females. The literature on FITD was most recently consolidated by Dillard (1991). This review compared and synthesized three meta-analyses performed by Beaman, Cole, Preston, Klentz, and Steblay (1983); Dillard, Hunter, and Burgoon (1984); Fern, Monroe, and Avila (1986). Dillard concluded that these reviews "produced some robust knowledge regarding the existence and operation of the FITD" (p. 287).

As a result of the abundance of literature on the FITD technique six factors that may affect compliance have been identified. These factors are whether the initial request was agreed to or actually performed, the time delay

between the two requests, the use of different requesters, the relative magnitude of the initial request, the incentives for the initial request and the pro-socialness of the critical request.

These meta-analyses are directed at understanding how and why the FITD technique works. There are two central hypotheses in the literature. The most commonly accepted explanation for the success of the FITD technique is the self-perception hypothesis first introduced by Bem (1972). It argues that individuals draw inferences about their attitudes and beliefs based on observations of their own behavior and the situation, in the same way that they make inferences about the dispositions of others. The other explanation proposed is the availability hypothesis, which simply states that favorable information about one's own behavior and about the requester's behavior determines compliance (Fern et al., 1986). In addition, the most available response is also the dominant response.

The results of Beaman's et al. (1983) meta-analysis were presented according to the self-perception hypothesis as the process underlying the FITD technique. Their meta-analysis included 120 experimental groups among FITD studies in published journal articles as well as presented papers and unpublished manuscripts preceding 1981. They found that the time delay between the two requests does not affect compliance to the critical request. In addition they found that the actual performance of the initial requests leads to more compliance with the critical request. However, they did not provide evidence for the magnitude of

request, that is, compliance to the critical request did not increase as the magnitude of the initial request increased.

The meta-analysis conducted by Dillard et al. (1984) was also presented in relation to the self-perception hypothesis. Dillard et al. (1984) used 28 studies that met the criteria for the FITD technique. In contrast to Beaman et al. (1983), Dillard et al. did not provide evidence that the execution of the initial request, rather than simple agreement to the request, affected compliance to the critical request. They did, however, agree with Beaman's et al. (1983) results, in that the time delay did not affect compliance to the critical request. Dillard et al. also did not find evidence that the more effort involved in the initial request the greater the compliance to the critical request. In addition, Dillard et al. found that if rewards were involved in the initial request there would be no relationship with the critical request, hence less compliance and that the pro-socialness of the appeal increased compliance.

Neither the meta-analysis by Beaman et al. (1983) nor the one by Dillard et al. (1984) provided conclusive support for the self-perception hypothesis, but both agreed that it is a useful theoretical framework. In contrast, Fern et al. (1986) utilized 59 published articles discussing either the FITD technique or the door-in-the-face technique (the number of articles was not broken down according to the FITD or DITF techniques) that were consistent with the availability hypothesis. They found that there was more compliance when the initial request

was executed rather than simply agreed to, but that neither time delay nor use of different requesters affected compliance. Unlike Beaman et al. (1983) and Dillard et al. (1984) Fern et al. (1986) did find that when the relative magnitude of the initial request was moderate as opposed to large or small there was more compliance to the critical request. Like Dillard (1984), Fern et al. (1986) also found that reward for the initial request eliminates the relationship to the second request producing less compliance. There was also more compliance to pro-social requests than self-oriented requests. Fern et al. concludes that "the availability hypothesis affords a parsimonious, theoretical explanation for when multiple request strategies are likely to be effective" (p. 152).

Thus, as of Dillard (1991) time delay and requester differences do not affect compliance, whereas the nature of the request consistently affects compliance. This leaves only two unresolved issues surrounding the FITD technique: the effects of the initial request size and the active or passive participation in the initial request (Dillard, 1991).

### Size of Initial Request

One of the first studies manipulating size of the initial request was a replication of Freedman and Fraser's (1966) study by Baron (1973) in which the size of the initial request and sex of the requester were manipulated. The initial small request was to accept a one-page leaflet on the dangers of air and water pollution and the moderate request was to sign a petition for more strict anti-

pollution legislation, get two friends to sign, and return the petition in the mail. One week later another experimenter returned and asked permission to place a 3 x 5 foot sign in their front lawn with the message: "Fight Pollution: The World You Save May Be Your Own." The FITD technique was effective only when people were approached by male experimenters. Moreover, the moderate request group was not significantly more compliant than the no initial request control group. Baron (1973) concluded that the FITD technique was only effective with small initial requests.

Another replication was conducted by Pliner, Hart, Kohl and Saari (1974) in which subjects were randomly assigned to one of three initial request size conditions. The first was a small request, wearing a pin in support of the cancer society which was holding a fund raiser the next day. The second was a moderate request, wearing the pin and getting another family member also to wear one. The third was no prior request. On the following evening the critical request was made: subjects were asked to make a donation to the cancer society. Results indicated that more subjects in the small and moderate conditions donated money than did in the no initial request condition. There was, however, no difference between the two initial request conditions.

Seligman, Bush, and Kirsch (1976) found that of four different request sizes only the largest request produced more subsequent compliance than the no initial request condition. The experimenters randomly called adult subjects and

explained that they were conducting a survey for a professor concerned with people's reaction to the energy crisis and inflation. Request size was manipulated by the number of yes/no questions the subjects were asked to answer: 5, 20, 30 or 45. Two days later under the same pretense experimenters asked these subjects to answer a 55-question survey. Seligman et al. (1976) concluded that the two smaller requests were ineffective whereas the two larger requests were effective for future compliance as compared to the no initial request group.

The size of the initial request also was manipulated by Carducci, Deuser, Bauer, and Large (1989) using 5-, 10-, 15-, or 20-item questionnaires about organ donations. They found that even the small request of only a 5-item questionnaire elicited responses to the critical request similar to the 20-item questionnaire indicating subjects would donate their organs.

In a study of source legitimacy, Patch (1986) also found that size of initial request affected compliance. The two sources for the request were the "Parents for Good Television Programming", a non profit organization with high legitimacy and the "Multimedia Associates Consulting Firm, a for-profit organization with low legitimacy. Size of the request was manipulated by asking subjects to answer a few questions that would only take a few minutes (small request), or asking if a 50-question survey could be sent to the subjects (moderate request) concerning their television viewing habits. The critical request was asking the subjects to keep a journal concerning television viewing habits. Results indicated that when

the moderate request was made first there was more compliance to the critical requests from both legitimacy sources. Thus the legitimacy of the requester did not affect compliance. Although source legitimacy is an important variable, it cannot be manipulated in a study involving requests from police officers, who are widely regarded as legitimate authority figures. In short, the size of the initial request is important, but the studies thus far have not been conclusive as to the exact effect.

Despite the issues yet to be resolved, the several meta-analyses show that the FITD technique influences compliance to a critical request. There are a number of studies that illustrate the breadth to which this phenomenon can be applied. In a study conducted by Carducci & Deuser (1984) subjects were more willing to become an organ donor if they agreed to complete an "anatomical donation questionnaire" two weeks before being asked to be an organ donor as compared to those who did not receive the initial request. Conservation of electricity was a result of a study by Katzev and Johnson (1983) using the FITD technique. Subjects were initially asked to fill out a short energy conservation questionnaire and then asked to reduce their consumption of electricity by 10%. Twelve weeks later this group had conserved more energy than the group that did not receive the initial request.

Another study illustrated the same effect with telephone interviews (Hornik, Zaig and Shadmon, 1991) . They found that when subjects agreed to a

small request, responding to 3 short questions involving personal issues, subjects would then comply with the target request, participating in a short telephone interview on sensitive topics such as sexual activity, drug use, income and criminal behavior. Hornik et al. (1991) concluded that the FITD technique is effective in "enhancing compliance to relatively high cost behaviors" (p. 54). This finding is particularly relevant when trying to apply the FITD technique to voluntary consent to police searches, a high cost behavior.

In summary, the FITD technique has been employed in a variety of settings, and has been relatively successful in gaining compliance. Consequently, there is reason to suspect that the results would be comparable when it is employed by police officers, rather than other persuasive communicators. In the present study it is hypothesized that more compliance will be elicited when an officer engages conversation, asks easy questions and makes a relatively large initial request before making the critical request to conduct a "pat down" search than when the officer precedes the request to conduct a "pat down" search with a relatively small initial request and no conversation. If this turns out to be the case, it would suggest that techniques commonly used by police officers to gain compliance for a warrantless search may be psychologically coercive although legally acceptable.

## Method

### Subjects

Eighty-five male college students from the introductory psychology research pool at a small southeastern college participated. Only males were included because according to the *FBI Uniform Crime Reports* (1991) the vast majority of offenders are male, males appear to be more knowledgeable of the law (Howe, 1992) and a "pat down" search on males created fewer problems in the ethics review. Four subjects were eliminated because of experimental error and one subject was eliminated because he had been in court with the officer that morning. Thus, there was a total of 80 male subjects with a mean age of 18.73. Race of subjects included 57 whites, 8 blacks, 6 asians, 2 hispanics and 7 subjects who did not identify their race.

#### Authority Figures

Because real police officers evoke responses from citizens that cannot be evoked by persons lacking such legitimate authority, four campus police officers agreed to participate (with their Chief's permission).<sup>1</sup> These officers are state certified and have received the same 11-week training program and refresher training as all other police officers in the state. Two of the officers were female and two were male, one of whom was a black officer. In addition to officer sex differences, officers were out of uniform. Past research has found that apparel of persons perceived as authority figures making a request influences another person's compliance (Bickman, 1974). The black officer (Officer Z) and one of the female officers (Officer X) were dressed professionally in a suit jacket. The

other female officer (Officer W) and the other male officer (Officer Y) were dressed in a wind breaker type jacket with "POLICE" written across the back. Thus, resulting compliance may be attributed to authority, and not other confounding variables.

### Procedure

Subjects signed up individually for an untitled experiment. The night before the study subjects were called and told that "the study involves physical exertion and you will most likely get a little dirty and sweaty, so it would probably be a good idea if you brought a change of clothes and a towel." Informal pretesting suggested that this instruction would lead almost all undergraduate males to bring a change of clothes in a bag of some kind. When the subject arrived, he was asked to complete a questionnaire including biographical information and his involvement in high school sports while the experimenter prepared for the study in the next room. Thus the subject was alone in the room. As the subject completed the questionnaire, a campus police officer casually walked down the hallway glancing in the open door, then returned to the room where the subject was seated and presented his/her badge upon entering the room. The officer then asked to see the subject's student ID (low intrusive initial request) or to search the subject's bag (high intrusive initial request). This request was made either immediately (low commitment) or after first engaging the subject in a short conversation (high commitment). After gaining consent to

the initial request the officer then asked the subject to please stand for a "pat down," the critical request. Immediately upon receiving the subject's assent or refusal to the critical request, the study was terminated -- *no bags were searched and no "pat downs" were actually performed*. A complete copy of the script is in Appendix A.

