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 Comparing Personality Profiles of Law Enforcement Officers and Criminals Based

 on the MMPI and MMPI-2

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The purpose of this study was to compare Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) profiles of law enforcement officers with those of criminals. The law enforcement personnel group consisted of 31 police officers including those being evaluated for a promotion and consisted mainly of local department personnel; however, there were some profiles used which came from state and sheriff's agencies. The criminal group consisted of 30 individuals who had been convicted of a felony. Both groups consisted of mostly male profiles; each group had one female profile. Both groups ranged from 18 to 40 years of age. A multivariate analysis of variance was computed to compare personality profiles.

The multivariate results were significant indicating that the groups were not similar. The univariate results indicated significant differences on 9 of the 13 scales. These scales are scales F, K, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0. Similarities between the two groups were found on Scales L, 1, 3, and 5. While the literature suggests that law enforcement groups might have very similar characteristics to criminals, the results of this study do not indicate that police are similar to the classic "antisocial" criminal. However, the data indicate that there are some similarities between the two groups.

COMPARING PERSONALITY PROFILES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS AND CRIMINALS BASED ON THE MMPI AND MMPI-2

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since its origin in 1943, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (Hathaway & McKinley, 1970) and its 1987 revision (MMPI-2) (Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, & Tellegen, 1989) have been used and researched extensively. Its uses have included areas such as personality assessment, job applicant screening, and forensic psychology. Many reasons have been given for its wide use, including ease of administration, ease of scoring, and vast amounts of research to support it (Kramer & Conoley, 1992; Buros, 1972).

The MMPI is the most widely used objective psychometric instrument of personality assessment. It was originally designed to aid in diagnostic screening and detection of psychopathology but now is "designed ultimately to provide, in a single test, scores on all the more clinically important phases of personality" (Butcher & Williams, 1992, p. 11).

The MMPI is composed of three validity scales (L, F, K) and 10 clinical scales. Scale L "is a measure of the tendency of some individuals to distort their responses by claiming that they are excessively virtuous" (Butcher & Williams, 1992, p. 43). Scale F is a scale to determine exaggeration of symptoms and faking. Scale K is a measure of defensiveness. The basic scales are Scales 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0. Scale 1 (Hypochondriasis) is a measure of concern of health issues and problems. Scale 2 (Depression) is a measure of clinical depression. Significant elevations on this scale define the level of depression the person is claiming. Scale 3 (Hysteria) reflects how a person

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reacts to stressful situations. Scale 4 (Psychopathic Deviate) measures antisocial tendencies or rebelliousness against common societal norms and rules. Scale 5 (Masculinity-Femininity) measures both masculine traits of males and feminine qualities of females. Scale 6 (Paranoia) is a measure of suspiciousness and delusional beliefs associated with paranoia. Scale 7 (Psychasthenia) is a measure of obsessive-compulsiveness and anxiety. Scale 8 (Schizophrenia) is used to measure odd thinking or beliefs. Scale 9 (Hypomania) is a measure of energy level. This is likely to manifest itself in manic or hypomanic behaviors. Scale 0 (Social Introversion) is a measure of shyness or introversion (Butcher & Williams, 1992). On all of these scales, the raw scores are converted to T-scores which have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

Typically, law enforcement personnel are required to have a personality assessment and psychological evaluation before being hired. This screening process commonly involves the use of the MMPI to help in detecting "abnormalities" or psychopathology in the applicant's personality, which can help determine suitability for law enforcement duties (Hargrave & Hiatt, 1987). Although the MMPI is not the only assessment tool used, it is a commonly used assessment procedure for law enforcement applicants.

Upon entering incarceration facilities and programs, criminals are also assessed with the MMPI. The assessment of incarcerated criminals typically involves trying to find certain personality characteristics that assist in determining what the person is like and where they would best fit into the population. The use of the MMPI with criminal populations has also helped in the development of treatment programs. These treatment programs have been based on certain types of personality profiles or characteristics which are consistent among offenders across a specific population. By using the MMPI to identify these characteristics, treatment strategies are more readily applied to each specific group. The research that deals with screening police applicants and finding specific personality characteristics of criminals is extensive and has addressed many different issues.

