

WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT: A SOCIOLOGICAL
EXPLORATION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLES
OF THE VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN

by

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT

Introduction

Man's involvement with, and concern over, his wildlife food supply extends to prehistoric times. Gabel (1964) in his book Man Before History points out that the Neolithic revolution, usually associated with plant and animal domestication, owes a great deal to the manner by which man adapted to a decreasing food supply. Coming up to the Neolithic period, Gabel (1964:42-45) states:

The community of food-gatherers had been restricted in size by the food supplies available....fish, edible roots, and berries growing in its territory. No human effort could augment these supplies....Indeed, improvements in the technique or intensification of hunting and collecting beyond a certain point would result in the progressive extermination of the game and an absolute diminution of supplies....Hunters today, and doubtless in prehistoric times, have been accustomed to make pets of young wild animals for ritual ends or just for fun. Man has allowed the dog to frequent his camp in return for the offal of his prey and refuse from his feasts....If he just realizes the advantage of having a group of such half-tamed beasts hanging round the fringes of his settlement as a reserve of game easily caught, he will be on the way to domestication....Next he must exercise restraint and discrimination in using this reserve of meat. He must refrain from frightening the beasts unnecessarily or killing the youngest and tamest. Once he begins to kill only the shyest and least amenable bulls or rams, he will have started selective breeding....

Thus, anthropologically speaking, man's social evolution is directly tied to his early relations with his wildlife food supply. The domestication of wild beasts and plants "...quite possibly ranks

as the most significant discovery in this history of mankind" (Gabel, 1964:40). Significant, also, was the development of particular belief systems related to the regulation and protection of certain species of wildlife. These protective beliefs, like domestication, helped insure early man a more adequate food supply. These beliefs appear to have progressed through three stages: (1) tribal taboos, (2) decrees, and (3) statutory laws.

Wildlife Protection Through Tribal Taboos

Although the meaning of some of early man's relations to animals are speculative, certain tribal associations have undergone extensive study and the man-animal relationships reported. In fact, the first systematic protection of wildlife may have been closely wed to religious or supernatural beliefs. Even though some totemism involves only the naming of particular clans after animals, in other instances "...clan members are strictly forbidden to eat the animals or plants after which they are named, although others in the society are not similarly bound" (Beals and Hoijer, 1959:460). For example, game management among the Aruntas (a desert people of north central Australia), either manifestly or incidentally, is related to and carried out according to totemistic values. Reporting on the Aruntas, Beals and Hoijer (1959:460-461) state:

Totem cult members may eat only sparingly of their totem animal or plant, and must leave the choice bits to others. Rites are held at the totem center from time to time for the purpose of increasing the number of the animal or plant species with which the cult is totemically associated. The totem cult is thus believed to be responsible for the maintenance of the food supply, or that portion of it represented

by their totem species. Accordingly, they exercise certain controls over the killing and eating of their totem animals; thus, though non-cult members may eat as much as they like of a cult's totem animal, they must not do so outside the camp, but must bring it in. Failure to observe this and other like regulations will anger the cult members...(Emphasis added).

In addition, Beals and Hoijer (1959:559) explain:

....there are numerous sacred places, called totem centers, in the country of an Australian band which are favorite spots for a certain animal species or areas of concentration for a species of plant, and in which the spirits of the dead reside. Conception is caused when one of these spirits enters the body of a woman; the child, then, is not only a reincarnated ancestor but also is related to the totem center from which his spirit came and to which it will return at death. Those whose spirits come from the same totem center form a cult, whose duty it is to observe, and see that others observe, certain restrictions on hunting and eating the animals or plants also associated with the totem center (Emphasis added).

Driver's (1969) work on North American Indians offers an example of how certain tribal religious beliefs governed the hunting and consuming of animals. Regarding the North American Eskimo, for example, Driver (1969:99) states:

In some areas, a hunter who had killed a major animal, such as a whale, had to go into mourning the same as he would for a dead relative. An entire Eskimo community occasionally starved to death because of the rule forbidding anyone to hunt until several days after the death of a member of the community. When one of a number of persons on the verge of starvation died, the others got no food for several days, which was sufficient to cause the death of another, and so on until all were dead.

Wildlife were conserved, in this manner, not only by the religious prohibitions regarding the hunting of animals but because adherence to the beliefs ultimately destroyed the hunting capabilities of the tribal members. Driver (1969) provides another example that entails a system of beliefs pertaining to the power of animals to determine their own fate.

The belief in animal souls was probably universal among North American Indians....Every animal, then, since it has a soul which survived after its death, was able to report on the manner in which it had been killed, butchered, and consumed and on the disposal of the inedible parts. If the hunter did not follow the proper procedure, he offended the spirit of the slain animalSouls of living game, as well as of dead ones, heard of such cases and refused to allow their bodies to be slain by such an unkind hunter, who therefore failed to get any more game (Driver, 1969:98).

These few examples¹ serve to demonstrate that wildlife conservation has occurred, intentionally or unintentionally, through adherence to certain religious beliefs² regarding the relationship between man and animals. Even though the anthropological literature cited above is not specifically couched in terms of "control agents" or "techniques" of wildlife conservation, we may be safe in stating that wildlife conservation first occurred due to religious beliefs and that the enforcement of tribal taboos may well have been the first type of "wildlife law enforcement". Thus, as the data on the Aruntas suggest, the first "game warden" may owe his origin to a complex set of totemic beliefs regarding the relationship of man to important elements in his natural surroundings.

¹Driver (1969:98-99) states that even though the taboos surrounding hunting have never been catalogued or classified that "it is certain that they run into the hundreds."

²Religious beliefs and wildlife conservation are still intertwined today. One particular statute states that it is unlawful "To hunt or kill any wild bird or wild animal, including any predatory or undesirable species, with a gun, firearm and/or other weapon on Sunday, which is hereby declared a rest day for all species of wild bird and wild animal life" (Virginia Game, Inland Fish and Boat Laws, 1973:66).

Wildlife Protection Through Decrees and Laws

Although the history of regulations pertaining to wildlife remains sketchy, certain of these regulations have been noted and may be treated more or less as decrees. Biblical law contains a statement (Deuteronomy 22:6,7) that:

If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground, whether they be young ones or eggs and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young: But thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.

Trench (1965:259) writes that in "About 1750 B.C. a village headsman in Mesopotamia had to apologize to the Assyrian king for a lioness being killed without authority...."

Tracing the development of wildlife regulations into early England, Trench (1965) tells us that the Saxons and Danes preserved game in moderation and first allowed hunting in any area so suited. Gradually, however, Kings and Earls claimed exclusive hunting rights around their own residences and preserved game for winter food and for hunting sport. William the Conqueror insisted that wild beasts, contrary to earlier more open hunting rights, had no owner but the King.³ William is also accredited with the introduction of mutilation as a punishment for poaching; a theme carried out by his sons William Rufus and Henry I. Later on, in 1184, Henry II had to reduce the

³Trench (1965:260) also declares that the term "foresta", first introduced around William's reign, "...had nothing to do with trees: it meant simply an area in which the right of hunting rested solely with the King and his licensees."

harsh punishment handed out to poachers due to "public and ecclesiastical pressure" (Trench; 1965:260). During the thirteenth century, customs and laws surrounding the taking of wildlife developed due to the impact of the bargaining between the Kings of England and their subjects. During this time we see the development and implementation of occupational specialties to deal with wildlife laws. To a large degree they reflect the essence of similar current specialties. Trench (1965:262-263) outlines the specialties thus:

A large staff was employed to administer the game laws and to control the forest-grazing and timber-felling. For each forest there was a Chief Forester (variously known as Warden, Steward, Keeper or Bailiff); some "riding foresters" or "bow-bearers" and a large number of foresters to carry on the day-to-day work. These were helped by honorary verderers, generally knights or local notables, who performed minor magisterial duties in the forest courts. Verderers were elected by the local people: Chief Foresters were sometimes hereditary, generally appointed by the Crown, and often commanded some royal castle as well as being in charge of the forest. Foresters were always appointed. They had authority to arrest anyone found in the forest with bow, snare or hounds and to take his attendance in court; they patrolled, took special care of the deer in the breeding season, provided browse and tree clippings in winter. They were themselves forbidden to hunt or even to carry a bow, save under warrant of the Chief Forester or when training young hounds; but they were well paid and had valuable privileges, including forest grazing for their own cattle and sheep, and one or two deer and oak-trees a year.

Incidentally, it is also reported that during this same time period some of the laws of Kublai Khan were concerned with wildlife development. Even though we do not have the same details as those pertaining to thirteenth century England, Gould (1968:550) does tell us that the Great Khan (1259-1294 A.D.) "...enforced closed season during the breeding seasons of important birds and mammals of his empire and also provided winter food for them."

Not only did the thirteenth century see the first systematic regulation and enforcement of wildlife conservation efforts, it also produced a common law precedent that is still heeded in more legalistic fashion today. Judge F. Donald Philips (1956) very adequately sums up the impact of earlier English custom and law on today's concept of the ownership of wildlife. He states(1956:5):

After the Norman Conquest and before the Magna Charta of King John it seems that the ownership of wild game in England was vested in the English King, who claimed such ownership in his individual capacity and as a personal prerogative. Under such a system no one could acquire ownership in or title to game except by reason of special license of the King.

When the barons at Runnymede exacted from King John the Magna Charta in 1215 a change seems to have taken place in the treatment of the ownership of animals ferae naturae. Since then, it has become established that the King owns all wild game, not reduced to possession, in his sovereign capacity, as distinguished from his individual capacity. It is said that he holds such property as the representative of, and in "sacred trust" for, the people. This principle forms a part of the common or unwritten law....The colonists who settled in America carried with them the common law of England....Among the principles of common law accepted as applicable to American conditions was the principle in question. It was accepted with this qualification. The state acquired the title of the King, and so it has been held uniformly in this Country, that the wild game is owned by the state in its sovereign capacity in "trust" for the people of the state (Emphasis added).

Building upon this central theme and base of authority, the early colonists, due to their dependence on wildlife as a source of food, quickly devised rules pertaining to hunting and fishing. Gould (1968: 550-551) states that:

As early as 1623, provision was made that these activities were to be free to all members of the colony. In 1646, the town of Portsmouth, R.I. ordered "that there shall be noe shooting of deere from the first of May till the first of November; and if any shall shoot a deere within that time he shall forfeit five pounds; one half to him that sueth, and the other to the Treasury."

In a slightly different, corporate, fashion, Sigler (1958:8) reports that:

....the first game laws in America were probably the hunting privileges granted in 1629 by the East Indies Company to persons planning colonies in New Netherlands, the provisions regarding the right of hunting in the Massachusetts Bay Colonial Ordinance of 1647, and the New Jersey Concessions of Agreement of 1678.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1972, Vol.23:510) adds another bit of information about early restrictions by stating that:

Closed hunting seasons on deer appeared as early as 1718 in Massachusetts, and by the time of the American Revolution 12 of the 13 Colonies had closed seasons on certain species of game.

Adding still another step to the skeletal outline of the history of wildlife regulations, Gould (1968) mentions a Georgian proscription that is still a pressing concern today. He declares (1968:551) that:

Georgia's first wildlife conservation law was passed some seven years after the Revolution, in December of 1790. This law declared that it was illegal to hunt deer at night with "fire-light" and provided a penalty of five English Pounds and 30 lashes, "well laid".

Although the well laid lashes may seem harsh to some, these newer penalties in the colonies were still less harsh than those of the land from which they developed. Trench (1965:267) informs us that in England in 1722 the Parliament passed an Act which declared deer-poaching with weapons or blackened faces to be a felony. Under this act:

....four poachers were hanged and thirty-six transported, a revision to Norman severity which was to be characteristic of game preservation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This act was followed by an Act of 1771 "which prescribed a year's imprisonment and a whipping for a second poaching offense"

(Trench; 1965:268). Later, the Ellenborough Act of 1803 proclaimed that anyone offering armed resistance to arrest should be hanged as a felon and in 1817 any night poaching "...was made punishable by seven years' transportation, from which no one ever returned" (Trench; 1965: 268).

Summary

As noted by this brief historical sketch, man has long been concerned with regulating the use of wildlife food supplies. This concern influenced prehistoric belief systems, served as a developmental focus of political systems in early England and was used to fortify an ideological position through common law in the early colonies. This concern has also generated particular occupational specialities to protect wildlife and to provide recreation in the form of "sport" hunting.

Although we presently may not be as totally dependent upon wild game as our forebearers were for sheer survival, wildlife conservation is still an invaluable part of our national heritage. Today's citizenry presently enjoys many important direct and indirect benefits from solid wildlife conservation practices. Many rural dwellers still derive an appreciable proportion of their protein diet from wildlife food supplies. State economies are aided greatly by tax revenues generated by the sale of hunting, fishing and trapping licenses. Economic stimulation also results because of the outlay of money spent on supplies and transportation to and within the sporting area. Leisure time pursuits involving the hunt for fish and wildlife provide

varying degrees of mental and physical therapy for the sportsman. In addition, the relationship of wildlife to the continuation of certain balanced ecological systems is of incalculable value to our national and international well being.

Today, the laws governing the use of wildlife exist in statutory form and the authority of the controllers is specified in detail. Yet there has been no systematic study of the activities and occupational concerns of the ones entrusted to enforce these laws. Although extensive documentation pertaining to the history of wildlife conservation measures exists, the literature is less than comprehensive in regard to the wildlife law enforcement officer and his daily activities. This situation exists in spite of the fact that within the total field of wildlife conservation, some experts feel that the enforcement of wildlife laws is the most crucial element in preserving our wildlife populations. For example, Henry (1968:541-542) declares that "Enforcement is the foundation on which the superstructure of a game and fish program is erected....enforcement is the most essential part of any plan...." Similarly, Gould (1968:551) believes that "In practice, then, wildlife conservation amounts to managing the people who use the resource, rather than managing the resource."