The commitment and intrusiveness levels were chosen as a result of a previous study (Howe, 1992), which found that the amount of claimed compliance depended significantly upon the intrusiveness of the request. In addition, 12 pilot subjects were run as practice for the officers and raters as well as to help identify appropriate initial and critical requests. These 12 subjects were not included in the analysis. The first 8 subjects were run with the following initial requests: asking if the subject had seen someone dressed in sweats and carrying a backpack (low intrusiveness) and asking for identification (high intrusiveness). The critical request was a request to search the subject's bag, upon which there was immediate compliance. The next 4 subjects were run using a request for identification (low intrusiveness) and a request to search the subject's bag (high intrusiveness) as the two initial requests. The critical request required the subject to stand and empty his pockets. Again immediate compliance was obtained. As a result of such immediate compliance, not all subjects having pockets, lack of effect on subjects and verbal reports from subjects that they had "nothing to hide" (i.e. they were innocent), the intrusiveness level was increased once again. Instead of

standing and emptying his pockets, subjects were asked to stand for a "pat down". It was hoped that a search as personally intrusive as a frisk would eliminate the "I'm innocent and have nothing to hide effect" as a reason for compliance. The increase in intrusiveness was approved by the College ethics committee and the police officers.

Compliance was measured in several ways. First, it was measured categorically, no compliance vs. compliance for the initial and critical requests by the raters and police officers. Second, compliance was measured according to a list of descriptions that were translated into a 7-point scale indicating amount of compliance to the critical request by the raters. The list included the following items: "the subject complies without question," "the subject politely asks why and complies," "the subject politely asks why and complies grudgingly," "the subject rudely asks why and complies grudgingly," "the subject rudely asks why and doesn't comply," "the subject answers no, and ignores the officer," "the subject answers no and leaves the room". This list was pretested and found to be reasonable descriptions in order from most to least compliant. Lastly, compliance to the critical request was measured quantitatively on a 7-point observer rating scale ("not at all compliant" to "very compliant") by the raters and police officer. Latency to respond to the initial request and to the critical request were timed as additional indicators of compliance. These measures were taken by observers through a slit in curtains covering a one-way mirror into the experimental room.

A total of 3 undergraduate and 3 graduate students, all unaware of the study's hypotheses, served as raters.<sup>2</sup> Whenever possible (50% of the time), two raters were present. The police officer also rated compliance categorically and quantitatively on the same 7-point rating scale ("not at all compliant" to "very compliant") used by the observers.

At the conclusion of the study the subjects were asked to fill out a one page questionnaire about their perceptions of the situation. First, they were asked whether or not they felt the officer was a legitimate police officer and whether or not they had wanted to be "patted down." Then on 7-point scales they rated the friendliness of the officer, indicated how much their freedom was reduced by having already answered some of the officer's questions, and indicated how much their privacy had been invaded. Next subjects rank-ordered 8 possible police officer requests according to intrusiveness: asking if you are a student, your name, for your ID, to identify someone else, to empty your pockets, to search your bag, to stand for a pat down and lastly to accompany the officer. Then subjects completed a mood scale, in which they rated the following moods on 7-point scales: "anxious," "relaxed," "guilty," "angry," "self-conscious," "innocent," "stressed," and "embarrassed." Finally, subjects indicated whether (and how often) they had been stopped by a police officer, whether they or anyone in their family had ever been a victim of a crime and whether (and how confidently) they knew the applicable law. Please see Appendix B for the complete questionnaire.

Subjects were then carefully debriefed and educated about their rights in comparable search situations. The need for deception was explained, and subjects were given the chance to have their data excluded from the analysis. No subject chose to exercise this right. Please see Appendix A for complete script.

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

Although pretesting showed that almost all male college students would bring a bag when read the instructions, of the 80 subjects, 36 of them did not have bags with them and were thus randomly assigned to either the low or high commitment condition with the low intrusiveness request for identification. Of these 36 subjects, a substantial number of those who did not bring bags arrived in "work out" clothes. Therefore, there is no potential for a subject variable confound to be concerned about. In addition, there were 11 subjects who were randomly assigned to the identification conditions even though they did have bags with them. As a result, 43 subjects were randomly assigned to the identification condition and 37 were assigned to the bag condition upon arrival.

Several analysis were conducted to determine whether subjects were evenly distributed across conditions. First, a 2 (commit) x 2 (initial request) analysis of variance revealed that the number of times subjects reported being stopped did not vary across all four conditions. The mean number of times subjects had been stopped by a police officer in the past was 2.39 with a range from 0 to 10.

Second, 50% of the subjects indicated that they or a member of their family had been a victim of a crime in the past. This did vary across the commitment conditions,  $X^2(1, n = 40) = 6.05, p < .05$ , such that 25 subjects were victims or had a family member who had been a victim in the past in the low commitment condition, whereas there were only 15 in the high commitment condition. This also did not vary across intrusiveness conditions. Third, a chi square table did not reveal any significant differences for the legitimacy of the officer. Fourth, a chi square table did not reveal any significant differences for whether or not the subjects indicated that they wanted to be "patted down". Lastly, a chi square table revealed that knowledge of the law did not differ across conditions. Thus subjects were evenly distributed across all conditions.

It is important to note that preliminary analyses also revealed that 71% of the subjects were knowledgeable in the applicable law. That is, significantly more subjects (57) knew that they were not required to comply with a police officers request for a "pat down", compared to the 23 who did not know the law,  $X^2(1, n = 80) = 14.45, p < .01$ . Not surprisingly, a one-way analysis of variance on confidence in their opinion of the law revealed that the subjects who knew the law ( $M = 5.07$ ) were more confident than those who did not know the law ( $M = 4.04$ ),  $F(1, 78) = 7.22, p < .01$ .

Subjects' perceptions of intrusiveness were also evaluated as a preliminary analysis, to be sure that the selection of initial and critical requests were

appropriate. Of the 80 subjects, 50 successfully completed the rating of all 8 possible requests that may be made by a police officer, from least (1) to most intrusive (8). Subjects rated identifying themselves as students ( $M = 2.18$ ) and giving their name ( $M = 2.51$ ) as least intrusive. The next least intrusive requests were showing identification ( $M = 3.65$ ) and identifying someone else ( $M = 4.02$ ). Subjects indicated that emptying their pockets ( $M = 5.39$ ) and bag ( $M = 5.79$ ) were rated at similar intrusiveness level. Lastly, accompanying the officer ( $M = 6.27$ ) and standing for a "pat down" ( $M = 6.31$ ) were considered to be the most intrusive. Thus, the request to conduct a pat down search was relatively more intrusive than the request to open the subjects' bag which was more intrusive than showing identification. Therefore the appropriate request choices were made for the present study.

The final preliminary analyses were Pearson correlations between the two independent raters and the police officer. There were perfect correlations between the two raters and the officer on the categorical assessment of compliance. Pearson correlations indicated that the independent raters' scores were highly correlated ( $r = .91$ ,  $df = 52$ ) on degree of compliance; therefore the results based on the raters' scores is the mean when two raters were used, otherwise the one rater's score was used. There was also a high correlation between the mean of the two raters (or one rater's assessment where necessary) and the police officers' assessment ( $r = .84$ ,  $df = 78$ ) of degree of compliance;

these were both significant at  $p < .001$ . Lastly, latencies to respond as recorded by the two raters were also correlated. Although low, these correlations for the initial requests ( $r = .68$ ,  $df = 52$ ) and critical requests ( $r = .57$ ,  $df = 52$ ) between the two raters were significant at  $p < .001$ .

### Compliance

Categorical compliance indicated that 76 subjects complied with the initial request (ID or bag) and the 4 subjects who did not comply did not have their student ID with them. Seventy-six subjects complied with the critical request and 4 refused to be patted down. The 4 without their ID's were not the same 4 that refused the pat down search. A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) logit analysis on the categorical compliance to the critical request, did not reveal any significant differences across conditions, although all 4 subjects who did not comply were in the high commitment condition.

A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance was performed on the descriptions of compliance and did not reveal any differences. In fact, 53 subjects complied without even asking why; not a single subject asked whether or not the officer had a search warrant. When raters were asked to rate the degree of compliance "not at all compliant" (scored as 1) to "very compliant" (scored as 7), the same 2 x 2 x 2 analysis variance revealed a main effect for commitment,  $F(1, 72) = 4.22$ ,  $p < .05$ . However, the effect was not in the direction predicted. As figure 1 indicates there was more compliance

under low commitment ( $M = 6.76$ ) than under high commitment ( $M = 6.22$ ) conditions. This does not support the FITD technique which states that initial commitment should increase compliance to a later request.

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Insert Figure 1 about here

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Due to the possibility of ignorance of the law as an alternate explanation for compliance to police officer's requests, this analysis was repeated adding knowledge of the law as a factor. This analysis revealed an interaction between the knowledge of the law and commitment,  $F(1, 79) = 3.98, p < .05$ . This interaction may be seen in figure 2. Subjects who knew the law in the high commitment condition were rated as less compliant ( $M = 5.89$ ), than subjects who did not know the law in the high commitment condition ( $M = 6.92$ ) or subjects in the low commitment condition whether they knew the law ( $M = 6.81$ ) or not ( $M = 6.60$ ). Thus, although not predicted, knowledge of the law does seem to have an effect on compliance.

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Insert Figure 2 about here

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The last measure of compliance recorded was latency to respond. A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance

performed on subject's latency to respond to the initial request and then again on the subject's latency to respond to the critical request. Neither analysis revealed any significant differences.

### Subject's Perceptions

Although no predictions were made about subjects' perceptions of the officers, the situation, or the search, they may have adversely affected compliance. In other words, subjects' perceptions of the officers' friendliness, the amount of freedom they felt when being asked to comply and the extent to which they felt the requests were an invasion of privacy may have led to the high rate of compliance.

A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 4 (officer) analysis of variance on subject's perceptions of the officer's friendliness revealed a main effect for commitment. Subjects in the high commitment condition ( $M = 5.02$ ) perceived the officer to be friendlier than subjects in the low commitment condition ( $M = 4.28$ ),  $F(1, 64) = 4.32, p < .05$ . This analysis also revealed a main effect for officer,  $F(3, 64) = 5.45, p < .01$ . A Tukey's multiple comparison procedure indicated that Officer Z ( $M = 5.44$ ) was perceived to be significantly more friendly than Officer Y ( $M = 3.53$ ). The two female officers, Officer W ( $M = 4.86$ ) and Officer X ( $M = 4.82$ ) were essentially equally friendly and not significantly different from either of the two male officers.