Statement of Problem

The MMPI has been used extensively when dealing with persons involved in the criminal justice system. A common personality assessment when screening police applicants is the MMPI. This test may find possible abnormalities in a person's personality, which could suggest unfitness for law enforcement.

Criminal populations have also been studied with the MMPI. Many times criminals are thought of as being social rejects or not normal. Thus, the MMPI is often used to see to what degree the person's personality is different from the normal population or to identify personality characteristics.

Research suggests criminals and law enforcement personnel possess some of the same personality characteristics. Since law enforcement officers typically are dealing with criminals, these two populations may be similar across some dimensions of personality. <u>Statement of Purpose</u>

The purpose of this study is to learn whether law enforcement personnel and criminals share some of the same personality characteristics. Although previous studies have demonstrated that each group has its own unique characteristics, such as social deviance for criminals and being suspicious, prejudiced, and cautious for police, the research also suggests these two groups share some personality characteristics. However, no studies have been done directly comparing the two groups to identify common personality characteristics. If the results are conclusive that police and criminals have similar personality characteristics, people who possess similar personality characteristics may think in a similar fashion.

Statement of Significance

Since this is a pilot study, it could be the starting point for further research about how criminals and law enforcement personnel are similar and different. By assessing law enforcement personnel with the MMPI after they have been hired, personality characteristics may be found that are common to the law enforcement area.

Review of the Literature

Criminals

Across many studies, criminals will typically have an elevated MMPI Scale 4 (Psychopathic Deviate) (Erickson, Luxenberg, Walbek, & Seely, 1987; Panton, 1979; Sutker, Brantley, & Allain, 1980). The MMPI Scale 4 is commonly known as an antisocial behavior scale or social deviance scale (Huesmann, Lefkowitz, & Eron, 1978). High scores on this scale typically are found among criminal populations and other groups, such as rebellious teens and police officers. In criminal populations, Scale 9 is commonly elevated along with Scale 4. Scale 9, also known as the Hypomania scale, is used to measure mania and/or hypomania. Although different scales may be elevated depending on what the crime is, Erickson et al. (1987) found that the 4-9/9-4 profiles were consistent in their study's prison population. Criminals may have high energy levels, possess research also suggests these two groups share some personality characteristics. However, no studies have been done directly comparing the two groups to identify common personality characteristics. If the results are conclusive that police and criminals have similar personality characteristics, people who possess similar personality characteristics may think in a similar fashion.

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Mann, Stenning, and Borman (1992) found an elevated Scale 4 could represent a slightly non-conforming person who might have poor social judgments. As the scores rise, hypothesized problems with authority, interpersonal problems and social separation may also increase (Mann et al., 1992). It is understandable how criminals fit into this specific personality type. Typically, criminals are viewed as non-conforming individuals who have trouble with authority and poor social judgment. This becomes apparent when looking at criminals and their behavior. Criminals tend to not follow social norms and rules and laws that come from government agencies.

Panton (1979) notes that Scale 4 was the highest elevated scale among his population of child molesters. He also reported that Scales 2, 3, and 7 were prominent in the profiles. However, Scale 9 was not elevated which may have suggested nonaggressiveness among his sample. Even though Panton split his sample into two different groups (incestuous and non-incestuous child molesters), Scale 4 was consistently elevated among the entire sample.

Although specific scale elevations can and do occur depending on the crime, Scale 4 is commonly found across different groups of criminals. Erickson et al. (1987) found that most of the profiles were of the 4-2/2-4, 4-5/5-4, 4-8/8-4, 4-9/9-4 code types in a study comparing groups of sex offenders. Scale 2 is the depression scale, Scale 5 the masculinity-femininity scale, and Scale 8 the schizophrenia scale. Across all of these groups of profiles, Scale 4 is consistently elevated. The other scale elevations were based

upon different circumstances for each group, such as whether the victims were adults or children.

When studying driving under the influence (DUI) offenders, Goldstein and Linden (1969) reported that in three out of four profile types, Scale 4 had the highest elevations with secondary elevations in these profile types were on Scales 2 and 9. Sutker, Brantley, and Allain (1980) found four elevated profile types, all with Scale 4 being the highest. Across the sample, Scale 4 is a prominent scale, which again suggests that it may be helpful identifying a criminal or non-conforming personality type.