The main purposes of this study, then, will be to examine and describe the roles played by selected Virginia Game Wardens. Major emphasis will be placed on the law enforcement activities of the wardens and their attitudes toward certain aspects of their work role. It is hoped that this study will provide insightful data

concerning an important occupation that has received little or no scholarly attention from social researchers. The next Chapter contains a more detailed elaboration on this particular research problem.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

Statement of the Problem

In this study, the overall guiding principle is to "penetrate more deeply into the personal and social drama of work...." (Hughes, 1958:48); in this particular case, to penetrate more deeply into an occupational group that has, up until this time, escaped sociological attention; the game warden. Specifically this study intends to (1) describe the activities of Virginia Game Wardens holding the rank of Area Patrol Leader or Regular Warden¹ with particular attention focused on their law enforcement behavior, (2) describe the techniques employed in carrying out various law enforcement duties, and (3) present descriptive statistics which reveal the attitudes and opinions of the game warden toward various aspects of occupationally related behavior.

Writers in the field of occupational sociology have provided general points of departure for investigating work relationships. Edward Gross (1958:41-45), for example, has offered a specific frame-

¹Area Patrol Leaders are those wardens who, in addition to enforcing wildlife laws in their "own" county, are responsible for supervising Regular Wardens in two or three additional counties. Regular Wardens are those who primarily enforce wildlife laws in one county and have no supervisory responsibilities.

work by which the analysis of an occupation may be undertaken.

Although there will be no attempt to follow to the letter the outline which he presents, there are several points to be explored that fall easily into the categories which he posits.

The study of game wardens, as is the case with the study of any occupation, may be approached from the standpoint of the structure of work relations. For example, within the occupation itself, what is the nature of the division of labor and specialization? What are the tools of the game warden? Are these tools owned by him, and, if so, what privileges and limitations accompany such ownership? How is the occupation of game warden related to other occupations in the community; for example, to other law enforcement agencies?

Another set of questions which may be posed fall under the heading of the status and authority system. In this regard, questions concerning the factors which place persons in authority relationships with each other might be raised. What privileges and obligations attach to different work positions? What systems of control are operative within the occupation network? What types of deviant conduct exist in the work world of the game warden? These, then, comprise the types of questions that will be explored in this research. The description of the activities of the game warden also addresses itself to the interpersonal relations between the game warden and certain other persons (i.e., violators, judges, the "public", other law enforcement personnel) with whom the warden comes into contact while performing his occupational duties.

Work attitudes and occupational stress associated with the occupation of game warden are also examined. This analysis focuses on such facets as job satisfaction, central problems of the job, perceived danger of the job and appreciation of the work by others.

These general issues constitute the bulk of the questions addressed by this exploration. Basically, the study seeks to discover what the game warden does, how he does it and how he feels about doing it. Theoretically, these observations are couched in terms of "role behavior", which will be reviewed in the next Chapter. After the role behavior of game wardens is articulated, the material is compared to data that have been presented in other studies of law enforcement personnel. Particularly, the activities of the game warden are compared to the "styles" or "models" of police behavior presented by other writers such as Wilson (1968), Brodsky (1973) and Johnson (1973). (These conceptualizations are presented in detail in Chapter III.)

It is hoped that this study will (1) provide additional data to the growing stock of occupational analyses, (2) provide a vehicle through which more about crime and law enforcement may be learned, and (3) generate specific testable hypotheses for inclusion in future research endeavors.

Methodology

An Overview of the Project

The data upon which this study is based were collected as part of a larger project focusing on various facets of the occupation of game warden. Data were collected on such topics as: recruitment

procedures, training, law enforcement techniques, and job satisfaction. This study, then, is based largely, though not exclusively, on information gathered which concerns the individual role performance of game wardens. The larger research project was funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Hatch Act) and was generally concerned with work roles and occupational ideologies of Virginia Game Wardens. This project is only one of a series of ongoing research endeavors undertaken relative to rural occupations by members of the sociology faculty at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

The project data were collected by four research assistants during the months of July, August and September of 1974. The author was one of the four research assistants who gathered the data and aided in the analysis of the data, thus providing an opportunity to work on the game warden project from the early stages to the completion of the project report.

Sample

The data of the project, and upon which this study is based, were collected using a stratified enumerative and random sampling procedure. As concerns the enumerative phase, information was obtained from all six game wardens holding the title of Game Warden Supervisor, the twelve wardens ranked as Assistant Supervisors, and twenty-five of twenty-six Area Patrol Leaders (one patrol leader had to be deleted from the sample because an appropriate interview time could not be arranged). With respect to the random sampling phase of subject selection, forty-two Regular Wardens were randomly selected from the

1974 Personnel Directory published by the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries. This procedure resulted in a sample size of eighty-five (N=85). Table 1 contains a breakdown of the sample of Virginia Game Wardens by number and rank.

While the total number of respondents interviewed for the project was eighty-five, the present study will be using data obtained from only the sixty-seven Regular Wardens and Area Patrol Leaders (N=67). Data from the six Supervisors and twelve Assistant Supervisors are dealt with in only a cursory manner because, for the most part, these wardens are only involved in actual "field work" in a limited fashion. Wardens designated as Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens, on the other hand, are primarily concerned with law enforcement efforts and offer a more appropriate source of information pertaining to this role.

Instruments of Data Collection

Data were collected through the implementation of four different research techniques. One was the use of a structured interview schedule employed in the field by the four interviewers (see Appendix A). Upon completion of the interview, a self-administered questionnaire was left with the warden who was asked to complete the questionnaire as soon as possible and to return the instrument² to the

²This procedure produced a return rate of 98.8%. Only one area leader failed to return the self-administered questionnaire even after several attempts to obtain the questionnaire were made by mail and telephone.

TABLE 1
 SAMPLE COMPOSITION BY RANK OF WARDEN

Rank	Total Number Employed	Total Number Sampled
Supervisor	6	6
Assistant Supervisor	12	12
Area Patrol Leader	26	25 ^a
Regular Warden	83	42
Total	127	85

^aOne Area Patrol Leader could not be interviewed because an appropriate interview time could not be arranged.

project office in a self-addressed stamped envelope supplied at the time of the interview (see Appendix B). A third technique involved the tape recording of the interview and other conversations that were held between the interviewer and the respondent. This was done at the discretion of both the interviewer and the respondent. If the respondent did not consent to the taping of the interview or conversations, or if the researcher felt that rapport would be hampered or that the interview setting was inappropriate to the use of the tape recorder, the interviewer would take notes on conversations and any other phenomena that appeared relevant. These notes were then typed and filed by the project secretary upon submission by the interviewers. The fourth method used to gather information was direct observation. In this connection, the author has logged approximately 130 hours of direct observation of various activities performed by three game wardens in three counties in Southwestern Virginia. The majority of these hours were spent with the Area Patrol Leader for the four counties adjacent to, and including, the county in which Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University is located. Thus, spatial proximity and ease of accessibility were used as guiding criteria for the selection of wardens with which to conduct direct and extensive observations. In all, it is estimated that some 200 hours were spent by the author in both conversation of either a formal or informal variety or in direct observation of various game wardens. Direct observation included such activities as looking for pre-season squirrel hunters, "floating the river", checking fishing licenses sptotlighting patrol and attending an organized "dove hunt" with several wardens.

In many respects the above figure is a conservative estimate because in many cases after an interview was conducted the author and the respondent sat around over coffee or lunch and "shot the bull". Notes were taken or taped as a result of many of these informal conversations. Field notes were taken while observing the work activities unless it was inappropriate or impossible to do so (spotlighting trips were undertaken at night and afforded little opportunity to keep a running account of the activities). Several reports were compiled from memory at a convenient time and place, with the result that a few reports are detailed and complete while others offer only a sketch of the activities observed. The technique of direct observation was used in the present study to obtain supplemental information to that obtained by the survey methods. As such, it adds a "qualitative" dimension (examples, quotations, phrases) to the quantitative data collected by the survey instruments.

Summary

This chapter has articulated the basic research problems to be investigated by this study and has detailed the methodology employed for such an investigation. The research problems focus upon: (1) the role performances of selected Virginia Game Wardens, with particular attention paid to their law enforcement activities, (2) the law enforcement techniques used by the wardens, (3) the attitudes of the wardens toward specific aspects of their work, (4) the occupational stresses encountered as a result of their various work roles, and (5) a comparison of wildlife law enforcement to other styles of police behavior.

The methodology utilized in this study involves data obtained from wardens (selected by enumerative and random sampling procedures) through a variety of research techniques. The techniques used were: (1) in-depth interviewing based on a structured interview schedule, (2) a self-administered questionnaire, (3) tape recorded formal and informal conversations, and (4) direct observation of the activities of particular wardens.

The next Chapter contains a review of relevant literature on the occupation of game warden and on the concept of role. Material on the concept of role provides the basic theoretical framework with which the activities of the wardens in this sample are explored. The review of literature embraces not only a conceptual treatment of "role" and related concepts but also explores the utilization of these concepts in other occupational studies of law enforcement personnel.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature on Game Wardens

Even though sociologists have not previously studied game wardens, there does exist a considerable amount of non-sociological, and in most cases, a non-systematic literature on game wardens and other aspects of fish and wildlife conservation. In fact, Potter et al., (1973) have compiled an excellent annotated bibliography entitled Human Behavior Aspects of Fish and Wildlife Conservation which references materials from a variety of popular magazines, technical reports, and commission proceedings.

Probably the most thoroughly detailed work on game law enforcement was published in 1956 by William F. Sigler, then Head and Professor of the Department of Wildlife Management at Utah State Agricultural College. His book, Wildlife Law Enforcement, stands as the only text devoted to the presentation of "...wildlife law enforcement as an integral part of the total program of wildlife management" (Sigler, 1956:xi). While Sigler offers information in regard to major types of wildlife law violations, physical hazards involving wildlife officers, personal qualifications needed and proper use of and legal rights to use of side-arms, the book still presents little in terms of a systematic description of the activities or focal concerns of wildlife law enforcement officers.

Other works (Calkins, 1971; O'Neill, 1971) deal only cursorily with wildlife law enforcement and are more concerned with autobiographical accounts of the "life and times" of pioneer outdoorsmen. While some insight is gained into earlier life-styles and the drama of selected accounts of wildlife law enforcement, little is added to the understanding of present day wildlife law enforcement procedures or modern day game wardens.

Other literature has recently been provided by various persons interested in forestry and wildlife. Some of this literature provides only a marginal reference to the game warden as the varied topics deal with such things as comparisons of wildlife law violators to nonviolators (Vilkitis, 1968; Shafer et al., 1972); characteristics of the illegal deer hunter (Kaminsky and Giles, 1974; Sawhill and Winkel, 1974); the seemingly apathetic perspective of some judges toward wildlife law violations (Kelley, 1954); "unusual" personal characteristics of single wardens (Shaw, 1966); with the despicable character of wildlife law violators (Laycock, 1961; McInteer, 1973); and reporting on the mechanics of particular coordinated law enforcement efforts (Jones, 1974).

Other literature of this type focuses on research needs in the area of wildlife law enforcement. Vilkitis (1968) has shown that game wardens may work hard but catch very few violators. In simulating 101 illegal big game kills in Idaho where the researcher either actually killed the animals or used parts of carcasses to leave evidence that a kill had been made (hair, blood, shells from rifle, etc.), Vilkitis

(1968:134) reports that "Of the 101 simulations, four were detected, making the probability of detection 4%." In an attempt to increase the probability of detection, other writers have proposed certain policy changes. McCormick (1968) has stated that by collecting data on the number of wildlife law violations more efficient law enforcement efforts could be produced. Specifically he states (1968:1-2):

Wildlife law administrators would be able to plan more efficient programs if they knew the number of violations occurring per wildlife user and calculated the rate of compliance, if they knew the effect of law enforcement effort, and were able to discover and project trends in violations. From this data, a specific "rate of compliance" could be established as an objective, and programs to attain that objective could be designed.

By collecting such data on a trial basis McCormick was able to determine that the 1967 California deer hunter had an 83.5 percentile rate of compliance to the wildlife laws governing deer, and that the average "rate of effort expected per arrest" was 22.5 hours (McCormick, 1968:6). McCormick (1968:6) in using these data, declares that "Progressive law enforcement administrators should ask the question: 'What is the cost of attaining and maintaining an acceptable rate of compliance?'" This statement points out the "dollar cost" idea of wildlife law enforcement efforts and attunes one to the idea that some such efforts may reach a point of diminishing returns; that the loss of illegally killed wildlife may not be as expensive as employing additional manpower to cut down the number of violations, thus the idea of an acceptable rate of compliance.

In another paper, McCormick (1970) reported the results of a study dealing, essentially, with the efficiency of game wardens in

reducing wildlife law violations. By altering the work areas that wardens were assigned to (increasing their "contact" with hunters) efficiency was increased. This was in light of the fact that during the study period California game wardens were restricted to a forty hour work week compared to a previously unrestricted work week averaging nearly sixty hours. By utilizing these methods "During 1969, even with less effort, a significantly higher number of wildlife users were contacted" (McCormick, 1970:4). The number of contacts "...is an element in a preventative type law enforcement program and is assumed to assist in maintaining a high rate of compliance" (McCormick, 1970:7).

In still another paper, McCormick (1971) opts for similar programs to be implemented in other states. His argument is summarized thus:

The success of a law enforcement management program depends not only on the establishment of objectives, but also the ability to measure the effectiveness of various programs. The design of law enforcement programs must include a system of evaluation. Evaluation must answer the question, "To what degree are the program objectives being attained?" The effectiveness of most other wildlife programs can be (and usually is) measured. For example, the cost benefits of a catchable trout program are known, and the outputs of a deer hunting program are quantifiable. Each has readily identifiable objectives with measureable program effectiveness. The evaluation of wildlife law enforcement programs, however, had not until recently been undertaken. California has developed a system to evaluate the effect law enforcement effort has on the rate of compliance with fish and game laws, and there are positive indications that in the 1970's other states will undertake similar research (McCormick, 1971:4).