Due to the differences in perceptions of officer friendliness across

commitment conditions and officers, friendliness was added as a covariate to the degree of compliance 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance to be sure compliance was not due to officer friendliness.

The main effect for commitment remained,  $F(1, 71) = 5.09, p < .05$ .

Two analyses of variance, based on 7-point scales, across conditions did not reveal that subjects felt their freedom had been reduced. That is, subjects did not indicate that their freedom was reduced by the fact that they had already answered some questions. Nor did subjects indicate that they felt their freedom was reduced by the fact that they were in an experimental laboratory.

A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance on subjects' perceptions of invasion of their privacy revealed an interaction between size of the initial request and the gender of the officer,  $F(1, 71) = 4.34, p < .05$ . Figure 3 indicates that subjects reported that there was less perception of invasion of privacy when a male officer asked to see identification ( $M = 3.08$ ) than when the female officer asked for identification ( $M = 4.33$ ). When the female officer asked the subject to open his bag ( $M = 3.14$ ) subjects perceived it to be less of an invasion of privacy than when the male officers asked to look in the subjects' bags ( $M = 3.75$ ).

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Insert Figure 3 about here

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### Subjects' Emotions

In addition, to subjects' perceptions, subjects' emotions may also have effected the high rate of compliance. Pearson correlations revealed several significant associations. Please see Table 1 for correlation matrix. "Guilty" was positively correlated with "angry", "self-consciousness", "stress" and "embarrassed". "Angry" and "stress" were positively correlated. "Innocent" and "self-consciousness"; "relaxed" and "guilty" were negatively correlated. In addition, "anxiety", "embarrassment", "self-consciousness" and "stress" were all intercorrelated, whereas they were all negatively correlated with "relaxed". Thus, they were combined as a general anxiety variable (AESS, average  $r = .37$ ).

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Insert Table 1 about here

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A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance on the general anxiety variable (AESS) revealed a main effect for the size of the initial request, such that asking for identification ( $M = 3.35$ ) evoked more anxiety than asking to search the subject's bag ( $M = 2.95$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 4.72$ ,  $p < .05$ .

A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance on the subjects' reported embarrassment revealed a main effect for the size of the initial request, such that asking for identification ( $M = 3.37$ ) evoked

less embarrassment than asking to search the subject's bag ( $M = 2.43$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 4.96$ ,  $p < .05$ .

A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance on subject's reports on feelings of innocence revealed an interaction between commitment and gender of the officer. Figure 4 illustrates this interaction, such that the male officers elicited increased feelings of innocence in the high commitment condition ( $M = 6.45$ ) than the female officers in the high commitment condition ( $M = 5.81$ ). However, male officers in the low commitment condition ( $M = 5.29$ ) elicited weaker feelings of innocence than female officers in the low commitment condition ( $M = 5.93$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 4.23$ ,  $p < .05$ . Thus, innocence did not change across the two levels of commitment when a female officer made the requests, whereas when a male officer made the requests innocence was a function of commitment level.

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Insert Figure 4 about here

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A 2 (commitment) x 2 (initial request) x 2 (gender of officer) analysis of variance on subjects' reports of self-consciousness revealed two main effects. Subjects reported themselves more self-conscious in the low commitment condition ( $M = 3.51$ ) than they were in the high commitment condition ( $M = 2.68$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 4.78$ ,  $p < .05$ . Also subjects reported to be more self-conscious

when initially asked to present identification ( $M = 3.47$ ) than when initially asked to open their bag ( $M = 2.65$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 5.01, p < .05$ .

### Discussion

The degree of compliance to police search requests was remarkable. Unfortunately, however, no strong conclusions can be drawn about the effectiveness of the FITD technique because the ceiling effect precluded finding significant effects. To some degree, the FITD technique was supported by the amount of compliance gained before the agreement to the critical request. It was not, however, supported by the observer compliance ratings, which indicated that subjects were more compliant in the high commitment condition than in the low commitment condition, or by the fact that all 4 who refused the pat-down search were in the high commitment condition. In addition, the size of the initial request had no effect on subsequent compliance to the critical request. This finding, however, may be attributed to the ceiling effect.

Thus, the question remains why so many subjects complied with three different search requests by a plain clothed police officer when they knew the law did not require them to do so? Clearly there was a reaction to an authority figure combined with initial compliance that lead subjects to consent to such a personally intrusive request as a pat-down.

Compliance in the present study can be broken down into several levels. Initial compliance was demonstrated when the subjects' agreed to participate in

the study. The second level of compliance was the initial conversation with the officer and the third level was the size of the initial request. All of these levels of compliance combined influenced compliance to the critical request to conduct a "pat down".

The first level of compliance affecting consent to a warrantless police search is agreed participation in the study. Subjects were participating as a requirement for their introductory psychology class and all arrived ready to participate in a physical exertion study. Thus, initial compliance had already been obtained and subjects were in a possible "mind set" to do what was requested of them. In the attitude-change research, this is termed "evaluation apprehension", in which subjects seek positive evaluation and attempt to avoid negative evaluation from the experimenter.

It may be possible, however, to eliminate such biasing factors by separating phases of an experiment. This separation was first suggested by Rosenberg (1965), who illustrated that if the experiment could be organized into separate unrelated studies, evaluation apprehension could be reduced and lead to a more controlled study. This separation of commitment can be seen in the present study, in which subjects were committed only to a physical exertion exercise for the experimenter. Thus, the request made by the police officer was independent of the request to participate in the study. Therefore, the commitment to the study was different than the commitment to the situation manipulated by the police

officer. In addition, all subjects were told that they could discontinue participation at any time and that discontinuation would not affect their course requirement and subjects subsequently signed a consent form to attest to this knowledge.

The second level of compliance was the commitment manipulation, the amount of conversation generated by the officer. In accordance with the previous research on the FITD technique, it was hypothesized that commitment to the situation would lead to greater compliance than lack of commitment. This hypothesis was not confirmed. Although subjects complied, there was less compliance in the high commitment condition. The subjects who refused the pat-down search were all engaged in conversation with the police officer preceding the requests. Observers rated subjects as more compliant when the requests were not preceded by a short conversation with the officer. This may be due to the fact that there was a significant number of subjects who had been or had family members who had been victims of a crime in the past in the no commitment condition.

Because there was 100% agreement between the raters and police officers when assessing categorical compliance, it is unclear exactly why the police officers found no differences in the degree of compliance across the commitment conditions when the observers did indicate a difference. It may be due to the fact that the observers were blind to the study whereas the officers were actually

conducting the manipulation.

The third level of compliance was the size of the initial request. It was hypothesized that compliance to a relatively large initial request would result in greater compliance to the critical request. This was not the case, as there were no differences in compliance to the critical request across the two initial request sizes. In all conditions subjects complied with the initial request (except for the 4 without their ID's); thus the size of the initial request did not affect compliance to the critical request. The high rate of compliance to the initial requests may have simply added to the feelings of commitment to the situation. Therefore both the commitment and initial request may have contributed to the high rate of compliance to the critical request. It is not surprising that all subjects complied with the initial request for identification because students are required to present student identification to campus police officers upon request, although it is unclear how many subjects in this study knew this to be the case (i.e. how many students read the student handbook?). In a mass testing of 513 introductory psychology students, however, 432 males and females knew this to be the case and 99 did not.

It is more surprising that all subjects complied with the request to search their bags, given the high level of intrusiveness. It is particularly surprising, since Howe (1992) found that 50% of her subjects claimed that they would not allow an officer to look in their bags in Study I. Also in Study 2 she found that innocent

males in the high and low commitment conditions reported that they would be "not at all likely" to "ignore the officer", "slightly likely" to "refuse to open the bag" for the officer, "slightly likely" to "let the officer open the bag" and "moderately likely" to open the bag for the officer". This inconsistency between what subjects reported they "would do" in a specific situation (Howe, 1992) and what they actually "did do" in the present study is important to note.

In the past researchers presumed that attitudes guide later behavior. However, more systematic research conducted on the correspondence between expressed attitude and subsequent behavior suggests that the strength of the relation ranges from 0-100 percent. Therefore attitude-behavior consistency occurs only under certain conditions, with certain attitudes and by certain types of people. Situational cues, inducement, degree of vested interest in behavioral issue, personality factors, confidence with which the attitude is held and how clearly defined the attitude is as measured by the latitude of rejection have been identified as factors that enhance the prediction of behavior from expressed attitude (Fazio, 1990).

In addition, Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) have demonstrated that predicting behavior from attitudes is improved with the assessment of attitudes and behaviors of equivalent levels of specificity. Therefore, specific attitudes are the best predictors of specific behaviors and general attitudes are the best predictors of general patterns of behavior. In Howe (1992) subjects were asked specifically

whether "how likely would you be to open your bag under these circumstances," and subjects indicated they would not be very likely to open their bags. This specific attitude about a specific request situation should be a good predictor of behavior in the same specific situation. This was not the case in the present study, and thus supports the notion that police officers evoke responses from citizens that other authority figures do not evoke.

The inconsistencies in the literature over the effect of the size of the initial request still remain. In the present study there were no differences in compliance to the critical request for a pat-down according to the size of the initial request. Meta-analyses by Beaman et al. (1983) and Dillard et al. (1984) also concluded that the size of the initial request did not affect compliance. Fern et al. (1986), however, found that more compliance was gained with moderate requests than with large or small requests as defined by the ratio size between the initial and critical request. Although important, it is difficult to make overall conclusions about the size of the initial requests' effect on compliance to a critical request because of differences in relative size and the nature of the requests across studies. It is particularly difficult to compare the present study's results to other studies manipulating size of the initial request because of the nature of the request and the ceiling effect.

The most important level of compliance was the actual compliance to a pat-down search. Because all subjects complied with the initial requests, the

initial requests may simply have added to commitment to the situation and thus may explain the exceptional compliance to such an intrusive request. A true test of the FITD technique would have been a condition in which there was no conversation or initial request preceding the request for a "pat down". Although internally valid it would have been an unlikely situation and not generalizable to legitimate police searches. The only way to have created such a condition would have been to decrease the intrusiveness of the critical request, which would have resulted in even greater compliance. Instead, the intrusiveness of all requests was inflated. There were three reasons for this, first to increase external validity, second, subjects were already committed to some degree by participating in the study, and third, more intrusive requests would elicit less compliance and thus enable differences as a result of the FITD technique used by police officers to be revealed. In addition, the requests that were chosen were not intrusive enough to accurately test whether other variables influenced compliance.