Scale 9 is also one of the prominent scales for criminal populations. Scale 9 is commonly paired with Scale 4 in patterns of impulsive action (Heilbrun, 1979). In criminal populations, Scale 9 is commonly elevated in conjunction with an elevated Scale 4. Huesmann et al. (1978) suggested that Scale 9 could be a measure of energy and when combined with Scale 4 could detect rebellious and excited behavior. Many times criminals are incarcerated for violent acts. People incarcerated for violent crimes, such as rape, robbery, and murder, typically act in an hostile manner when committing the crime. Huesmann and his colleagues saw the combination of Scales F, 4, and 9 to be a significant predictor of aggression in criminals.

In a study of convicted offenders of many different offenses, Clark (1978) found four frequent profile types: elevations on Scale 4, Scales 4-8-9, Scales 2-7-8, and Scales 4-9. Scale 4 is found in three out of four profile type, Scale 9 in two of the four groups, and a combination of 4 and 9 in two out of the four profile types with Scale 8 also being found in two of the four types. This is consistent with research done with the profiles of murderers and other violent offenders. Pass (1982), after splitting his sample into two groups whose crimes either did or did not result in the death of others, found that the group whose crimes did result in death had a 9-8 profile type, and the other group had a 4-8 profile type. Overall, these two groups had a 4-8-9 profile type, which is consistent with one of the four profile types Clark (1978) found.

Much of the research suggests the 4-9 profile type is consistent among criminal populations. Other scales can also be elevated depending on the specific nature of the crime for which the person is incarcerated, but the 4-9 elevated profile type is found in a large proportion of criminal populations.

The 4-9 profile type suggests people having elevated scores on these scales typically are "overactive, extroverted, talkative, ambitious, and energetic, frequently irritable, and occasionally violent" (Gynther, Altman, & Warbin, 1973, p. 259), characteristics criminals would possess. However, the 4-9 code type also suggests being self-centered, having sarcastic and cynical attitudes, being energetic, and possibly having little interest in routines, thus becoming bored easily (Graham, 1990). This different description often characterizes police officer.

Law Enforcement Personnel

The MMPI is used with criminal populations, but also is one of the most popular tests in the selection of law enforcement officers (Hargrave & Hiatt, 1987). However, its use has been criticized widely based on its criteria for what constitutes a suitable or unsuitable personality type in the law enforcement arena (Merian, Stefan, Schoenfeld, & Kobos, 1980). Typically, only those people who score in the "normal" range and show no signs of psychopathic tendencies are hired. However, evidence suggests that even though the scores of law enforcement personnel might fall within the normal range, the typical scores yielded are significantly different from normal profiles (Burbeck & Furnham, 1985). For example, Saccuzzo, Higgins, and Lewandowski (1974) found that compared to all other scales, Scales 4, 3, and 9 were higher with Scales 3 and 9 being about equal. The authors suggest that people who possess these profile types would be most likely to exceed scores that are considered normal on these scales.

In a study of inter-rater reliability, Schoenfeld, Kobos, and Phinney (1980) pointed out that the interpretation of the MMPI is subject to the bias of each rater. They found that the two judges in their study had contradictory results on 29 to 36 % of the cases examined. Although the MMPI is used widely for police selection, it may not be the best measure in predicting successful or unsuccessful candidates due to the rater bias. Without a specific cut-off for the determination of success, other tests may prove to be more beneficial.

Throughout much of the literature, law enforcement personnel appear to have a certain personality or mentality. Many times, police are thought of as being suspicious, prejudiced, and cautious (Balch, 1972). Although it is not known whether or not the job causes this or the people hired already have this mentality, it is a common conception that law enforcement officers do have these personality characteristics.

In one study of law enforcement personnel who have job difficulties, Hiatt and Hargrave (1988) found a significant difference between samples of problem and nonproblem law enforcement personnel. More subjects in the problem sample scored above 70 T-score points on the MMPI when looking at high point elevations. However, when looking only at the non-problem population of law enforcement personnel, the MMPI scales which had T-scores above 70 were Scales 4, 9, 5, and 7. In each of these scales, there were 4, 3, 1, and 1 elevated scores, respectively. Although Hiatt and Hargrave do not mention the possibility for a 4-9 personality type, the possibility exists. Among the clinical scales, Scale 4 had the highest mean across the population of non-problem personnel. Scale 9 had the fourth highest mean across the population of non-problem personnel, but Scale 4 had the highest number of frequencies and Scale 9 had the next highest. Again, elevations on Scales 4 and 9 might be present within this population as well.