Giles (1971) has also addressed himself to the question of wildlife law enforcement and has suggested avenues for research on several

facets of the total spectrum. Two of these areas are designated as "improving enforcement" and "effectiveness". Under the "improving enforcement" section, Giles (1971:132-133) suggests researchers review such ideas as the following:

Model wildlife codes and criteria for judging such codes. Selection of design criteria for optimum law enforcement intelligence and information systems, including uniform reporting systems for states. Studies of game theory (e.g., war games) to increase the probability of the wildlife agency "winning" over the long run in "games" against poachers. Development of operations research for deploying agents, optimizing enforcement region size and improving search strategies (e.g., applications of the methods of submarine warfare and search strategies to the apprehension of wildlife law violators). Optimizing radio networks for law wildlife enforcement. Applications of aerial photography to wildlife law enforcement, including infrared photography. Feasibility studies for regional (inter-state) wildlife law enforcement laboratories. Advances in techniques and methods useful in wildlife law violation detection and apprehension....Time-motion-cost studies of the type done by efficiency experts in industries.

To study the "effectiveness" of wildlife law enforcement, Giles (1971:133) mentions that one might want to look at the feasibility of:

Studies of costs of enforcement by apprehensions, convictions, levels of activity, fines collected, estimated deterrence effects, violations detected, game population changes, and public resource use satisfactions....Studies of the rates of increase in apprehensions and convictions with successive additions of agents to work areas. Studies of the influence of new ecological knowledge on laws, regulations, and their enforcement....Studies of the reliability of agent diaries and reports by the use of electronic automobile "bugs" or "bumper beepers" attached to agent vehicles. Studies of the changes in big game populations with and without enforcement protection....

Wildlife law enforcement efficiency and effectiveness appear to be emerging as highly salient concerns to those interested in wildlife conservation. One study (Kaminsky, 1974) analyzed deer spotlighting in

Virginia with the following intention.

The idea was that if it were known when and where most spotlight poaching violations are likely to occur, what type people are involved, and what the average weather conditions are, it may be possible to maximize the chances of apprehending deer poachers. Thus, patrol strategies can be optimized to be at the right place at the right time, with the probability of wardens "winning" more in the long run than they will using present techniques (Giles and Ritter, 1974:5-6).

While the main purpose of the present undertaking is not concerned directly with such concepts as efficiency and effectiveness, the description of the work activity of the Virginia game warden might have certain potentialities for those concerned with such matters.

In terms of sociological literature specifically on game wardens, a review of numerous texts dealing with police and police functions, and an inspection of several journals from 1963-1973 (Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Rural Sociology, Criminology (previously Criminologica) and Crime and Delinquency) revealed no mention of game wardens in regard to their law enforcement function.

In addition to this personal literature search, the author contacted NEXUS Information Services, based in Costa Mesa, California, and asked for a computer scan of 127 sociology journals. The NEXUS program generates bibliographies based on key retrieval words contained in the title of all articles within the 127 journals listed by NEXUS. The printout sheet obtained states "your search has located 0 of 0 possible titles" using the key words "game warden" and "game and fish violations".

A search of the sociological literature pertaining to rural crime in general, rather than specific game and fish violations, also reveals little in terms of a body of literature or theoretical perspectives. The existing sociological literature on rural crime simply takes no cognizance of game wardens as a law enforcement agency nor does it contain material on game, fish and boating violations. For example, Clinard's (1944) article entitled "Rural Criminal Offenders" concerns criminal acts that might just as easily be viewed as urban crimes; burglary, disturbing the peace and writing bad checks. Eastman's (1955) article, "Criminal Behavior in a Rural Setting" similarly presents a treatise on forgery, burglary, larceny and auto theft. Lagey's (1957) work on juvenile delinquency in the small city and the rural hinterland never specifies the nature of the delinquent acts on which he is reporting and simply uses "delinquency cases" as a catch-all term. Even Ross (1973), who wrote about "folk crime", dealt almost exclusively with traffic offenders. And, Bruce Smith's two books, Rural Crime Control in 1933 and Police Systems in the United States in 1940 contain only a brief statement about the authority of game wardens in four Eastern states.

As to the adequacy of the sociological literature concerning game wardens, a general statement made by Esselstyn (1969:161) appears applicable to this entire research spectrum.

Rural crime is a neglected field in criminology. Standard texts devote scant space to it. Few research projects have focused upon it. Rural sociologists are concerned with other matters.

The sociological literature on law enforcement in general, however, does not reflect this same paucity. Numerous sociological studies of law enforcement and law enforcement personnel have been undertaken. Some of the studies have identified specific "police roles" and, due to their relevance for this study, will be reviewed shortly. Before such a review, however, the literature on the concept of "role" will be examined. This is done, in part, because the literature on the concept of role is more general and provides a more encompassing point of departure from which to later explore the specific role of "game warden".

Review of Literature on the Concept of Role

Several works (Coutu, 1951; Neiman and Hughes, 1951; Toby, 1952; Mack, 1956; Gross et al., 1958; Banton, 1965) have demonstrated that the concept of "role" has been used in a variety of ways by different authors. Mack (1956:18) states that:

The sociologist has only to attempt to answer the more penetrating questions of his brighter sophomores to realize that his professional fraternity lacks consensus on the conceptualization of "role". If he has assigned two or more readings on the concept, his students may well have found two or more definitions of it.

Banton (1965:28) concludes that this:

...plethora of conflicting definitions causes some confusion, especially when different writers use different words for the same things. What Linton and Newcomb define as a role would, in Kingsley Davis's terminology, be a status. What Davis defines as a role, Newcomb calls role behavior and T. R. Sarbin role enactment.

It appears that part of the confusion over the meaning of the term "role" results from its inclusion in a larger theoretical or

conceptual network usually including status or position. The specifications of Newcomb (1950) and Sarbin (1954), offer two examples of the "integralness" of the concept "role" to a larger set of conceptual linkages. Newcomb (1959:277), in talking about the significance of positions in society, states:

Sociologists and social anthropologists frequently view societies as consisting of a complex organization of positionsEvery position which is recognized by the members of a group contributes in some way to the purpose of the group; this contribution represents its function. Associated with every position is a body of common beliefs concerning its function; these beliefs, or ideologies,....represent one part of the group's system of norms (Emphasis in original).

The importance attached to role as an element in a broader conceptual system is similarly demonstrated by Sarbin (1954:224):

In sum, all societies are organized around positions and the persons who occupy these positions perform specialized actions or roles. These roles are linked with the position and not with the person who is temporarily occupying the position.

These two examples illustrate the fact that status and role are key concepts for those concerned with structural descriptions of social systems. The concepts are the cornerstones from which more grandiose social schemes are generated. They are at the core of a large proportion of sociological theory. Yet, confusion exists as to their meanings.

An exploration of this confusion reveals that the point of origin for many divergent views on the matter is to be found in the formulations of Linton (1936). In what has been called a "classic statement" by some (Truzzi, 1971), Linton wrote about the connection between status and role and their relationship to the structure of

social systems.¹ For Linton (1936:113) "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." Linton (1936:114) linked status and role by stating:

A role represents the dynamic aspect of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with the relation to other statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role (Emphasis in original).

The conceptual linkage of status and role was further declared when Linton (1936:114) pointed out that:

Role and status are quite inseparable, and the distinction between them is only of academic interest. There are no roles without statuses or statuses without roles.²

As this review of the literature shows, the "academic interest" in the distinction between the two concepts has produced voluminous results. It appears that the divergence of opinion³ regarding the concepts of role and status focuses upon the degree to which two elements, norms and behaviors, are subsumed under each label.

¹Merton (1968:422), in a footnote, tells us that it is irrelevant that Linton might not have been "the first" to introduce the twin concepts of status and role into the literature, "For the fact is that it was only after his famous Chapter VIII in The Study of Man...that these concepts, and their implications, became systematically incorporated into a developing theory of social structure."

²Newcomb (1950) makes the statement that "A role, on the other hand, is something dynamic; it refers to the behavior of the occupants of a position--not to all their behavior, as persons, but to what they do as occupants of the position" (Emphasis in original).

³Levison (1969:302) points out that definitional problems may arise because of an inadequate distinction between role-conception at an ideational level and role-performance at a behavioral level. Role-conception (similar to ideology) deals with the "normative position" and role-performance may be likened to the "behavioral position".

As an example of the "normative position", Gross et al. (1958:67) tells us that role "...is a set of expectations applied to an incumbent of a particular position." Similarly, Bates (1962:314) defines role as:

A part of a social position consisting of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social norms which is distinguishable from other sets of norms forming the same position.

Bertrand (1967:29), drawing heavily from Bates, informs us that:

Each status position carries with it certain rules that guide the social relations of the occupier of the position. Patterns of behavior expected of those who occupy particular status positions as pointed out, are defined as roles (Emphasis in original).

Popitz (1972:16) simply tells us that "Social roles accordingly are clusters of role-norms, specialized normative sub-systems which are related to one another."

The "behavioral position" concerns itself more with action than does the normative position. As mentioned previously, the differences appear to rest on the degree of emphasis attributed to either norms or behaviors. Davis (1948:90) provides probably the best example of the behavioral standpoint:

How an individual performs in a given position, as distinct from how he is supposed to perform, we call his role. The role, then, is the manner in which a person actually carries out the requirements of his position. It is the dynamic aspect of status or office and as such is always influenced by factors other than the stipulations of the position itself (Emphasis in original).

Sterling (1972:7) emphasizes behavior when he defines role as the "dynamic aspect of positions--what a person does as an occupant of a specified position." Other definitions could be cited but the

positions offered only vary around the theme presented.⁴ The variance, vagueness and contradictoriness of the works concerned with role have prompted one writer to suggest that we abandon the concept.

If the essential point is to explore the various expectations which different groups have about the incumbents of particular social positions, then we may be able to approach this more directly if we do not introduce the concept of role at all, since it has been a source of much confusion, and has tended to mystify the processes to which it is applied (Emphasis in original) (Coulson, 1972:109).

Despite the confusion associated with the concept role there still remain phenomena to be studied. And there have been attempts to synthesize the usages of the term in order to prepare the researcher to employ "role theory" in his endeavors. In their bench mark study, Neiman and Hughes (1951) pull together and sort out certain definitional problems.⁵ They posit that the concept of role has been used (1) to describe the dynamic process of personality development (socialization dependent upon internalization of prescriptions), (2) used definitionally in terms of society as a whole (employing concepts like the feminine role, mother and father role to refer to certain normative expectations),

⁴For further elaboration and an attempt at synthesis regarding these problems, see Neiman and Hughes (1951) and Gross et al., (1958), especially pages 11-15.

⁵Neiman and Hughes (1951:141-142) point out that the concept role owes its early existence in sociological literature to such writers as William James (1892), Charles H. Cooley (1902) and George Herbert Mead (1934). They also mention that Park and Burgess (1921) used the term role in a fashion similar to the above authors in their attempt to describe the development of one's personality.

and (3) in regard to expectations and behavior in specific groups (dealing with function and action in a network of particular rights and duties in a specified, usually sub-societal, group). Neiman and Hughes (1951:147-148) point out that regardless of degree of emphasis on the points mentioned that the uses of the concept have the following recurrent common elements:

1. In all the definitions and usages of the concept there is involved either an individual definition of a specific situation or an individual acceptance of a group's definition of a specific situation.
2. Role behavior, no matter how it is defined, or even when not defined, involves the assumption of a process of symbolic interaction or communication as a prerequisite, which leads then to a further generalization; namely, that man is the only role-playing animal and that this is one of the characteristics which distinguishes man from other animals.
3. Human behavior cannot be explained or described by the use of traits or other atomized concepts, but must be viewed from the framework of organized and integrated patterns of behavior.

Gross et al., (1958) similarly surveyed the literature on the concept role and selected and examined three categories of definitions which, they claim, "...are at least representative of the major role formulations in the social science literature" (Gross et al., 1958:11). One such set of definitions define role to include normative culture patterns. Another category posited by Gross et al., (1958:13-14) is concerned with definitions of role as "...an individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social positions...." (Emphasis in original). The third category imputed by Gross et al., (1948:14) deals with definitions which use role "...as the behavior of actors occupying social positions" (Emphasis in original).

In summarizing their review of literature, Gross et al. (1948: 17) succinctly state:

Three basic ideas which appear in most of the conceptualizations considered, if not in the definitions of role themselves, are that individuals: (1) in social locations (2) behave (3) with reference to expectations (Emphasis in original).⁶

These three basic ideas, or modalities, are all relevant to the present research. By using the idea of social location, one can describe the positions that add organizational structure to the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries. By using survey data pertaining to behavior and actual observations of behavior, a description of the activities of Virginia Game Wardens can be presented. Similarly, the expectations made of the game warden and the expectations of the warden in regard to other people can be delimited.

Rather than utilizing either the "normative" or the "behavioral" position, the present work will use parts of both, an "integrative"

⁶ A similar condensation of three specific senses in which the term role has been used is found in Levinson (1969:297-298) who points out that role has been treated as (1) the structurally given demands (norms, expectations) associated with a given position, (2) the member's orientation or conception of his organizational part and (3) as the actions of the individual members in accord with or in violation of a given set of organizational norms. The second point is different from that of Gross et al., (1958:17) in that it brings in the psychological notion of role perception. Levinson (1969:299) goes on to point out, however, in his critique of the "unitary" conception of role (which assumes a high degree of isomorphism between behavior and disposition and between societal prescription and individual adaptation) that he believes we should "eliminate the single term 'role' except in the most general sense, i.e., of 'role theory' as an over-all frame of analysis." (For a similar viewpoint, see Coulson, 1972.) Levinson (1969:301) interjects that we also should take care to consider "role-facilities" (the techniques, resources, and conditions of work--the means available to fulfill one's organizational functions) in studies of role behavior.

framework.⁷ Therefore, "role" will subsume both expectations (the normative element) and performance (the behavioral element). Position and status remain static and refer to one's location in a system of social relationships. The term "focal position" simply refers to the position receiving primary attention in the analysis at any one particular time (see Gross et al, 1958:67). "Counter position" refers to any one position attached, through a normative or behavioral linkage, to a focal position. Analyzing the role behavior of a game warden toward a violator, for example, would entail observing the relationship between a focal position (game warden) and a counter position (violator).⁸

Given the fact that status and role provide conceptual building blocks for analysis of behavior, it should also be appropriate to use role in the dynamic and behavioral sense in order to describe behaviors that are, at least in part, dependent upon a particular status; in this study, the status of Virginia Game Warden.