Gender of the officer had no effects on compliance. It did however, play a role in subject's perceptions of privacy and innocence. The intrusiveness level of the initial request interacted with gender of officer, affecting subjects' perceptions of an invasion of privacy. Both initial requests were rated as an invasion of privacy, however when a female officer asked for identification it was rated as much more of an invasion than when a male officer asked for identification. Whereas when asked to search the bag, subjects' reported similar

perceptions of invasion of privacy when asked by male and female officers. Although in all conditions subjects reported feelings of innocence, when male officers engaged the subjects in conversation the subjects reported greater feelings of innocence. Reported feelings of innocence, however, did not differ according to level of commitment when requests were made by a female officer. Although previous literature on perceptions of male and female officers indicated that female officers are perceived as more assertive and tenacious than male officers (Sterling & Owen, 1982), it is not clear why the gender of the officer influenced subjects' perceptions of innocence and privacy in the present study.

### General Discussion

There are several theories in the literature that attempt to explain the effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique that may also help to explain the compliance gained in the present study. First, the self-perception hypothesis would suggest that the subjects examined their initial compliance to participate (the signed consent form is proof of the subjects' evaluation of participation), answer the officer's questions and agree to the initial requests. Consequently, they behaved consistently with their initial compliance by complying to the critical request. The second theory, is the availability hypothesis, which proposes simply that schema consistent information is more available and thus the dominant response will be made without thought. This hypothesis is consistent with mindlessness theories which suggest that people comply with requests because

they are not paying attention (Langer, 1989). On the one hand, it may be argued that the presence of a police officer alone is enough to elicit attention from most people, a further request to perform a pat-down by the officer is not a common occurrence and would certainly make a person pay close attention. It could also be argued that such situations are not necessarily rule-governed, a person needs to assess the situation and decide how to react.

On the other hand, it could be argued, consistent with the availability hypothesis, that the dominant response has been developed through education and socialization. That is, people are taught at an early age to obey authority figures and that police officers are a necessary part of society. Indeed, most of the subjects in the present study were from a homogeneous middle class background with those types of values. Subjects were relatively inexperienced with police officers as far as the number of times they had been stopped in the past. They were also participants in a strong honor code at a small reputable college. A future study may attempt to replicate the present study in an alternate population. Subjects may be less compliant at a larger university, or at a university or college in a major city. Subjects with a more diverse racial background or older subjects who had "experienced the 60s" may also be less compliant. Thus, different compliance rates in an alternate population would lead one to suspect that there are different dominant responses depending on upbringing and thus would lend more support to the availability hypothesis.

In addition to the foot-in-the-door technique there are other factors that affect compliance to police searches. These include knowledge of the law, anxiety levels, guilt or innocence of the citizen and simple obedience to authority.

A convenient alternative explanation of compliance is that people are ignorant of the law. Kagehiro (1986) concluded that her subjects understood the difference between a warrant and warrantless search but they were ignorant of the legal ramifications of consent searches. In Study I of Howe (1992), 60 college students were asked how likely they would be to comply to four different police officer requests: for the correct time, for an identification of another person, for their own identification and for the officer to look in their book bag. Subjects claimed that they would have complied at least 50% of the time in each condition. In each condition subjects knew and were confident that the law did not require them to comply with the police officer's request without a warrant. In addition, in Study 2 by Howe (1992), 112 college students were asked whether or not they believed the law stated they had to comply with a police officers request to search their bag. Seventy-five percent of the subjects (84) knew that the law did not require them to comply. Therefore ignorance of the law cannot explain compliance and there must be other factors affecting compliance to police requests.

The present set of subjects also had a good understanding of the law. Seventy-one percent knew that the law did not require them to comply with a

request for a pat-down. This is consistent with Howe (1992). Interestingly, however, subjects who knew the law were least likely to comply in the high commitment condition and were more confident in their knowledge than those who did not. This suggests that it may be possible to educate citizens about the law and that the education can be effective. An interesting future study should include a condition in which subjects are told that they are not required by law to comply with the request. This manipulation may also help to determine whether the compliant responses to police officer requests' may be explained by the availability hypothesis.

To further understand college students knowledge of the law a short mass testing questionnaire was distributed to introductory psychology students, 322 females and 196 males. Sixty-three percent of the students believed that the law requires them to comply with a police officers request to conduct a pat-down. However, a 7-point scale revealed that in general subjects were only moderately confident in their knowledge. A 2 (gender) x 2 (knowledge of the law) analysis of variance revealed that those subjects who knew the law were more confident in their knowledge ( $M = 4.69$ ) than those who did not ( $M = 4.00$ ),  $F(1, 513) = 15.73$ ,  $p < .001$ . Males were also more confident in their knowledge ( $M = 4.79$ ) than females ( $M = 3.95$ ),  $F(1, 513) = 23.94$ ,  $p < .001$ .

In addition to knowledge of the law, arousal level of the subject is an important factor in compliance rates. The goal in a police interrogation is to

increase anxiety, in fact police officers are taught to play on the anxiety of the defendant during interrogations (Inbau et al., 1986). The present study found that there were reported increases in anxiety and self-consciousness when the officer asked for identification rather than open his bag. Subjects also reported feelings of embarrassment when they were asked if the officer could search their bag. Lastly, subjects reported feeling more self-conscious in the low commitment condition. Such emotions are not unusual given the personal nature and high cost of the search requests. The fact that these emotions existed, and were all negatively correlated with relaxation, suggests they may have affected the high rate of compliance in this study. At the end of the study many subjects noted feelings of surprise, shock, and nervousness. For example, one subject noted, "My heart started racing and I was a little nervous for no reason at all." Another stated "I was surprised at the officer's request, I guess that's why I complied." Future studies should increase the level of anxiety by making the requests more personally relevant. This may help decrease compliance rates so that other variables such as anxiety may be examined as possible influences on voluntary consent.

Another important factor in compliance to police searches is whether or not the person is innocent or guilty. Previously Howe (1992) found that innocence increased the likelihood of compliance in both males and females. Ethically however, it is exceedingly difficult to manipulate guilt to a crime in an

experimental setting. Thus innocence may have contributed to the high rate of compliance in the present study. Several subjects commented on this fact at the end of the study. One subject noted "I figured I haven't done anything wrong, so it couldn't be that bad, so I complied". Another said "I was a little uncomfortable, but I hadn't done anything wrong so I had nothing to fear. To me noncompliance would seem like guilt, and compliance would show innocence." A third noted, "I felt free to comply because I had nothing incriminating in my bag and I know I had done nothing wrong." Finally, another said "Knowing that there was nothing that I had done wrong, it was easy to comply to something that would only matter if I was guilty." Nevertheless, there are innumerable accounts of citizens who comply with warrantless searches when they are guilty and future research should attempt to manipulate feelings of guilt. It may be enough to manipulate feelings of guilt with some other experimental deception so that it may carry over to a search request.

The most plausible alternative explanation for the high rates of compliance may be simple obedience to authority. In some ways the present results are a replication of Milgram's (1974) high compliance rates in his obedience to authority studies. The results of the present study are somewhat less distressing, however, because subjects were making decisions that affected themselves not the welfare of others. Nevertheless the high rates of compliance to warrantless police searches gained from such a highly educated sample of subjects who knew the law

is also shocking.

Milgram's (1974) procedure for studying obedience was to bring the subject into the laboratory under the pretense of a learning experiment in which he would be the teacher and another student would be the learner (this was actually a confederate). The subject is told to give increasingly severe shocks to the learner at the end of every trial that is incorrect. The experimenter also tells the subject to continue stepping up the shock level. The purpose was to see how far subjects would proceed before refusing to comply with the experimenter's instructions.

Using this basic paradigm Milgram was able to replicate his high compliance rates in different areas of the country, with women and people of varying backgrounds. He manipulated the proximity of the subject to the learner and still found a high rate of compliance. He also found that if the experimenter was removed from the room, was replaced with a regular person or became the victim compliance decreased.

In short, Milgram's obedience to authority studies illustrate the powerfulness of the requests made by authority figures and may also account for the high rates of compliance in the present study. The next step in the present research would be to discover how intrusive of a police officer's request will people comply with.

To summarize, no strong conclusions may be made about the foot-in-the-door technique due to the ceiling effect. However, the levels of compliance may

have added to the commitment to the situation increasing the likelihood of compliance to an intrusive critical request. Other factors that may have influenced voluntary compliance include the learning of a dominant response to obey authority figures, ignorance of the law, anxiety levels, guilt or innocence, and simple obedience to authority.

Because of the ceiling effect no conclusions can be drawn as to whether the FITD technique is coercive according legal standards. Although the Courts have stated that "consent may not be coerced, by explicit or implicit means, implied threat or covert force" (*Schneckloth v. Bustamonte*, 1973, p. 2048) it has also stated that the presence and demeanor of a police officer may not be considered as coercive (*United States v. Stone*, 1972). At this point, as far as the law is concerned, voluntariness is not hindered by a police officer's request alone. Therefore, until further research can identify specific factors manipulated during police officer questioning as coercive the courts will be unlikely to adjust their standards as to what evidence is admissible in court. Thus, whether the search request by an authority figure was unreasonable seems to be the key issue in deciding whether evidence obtained may be used in court.

In conclusion, continued research needs to be conducted on techniques used by police officers to gain voluntary compliance to warrantless searches and why citizen's consent to a compromise of their constitutional rights. The Supreme Court has ruled that police officers are not required to inform citizens that they

have the right not to consent to a warrantless search (*Schneckloth v. Bustamonte*, 1973). Thus, citizens need to be educated about their rights by other means, such as social science research. If people can be educated about the law they may be less likely to comply to warrantless searches. At the very least citizens should be afforded the right to make an educated decision about their constitutional rights.

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Endnotes

1. Six members of the William & Mary Campus Police Department, three men and three women agreed to help with this study. I would like to thank the two men and two women who did participate for their invaluable time and contributions.
2. I would particularly like to thank Suzanne Rohan and Rachel Shacter for the extensive time they were able to give to the study. A special and heartfelt thanks to Florence Super and Anthony Vittoria who were also trying to finish their Master's theses at the same time. Lastly, I would like to thank Edith Arbuckle, Marcus Durham and Anne Holcombe for their last minute help.