Other findings agree with the assumption that Scales 4 and 9 are elevated in law enforcement populations. Hooke and Krauss (1971) found that successful police sergeant candidates and patrolmen peaked on Scales 4 and 9 with none of the scores more than one standard deviation above the mean of the general population. Both groups are considered to be normal, but spike elevations on these two scales are still noticeable. Law enforcement personnel in general may have elevated scores on Scales 4 and 9, much like criminal populations do. Although the elevations might not be as extreme for law enforcement officers, a relationship may exist between law enforcement officers and criminals on Scales 4 and 9.

Saccuzzo, Higgins, & Lewandowski (1974) similarly found Scale 4 to be the highest scale as a part of a three point profile with Scales 3 and 9. Scales 3 and 9 were almost equal, within one T-score point of each other. However, these scales were not

above a T-score of 70, which means the scores fall within the normal range. Saccuzzo and his colleagues suggested that if any of the scales were likely to exceed the normal range, and psychopathology was present, it would be shown on Scales 4, 3, and 9.

Hargrave, Hiatt, and Gaffney (1986) found that officers and deputy sheriffs showed elevations on Scales K, 9, 5, and 4. Since the K Scale is typically used in assessing the validity of the profile, and since the reliability on Scale 5 is somewhat questionable, many times K and 5 are not used. Disregarding these two scales, Scales 4 and 9 remain elevated, thus adding to the evidence that law enforcement personnel possess these characteristics.

Saccuzzo et al. (1974) suggested a relationship between police personalities and male delinquents. They suggested typical male delinquents have the same types of scores as police, but the scores will usually be about one standard deviation higher than law enforcement officers. This does not mean law enforcement officers are criminals or have criminal tendencies. It simply suggests these two groups have some of the same personality characteristics, based on the MMPI, which could be beneficial to study. <u>Summary</u>

After reviewing the literature on the MMPI and its use with criminals, it is quite apparent the 4-9 profile type is common across criminal populations. Other scales can also be elevated, but these scales typically are dependent on the type of crime the person committed. By using the MMPI and finding specific personality characteristics, the possibility exists that crime can be better understood by law enforcement officers. Law enforcement officers have also been assessed both before and after being hired. By studying personality types of these groups, it is possible to evaluate better what might constitute successful and unsuccessful candidates for the position. Much of the literature has consistently found elevations on Scales 4 and 9 among law enforcement populations, which is consistent with criminal populations. This could suggest police officers are in many ways similar to criminals, at least in personality types.

If the profile types are similar, the possibility exists that the law enforcement personnel who score closer to the criminal profile may be better at their jobs when dealing with criminals. Other hypotheses include the idea that if the criminal and the law enforcement personnel profiles are alike, the findings could be of particular importance for the purpose of hiring the proper personality types, especially if corruption has been suspected in the past and be controlled for in the future.

The focus of this study is to compare criminals and police officers directly using the MMPI to see if they are similar. While previous research only suggests the possibility of these two groups being similar, this study will directly examine whether or not the groups are similar based on each scale of the MMPI.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

Participants

The samples under investigation in this study consisted of two different groups. Individuals who had been convicted of felony crimes, were on probation, or were still incarcerated and sent to a small mid-western mental health center for psychological evaluation, counseling, or testing, were compared to law enforcement personnel who were currently employed by various law enforcement agencies. Both groups had been tested at the same mental health center for psychological screening and evaluations.

The sample of law enforcement personnel included state troopers, sergeants, and local city police department officers from the state of Nebraska. The law enforcement sample consisted of 31 MMPI profiles while the criminal sample consisted of 30. The age range for both samples was from 18 to 40 years. One female profile was used for each group; the rest were males. The ethnicity of the participants was not available.