⁷The inclusion of the "behavioral" position covers the notion that "Members are the keystone of the organizational situation. Only the member can perceive, understand, define, assess, interpret, and interact with the symbolic order" (Blankenship, 1973:88).

⁸For a similar perspective employing different terms, see Getzels and Guba (1954) where they refer to role analysis between "ego" and "alter". Merton (1968:423) alludes to a similar mode of analysis by employing the term "role-set", which he specified as being a "complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (Emphasis in original). He further distinguishes that role-set is different from "multiple roles", where the usage refers to the complex of roles associated, not with a single social status, but with the various statuses in which individuals find themselves.

While status and role are conceptually useful, the development of "role theory", however, has not focused simply on the two constructs. Studies of particular roles have produced related, sometimes hyphenated, terms to complement the core element of role.

Nix and Bates (1962), for example, offer further elaboration of "role theory" in their report on role "stresses" of a sample of vocational-agriculture teachers in Louisiana. They define "role conflict" as a type of stress "arising from a condition in which the player of a focal role or roles perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations or norms" (Nix and Bates, 1962:10). From this standpoint, role conflict may be studied as incompatible expectations associated with a single role (intrarole conflict) or multiple roles (inter-role conflict). Another stress could focus around "incongruity" of status attributes and refers to the extent to which the various status attributes such as "rewards, prestige, authority and functional importance which are associated with a role are: (1) out of balance with one another or (2) internally inconsistent" (Nix and Bates, 1962:10).⁹

Nix and Bates (1962:10) define role inadequacy as "the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill their perceived roles due to recurrent personal inadequacies." Although seemingly purely psychological or biological, the authors (1962:11) inform us that role

⁹For a previous discussion of "status incongruity", see Pellegrin and Bates (1959).

inadequacy can result because of a failure of socialization to provide large numbers of individuals with training necessary to play roles, or in the case of a "stratification system that allocates persons with the wrong abilities to certain roles." "Role frustration", on the other hand, is defined as the inability of an actor or class of actors to fulfill a perceived role because of situational factors (Nix and Bates, 1962:11).¹⁰ When excessive role expectations occur, even if they are not conflicting expectations, Nix and Bates (1962:11) indicate we can look for "role superfluity".¹¹ Nix and Bates (1962:17) report that the "Vo-Ag" teacher suffers from stress associated with role superfluity and develops coping mechanisms¹² that center around (1) the isolation of role performance, (2) the formation of a semi-official organization which acts as a buffer between the actor and certain

¹⁰In a similar vein, Kahn et al., (1964:21) employ the term "role ambiguity" to refer to frustrations associated with not knowing the scope of one's responsibilities. Vague and inconsistent expectations defining the role are thought to produce such role ambiguity (Kahn et al., 1964:24).

¹¹For another source that presents the same material, see Bertrand (1967), especially pages 233-235.

¹²Other works that report findings on role conflict and how conflict can be handled (usually by rationalization, compartmentalization, denial or other defense mechanisms) include Corwin's (1961) study of conflicting nursing roles; a study of status-set and role-set conflicts of stockbrokers (Evan and Levin, 1966); Burchard's (1954) study of role conflicts of military chaplains, Levitin's (1964) observations on the "puller", and a study by Segal (1962) on male nurses. For a paper that specifically states some variables of role conflict not considered psychological, see Toby (1952), particularly page 325 on "rituals for reducing social friction" and page 326 on "playing one group against the other".

stresses, (3) the formation of a hierarchy of role importance, and (4) adopting a teaching philosophy that shifts decision making to the clients.

Other studies that have identified similar role characteristics, and mechanisms for coping with particular types of role stress, are found in the literature on law enforcement personnel. As these materials are equally relevant to the present study, attention is now turned toward these works.

A Review of "Police Literature" Utilizing the Concept of Role

The literature contains several studies dealing with roles, role performance and role conflicts of law enforcement personnel. One study that explicates the general roles of police work, not the specific behavior of actors, is by Elmer H. Johnson (1973), entitled "Police: An Analysis of Role Conflict". The article is based on the assumption that policemen are subjected to uncertainties by virtue of being caught between inconsistent sets of role expectations. The policeman experiences role conflict "because the system of law enforcement does not provide him with clear or consistent guidelines on what he, as a 'good policeman', should do" (Johnson, 1973:24). The inconsistencies in role expectations revolve around the fact that "The key roles applied to policemen fall into various points along a continuum ranging from control functions to supportive functions" (Johnson, 1973:27). The control function of police work Johnson calls the "guardian-of-society" role (173:29) while the supportive functions

deal with being a "public servant", a "peace-keeper" or an "instrument of the law"¹³ (1973:30-31). The strain between these different roles develops because when performing the guardian-of-society role "the policeman is most likely to have high morale and a favorable self-image because he is engaged in what he regards as 'real police work'" (Johnson, 1973:29). Yet, as Johnson demonstrates (1973:31-32), most of the calls received by the police department are concerned with other than control functions, mostly of the "social service" variety. Johnson (1973:33) offers the following as a partial explanation of the role conflict encountered by policemen.

First, the prescribed role of the policeman is usually conceived as the guardian-of-society, whereas in a majority of his social transactions he actually plays one of the other roles described earlier. The guardian-of-society role emphasizes qualities such as physical aggression and courage in face of danger, whereas the public servant role calls for tact, patience, and sympathetic understanding in relationships with non-criminals. Can the officer change his personality drastically from situation to situation? Will his behavior in the role of public servant be misunderstood by the non-criminal client who judges him as a symbol of authority in the role of guardian-of-society? The citizen may complain that he is being treated "like a criminal" when the officer sees himself performing a supportive function.

Thus, the policeman utilizes certain techniques to reduce the conflict. According to Johnson (1973:36-37) these techniques include

¹³ Regarding supportive functions, Bordura (1973:74-78) states that police-community relations could be improved if the police could be more concerned with "non or semi-enforcement services" (getting cats down from trees), highly visible "helping" services (counseling new migrants, providing ambulance service) and "public safety" issues (being an "ombudsman for the poor" or a referral agency for assorted community problems).

(1) compartmentalization, where the officer conforms to only one of several sets of competing claims as though the other sets do not exist, (2) delegation, selecting those portions of a situation not congenial to his subjective role and referring them to another official, (3) extension, where the officer keeps himself so busy in one role that he can plead that he has too great a workload to meet obligations of other roles, and (4) erecting barriers against intrusion, whereby clients are discouraged from raising problems the officer does not want to handle; services are rebuffed here by claiming that "this is not a police matter". Johnson (1973:37) ends his argument by stating that while role conflicts are dysfunctional (in terms of strain on the individual and decreased efficiency of the police department) "they are useful barometers to the particular points in the system of law enforcement where constructive innovation is urgently needed."

Brodsky (1973:124), stating that the traditional role of the policeman has been seen as dealing with the criminal enemy in action, offers "models" of police behavior similar to that of Johnson (1973). Brodsky (1973:125), however, expands the conceptual framework by identifying examples of behavior included in each model, the skills required for each model and the targets of each type of behavior. The "Soldier model" requires such behavior as mob control, hand-to-hand combat and prisoner transport. The skills required include physical fitness and quick reflexes. The targets of such a model of police behavior are physically active major law violators. The "Inspector model" is identified by document examination, vehicle inspection and

observation of the citizenry and business establishments while on patrol. Skills required involve perceptiveness, memory and attention to detail. The targets include passive offenders, negligent citizens and potential criminals. Examples of the "Clerk model" are report writers, switchboard operators, typists and fine and fee collectors. Skills include those dealing with paperwork, clerical duties, manual dexterity and having a high tolerance for routine and repetitive tasks. Targets of such a model include conforming citizens and other administrative personnel. The "Helping Agent" acts as a mediator in disputes, gives directions, lectures to classes of teenagers and helps lost children. Empathy, sensitivity, a nonjudgemental attitude and an ability to listen make up the necessary skills for this model. The targets of this type of behavior actually include all citizens in need of assistance. Brodsky (1973:126) believes his models have implications for police training:

First, police recruits may be made aware of the variety of demands to be made on them. Next, training may be organized to provide a balance between the skills needed for these different models, with the emphasis in individual departments, of course, depending upon the needs of that department. Finally, special attention should be directed toward improving the Helping Agent and general interpersonal skills of the police officer.

The improvement of interpersonal skills is considered desirable because "Most police behaviors cannot be grouped under the Soldier model, yet the maintaining of negative public attitudes stem from this conceptualization of police behavior" (Brodsky, 1973:126).¹⁴ Inter-

¹⁴ Balch (1973:154) takes a similar position by stating "Law enforcement may be only a small part of police work, but it is certainly the part that attracts the most attention and criticism."

personal skills, such as an increased self-awareness, an effective interviewing technique and other "helping" behaviors, are thought to be needed ingredients in the "repertoire of police skills".

Another study which looks to the organizational setting for explanations of police role performance is Wilson's (1968) study of the "management of law and order in eight communities". While Brodsky (1973) talks about "models" of police role behavior, Wilson (1968) refers to "styles" of police organization which result in "varieties" of police behavior. The styles of organization are, in part, related to particular combinations of two variables: (1) the "nature of the situation" (whether the department's main objective is law enforcement or order maintenance)¹⁵ and (2) the basis of police response (whether the police action is police-invoked or the result of a complaint by a citizen). Wilson (1968:84-85) distinguishes between law enforcement and order maintenance in that the former involves a violation of a law in which only guilt need be assessed; the latter, though it often entails a legal infraction, "involves in addition a dispute in which the law must be interpreted, standards of right conduct determined, and blame assigned." Particular combinations of these two variables become identifiable, to a degree, with styles of police behavior.¹⁶ Wilson

¹⁵For an extended bibliography of similar distinctions regarding the law enforcement vs. order maintenance functions of police role performance, see the footnote on page 16 of Wilson (1968). Probably the two most frequently cited works involving a similar distinction (law enforcement vs. keeping the peace) are Banton (1964) and Bittner (1967).

¹⁶Wilson (1968:84) states that these two variables are "major determinants" in establishing the degree and type of police discretion found in any particular community.

(1968:140-226) identified three styles: (1) the watchman style, (2) the legalistic style, and (3) the service style, each having certain identifiable characteristics.

The watchman style is concerned more with order maintenance than law enforcement; requires, in many cases, a public out-cry to set into motion police action; is personal rather than impersonal; offers little incentive for the policeman to produce tickets; "reacts" to a disruption of the common peace; and shows more discretion in terms of actual police behavior.¹⁷

The legalistic style is more concerned with law enforcement than order maintenance; does not require a public out-cry to set into motion police action (police take the initiative); is impersonal in law enforcement; offers incentives to reach quotas; acts on a breach of law rather than necessarily a breach of the peace; shows less discretion in actual police behavior; is more court-centered than person-centered, and is likely to have specialized units to handle different delinquent or criminal behavior.

The service style is a mixture of the other two styles in some respects and unique in others. The emphasis is on both order maintenance and law enforcement, with order maintenance the more important. The police are seen as a "helping hand"; distribute a lot of literature and do a lot of public relations work in the schools and civic organi-

¹⁷For a detailed examination of, and a positive statement toward, police discretion, see La Fave (1969).

zations; have no definite quota system; are more community minded, and attempt to be "officious" and "courteous" to the citizenry.

Wilson concludes that parts of all styles have certain merits and that the ideal police style requires that the best parts of each style be combined into one organizational type.

Another study (Cumming et al., 1969) demonstrates that behavioral expectations may vary according to the discrepancy between control and support roles played by policemen. Employing concepts similar to those previously mentioned, the authors point out that the policeman acts as "philosopher, guide and friend" to many people because of the supportive behaviors expected of him. The combination of supportive behaviors and control behaviors does not have to be completely incompatible. Cumming et al., (1969:147-148) state:

While it is probably impossible to perform acts of support and control simultaneously, support without control is overprotection and invites passivity and dependency, while control without support is tyranny and invites rebellion. While the agent may specialize in one aspect of social control of deviance, the other must, nevertheless, be part of his repertoire....Role conflict can be avoided in part by keeping the "contradictory" side of a role latent.

Esselstyn (1969), utilizing Znaniecki's (1940) concept of a social role (broken down into four components: the social circle, the social person, the social status or office and the social function), reports on the social role of a county sheriff. He found that the "social person" reflected the values of the "social circle" by being a "fair person" of "good judgement" that knew "how to get along with people" and was a "business success" before asking to be elected sheriff (Esselstyn, 1969:163-164). Because of vague and modified

statutory powers and duties, the county sheriff's "office" provided the status incumbent with wide latitude in performing the duties of the office. The social function of conserving the peace was learned "by the actual experience of peace-keeping" (Esselstyn, 1969:165). As a result of the flexibility of the legal expectations surrounding the social role of the county sheriff, discretionary behavior was centered around a "ritualistic" appraisal of what type of law enforcement or peace keeping should be employed. One result of this flexibility in discretion is that:

Persons engaged in agriculture are represented among known offenders in about one half their chance share. However, a whole host of offenses associated with agriculture are eliminated from the sheriff's function by custom. If these were included, the crime rate of the agricultural class would go up" (Esselstyn, 1969:167).

Galliher, (1971) in offering a summary of the dominant themes concerning police behavior, states that the perspectives found in a review of the literature include (1) a psychological perspective, (2) a situational approach, (3) studies centered around role-conflict, (4) a subcultural approach, (5) a departmental characteristics approach, and (6) a socio-cultural approach.