Table 1

Intercorrelations of Mood

	Anxiet	Embar	Self-C	Stress	Relax	Angry	Guilt	Innoc
Anxiet	1.00							
Embar	.31**	1.00						
Self-C	.35***	.36***	1.00					
Stress	.57***	.30**	.34**	1.00				
Relax	-.58***	-.44***	-.27*	-.62***	1.00			
Angry	.15	.18	.08	.23*	-.11	1.00		
Guilt	.19	.42***	.32**	.27*	-.30**	.24*	1.00	
Innoc	-.07	-.18	-.34**	-.21	.13	.00	-.21	1.00

Note: Degrees of freedom: 78

Probability values: \*\*\*  $p < .001$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*  $p < .05$

Figure 1  
Legal knowledge by Commit Interaction

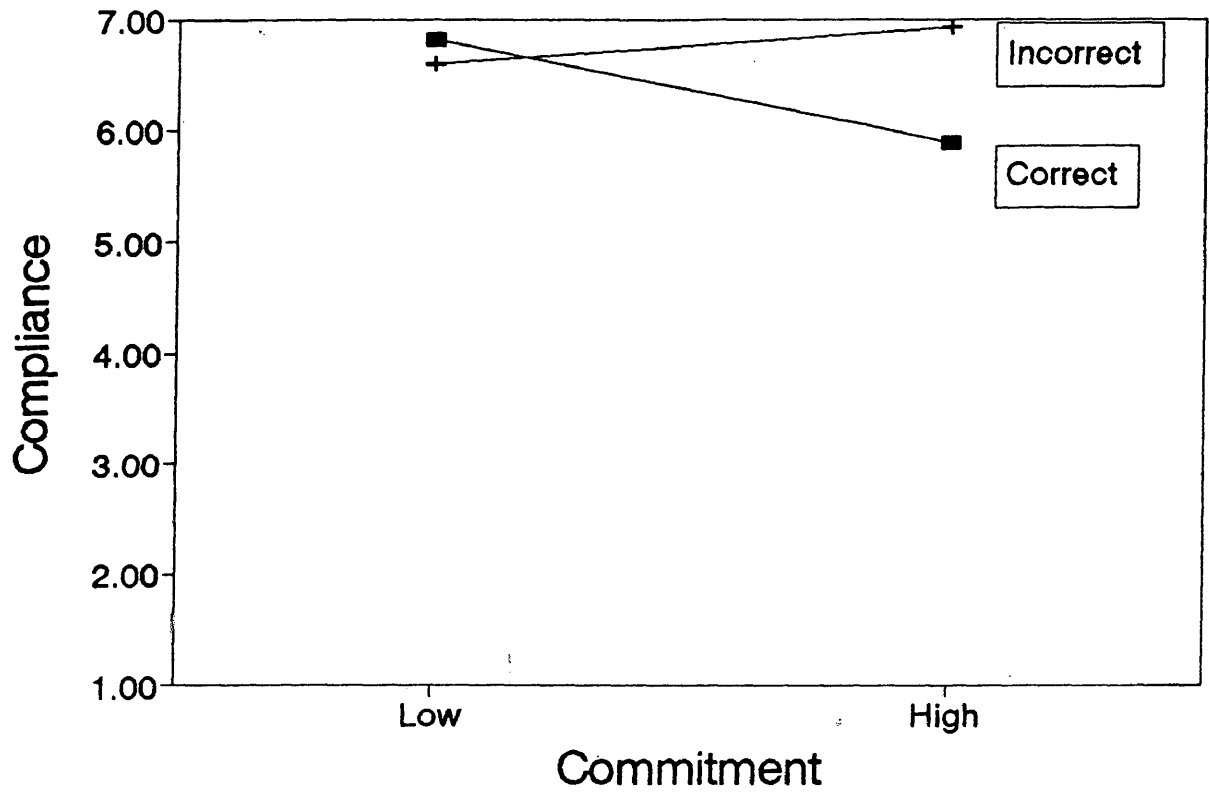


Figure 2  
Officer Gender by Initial Request

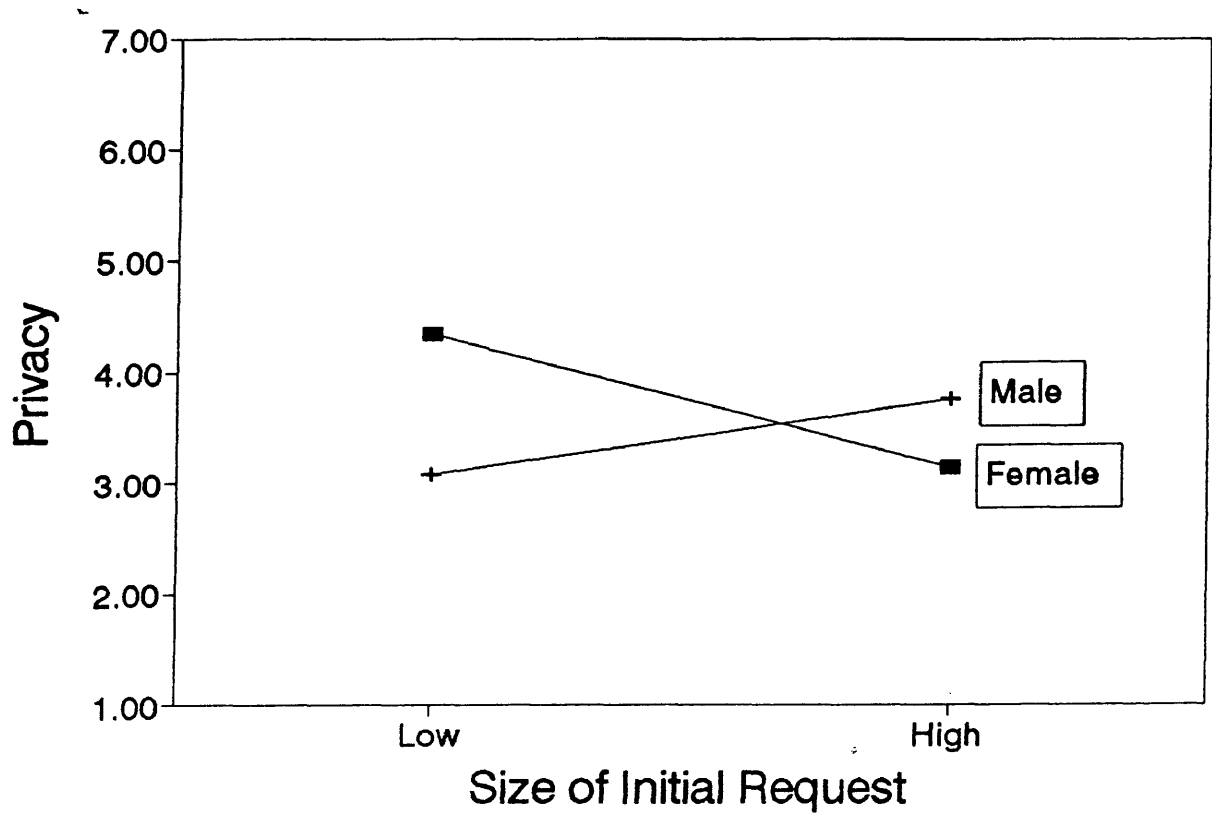
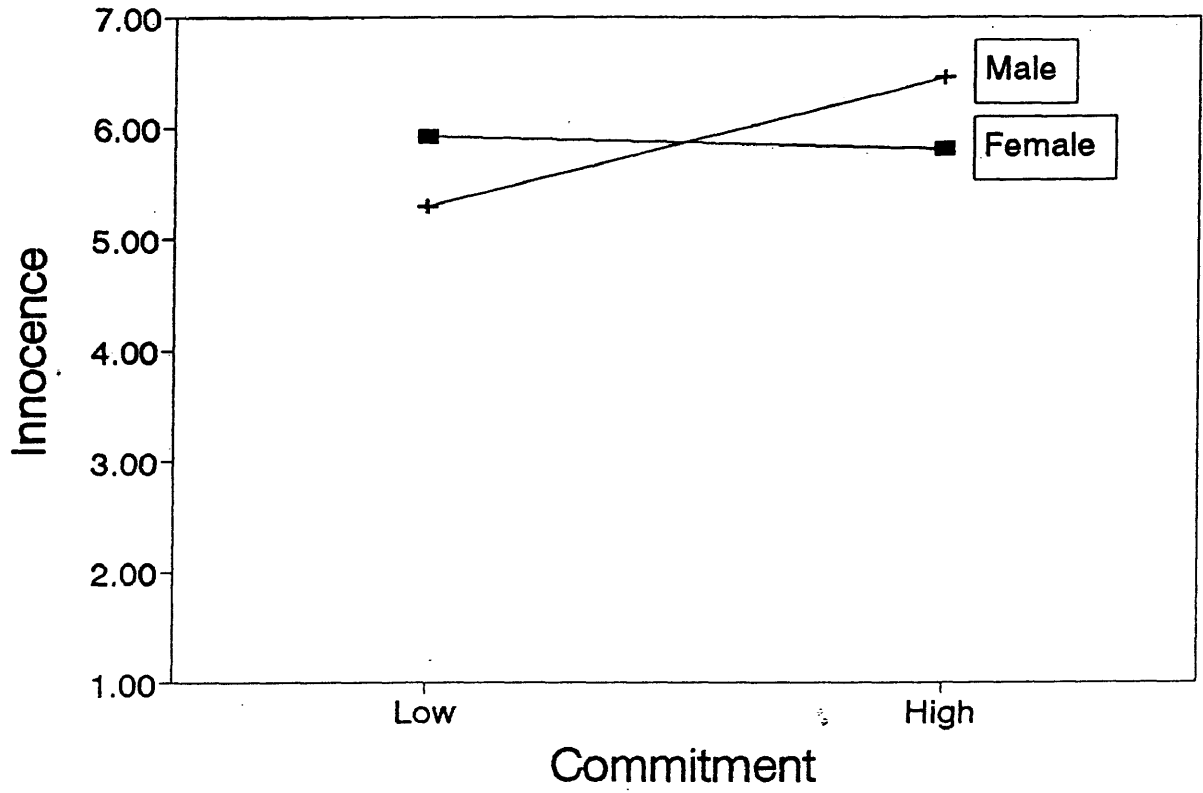


Figure 3  
Officer Gender by Commitment



## APPENDIX A

## Verbatim Script

"Hi thank you for coming, my name is Julie and as I mentioned to you on the phone last night I am doing research involving physical exertion. You will fill out two questionnaires one before we begin and one at the end. The exertion involves a general physical endurance exercise that is being considered by the health center as a requirement for the varsity athletic physical. It will include some weight lifting, stretching and running in place. This should take about 15 minutes. However, before we begin you need to read and sign the consent form. Your performance and responses to the questionnaires will be anonymous and not associated with any results of this study. If you find any of the questions personally objectionable you may refuse to answer and you may discontinue participation at any time. Your credit for participating will not be affected by your responses or your exercising any of your rights. If you are dissatisfied with any aspect of this experiment you may report it to the Psychology Department Chair, Dr. Herbert Friedman. In addition you must be 18 years of age to participate. Please read through and fill out the consent form. Your signature on the consent form signifies voluntary participation in this project."

"Here is the first form. Please read all the questions carefully and think about your answers I will be in the next room setting up the equipment. When I have finished I will come back to get you."