Since the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2) profiles of criminals and law enforcement personnel are property of the mental health facility, informed consent was not necessary from each person. However, confidentiality was maintained by using coded numbers when sorting and manipulating the data. <u>Procedure</u>

The institution where the data had been collected was contacted to secure permission to use the information and data. The 31 profiles from the police group were randomly selected from a population of profiles kept by the institution. The pool of profiles were obtained from applicant screening and/or job promotion screening. The 30 profiles from the criminal group were collected from members of an anger management group and a drug and alcohol intensive outpatient group who were receiving individual counseling.

Instrumentation

The MMPI and MMPI-2 were used to determine the personality characteristics of criminals and law enforcement personnel. Kramer and Conoley (1992) suggested that the MMPI and the MMPI-2 are comparable psychometric measures. The MMPI is a 566 item personality inventory which was developed to help identify personality characteristics of the individual taking it. The MMPI-2 consists of 567 items. Both variations of this personality inventory have three validity scales and ten basic or clinical scales. The three validity scales are L, F, and K. Scale L "is a measure of the tendency of some individuals to distort their responses by claiming that they are excessively virtuous" (Butcher & Williams, 1992, p. 43). Scale F is a scale to determine exaggeration of symptoms and faking. The third and final validity scale is Scale K. This scale is a measure of defensiveness. The basic scales are Scales 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0. Scale 1 (Hypochondriasis) is a measure of concern of health issues and problems. Scale 2 (Depression) is a measure of clinical depression. Significant elevations on this scale define the level of depression the person is endorsing. Scale 3 (Hysteria) reflects how a person reacts to stressful situations. Scale 4 (Psychopathic Deviate) measures antisocial tendencies or rebelliousness against common societal norms and rules behavior exhibited by the person. Scale 5 (Masculinity-Femininity) measures both masculine traits of males

and feminine qualities of females. Scale 6 (Paranoia) is a measure of suspiciousness and delusional beliefs associated with paranoia. Scale 7 (Psychasthenia) is a measure of obsessive-compulsiveness and anxiety. Scale 8 (Schizophrenia) is used to measure odd thinking or beliefs. Scale 9 (Hypomania) is a measure of energy level. This is likely to manifest itself in manic or hypomanic behaviors. Scale 0 (Social Introversion) is a measure of shyness or introversion (Butcher & Williams, 1992). On all of these scales, the raw scores are converted to T-scores which have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

Parker, Hanson, and Hunsley (1988) report a mean relative reliability from a metaanalytical study of .84 and a mean content validity of .46. The test-retest reliability of the MMPI-2 for men on the basic scales was between .67 and .92, and between .58 and .91 for women (Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, Tellegen & Kaemmer, 1989). While studying the test-retest reliability of the MMPI over a two year period, McLachlan (1974) found scale 4 to have a .59 reliability and scale 9 to have a .72 reliability. Hathaway and McKinley (1970) found the test-retest reliability for the clinical scales of the original MMPI to be between .52 and .91 for the clinical scales. These data are indicative that over time there is a consistency of scores on the MMPI.

Since the data available are the original MMPI of law enforcement personnel and the MMPI-2 of criminals, the criminal profiles were re-scored according to the original MMPI norms. This was done by using the MMPI-2 manual which contains a conversion chart (Butcher et al. 1989). It should be noted that Duckworth (1991) gives strong cautionary statements regarding the original MMPI and new MMPI-2 to be comparable because of original norms versus new norms. Caldwell (1991) also explains that the two profiles may actually be very different which needs to be considered when conducting research and comparing the two tests.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The analysis used in this study was a 2 (police or criminal) X 13 (MMPI Scales L, F, K, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) (Hotellings type) to determine if similarities between groups exist on the MMPI. Univariate <u>F</u>-tests were then done to examine differences on each scale. The alpha level for this study was set at the .05 level.

The results indicate that the police showed high scores on Scales 3 and 4, and the criminals showed high scores on Scales 4 and 8. The mean scores for each group on each scale are shown in Table 1. It should be noted that none of the scores were elevated above 70 T-score points. Therefore, there are not considered clinically significant.

With a <u>p</u>-value of <.001 and an <u>F</u>-value of 3.99963, the MANOVA result showed significance indicating that the two groups were not similar. The univariate <u>F</u>-tests showed a statistically significant difference on Scales F, K, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0 with the criminal sample scoring higher than the police sample.