The "psychological" studies explore concepts such as the "police personality", "cop mentality" or try to demonstrate whether or not policemen are more "authoritarian" than other people.¹⁸ The

¹⁸For a rather extensive review of the literature on the police personality, particularly "authoritarianism", see Balch (1973). By pointing out the methodological weaknesses (mostly, lack of control groups (Balch (1973:131) points out that "While many writers assume

"situational approach" presents data that show that the amount of deference shown the officer, the "style" or demeanor of the suspect and the behavior of the complainant has a lot to do with police role performance. The data from "role conflict" studies point out that the policeman is caught in certain dilemmas, such as having to enforce the law and maintain order at the same time. Another dilemma arises over different expectations by different publics of what is considered acceptable police behavior. The father-spouse role may also conflict with expectations held by the policeman's supervisor in regard to the demands of the job. The "subcultural approach" attempts to explain police behavior by looking at loyalties between policemen (maintaining secrecy, not squealing on a buddy) which result from being in the same dangerous occupation and other in-group normative expectations. The "department characteristics" approach (best exemplified by Wilson, 1968) looks at such things as desires of the police chief, the differences between professional (highly trained) and nonprofessional (low training) departments and the "style" of the department (e.g., service, peace keeping or law enforcement). Finally, the "socio-cultural" perspective examines the influence of "society" or the

as a matter of course that there is a police personality, the empirical evidence is less than convincing." Balch (1973) suggests that the demands of the occupation may create the behaviors and mannerisms associated with a particular personality type seeking out a job compatible with his personality needs. It is interesting to note, in addition, that an often quoted source on the "working personality" (Skolnick, 1966) of policemen deals probably more with "work" than "personality" but still is included in Balch's "psychological" category.

community on police behavior. Police functions in different countries (i.e., the United States and England) are found to be distinguishably different. Rural-urban differences are also pointed out.¹⁹

Galliher (1971:312-313) ends his discussion by advocating still another approach, conflict, to this array of explanations.

Much of police behavior seems most easily explained if one considers that whenever there is a conflict of interest between the dominant classes in a society and less powerful groups, the police protect the interests of the former and regulate the behavior of the latter (Emphasis in original).

Another comprehensive study of policemen (Sterling, 1972) that uses, among others, the role conflict approach, points out that there may be conflicting expectations of police role performance held by (1) the public, (2) the policeman himself, and (3) the supervisory personnel of the police department. The result is that:

In the end, the police patrolman faces a bewildering array of behavioral expectations intended to define his role and structure his role performance. Ultimately, the patrolman must decide for himself which of the confusing and often conflicting expectations he will attend to (Sterling, 1972:282).

Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature in three general areas:

(1) literature pertaining to wildlife law enforcement, (2) literature

¹⁹For an excellent example of the socio-cultural differences in police behavior, see Banton (1970:17) who, in comparing the Scottish and British policeman's impersonality (acting solely as the incumbent of a role) to the American policeman's behavior, states: "The American officer cannot rely upon the authority of his badge in this way and he develops his own techniques for handling people."

on the concept of "role", and (3) studies, mostly dealing with policemen, that have utilized the concept of role as a theoretical underpinning.²⁰

The review of literature on the role performance of law enforcement agents demonstrates that there are a variety of approaches (models, styles, psychological factors, subcultural factors, socio-cultural factors, etc.) that all have some utility as points a comparison or points of departures in studies of police behavior. A secondary purpose of this study will be to see how closely wildlife law enforcement activities "fit" the models and styles previously mentioned regarding other police behavior. The primary intention, however, remains essentially exploratory in that it is not yet known what, in the broadest sense of the term, the game wardens of Virginia do, how they do it, or how they feel about doing it.

²⁰A large body of literature concerned with the role of police and law enforcement in society has been left out of this review. Since the majority of this literature is concerned with an ideological stance as to the proper function of police in society, and not with role performance of law enforcement officers "in the field", it was thought that such an inclusion would add little to the cogency of the present research. For several examples of such writings, see the first seventy-four pages of More (1972).

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE VIRGINIA COMMISSION OF GAME AND INLAND FISHERIES AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA PATROL LEADERS AND REGULAR WARDENS

Introduction

The purposes of this Chapter are (1) to describe the organizational structure of the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries, and (2) to present a brief social profile of the Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens sampled for this study.

Organizational Structure

The present day Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries (hereafter called the Commission) is a formally organized department which was created by an act of the Virginia General Assembly on June 17, 1916.¹ The Commission, as presently stated in statutory form,

¹Because of the passage of wildlife laws in several of the New England states in the late 1800's, Virginia became fertile territory for many market hunters and game buyers who could no longer ply their trade without risk, on their home ground. As a result of these hunters being driven South and West in the search for a more plentiful wildlife supply, a campaign for the creation of a state agency to protect Virginia's bird and animal population was begun in 1898 under the auspices of the Virginia Division of the League of American Sportsmen. This campaign, which included the support of the Virginia Audubon Society, unsuccessfully presented protection and conservation bills (1912 and 1914) to the Virginia General Assembly for passage. However, due to the combined efforts of these groups, and the Farmers Union and the Farmers Institute, a bill was enacted into law in 1916 to provide protection for the wildlife of Virginia. (See Stras (1949a, 1949b) for a more detailed history of the growth of the Commission.)

"....shall consist of not more than one member from each Congressional district. Each member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Governor...." (Virginia Game, Inland Fish and Boat Laws, 1973:30).

There are presently ten unpaid commissioners who deal with relevant wildlife legislation and general Commission procedures. A mimeographed handout supplied by the Commission states:

The ten commission members are appointed one from each of the state's congressional districts, not because there is necessarily any close functional link between a commission member and the congressman who represents his district, but simply because in establishing our present organization the General Assembly felt that this was the simplest way of being sure that commission members would be drawn from various geographic areas, somewhat in conformance with population patterns.

Individual commission members naturally do bring to the commission's deliberations as accurate a reflection as they can of the needs, feelings and desires of the sportsmen of the areas from which they come. They do not, however, act narrowly as political representatives merely of the sportsmen of their home districts, but rather all ten of them do their best to represent the best interests of all of the sportsmen in managing all of the fish and wildlife resources of the state and in matters relating to safe boating. (Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries Mimeographed Handout, 1970:4).

In addition to state legislative endeavors and departmental deliberations, the commissioners are charged with the responsibility of appointing a full time executive director of the Commission. The executive director is, then, responsible for overseeing the operation of his administrative staff and the five divisions of the Commission. These divisions are: (1) the Game Division (biology), (2) the Fish Division (biology), (3) the Education Division, (4) the Fiscal Division, and (5) the Law Enforcement Division (see Figure 1).

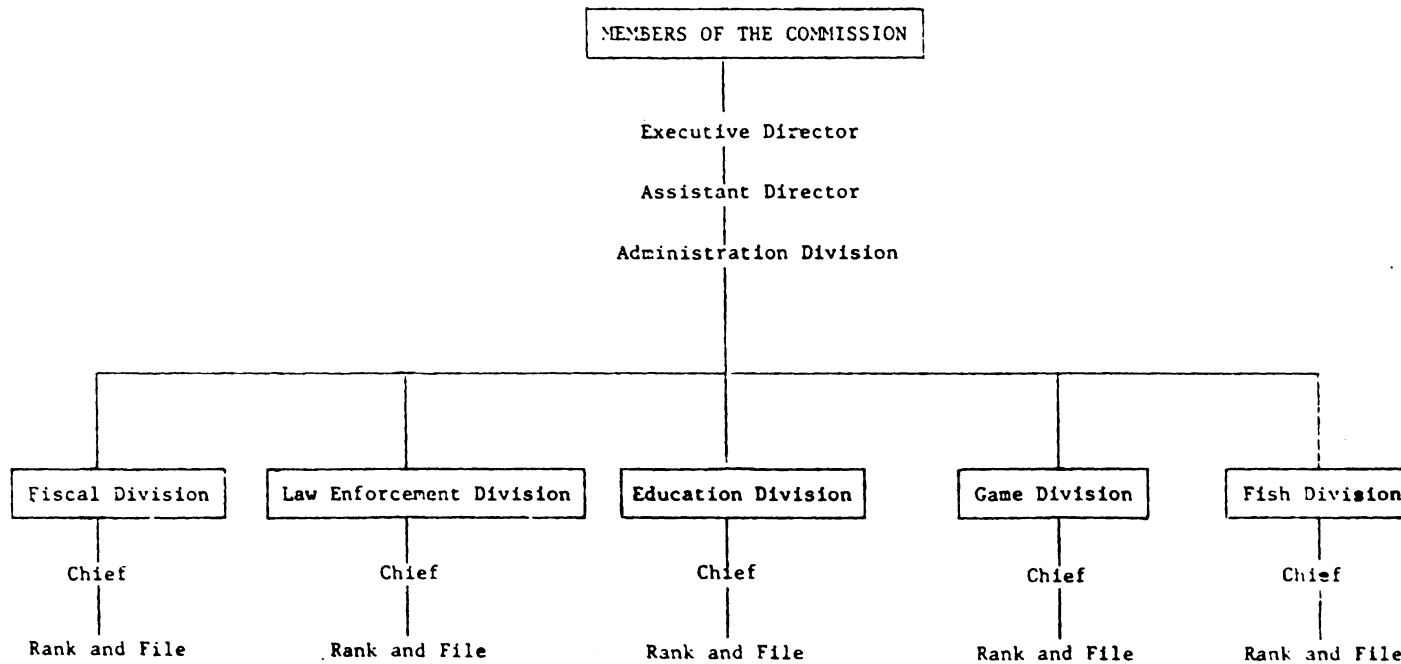


Figure 1. Organizational Chart of the Major Divisions of the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries

The Game and Fish Divisions

The Game Division and the Fish Division employ game and fish biologists who are assigned to work primarily in a specified group of counties. The biologists:

....conduct research and investigations, keep close watch over game and fish abundance and harvests in their assigned areas, and through their division chiefs formulate recommendations to the Commission on hunting and fishing regulations and other matters on which the Commission should act. In addition, these biologists supervise the game managers who work our public hunting lands and the fish culturists who operate our hatcheries (Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries Mimeographed Handout, 1970:3).

The Education Division

Public relations activities, which include obtaining public support for the Commission's various programs, are the major concerns of the Education Division of the Commission. To insure public support, the Education Division issues press releases, motion pictures and educational brochures on conservation, hunting and fishing regulations and hunting and boating safety. This Division is also responsible for the Virginia Wildlife magazine which is the official publication of the Commission, and for distributing and manning certain displays and exhibits at public gatherings. Members of the Education Division are also frequently asked to make public appearances or to coordinate the public appearances of other interested personnel.

The Fiscal Division

As with any large organization, "paper work" and secretarial chores are essential to the functioning of the total organization. The

Fiscal Division is responsible for the filing systems and such book-keeping as is necessary for the operation of the Commission. Purchasing, reimbursement and intra-Commission communication are facilitated through the Fiscal Division. Additional duties of the Fiscal Division include supervising the hundreds of hunting and fishing license agents throughout the state, preparing and sending out the thousands of boat registration forms to boat owners, and keeping a record of the hunting, fishing and trapping permits issued within the state.

The Law Enforcement Division

In terms of personnel, the Law Enforcement Division is the largest of the five Divisions within the Commission. The Law Enforcement Division is responsible for the efficiency and effectiveness of the game, fish, and boat law enforcement throughout the state. This Division is granted enforcement powers through statutory code under the auspices of the Commission. The Commission:

....is vested with the sole jurisdiction, power and authority to enforce or cause to be enforced all laws for the protection, propagation and preservation of game birds and game animals of the State and all fish in the inland waters thereof...."
(Virginia Game, Inland Fish and Boat Laws, 1973:32).

As a result of the Commission's authority:

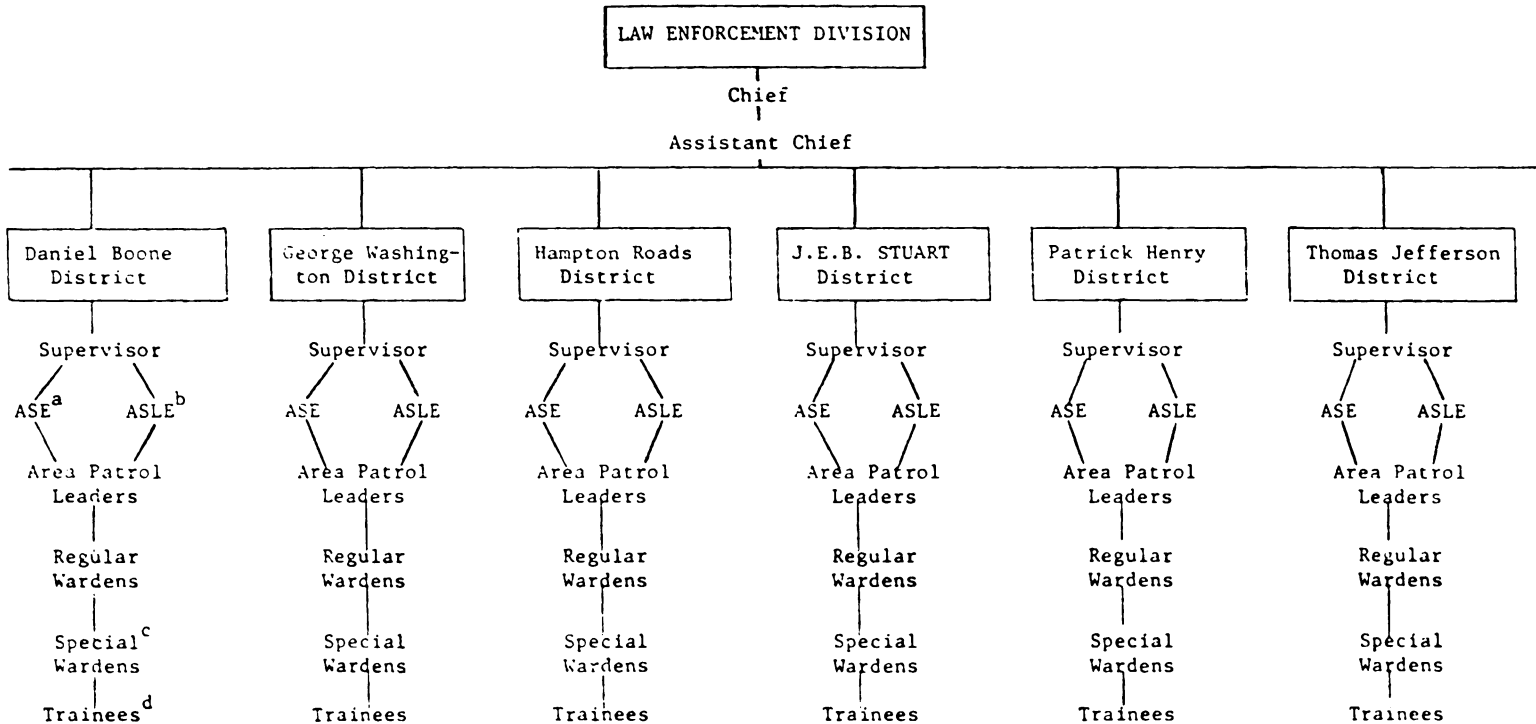
All game wardens are vested with the authority, upon displaying badge or other credential of office, to arrest any person found in the act of violating any of the provisions of the hunting, trapping, inland fish and dog laws" (Virginia Game, Inland Fish and Boat Laws, 1973:36).²

²Although the reference to "dog laws" is still contained in current statutes, the Virginia game warden is no longer charged with the enforcement of these laws. Counties and municipalities now employ separate wardens for this purpose.