Debriefing verbatim script

"Hi, as officer \_\_\_ just told you this is the end of the experiment but before we talk about the study could you please take just a few minutes to answer this last questionnaire. Thank you.

"Hi, just from reading that last questionnaire you probably have some idea of what this study was about. What do you think I was actually studying? (This study was looking at compliance rates to police officer requests) Did this study really assess the varsity physical requirements for the Health Center? It obviously involved police officers, can you determine what I was looking at in police - citizen interactions (voluntary consent). Why do you think I needed to use real officer? (I used real police officer to get the full effect of the situation). Do you think this study was valid? Why do you think I wanted to study this? (I believe that as citizens were are often asked to give up our fourth amendment rights by officers so that they can solve a crime more quickly. However some of the techniques they use may be somewhat coercive to gain citizen compliance). Did you know this was a one-way mirror? Did you know there were people behind that mirror to rate your compliance? Why do you think they were needed for this study? (unbiased raters, hidden so as not to affect subject behavior, I couldn't be in the same room with you). They rated whether or not and how much you complied with the officer's request. It is important for you to understand that I am not looking at how you as an individual responded to the police officer but at

the techniques used by officers. All of this data will remain anonymous.

Did you have any suspicions about the study when I called you last night? Why couldn't I tell you last night what the study was about? I'm sorry that I had to bring you into the experiment thinking it was going to involve physical exertion but I didn't want people to know that the police were going to be involved otherwise people's reactions might have been biased because everyone has had some kind of positive or negative interaction with police officers. So do you understand why I couldn't tell you? What would happen if you did know about the study ahead of time? Please do not discuss the experiment with anyone else even though it may seem interesting. If others specifically ask you about it tell them that you had to fill out questionnaires and do a standard endurance test. Do you have any questions or suggestions? If you are interested in the results of the study print your school address on this mailing label and I'll send you a copy of the abstract when the study is complete. If you have any questions later please do not hesitate to find me or call me in the graduate student lounge across the hall. Thanks a lot for helping me with my thesis, I now need to get your assurance that you understand why I had to use deception, that you will not talk about this study with anyone else and that I may use your data. Because I was not able to tell you the full nature of the study I need you to please sign on this blank line at the bottom of the consent form if you will let me use your data. Thanks for your help. Have a good night."

Police Officer's Verbatim Script

## Low commitment &amp; moderate initial request

The officer walks down the hallway, looks in the room, continues then returns to the room. "I'm officer \_\_\_ (he/she shows identification). Is this your bag? Would you please open it for me? O.K. before you do, would you please stand up and empty your pockets for me"? He/she obtains an affirmative or negative answer and then states "that's O.K. you do not need to empty your pockets. This was part of the experiment".

## Low commitment &amp; low initial request

The officer walks down the hallway, looks in the room, continues then returns to the room. "I'm officer \_\_\_ (he/she shows identification). May I please see your William and Mary ID? O.K., thank you, would you now please stand up for a "pat down"? He/she obtains an affirmative or negative answer and then states "that's O.K. I do not need to pat you down. This was part of the experiment".

## High commitment &amp; low initial request

The officer walks down the hallway, looks in the room, continues then returns to the room. "Hi I'm officer \_\_\_ (he/she shows identification). How are you this afternoon/evening? This room is usually locked, is there some reason why you are in here? Are you a psychology major? Well good luck. By the way, may I please see your William & Mary ID? O.K., thank you, would you now please stand for a "pat down"? He/she obtains an affirmative or negative answer and

then states "that's O.K. I do not need to do a "pat down". This was part of the experiment".

#### High commitment & moderate initial request

The officer walks down the hallway, looks in the room, continues then returns to the room. "Hi I'm officer \_\_\_ (he/she shows identification). How are you this afternoon/evening? This room is usually locked, is there some reason why you are in here? Are you a psychology major? Well good luck. By the way, Is this your bag? Would you please open it for me?" O.K. before you do, would you please stand up for a "pat down"? He/she obtains an affirmative or negative answer and then states "that's O.K. you do not need to do a "pat down". This was part of the experiment".

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire Number One

Last four digits of your social security number: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Year in school: FRESHMAN SOPHOMORE JUNIOR SENIOR

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Race (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

Height: \_\_\_\_\_

Weight: \_\_\_\_\_

Did you participate in Physical Education in high school? NO YES

If yes, how many years? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you participate in any junior varsity sports in high school? NO YES

If yes, please list the sports and years:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Did you participate in any varsity sports in high school? NO YES

If yes, please list the sports and years:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Did you participate in any other recreational sports during the school year or during the summer while you were in high school? NO YES

If yes, please list the sports and years:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please list any additional sports you were involved in earlier than high school, formal or informal, individually or as part of a team:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Questionnaire Number Two

Last 4 digits of SS#: \_\_\_\_\_

For the following questions, please place a check mark along the scale at the point that best represents your opinion or your answer to the question.

- 1. How friendly was the officer? Please make a mark depicting how friendly you believed the officer to be.

Not at all friendly |-----| Very friendly

- 2. How much was your freedom to comply with the officer's request reduced by the fact that you were located in an experimental lab?

Not at all reduced |-----| Reduced a great deal

- 3. How much was your freedom to comply with the request to receive a "pat down" reduced by the fact that you had already answered some questions?

Not at all reduced |-----| Reduced a great deal

- 4. How much do you think the officer invaded your privacy?

Not very much |-----| Very much

- 5. Was the Police Officer a legitimate officer? NO YES

- 6. Please rank from least (1) to most (8) intrusive:
  - \_\_\_ asking you to identify someone else
  - \_\_\_ asking you to empty your pockets
  - \_\_\_ asking your name
  - \_\_\_ asking to search your bag
  - \_\_\_ asking if you are a William and Mary student
  - \_\_\_ asking you to stand up for a "pat down"
  - \_\_\_ asking you to accompany the officer
  - \_\_\_ asking you to show your ID

- 7. Did you want the police officer to do a "pat down"? NO YES

- 8. Apart from your previous answers, do you believe the law says that you have to comply with a police officer's request to do a "pat down"? NO YES

How confident are you of this opinion?

Not at all Confident |-----| Very Confident

- 9. How many times have you been stopped by a police officer in the past? \_\_\_\_\_

- 10. Have you or any member of your immediate family ever been a victim of a crime? NO YES

Last 4 digits of SS#: \_\_\_\_\_

Each of the following words describes feelings or moods. Use the scales below to indicate your current mood. Please make a check mark at the point that is closest to your feelings.

1. **Anxious**  

Not at all anxious	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very anxious
-----------------------	--	-----------------
  
2. **Relaxed**  

Not at all relaxed	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very relaxed
-----------------------	--	-----------------
  
3. **Guilty**  

Not at all guilty	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very guilty
----------------------	--	----------------
  
4. **Angry**  

Not at all angry	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very angry
---------------------	--	---------------
  
5. **Self-conscious**  

Not at all self-conscious	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very self-conscious
------------------------------	--	------------------------
  
6. **Innocent**  

Not at all innocent	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very innocent
------------------------	--	------------------
  
7. **Stressed**  

Not at all stressed	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very stressed
------------------------	--	------------------
  
8. **Embarrassed**  

Not at all embarrassed	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; height: 10px;"> <span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span><span> </span> </div>	Very embarrassed
---------------------------	--	---------------------

Please feel free to elaborate on your perceptions of the situation and reasons for compliance or noncompliance in the following space.

Subject order number: \_\_\_\_\_

Independent rater's compliance form

1. Did the subject answer the officer's initial request (ID or open bag)?

NO YES

2. Did the subject comply when asked if the officer could do a "pat down"?

NO YES

3. Place a check mark next to the description that most accurately describes the subject's response to the officer's request to do a "pat down":

- a. the subject complies without question
- b. the subject politely asks why and complies
- c. the subject politely asks why and complies grudgingly
- d. the subject rudely asks why and complies grudgingly
- e. the subject rudely asks why and doesn't comply
- g. the subject answers no, and ignores the officer
- h. the subject answers no, and leaves the room

4. Please place a check mark along the following scale indicting the degree the subject was compliant to the request to do a "pat down"?



5. How long did it take the subject to respond after the officer completed his initial request (ID or open bag)?

\_\_\_\_\_ seconds.

6. How long did it take the subject to respond after the officer completed his request to do a "pat down"?

\_\_\_\_\_ seconds.

7. Did the subject ask if the officer had a search warrant?

NO YES

7. Officer: \_\_\_\_\_

FEMALE MALE

Please feel free to comment.

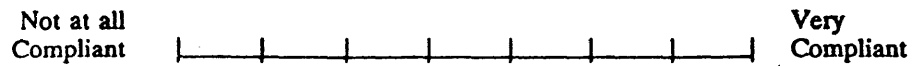
Subject order number: \_\_\_\_\_

**Officer's compliance rating**

1. How would you characterize the subject's response to the request to do a "pat down"?

- a. non-compliant
- b. compliant

2. Please place a check mark along the following scale indicating the degree the subject was compliant.



Please feel free to elaborate on your perceptions of the situation in the following space.

## APPENDIX C

## Sample Analyses using SPSS

MANOVA DEGR BY COMMIT (1,2) INITIAL (1,2) SEXOFF (1,2).

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Tests of Significance for DEGR using UNIQUE sums of squares

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	Sig of F
WITHIN CELLS	109.22	72	1.52		
CONSTANT	3284.57	1	3284.57	2165.29	.000
COMMIT	6.40	1	6.40	4.22	.044
INITIAL	.02	1	.02	.01	.913
SEXOFF	.34	1	.34	.23	.635
COMMIT BY INITIAL	.17	1	.17	.11	.736
COMMIT BY SEXOFF	2.35	1	2.35	1.55	.217
INITIAL BY SEXOFF	5.12	1	5.12	3.37	.070
COMMIT BY INITIAL BY SEXOFF	2.07	1	2.07	1.37	.246

MEANS/TABLE DEGR BY COMMIT BY INITIAL BY SEXOFF.