Table 1

Mean Scores and p value results of MMPI Scales of Police and Criminals

| MMPI Scales | Police | Criminals | р |
|----------------------------|--------|------------------|--------|
| L | 50.290 | 54.400 | .064 |
| F | 48.516 | 59.233 | .000** |
| K | 61.387 | 56.233 | .011* |
| 1 (Hypochondriasis) | 51.258 | 53.900 | .200 |
| 2 (Depression) | 48.032 | 60.367 | .000** |
| 3 (Hysteria) | 58.774 | 56.200 | .202 |
| 4 (Psychopathic Deviate) | 56.871 | 65.567 | .004** |
| 5 (Masculinity-Femininity) | 53.548 | 56.000 | .349 |
| 6 (Paranoia) | 54.581 | 60.633 | .004** |
| 7 (Psychasthenia) | 52.226 | 60.567 | .018* |
| 8 (Schizophrenia) | 50.839 | 62.200 | .000** |
| 9 (Hypomania) | 54.387 | 60.067 | .022* |
| 0 (Social Introversion) | 45.935 | 51.967 | .015* |
| | | | |

*<u>p</u><.05

**<u>p</u> < .01

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

In this study, the MMPI profiles of law enforcement personnel were compared to those of criminals. It was predicted that both groups would possess similar personality characteristics (especially Scales 4 and 9), but the results were not supportive. The similarities were in Scales L, 1, 3, and 5. Due to the significance of differences on Scales 4 and 9, one could assume that law enforcement officers are not similar to the stereotypical criminal.

The results showed no serious psychopathology among the law enforcement personnel sample. All of the scores for this sample were within the average range. The criminal sample indicated a greater likelihood of psychopathology or psychological problems though, as they scored higher on the clinical scales 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0.

The criminal profile is stereotypically defined as a 4-9 profile. However, this study yielded high points on Scales 4 and 8 for the criminal group, but none of the scores were elevated. It should also be noted that Scales 6, 7, 2, and 9 were all within .566 points of each other and all were within 2.133 points of Scale 8. The police showed high points on Scales 3 and 4, respectively. All scales were within normal limits and did not exceed 70 <u>T</u>-score points.

Another possibility of why the results were inconsistent with previous research includes the rural area which the samples were taken from. For example due to the rural area, there may have been an unforeseen bias such as type of crime or type of personality (rural versus urban) based on societal and environmental differences.

From the differences on Scales 4 and 9 between this study and previous research, one could conclude that law enforcement officers are not similar to the stereotypical criminal. By having a larger sample size, the results may have been different and more closely resembled what other studies have shown because the majority of other studies have larger numbers of participants. With such low population numbers and people living in a rural area, there may be a bias as to the types of people involved. With respect to how a people's environment affects them, the possibility exists that the sample in this study was completely different from people in other studies, which could have altered the results. While the variable of age was controlled as best as possible, more scrutiny and a smaller window of acceptable profiles (with regard to age) may need to be used in further research because, typically, people who are older and have more experience and knowledge, usually have different personality characteristics than younger inexperienced people.

Ethnicity is another factor which may need to be considered in future research. Ethnicity was not available from the data but future researchers may want to include this factor to control for any research "noise" which may have been present.

This study suggests several possibilities for future research. For example, how closely do these two groups match with regard to scales L, 1, 3, and 5. There may be some common descriptors that are important to examine when studying either population. Since the findings of this study do not agree with the profiles of each group, further research should be done in order to determine specific common personality characteristics between the two in order to help promote the understanding of criminals by law

enforcement officers. Specific hiring qualities could also be determined for law enforcement personnel which could aid in the hiring process.

Future research could also disaggregate the criminal groups based on the category of crime. For example, even though both charges are felonies, the person who commits murder is different from a person who is incarcerated for drug charges. It is likely that due to the low murder rates and low crime rates of the area this study was done in, this study did not replicate what previous research has found. Many of the studies cited in the literature review were examining profiles of those currently in prison, and were controlled for according to the crime which the person was incarcerated for. This study did not do this, therefore, this could be a reason for the results of this study not replicating.

Another reason for the results not replicating could be errors in the conversion chart is commonly used only when comparing one person's older profile to a newer one. There have been cautions given as to using this chart, such as only using this chart when comparing an older profile to a newer one on the same individual, but due to the limited availability of data, the chart had to be used.

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