As this study is concerned primarily with wildlife law enforcement, the organizational structure of the Law Enforcement Division is described below in more detail than the other four Divisions. The Law Enforcement Division includes a Chief and an Assistant Chief of Law Enforcement, six warden Supervisors, twelve Assistant Supervisors (six concerned with law enforcement, six with education) twenty-six Area Patrol Leaders and all Regular, Trainee, and Special Commission Wardens in the state (see Figure 2).

While those wardens occupying Supervisor and Assistant Supervisor positions work "in the field" during peak seasons and other special occasions, they are, nevertheless, concerned mostly with matters different from those of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens. Each Game Warden Supervisor is concerned with the supervision of game, inland fish and boat law enforcement in one of six administrative districts of the state consisting of from fourteen to twenty counties. The Supervisor is responsible for training new game wardens, assigning wardens to areas of greatest need during peak season and for reviewing the work of subordinates. He also provides technical assistance to game wardens in preparing difficult court cases and contacts various public officials in an effort to gain support for general fish and wildlife conservation measures. The Game Warden Supervisor is directly accountable to the Chief of the Law Enforcement Division.

The Assistant Supervisor positions are differentiated into two titles; Assistant Supervisor of Law Enforcement and Assistant Supervisor of Education. The Assistant Supervisors of Law Enforcement are



^a Assistant Supervisor of Education

^b Assistant Supervisor of Law Enforcement

^c Refers only to those Special Wardens appointed by the Commission. Special Wardens appointed by Circuit Court Judges do not fall within the jurisdiction of the Commission and are not represented in the Chart.

^d Trainee and Special Wardens were not sampled for this study.

Figure 2. Organizational Chart for the Law Enforcement Division of the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries

concerned with coordinating the activities of the wardens by "scheduling" certain wardens to work particular days at particular places. Wardens are many times required to work in areas where, for example, a lot of fishing takes place. If the work area is a lake, the wardens assigned to counties close to the lake may be required to leave their home county and "work the lake". An Assistant Supervisor of Law Enforcement may also make equipment inspections, issue new equipment or require the wardens to comply with certain regulations pertaining to the maintenance and use of such equipment. In addition, the Assistant Supervisor may periodically visit game wardens and accompany them in their work and may investigate complaints received about wardens' activities.

The Assistant Supervisors of Education are concerned with releasing to the media results of conservation programs, projected "hunting yields" or the likelihood of a good hunting or fishing season. They keep the public informed about changes in season dates and about stocking programs carried out in conjunction with the Game and Fish Divisions of the Commission. They also provide informative material on the kinds of wildlife in an area and on the benefits of conservation practices. Other responsibilities involve coordinating hunter safety and boat safety courses at schools and sports clubs and manning displays at state fairs or in other public places. The Assistant Supervisor of Education is also charged with the storage and distribution of educational materials such as slide programs, movies, and a number of pamphlets and brochures about the Commission and general conservation practices. In addition to these duties the Assistant Supervisors, both

of Law Enforcement and Education, may actually do enforcement work during special assignments or peak hunting or fishing seasons.

Assistant Supervisors work under and are accountable to their respective District Supervisor.

The activities of Area Patrol Leaders involve performing regular law enforcement duties in addition to coordinating the enforcement work of game wardens in a three or four county area. Within an Area Leader's territory, the Area Patrol Leader is usually responsible for wildlife law enforcement in "his" county and for coordination of efforts in the other two or three counties. He also prepares monthly reports concerning the activities within his area and forwards these to the Supervisor of the larger district. In addition, he recommends the replacement or repair of equipment and uniforms within his area and listens to, and sometimes passes on to his superiors, suggestions, complaints or comments made by Regular Wardens about their work. The Area Patrol Leader is directly accountable to the Assistant Supervisors.

The Area Patrol Leaders and the Regular Wardens are the wardens who do most of the actual wildlife law enforcement within the state. The law enforcement, conservation, education and public relations duties of these wardens are systematically delineated in a mimeographed "job description" prepared by the Commission. Examples of the duties of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens include the following:

1. Patrols various parts of an assigned area to detect game-law violations.
2. Patrols the various streams and impounded waters of the assigned area to detect inland-fish-law violations.

3. Patrols the waters of an assigned area to detect boat law violations.
4. Investigates violations not committed in his presence, collects evidence and issues summonses based on such evidence.
5. Investigates and files reports on hunting and boating accidents.
6. Appears in court as arresting officer and Commonwealth's witness in game, inland fish and boat law violation cases.
7. Meets with various organizations and groups to give talks and answers questions about game, inland fish and boat laws and fish and wildlife conservation.
8. Contacts farm-property owners to encourage them to cooperate with fish and wildlife conservation programs by sowing seed for winter feeding of wildlife, permitting their streams to be stocked with fish and opening their lands to public hunting.
9. Cooperates with fish biologists in sampling public waters, taking creel censuses, and assists in the stocking of streams; investigates fish kills, collects water samples and reports findings to the State Water Control Board.
10. Prepares periodic activity reports.³

While the Virginia Game Warden is seen to perform a multiplicity of roles, as indicated by the job description outlined above, careful

³In regard to the point about activity reports, the procedure consists of all wardens in an Area Leader District meeting at a scheduled place on a particular day near the end of the month and jointly preparing a combined activity report. The Area Patrol Leaders then take these reports to a central location and meet with their Supervisors where they prepare the activity report for the larger Supervisor District. These reports are then sent directly to the Chief of the Law Enforcement Division. These meetings serve the additional purpose of being "general meetings" where any relevant matters may be discussed and new information, verbal or written, may be disseminated.

examination of those duties reveals the major work role to be that of law enforcement. Other roles might be generically labeled (1) conservation, (2) education, and (3) public relations. These roles subsume a variety of activities which will be treated in the next Chapter. Before such an elaboration, however, the "demographic" characteristics of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens are presented to better acquaint the reader with the subjects upon whom this investigation is based.

Background Characteristics of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Game Wardens

The total number of respondents included in this profile, and in all other subsequent analyses in this study, is sixty-seven (N=67). This number is composed of twenty-five Area Patrol Leaders and forty-two Regular Game Wardens. However, one Area Patrol Leader failed to return the self-administered questionnaire and in some instances the respondents did not answer specific questions. Thus, the reader should note that the frequencies and totals presented in the tables vary according to such omissions.⁴

⁴Percentages used herein are based on "adjusted frequencies", e.g., if only sixty respondents answered a particular question then these sixty responses are treated as making up the full 100% of the responses. The total percentage is also treated as 100% even when the actual percentages may add up to 99.9% or 100.1% due to rounding errors. Also, unless indicated otherwise, both Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Game Wardens are subsumed under the labels "Field Wardens", "game warden", or just "warden".

Sex and Race

All Virginia Game Wardens are male Caucasians. Most wardens feel that the work is "too tough for ladies" in that it requires outdoors, "woody" work that is many times carried out at night by a single warden working alone. When queried as to why there are no black game wardens, one respondent stated that:

Well, I don't think any have ever applied. Besides, a lot of them are afraid to go out in the dark, especially alone. And when you think about it, it might be just as well that we don't have any working as wardens. They might go back in the woods and try to arrest some ole mountain man and never come out again. We have some trouble like that and you know a colored man would.

Age

The ages of the wardens ranged from twenty-four to sixty-three. The mean age was 42.0 with a median age of 42.6. The range of ages are limited because of Commission regulations which state that an applicant must be a minimum of twenty-one years old and may retire at the age of sixty provided they have thirty years service. In addition, section 2-1-5-A of the Game Wardens Handbook specifically states that "No Law Enforcement field personnel will be continued in service later than the day on which the age of 65 is reached."

Education

The data contained in Table 2 indicates that most wardens (50.8%) were high school graduates. Several wardens (30.2%) had some college education and three wardens (4.8%) had baccalaureate degrees. One warden had professional training beyond the college degree. Eight

TABLE 2
EDUCATION OF FIELD WARDENS

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Graduate or professional training	1	1.6
Standard college graduate	3	4.8
Some college	19	30.2
High school graduate	32	50.8
Some high school	5	7.9
Junior high school graduate	3	4.8
Total	63	100.1

wardens (12.7%) in the sample had not finished high school. Presently, the Commission requires that all applicants must be high school graduates or have a high school equivalency certificate. While the Commission itself does not discriminate against applicants with a college degree, the following statement, made by one of the Warden Supervisors, serves to characterize the general feeling toward highly educated applicants.

There are exceptions, of course, but a college man who applies to become a game warden is probably a second-rate individual. You take a man with a college degree--he's not setting his sights high enough if he just wants to be a game warden. Give me a high school graduate who's a regular guy and has some old fashioned common sense anytime.

This attitude is also reflected in the fact that when the Field Wardens were asked "If you were to interview a person who applied to be a game warden, what qualities would you look for in the applicant?", only four (6.0%) gave "education" as a first response.

Father's Social Position

Hollingshead's (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position was computed in order to obtain a rough estimate of the general socio-economic status of the wardens' families. The Two Factor Index has a range of from eleven to seventy-seven and is calculated based on the occupation and the formal education of the father of the respondent.⁵

⁵To calculate the Two Factor Index, occupation and education are scaled and numbered and then combined by multiplying the scores by predetermined weights. The occupational scale, and the numbers assigned to each category of the scale, is basically as follows: higher executive (farm owner, value over \$100,000) = 1, business managers (farm owner, value \$35,000 to \$100,000) = 2, administrative

An examination of the data indicates that the mean score for the Two Factor Index was 48.8 with a median of 50.8. Table 3 demonstrates that two-thirds (66.7%) of the wardens' fathers had attained occupational and educational levels that placed them in class four positions.

Population Size of Previous Residence

The population sizes of the communities in which the wardens grew up are notably small. Table 4 indicates that the majority of the wardens (59.1%) grew up in open country. Another substantial number

personnel (farm owner, value \$25,000 to \$35,000) = 3, clerical and sales workers (farm owner, value \$10,000 to \$25,000) = 4, skilled manual employees (farm owner, value under \$10,000) = 5, machine operators and semi-skilled employees (tenant farmers) = 6, and, unskilled employees (share croppers) = 7. The number corresponding to the appropriate category is multiplied by a constant weight of seven to obtain the occupation part of the Two Factor Index. (The "farmer" categories are presented here, along with the general title of each category on the scale, to avoid the possibly misleading feature of the category title itself. For example, most of the wardens' fathers (52.3%) had occupations that placed them into the category of "clerical and sales workers". One reason for this distribution, however, is that many of the wardens' fathers were farmers who were placed in the \$10,000 to \$25,000 range.)

The education scale, and the numbers assigned to each category of the scale, is as follows: graduate professional training = 1, standard college or university graduate = 2, partial college training = 3, high school graduate = 4, partial high school = 5, junior high school = 6, and less than seven years of school = 7. For the education part of the Two Factor Index, the number corresponding to the appropriate category is multiplied by a constant weight of four. The Two Factor Index is then computed by adding together the products from the occupation and education factors.

Hollingshead (1965:10) states that the most meaningful breaks for predicting social class position are: Class I, 11-17, Class II, 18-27, Class III, 28-43, Class IV, 44-60, and Class V, 61-77.

TABLE 3
 SOCIAL POSITION OF WARDENS' FATHER AS MEASURED
 BY HOLLINGSHEAD'S TWO FACTOR INDEX

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Class one	3	5.6
Class two	2	3.7
Class three	5	9.3
Class four	36	66.7
Class five	8	14.8
Total	54 ^a	100.1

^aOne reason for the small number of responses (54) in this table is that several wardens did not indicate an educational category for their fathers.

TABLE 4
POPULATION SIZE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE
OF FIELD WARDENS

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Open country	39	59.1
Small village less than or equal to 999	5	7.6
Large village 1,000 to 2,499	2	3.0
Small town 2,500 to 4,999	4	6.1
Large town 5,000 to 9,999	6	9.1
Small city 10,000 to 49,999	4	6.1
Large city 50,000 to 99,999	2	3.0
Metropolitan area of 100,000 or more	4	6.1
Total	66	100.1

(25.8%) lived in small settlements of less than 10,000 population. Combined, this means that the overwhelming majority of the wardens (84.9%) are from decidedly small population areas. Four wardens (6.1%) grew up in areas with a population size from 10,000 to 49,999, two in large towns of 50,000 to 99,999, while only four wardens (6.1%) actually came from metropolitan areas of 100,000 or more. As a rule, then, wardens are drawn from residential backgrounds similar to those in which they will later work.