Summaries of DEGR  
By levels of COMMIT  
INITIAL  
SEXOFF

Variable	Value	Label	Mean	Std Dev	Cases
For Entire Population			6.4813	1.2640	80
COMMIT	1.0		6.7564	.4983	39
INITIAL	1.0		6.7381	.5390	21
SEXOFF	1.0		6.7222	.5069	9
SEXOFF	2.0		6.7500	.5839	12
INITIAL	2.0		6.7778	.4609	18
SEXOFF	1.0		6.6000	.5676	10
SEXOFF	2.0		7.0000	.0000	8
COMMIT	2.0		6.2195	1.6660	41
INITIAL	1.0		6.3182	1.5927	22
SEXOFF	1.0		6.9167	.2887	12
SEXOFF	2.0		5.6000	2.1833	10
INITIAL	2.0		6.1053	1.7840	19
SEXOFF	1.0		5.9545	1.7386	11
SEXOFF	2.0		6.3125	1.9445	8

## APPENDIX D

## Raw Data

ID	RACE	AGE	COMMIT	INITIAL	OFFIC	SEXOFF	ACOMP1
1170	1	18	1	2	4	2	2
2745	1	18	1	1	4	2	2
8904	1	19	1	1	4	2	2
3839	.	20	1	2	4	2	2
4877	1	19	2	2	4	2	2
9189	3	18	1	2	4	2	2
2829	2	18	1	1	4	2	2
3446	1	19	2	2	3	2	2
367	4	19	2	1	3	2	2
7344	1	19	2	1	3	2	2
1275	1	21	1	2	3	2	2
8509	.	18	2	2	3	2	2
5943	1	22	1	1	3	2	2
7725	1	21	1	1	3	2	.
7370	1	18	1	1	3	2	2
7818	1	18	2	1	4	2	2
3869	2	18	2	1	4	2	2
5260	1	18	2	1	4	2	2
4124	1	18	1	1	4	2	.
193	1	19	1	1	4	2	2
9424	1	18	2	2	4	2	2
1366	1	17	2	1	4	2	2
1034	1	18	1	2	4	2	2
4241	1	20	2	1	1	1	2
8101	2	19	2	1	1	1	2
9729	1	27	1	2	1	1	2
9062	2	19	1	1	1	1	2
813	1	21	2	2	1	1	2
6977	1	19	2	2	2	.	2
9033	1	18	1	1	2	1	2
351	1	18	2	1	2	1	2
7410	1	18	1	1	2	1	2
686	.	18	1	1	2	1	2
5912	1	18	2	1	2	1	2
1860	4	18	1	2	2	1	2
7156	1	18	2	2	2	1	2
6518	1	18	2	2	3	2	2
2064	2	18	1	2	3	2	2
1645	1	19	2	1	3	2	2
1233	1	18	1	1	3	2	2
1309	1	18	2	2	2	2	2
7299	1	18	1	1	3	2	2
5589	3	18	2	1	1	1	2
9213	1	19	1	2	1	1	2

Voluntary Consent

70

6252	2	18	1	2	1	1	2
4774	1	19	2	2	1	1	2
6473	3	18	1	1	1	1	2
9196	.	18	2	1	1	1	2
9358	1	18	2	1	2	1	2
1308	3	18	2	2	2	1	2
4585	1	18	1	2	2	1	2
7185	.	20	2	2	2	1	2
1477	1	18	1	2	2	1	2
6955	3	20	2	2	2	1	2
6451	1	18	1	2	2	1	2
9855	1	19	2	2	2	1	2
2592	1	20	1	2	2	1	2
5528	1	18	2	2	2	1	.
9263	1	18	2	1	2	1	2
5405	1	18	1	2	2	1	2
8170	1	18	1	1	2	1	2
8728	1	21	2	2	4	2	2
7620	.	19	1	1	4	2	2
948	1	18	2	2	4	2	2
2255	2	20	1	2	3	2	2
937	.	.	2	1	3	2	2
6626	3	18	2	1	3	2	.
180	2	18	1	1	3	2	2
1624	1	19	2	1	3	2	2
5529	1	19	1	2	3	2	2
5078	1	19	1	1	1	1	2
3149	1	18	2	1	1	1	2
2420	1	18	2	2	1	1	2
8154	1	18	1	1	1	1	2
4641	1	19	2	1	1	1	2
3525	1	18	2	1	1	1	2
8458	1	20	1	2	1	1	2
1771	1	18	2	1	1	1	.
6518	1	20	1	1	1	1	2
6288	1	18	2	2	1	1	2
ACOMP2	BCOMP1	BCOMP2	OFFCOMP	ADESCR	ADEGR	BDESCR	DEGR
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	6	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	6	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7



Voluntary Consent

72

2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	6	7	6	6
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2
2	.	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	6	5	5	5
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	.	.	2	7	7	.	.
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	6	6	6	7
2	.	2	2	7	7	7	7
2	2	2	2	6	6	6	7
2	2	2	2	6	4	6	3

DESCR	DEGR	OFFDEGR	ATIM1	ATIM2	BTIM1	BTIM2	TIME1
7	7	7	3.97	2.79	.	.	3.97
7	7	7	4.56	2.29	.	.	4.56
6	7	7	3.56	2.43	.	.	3.56
6	7	7	1	1	.	.	1.00
7	7	7	1	1	.	.	1.00
7	7	7	1	1	.	.	1.00
7	7	7	.	1	.	.	.
7	7	7	1	1	4.26	1.2	2.63
7	7	7	1.99	1	1.5	2	1.75
7	7	7	2	3	2	3	2.00
7	7	7	1.2	1.2	1	2.5	1.10
7	7	6	1	2	2.5	3	1.75
6	6.5	5	6.28	2.3	.	3	6.28
7	7	7	.	1.2	.	.	.
7	7	6.34	0.78	.	.	6.34	.
6	6	7	10.74	1.62	.	.	10.74
7	7	7	3.02	3.35	.	.	3.02
5.5	4.5	5	3	14.66	3	5.54	3.00
7	7	7	.	1.25	.	2.19	.
7	7	7	1	3.92	1.17	1	1.09
7	7	7	1.97	1.2	1.97	1.28	1.97
7	7	7	1	2.48	1	1.95	1.00
7	7	7	1.55	1.59	1.55	1.59	1.55
7	7	7	.	1.09	.	1.1	.
7	7	7	.	1.43	.	0.2	.
7	7	7	.	1.27	.	0.5	.
5	5.5	5	.	5	.	3.57	.
7	7	7	.	0.7	.	1.34	.

5	5	5	2.63	13.67	.	13	2.63
7	7	7	.	2.03	.	0.5	.
7	7	7	.	0.78	.	0.5	.
6	6.5	7	.	4	.	1	.
7	7	7	.	1	.	1	.
7	7	7	.	1	.	2	.
6	6	6	.	4	.	4	.
7	7	7	.	2	.	2	.
3	1.5	2	5	.	4.64	.	4.82
7	7	7	2	16	.	0.5	2.00
3	1.5	2	.	.	.	.	.
7	7	7	.	1	.	0.27	.
7	7	4	9.2	9	.	2	9.20
7	7	7	.	3.73	.	2	.
7	7	7	4.41	4.5	.	2.46	4.41
6.5	5.5	7	4.43	0.74	.	12.08	4.43
7	7	7	.	9.92	1.44	1.55	1.44
7	7	7	1.65	1.21	.	.	1.65
6	7	7	1.3	3.11	.	.	1.30
6	6	5	2.89	8.69	.	.	2.89
7	7	7	10	3.5	.	.	10.00
6	6	5	1.7	1.6	.	.	1.70
7	7	7	1.91	1	.	.	1.91
2	2	1	4.51	.	.	.	4.51
6.5	7	5	3.5	5	0.17	4.95	1.84
7	7	7	2.47	2	0.26	1.21	1.37
7	7	7	2.69	1.3	0.82	1.62	1.76
7	7	7	1.56	4.3	1.88	3.91	1.72
6	6	5	1.27	7.3	.	.	1.27
7	7	7	2.53	0.2	.	.	2.53
6	7	7	2.18	4.11	.	.	2.18
7	7	6	0.98	4.45	.	.	0.98
6	7	7	2.11	6.8	.	.	2.11
7	7	7	0.84	1.14	0.3	0.73	0.57
6	6.5	7	1	1	0.45	8.5	0.73
7	7	7	0.5	0.5	1.27	0.93	0.89
7	7	7	0.5	0.1	1.27	0.1	0.89
2	2	5	1.7	8.5	1.7	8.5	1.70
7	7	7	.	1.5	.	0.5	.
5.5	5	5	2.28	7.19	1	6	1.64
7	7	7	3	1	1.38	3	2.19
7	7	7	2.92	0.2	1	1	1.96
7	7	7	2.08	1.23	.	.	2.08
7	7	7	2.35	2.23	.	.	2.35
6	7	5	1.85	2.2	.	.	1.85
7	7	7	2.5	3.23	2.3	2.74	2.40
7	7	7	1.06	0.75	0.8	0.65	0.93
7	7	7	2.08	0.18	1	0.3	1.54
6	6.5	6	0.73	4.32	1.63	3.69	1.18

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7	7	7	.	1.72	.	1.66	.
6	6.5	5	3.31	12.88	3	3.81	3.16
6	3.5	4	7.24	12.56	8.32	16.34	7.78

TIME2	WAR	FRIEND	FRELAB	FREQST	PRIV	LEG	WANT
2.79	1	5	2	4	7	1	2
2.29	1	2	1	2	2	2	1
2.43	1	2	6	2	2	1	1
1.00	1	6	1	1	1	2	1
1.00	1	7	1	1	1	2	1
1.00	1	4	2	6	3	1	2
1.00	1	7	2	7	2	2	1
1.10	1	4	2	2	5	2	1
1.50	1	4	1	6	3	2	1
3.00	1	5	3	3	1	2	1
1.85	1	7	1	1	4	2	1
2.50	1	4	1	1	4	2	1
2.65	1	4	2	4	5	1	1
1.20	1	3	1	1	4	2	1
0.78	1	5	5	6	4	2	1
1.62	1	7	2	4	3	2	1
3.35	1	7	1	1	1	1	2
5.10	1	7	1	1	5	2	1
1.72	1	6	7	4	1	1	1
2.40	1	4	2	2	7	.	1
1.24	1	7	3	3	5	2	1
2.22	1	6	1	5	3	.	1
1.59	1	7	1	1	1	2	1
1.10	1	5	1	1	1	2	1
0.82	1	5	1	1	2	1	2
0.89	1	4	1	1	4	1	1
4.21	1	4	3	5	5	1	1
1.02	1	4	1	1	1	2	1
3.34	1	4	5	5	7	2	1
1.27	1	2	6	6	7	2	1
0.64	1	4	7	1	.	1	2
2.50	1	4	4	2	4	2	1
1.00	1	4	1	1	5	2	1
1.50	1	6	5	5	7	1	1
4.00	1	6	3	5	5	2	1
2.00	1	5	2	3	1	2	2
.	1	1	1	1	7	1	1
8.25	1	4	1	1	1	2	2
.	.	1	6	4	4	3	1
0.64	1	2	6	6	3	1	1
5.50	1	5	1	1	3	1	1
2.87	1	2	1	1	4	1	1
3.48	1	3	5	3	3	2	1
6.41	1	7	2	1	3	2	1

5.74	1	5	1	1	1	2	2
1.21	1	6	2	1	2	2	2
3.11	1	7	1	.	3	.	.
8.69	1	2	1	1	6	.	1
3.50	1	5	1	2	5	2	1
1.60	1	7	1	1	1	1	1
1.00	1	5	6	3	3	2	1
.	1	6	1	1	7	1	1
4.98	1	7	6	5	1	2	1
1.61	1	7	1	1	1	2	1
1.46	1	5	5	3	2	2	1
4.11	1	3	1	1	6	1	1
7.30	1	5	1	1	1	1	1
0.20	1	5	6	6	3	2	1
4.11	1	7	1	3	1	2	1
4.45	1	2	3	.	5	2	2
6.80	1	2	2	5	7	1	1
0.94	1	6	2	3	4	1	2
4.75	1	3	1	1	3	2	1
0.72	1	5	4	2	3	2	1
0.10	1	2	1	7	7	1	1
8.50	1	1	2	1	5	1	1
1.00	1	4	2	2	3	.	1
6.60	1	4	5	2	1	1	1
2.00	1	2	6	1	3	1	1
0.60	1	3	5	5	4	2	1
1.23	1	5	1	1	4	1	1
2.23	1	7	3	3	4	.	2
2.20	1	5	5	4	6	2	1
2.99	1	5	3	4	5	1	1
0.70	1	6	6	3	2	2	1
0.24	1	7	1	3	2	1	1
4.01	1	2	4	4	5	1	1
1.69	1	3	3	2	6	2	1
8.35	1	4	2	2	6	2	1
4.45	1	6	6	6	1	1	1

LAW	CONFID	STOP	VICTIM	ANX	RELAX	GUILT	ANGRY
1	5	3	2	5	4	1	2
1	6	0	1	1	5	1	1
1	7	3	1	6	2	1	1
2	4	0	1	4	7	1	4
2	3	0	1	1	7	1	1
2	5	1	2	5	3	2	1
1	6	1	2	7	3	1	1
2	3	5	1	5	6	1	3
2	2	0	2	5	2	2	4
2	4	2	2	5	2	1	1
1	4	4	1	1	6	1	1

1	4	1	1	2	2	2	3
1	2	5	2	3	5	1	1
1	5	10	1	1	6	2	2
1	6	1	1	2	4	2	2
2	5	2	1	4	4	1	2
1	5	2	1	1	7	1	1
1	7	0	1	1	7	1	1
1	7	4	2	5	3	2	2
2	5	0	2	6	2	2	2
1	4	0	2	5	5	1	2
1	6	2	1	1	7	1	1
1	6	1	2	3	2	1	1
1	2	1	1	1	7	1	1
1	2	3	1	6	5	1	2
2	6	1	2	2	5	1	1
1	5	0	1	4	3	2	1
2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1
1	5	1	1	4	3	6	5
1	6	5	2	3	5	1	2
2	3	2	1	1	7	1	1
2	5	3	1	4	3	1	2
1	6	3	2	5	3	3	1
1	4	0	1	6	1	3	1
2	4	0	2	3	5	2	3
1	6	2	2	6	2	1	1
1	4	2	1	4	2	1	1
1	7	2	2	6	4	1	6
1	7	3	2	2	3	1	1
1	6	0	1	5	3	2	2
1	4	3	1	5	2	1	2
1	7	8	2	1	4	2	3
1	6	0	2	5	2	6	3
1	6	4	2	2	7	1	2
1	4	0	2	5	5	1	1
2	4	5	1	2	6	2	1
1	6	4	2	2	5	2	2
1	6	1	1	6	2	2	6
1	4	3	1	5	2	1	1
1	3	1	1	5	5	1	1
1	3	2	2	4	2	1	1
1	6	1	2	2	7	1	1
1	7	2	1	5	5	2	1
2	7	4	1	6	5	1	1
1	5	3	2	4	6	1	1
1	2	4	1	3	5	1	7
1	4	4	2	4	3	1	1
2	2	1	1	1	6	1	4
2	5	1	2	5	3	2	1
2	5	4	2	4	4	1	1

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1	7	3	1	6	3	1	2
1	2	0	2	3	7	1	1
2	4	5	1	7	1	3	1
1	7	2	1	2	5	1	1
2	3	1	2	1	5	1	3
1	5	0	2	2	5	2	1
1	6	4	1	5	6	2	2
2	2	2	2	1	6	1	1
1	6	3	1	3	5	1	2
1	4	0	1	2	5	1	1
1	2	5	1	2	6	1	1
1	7	1	1	4	4	1	1
1	6	4	1	4	4	1	1
1	3	2	2	6	2	1	2
1	3	3	2	3	3	1	1
2	3	4	2	2	5	1	1
1	7	3	2	3	1	2	1
2	6	5	2	3	2	1	4
1	4	9	2	4	4	1	2
1	7	4	2	6	1	1	4

SLFC	INNOC	STRESS	EMBAR	AESS	MAESS	I-OTHER	I-POCK
4	7	4	2	15	3.75	3	6
3	4	2	6	12	3	2	5
1	7	6	1	14	3.5	.	.
4	4	4	1	13	3.25	.	.
1	7	2	1	5	1.25	.	.
5	5	2	5	17	4.25	.	.
7	6	4	3	21	5.25	4	5
1	7	3	2	11	2.75	4	7
5	5	6	4	20	5	.	.
5	6	4	6	20	5	4	5
2	2	1	1	5	1.25	4	6
1	5	3	6	12	3	6	5
5	5	1	3	12	3	4	7
1	7	3	1	6	1.5	6	2
5	5	3	2	12	3	.	.
2	7	2	2	10	2.5	.	.
1	7	1	5	8	2	4	6
1	5	3	1	6	1.5	3	6
3	3	6	1	15	3.75	1	5
4	7	6	2	18	4.5	1	7
3	7	4	5	17	4.25	.	.
3	7	3	3	10	2.5	2	5
1	7	4	1	9	2.25	4	5
1	7	1	1	4	1	4	5
2	7	2	2	12	3	1	7
2	7	2	1	7	1.75	1	5
5	5	3	5	17	4.25	4	7

2	7	2	1	6	1.5	.	.
6	5	4	7	21	5.25	8	5
4	6	2	2	11	2.75	.	.
1	7	1	3	6	1.5	2	5
4	6	4	5	17	4.25	6	4
4	6	6	2	17	4.25	2	6
2	7	6	7	21	5.25	6	5
3	6	5	6	17	4.25	3	5
5	3	6	3	20	5	.	3
2	5	5	4	15	3.75	.	.
1	7	5	1	13	3.25	2	3
4	6	6	1	13	3.25	3	6
3	6	5	5	18	4.5	2	.
2	7	5	1	13	3.25	6	5
4	6	5	2	12	3	4	6
5	3	6	6	22	5.5	3	.
6	7	2	2	12	3	5	2
1	7	4	2	12	3	.	.
2	7	2	2	8	2	5	4
5	5	4	3	14	3.5	.	.
7	7	5	6	24	6	.	.
3	5	6	6	20	5	7	6
1	7	1	2	9	2.25	.	.
3	7	3	2	12	3	4	5
2	6	3	1	8	2	.	.
5	5	1	6	17	4.25	1	4
5	1	6	1	18	4.5	.	.
1	7	2	1	8	2	.	.
1	7	1	2	7	1.75	.	.
5	5	4	2	15	3.75	.	.
1	6	4	1	7	1.75	7	5
2	6	4	3	14	3.5	5	6
2	6	1	2	9	2.25	.	.
4	6	5	5	20	5	4	8
2	7	4	1	10	2.5	.	.
7	4	6	6	26	6.5	.	.
2	7	1	1	6	1.5	4	7
5	3	2	2	10	2.5	.	.
3	7	1	4	10	2.5	3	6
4	7	3	1	13	3.25	6	7
1	4	1	1	4	1	7	4
7	7	5	2	17	4.25	.	.
3	7	2	2	9	2.25	4	6
1	6	1	1	5	1.25	7	5
4	7	5	6	19	4.75	4	8
3	7	3	2	12	3	.	.
6	6	6	4	22	5.5	.	.
1	7	1	1	6	1.5	.	.
3	4	3	4	12	3	7	4

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2	6	5	2	12	3	.	.
1	7	6	6	16	4	3	6
5	4	5	5	19	4.75	4	5
1	4	6	6	19	4.75	.	.
I-NAM	I-BAG	I-STU	I-PD	I-GO	I-ID	BAG	MESS
2	8	1	7	5	4	2	2
4	6	1	7	8	3	2	2
.	.	.	.	5	6	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
.	4	2	6	8	3	2	2
1	6	3	7	8	2	1	2
1	8	3	5	6	2	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
2	6	1	8	7	3	1	2
2	7	1	8	5	3	2	2
1	8	2	4	7	3	2	2
1	8	2	6	5	3	1	2
8	1	7	4	3	5	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
1	7	2	8	5	3	1	2
2	8	1	7	5	4	1	2
7	6	2	4	8	3	1	2
4	5	3	6	8	2	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
1	6	3	8	7	4	1	2
2	6	1	8	7	3	2	2
1	6	2	7	8	3	1	2
4	8	2	6	5	7	1	2
2	6	3	7	8	4	2	2
2	8	1	6	5	3	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
4	2	3	1	6	7	2	1
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
1	4	6	7	3	8	1	2
3	5	1	7	8	2	1	2
1	8	1	4	5	2	1	2
1	7	2	8	4	3	1	2
4	6	3	7	5	3	2	2
.	6	.	7	8	.	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
1	4	8	5	6	7	2	2
2	7	1	8	4	5	1	2
.	.	1	8	7	6	2	2
1	4	2	7	8	3	2	2
2	5	1	7	8	3	2	2
6	.	2	5	8	4	2	2

4	1	8	6	7	3	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
1	8	2	6	7	3	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
1	4	2	5	8	3	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
2	6	1	7	8	3	2	1
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
5	.	3	8	.	6	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
3	4	1	8	6	2	2	2
2	7	1	8	4	3	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
2	7	1	6	5	3	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
2	6	1	5	8	3	2	1
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
7	1	2	8	5	4	1	2
1	8	2	4	5	3	1	2
8	6	3	1	5	2	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
1	5	2	7	8	3	2	1
2	6	1	4	8	3	1	2
2	7	1	5	6	3	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
2	5	1	8	6	3	2	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
1	4	2	8	5	7	2	2
2	7	1	8	6	3	1	2
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1

## VITA

Julie E. Howe

The author was born in White River Jct., Vermont, February 22, 1968. She graduated from Hartford High School in that town, June 1986. She received her B.A. from the University of Vermont, May 1990, with double majors in Political Science and Psychology. This thesis is the result of two years of research completing the requirements for an M.A. at the College of William & Mary. The author plans to pursue her research interests in social psychology and the law.