Marital Status

Table 5 indicates that of sixty-six wardens responding, fifty-eight (87.9%) were married, four (6.1%) were divorced or separated, three (4.5%) were single and one was widowed.

Military Experience

Forty-five wardens (67.2%) had previously experienced military service. The data presented in Table 6 indicate that of the forty-five wardens who had been in the military service thirty-two (71.1%) served from one to four years, eight (17.8%) served five years or more and five (11.1%) served less than one year.

The Decision to Become a Game Warden

Most wardens did not follow a typical "career track" in becoming a game warden. That is, the wardens did not begin early in their lives planning or training to become a game warden. Only six people (7.5%) decided to become a game warden while still in school, either high school or college. One warden made the decision after college

TABLE 5
MARITAL STATUS OF FIELD WARDENS

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Married	58	87.9
Divorced or Separated	4	6.1
Single	3	4.5
Widowed	1	1.5
Total	66	100.0

TABLE 6
LENGTH OF MILITARY SERVICE OF FIELD WARDENS

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Less than one year	5	11.1
One to four years	32	71.1
Five years and above	8	17.8
Total	66	100.0

but before pursuing other jobs. An examination of the data contained in Table 7, indicates that the vast majority of wardens (89.5%) made the decision to become a game warden only after they had finished high school and had had other jobs. Jobs of wardens previous to their employment with the Commission include: construction worker, furniture salesman, auto mechanic, television repairman, parts manager in a garage, deputy sheriff, farmer and assembly line worker. Most previous jobs could be classified as skilled labor or clerical.

Age at Becoming Warden

The range of ages at becoming a game warden was from twenty-one to thirty-four. The majority of the wardens (71.2%) were between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-four when they went to work for the Commission. The average age at becoming a game warden was 28.1 years, with a median of 27.7.

Length of Service With the Commission

The years of service as a warden varied from one year to thirty-five years with the average length of service being 13.7. Only one warden had been working for more than thirty years.

Reason for Becoming Game Warden

The data presented in Table 8 reveals that the singular most often cited reason for becoming a game warden was "to be outdoors". Twenty-six wardens (38.8%) offered this desire to work outdoors as the major reason they pursued the occupation of game warden. Twenty-six other wardens (37.2%) offered this response but coupled it with other

TABLE 7

WHEN WAS A DECISION MADE TO BECOME A GAME WARDEN

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
During high school	5	7.5
During college	1	1.5
After college	1	1.5
After high school and several jobs	27	40.3
After high school and several jobs and military	22	32.8
After some college and several jobs	11	16.4
Total	67	100.0

TABLE 8
 PRINCIPAL REASON FOR BECOMING A GAME WARDEN

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Outdoor orientation	26	38.8
Outdoor orientation and conservation minded	11	16.4
Outdoor orientation and enjoy working with people	7	10.4
Outdoor orientation and enjoy law enforcement work	7	10.4
Job autonomy	4	6.0
Not satisfied with previous job	4	6.0
Job vacancy	4	6.0
Parental or peer influence	3	4.5
Steady income	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

reasons, such as "conservation minded" (16.4%), enjoy working with people (10.4%) or "enjoy law enforcement work" (10.4%). In all, fifty-one wardens (72.0%) singularly referred to the "outdoors" or combined an outdoor orientation with some other characteristic of the job as the reason they took their job. The two next most often mentioned reasons for becoming a game warden, job autonomy (6.0%) and dissatisfaction with previous job (6.0%) in many respects complement the outdoor orientation. The opportunity to "be one's own boss" attracted some wardens to the occupation and the lack of the same opportunity in previous employment situations attracted still others. Five wardens (7.5%) offered as reasons for becoming game wardens that there was simply a "job vacancy" or that the job provided a steady income. Three wardens were influenced by their parents or peers to join the force.

Recreational Activities of Wardens

The outdoor theme is also reflected in the hobbies mentioned by the wardens. Nearly all of the recreational activities mentioned could be classed as "outdoor" in orientation (see Table 9). Those listing wood and metal crafts or firearms collecting might work inside part of the time but the general thrust is still the same. At least 87% of the respondents leave no doubt that their hobbies are outdoor oriented. Table 9 also shows thirty-four wardens (54.0%) had hobbies that, in addition to being outside oriented, closely coincide with their jobs (hunting, fishing, boating, etc.).

TABLE 9
 RESPONSES TO THE REQUEST TO "PLEASE INDICATE
 YOUR MAIN HOBBY OR RECREATIONAL ACTIVITY"

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Hunting, fishing, boating, trapping camping, etc.	34	54.0
Baseball, softball, football, tennis golf	8	12.7
Gardening, farming	8	12.7
Wood and metal crafts	5	7.9
Collecting firearms and Indian artifacts	3	4.8
Being member of rescue squad	3	4.8
Reptile collecting	1	1.5
Travel	1	1.5
Total	63	99.9

Summary

The background data presented in this chapter reflect some basic similarities between Field Wardens in the Commonwealth of Virginia. First of all they are all male Caucasians. They are similar in educational background with most being high school graduates. Most came from families fitting the clerical and sales and small farmer occupational category. Most wardens came from the less populated areas of the state. Nearly all are presently married. Most wardens tried several other jobs before deciding to join the Commission. This is further indicated by the ages at which most became game wardens. Over 71% were between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-four ($\bar{x} = 28.1$) when they began working at their present job. The guiding motivation to seek such work was a search for a job where they could be outside and be their "own boss". In addition, the work of the wardens and their hobbies were found to be extremely compatible.

Having described the organizational structure of the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries and having presented a social profile of the subjects surveyed, attention will now focus upon the occupational role behavior of game wardens in the State of Virginia. A detailed description of the work roles concerning law enforcement, conservation, education and public relations is presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONAL ROLE BEHAVIOR OF VIRGINIA FIELD WARDENS

Introduction

The concept of role refers to the fact that people "... (1) in social locations (2) behave (3) with reference to expectations" (Emphasis in original) (Gross et al., 1958:17). For the wardens under study, the social locations consist of at least two types of social space: (1) their status or rank within the Commission (either as an Area Patrol Leader or Regular Warden), and (2) their status as a game warden within the community. The formal expectations placed upon a game warden come from the Commission in terms of the assignment of particular duties as well as a host of regulations regarding the wardens' work schedules, appearances and performance of duties.

In reference to work schedules, for example, section 1-5-1-B of the Game Wardens Handbook states that:

Because of the nature of the work daily hours of work are not fixed, but actual hours worked must be recorded daily.

Wardens may be required by their supervisor to work on nights, Sundays and holidays as the situation demands.

As a general rule enforcement officers should not make application for leave on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays as, usually, the potential workload is higher on these days.

Examples of the formal regulations concerning "appearance" are found in sections 1-6-6-B and 1-5-4-B of the Handbook. Section 1-6-6-B states that, "A uniform will be worn at all times while on duty. With

the prior written approval of the supervisor for each instance, however, other clothes may be worn on special duty" (Emphasis in original).

Section 1-5-4-B contains items referring to dress as well as the manner in which duties are to be performed. It states that officers in Court shall:

Be neat and in proper uniform....

Always be on time.

Not chew gum, smoke or slouch in witness chair.

Talk distinctly and directly to the judge or jury.

Answer defense attorneys with a polite "yes or no". Do not explain or elaborate unless requested by the judge. Do not be sarcastic or impudent.

Not testify to hearsay.

Respect the Court at all times and not carry on conversations while Court is in session.

Another example of the regulations that wardens are expected to follow concerns the use of the radios found in each Commission vehicle. Section 1-6-4-B of the Handbook states, "Radios are for business purposes only. Operators will sign on and off with local stations and give their location so they might be contacted in case of emergency." (It is pointed out later that wardens have at least one particular reason for not following this formal expectation.)

The total listing of the formal expectations pertaining to the game wardens' behaviors are beyond space limitations. The total contents of the Game Wardens Handbook are, in some respect, details of the way game wardens should dress, perform particular duties, and the general proscriptions placed upon them as employees of the Commission. The Handbook itself is composed of some 130 pages of these regulations

and specifications. The statements from the Handbook noted above are examples of the expectations placed upon wardens by the Commission and are noted simply to give the reader an insight into the types of regulations which govern the warden's behavior.

The requests made of game wardens by "the community" are less formalized and particularistic than those of the Commission. However, members of the community do ask certain things of the wardens that they believe, whether correctly or incorrectly, fall within the wardens' range of responsibility. For example, farmers often call the wardens when their crops are damaged by animals, when someone is hunting on their property without permission, or when they are in need of a public speaker on wildlife conservation. Perhaps it is the lack of well formalized role expectations in "the community" that results in the wardens being "called" on complaints that do not, technically, fall within their domain. Wardens are called to get skunks out of basements, cats out of trees and to do the "dog work" that was previously required of State Game Wardens. These role requests are treated in more detail later in this Chapter under "Other Activities". Examples are also given that demonstrate, to some extent, the incompatibility of certain formal expectations and the performance of basic role demands.

The major portion of this Chapter, however, is devoted to a description of the role behavior of the wardens. The data contained herein are drawn from questionnaire and interview responses, tape recorded conversations, and direct observation. Data from all these sources are intertwined in order to present a more exhaustive

account of the activities performed by Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens.

Role Behavior of Virginia Field Wardens

The actual behaviors of the game wardens focus upon four "main aspects" of the occupation. Table 10 shows these aspects which were generated by the wardens when asked "What do you see as being the main aspect of your job?".

The main aspect of the occupation of game warden is law enforcement for thirty-eight wardens (56.7%). Sixteen indicated conservation (23.9%) with public relations being mentioned by seven wardens (10.4%), while six wardens (9.0%) mentioned education. When the wardens were asked about the percentage of time spent on selected activities, a compatibility was revealed between their role perception as a whole and their role behavior.

Table 11 shows that the majority of time spent on law enforcement takes precedent over all other activities. These data indicate, then, that the role perceptions and role behaviors of the wardens combine to produce a "master role": that of law enforcement officer. By combining the average percentages of time spent on law enforcement behavior (game and fish law enforcement, boating activities and time spent in court) it can be seen that nearly three-quarters (72.8%) of the wardens time is spent in this category alone. The wardens spend an average of nine percent of their time in education and public relations, five percent of their time with desk or "paper" work and,

TABLE 10
RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHAT DO YOU SEE AS
BEING THE MAIN ASPECT OF YOUR JOB?"

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Law enforcement	38	56.7
Conservation	16	23.9
Public relations	7	10.4
Education	6	9.0
Total	67	100.0

TABLE 11
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT ON SELECTED
ACTIVITIES BY FIELD WARDENS

Activities	Average Percentage
Game law enforcement	30.4
Fish law enforcement	23.8
Boating activities	14.1
Education and public relations	9.0
Desk work	5.0
Court	4.5
Conservation	4.2
Game management	4.2
Fish management	3.8
Other	1.1
Total	100.1

with the exception of the "other" category (1.1%), the rest in game and fish management and conservation activities (12.2%). Each of these activities (behaviors, performances) is described below.

Law Enforcement Activities

The "master role" of law enforcement involves a set of formal objectives that revolve around:

....(1) preventing law violations, (2) protecting "beneficial" species throughout their breeding season, (3) rationing or assuring the sporting public a fair share of available game, and (4) requiring that those who enjoy or use the resource pay the bill (Giles, 1971:131).

The law enforcement techniques utilized by game wardens are similar to those of other law enforcement officers. Not only are the techniques basically the same but the "role facilities", the tools of the trade, are almost identical. The warden is uniformed, carries a badge, gun, and handcuffs which are of "standard issue" quality, and patrols in marked State cars¹ complete with two different radio transmitters and receivers (one "commission band" and one hooked up to the local sheriff's department).

¹The Area Patrol Leaders' cars are unmarked in the sense that they do not have the Commission decal on both front doors like those driven by Regular Wardens. They are identifiable as state cars, however, by their dark green color and the two radio antennas, one on the top and the other on the rear fender near the trunk. The K-5 Blazers used by Regular Wardens have no markings except the antennas and are not painted the "state green" color of the other automobiles. The vehicles of the Regular Wardens, unlike those of Supervisors and Area Patrol Leaders, also have blue "public use" state license plates. The uniforms that are worn by both Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens are identical with the exception of a cloth bar below the shoulder patches, which reads Area Patrol Leader. Regular Wardens have no such bar.

The law enforcement role of game wardens necessitates the utilization of certain techniques to identify and apprehend wildlife law violators. When asked what techniques they used in detecting violations the first responses of the wardens fell into the categories presented in Table 12.

Observation and Patrol

The technique of "observation and patrol" is used by Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens more than any other single category (43.3%) to detect violations. Hazel (1968:547), in speaking about the patrol area concept in wildlife law enforcement, indicates that:

The classic concept of the typical successful wildlife law enforcement officer is that of a rugged individual who, under all sorts of adverse conditions, prevails as master of a vast territory in which he is literally the boss of wildlife affairs. His domain usually consists of an entire county, and he not only represents the wildlife agency and enforces its laws and regulations, but often, either through choice or necessity, makes his own decisions, and his own work plans. He handles the problems which land in his lap promptly and to the best of his ability.

The strategic nature of the patrol function in wildlife law enforcement is similar in importance to patrolling in the city. While there is no specific "patrol force" in the Commission, the patrolling activities allow the wardens to make contact with violators and non-violators alike and provide the best opportunity for general "observation". Leonard (1970:3) states that a patrol force marks "...the point in police organization where planning, strategy and policy are translated into action...." This is true for the Commission as well. The act of patrolling, and attendant observation, affords

TABLE 12

FIRST RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "WHAT TECHNIQUES
DO YOU USE IN PATROLLING YOUR AREA TO
DETECT VIOLATIONS?"

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Observation and patrol	29	43.3
Use informers	7	10.4
Deduction	7	10.4
Avoid routine	6	9.0
Sneakiness	6	9.0
Special equipment	5	7.5
Work hot spots	3	4.5
Blitzing	3	4.5
Physical evidence	1	1.5
Total	67	100.1

the warden the chance to "do his job", to carry out the plans and policy of the Commission. Even those techniques of law enforcement not directly included under this particular heading are indirectly related to patrolling. Those wardens who indicated that they used "informers" to aid them in enforcing the law may actually use that information to spot a particular vehicle or person while on patrol. Similarly, those who state that they "avoid routine" are referring to the practice of not establishing a definite "patrol pattern".

The actual activities involved in observation and patrol are basically very simple: riding around in a geographic area on the alert for people who are hunting and fishing. Unless there is a specifically planned and coordinated "drive", or the warden is working his scheduled days "at the lake" or streams (during trout season, mostly), the game warden sets his own schedule and patrols whatever part of his county he wishes. Because of the large size of the area that the warden is responsible for patrolling, he may spend a whole day in only one part of the county. Thus, his knowledge of the area, his "geographic gestalt", is essential to effective patrolling. Weeks (1969:16) points this out when, in speaking of an experienced game warden, he states:

For instance, Lemons has become so familiar with Henry County that if he hears a shot go off in any given woods, he'd be able to pinpoint its origin and knows where the hunter will come out because he knows the location of the hickory trees where the squirrels hang out and the deer trails, as well as the roads leading in and out of the woods.

Effective observation and patrol is greatly aided by the warden's knowledge of the hunting seasons and, where hunting is most likely to take place. During deer season, for example, a patrol may

be made of county roads where people leave their cars to enter the woods. Should there be a concentration of parked vehicles in a particular area, the warden may park in the same area and wait for the hunters to return to their vehicles whereupon he would check their hunting licenses, deer stamp, and local damage stamp. He would also check to see if shotguns are plugged so as not to hold more than three shells at any one time and to see that each hunter was using weapons of, in the case of rifles, at least .23 calibre or above. Should any of the hunters possess a deer, the warden would check to see if the deer was the proper sex, size and properly tagged and that the "catch" did not exceed the legal "limit".

During dove season the warden may patrol those areas that are known to be good places to hunt doves. Corn fields that have recently been cut offer some of the best dove hunting and can many times be reached from state maintained roads or private farm roads. The warden might drive along until he spots some hunters, stop his car and proceed on foot to where the hunters were sitting or standing. Upon checking the license and the number of birds in possession, the procedure would be repeated. Should the hunters be on private land that was posted, the warden would ask to see their "permission to hunt" cards which must be issued to the hunter by the owner of the land. If the hunter did not have permission to hunt on the land he would be written a ticket for trespassing and the warden would instruct the hunter to leave.

Although some patrolling may be directed toward a specific goal (i.e., looking for a particular vehicle or checking a definite

area for violations) a lot of patrolling has only a "general" goal, and basically involves riding around and checking on anything that falls within the game wardens' domain. In some instances when a scheduled activity is for some reason postponed or "rained out" the wardens will patrol country roads on the lookout for any "activity"; this acts as a "filler" in the day's work schedule and results in the adage among some of the wardens that "When in doubt (as to what to do), Patrol!".

Boat patrol takes place on many of Virginia's rivers and the major lakes in the State. The major purpose of this type of patrol is to check fishing licenses, size of fish, creel limits, boat registration, personal flotation devices, and, if the boat is above a certain size, or has a permanent gas tank or compartment where gas could be trapped, fire extinguishers. A narrative field report which the author submitted to the project directors explicates some of the activities of wardens on boat patrol. Part of this report is presented below (see Snizek et al., 1975:34-35).

Several examples of law enforcement were observed when I participated in a boat patrol down a 20 mile stretch of river in order to check fishing licenses and to enforce other fish and boating laws. The standard procedure involved working in plain clothes and using an unmarked flat-bottom 14 foot boat. In order for a warden to ask to see a license he must visually observe the person fishing or see the person in possession of fish. Again, it is better to see the person fishing as the person in possession can say that the stringer of fish belongs to someone else in the party; someone who has a valid fishing license. In order for a warden to visually observe someone fishing, many times field glasses are a must. If the illegal fisherman suspects game wardens are in a boat coming down the river, and the wardens are not close enough to observe him, then all the fisherman has to do is place the fishing rod in the boat or on the side of the river bank and the wardens have no evidence that he is fishing. Visual observation through binoculars takes place many times when the wardens are too far

away from the boats or bank fishermen to tell with the naked eye whether or not they are actually fishing. In some cases there will be several boats containing several fishermen and non-fishermen. When the boat is at such an angle that one really cannot tell, for example, whether the middle person in the boat is fishing or not, one must get close enough to the boat without using the binoculars to observe their behavior. In these cases we simply floated toward the boats while the game wardens fished and I guided the boat. To the people we wanted to check we looked just like other fishermen. When the wardens had seen everything they wanted to see in all the boats in the area, the procedure was to then put away our fishing rods and proceed toward whichever boat was closest. The technique then was for one warden to sit in the front of the boat, take out his badge, hold it in his hand until very close to the other boat and then hold the badge in plain view and say, "State Game Warden, I'd like to check your license", or "State Game Warden, we're just out checking licenses". When along side we would grab the side of the boat with our hands to steady both boats. Usually one of the occupants of the other boat would help in holding the boats together while others looked in their wallets for licenses or registration and, in some cases, while the wardens checked their fish for legal limit and size, their life preservers for age and damage, and issued those in violation a summons. When the business at one boat was completed we would shove off and go to the next closest boat to repeat the same procedure, looking to see if other boats had appeared in the meanwhile. This procedure resulted in 15 tickets being written from 11:30 a.m. to 7:15 p.m.

Foot patrol is probably the activity that requires the most patience of the game warden and may present one of the greatest dangers to the warden in that he may appear where he is least expected and may scare or surprise a hunter who is armed. Some of the activities involved with foot patrol, and some of the humorous things that happen to wardens, are presented below.

On one particular day-time patrol looking for pre-season squirrel hunters, we saw a car parked close to a popular hunting area next to a locked gate. The car was locked and unoccupied. The warden's response was, "Well, well...what do we have here? I bet this guy has started the season a little early. Let's see what we can find." The warden put on his camouflage hunting shirt to cover his badge and shoulder patches and we

walked about one half mile through a pasture to the edge of the woods. When we reached the wooded area we stood by a tree and listened. We had waited 20 minutes when we heard a shot back toward the place we had left the car. The response from the warden was, "Let's go." We walked briskly toward the shot, without speaking. As we got closer to the location of the first shot we heard another shot quite a distance away, down on the other side of the hill we were walking up. As we got closer to the top of the hill, which was covered with grass a little more than waist-high, we saw a young boy with a shotgun walking away from us. We proceeded toward him still not talking but not trying to conceal the sound of our steps. We were both within 25 feet of him before he noticed us. We walked to where he was standing and the warden said, "Game Warden. I'd like to see your license." The boy produced his license while the warden asked, "How's it going?" and at the same time pulled a green plastic bag from the boy's pocket, saying, "What you got here?" The boy said he had just shot a dove. "You know it's illegal to start hunting doves before 12:00 noon don't you?" the warden said. "Well, I didn't shoot it until after 12:00," the boy replied. We looked at our watches and it was only 11:45 a.m. "You started a little early because it's not 12:00 yet," the warden said. The boy acted nervous and did not say anything else until the warden pulled the bird out of the plastic bag. "Well, looks like you still didn't get a dove, this is a woodpecker," stated the warden with a laugh. "Don't you know the difference between a dove and a woodpecker?" The young man said, "I guess not, someone told me that doves had a red streak down the back of their head and this is the first time I ever been bird hunting." "I'll tell you what, you go on down and wait for us at our car and we're going to see if we can locate your buddy. We'll be back in 15 or 20 minutes. You just go on down there and wait until we get back." The warden and I walked toward the other shot and the boy walked toward where we had parked the car. The warden had kept the hunting license and commented that he was a juvenile, 17 years old and laughed about the woodpecker that he still had in his hand. We walked and listened for about 10 minutes and did not hear or see anything else. "I think I'll just let that kid sweat a while. I'm not going to write him a ticket, just warn him, but I want to scare him a little anyway. If I write him a ticket he'll have to go to federal court and the minimum fine is \$50.00 because that woodpecker is on the protected list and that judge over there is really a bird lover. Let's just wait a few more minutes and walk slow back to where he's waiting." We walked slowly back and at the same time looked and listened for any movement or shots in the woods. When we reached the car, the boy was sitting on a nearby fence. The warden walked up to the patrol car, unlocked the door, sat down in the front seat and took out his summons book and the boy's license that he had placed

in his shirt pocket. As the warden started writing (on the cover of the summons book) the boy said, "How much is this going to cost me?" "I don't know," said the warden, "It could be \$250.00 and the minimum is \$50.00." "How long do I have to pay it? I haven't got that much right now," the boy stated. "Well, you'll have to go to federal court because that bird you shot is on the protected species list and that judge is tough on this kind of stuff," replied the warden. "Damn, this is the first time I ever been bird hunting and I get into something like this." The warden said, "O.K., son, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I'll let you go if you'll do two things. The first is to go home, right now. The second thing, if you're going to hunt birds any more, is to get an encyclopedia and learn your birds or get with somebody who knows birds before you shoot any more. Will you do that?" "Yes sir, I'll do that, or I just might not go bird hunting any more. I don't care for it anyway. First time out and I get into this," he said. "O.K., you just go on home now and we'll forget it." The boy thanked us and left. "That'll do that boy more good than any ticket will. He'll not shoot anymore woodpeckers, will he? Ha, Ha. We scared the shit out of him." We went back into the woods. (Time, 12:25 p.m.) We found a spot and sat down in the edge of the wooded area and stayed there until 1:12 p.m. Not hearing anymore shots we got up and walked up an old road. The warden found some tracks, one set, of tennis shoes. "Let's follow these a little," he said. We followed the tracks for about a mile into the woods and found a fresh cigarette, ashes still fresh. Walked a little farther and lost the tracks. We had heard no other shots and the warden said, "Let's go. There's no telling where that damned guy is." We walked back out and left" (Time, 1:53 p.m.) (Snizek et al., 1975:36-37).

Air patrol is conducted largely by the Commission's one small pontoon plane with others being rented or leased if necessary. While the plane may be used to coordinate law enforcement "drives" it is very useful in flying over watery areas to see if hunters have been "baiting" ducks. Duck hunters sometimes illegally throw corn or other grain into the water to entice ducks closer to their hunting blinds. While hardly visible from the ground, such practices are easily visible from the air. Air patrol, then, makes it easy to spot baited areas and to dispatch wardens to the area, or, if suitable water landing sights are available.

to land the plane and check for hunters in the area. While air patrol is used quite extensively in the eastern and flat parts of Virginia, the mountainous terrain and tricky air currents of the western and southwestern sections of the state preclude very much air patrolling.

As these accounts indicate, much "observation" is closely related to "patrolling" which is aided in turn by the wardens' "geographic gestalt". A "social gestalt" also aids the wardens in their role performance. A "social gestalt" may be defined as the degree to which a person is aware of his social surroundings, or, in the case of the wardens, awareness as to "What's going on" in the community. By keeping a "trained eye and ear" attuned to the activities within the community, more effective law enforcement can sometimes be attained. The following occurrences were noted while observing three wardens working the first day of in-season trout stocking; a program of stocking fish in selected streams and allowing people to fish as soon as the trout are placed in the water.

We were patrolling alongside the freshly stocked trout stream when we received a call from S---- (the warden in a neighboring county) to see if we could spot a late model blue Ford Galaxy parked close to the fishing area. If we did, we were to look for four men by the names of _____. S---- gave H----- (the warden I was with) a description of the men and asked him to observe the men and take note of the number of trout they caught.

We spotted the car and the four men who were fishing close to a bridge. H----- stopped and walked down the bank of the stream to where the men were fishing, and one by one checked their licenses and creel limits. (The limit was six trout per person per day.) He came back on top of the bridge and asked me to watch and see if they caught any more fish. While I watched the activities of the four men, from the top of the bridge, H----- ducked out of sight of the men and wrote something down in his notebook. He walked back to where I was standing and said, "S---- thinks that these men may come back to G---- County this afternoon after they stock over there and

try to catch more than their six fish limit. I've checked all of them and they've nearly all got their limits already here in my county. Six is the limit for the day, regardless of the place they fish." We stood around for awhile talking to some other people who happened to walk over to see what was going on and then one of the men started up the bank. H----- said, "That guy had five fish when I checked him awhile ago and I think he caught another one but I didn't see him catch it, did you?" When I replied in the negative, he said, "I've got to see the fish in his possession if we do make a case against him so I can testify to it in court. I'll just have to go look." He started walking toward the man when he reached the shoulder of the road and said, "Hey, was that last one you caught any bigger than the others. There's supposed to be some big fish in here. I dumped them off this bridge myself. Let's see." The man replied, "It wasn't much bigger than the others. I just can't catch the big ones." Then both H----- and the man inspected the size of the fish (H----- was more interested in the the number of the fish since there is no size limit placed on the trout). After they talked a bit more, H----- came back and said, "Yep. He got his limit. What did the others do while I was talking to him?" When I said I had seen nothing else, we just sat around on the bridge and waited for all the men to start to leave, then H----- would use the same ploy as with the first man until he knew exactly how many fish each man had.

When the men had gone we radioed S----. We couldn't raise him on the radio so H----- went to a telephone in a nearby grocery store and called the Sheriff's Department in G---- County and asked the dispatcher to have S---- call him back at that number. He did in about ten minutes and H----- gave him the names of each man (which he had written down in his notebook as soon as he had learned them from their licenses) and the number of fish each had in his possession when they left the area. "I sure hope he catches those bastards. They come over here and fish in the morning and catch their limit and then go back over there in the afternoon and catch some more and they think we're too dumb to know it. I hope they try it today."

Later that afternoon N---- and I started back home and drove through G---- County. We stopped at the creek where the trout had been stocked and saw S---- and two other wardens. When we pulled up to where they were standing, S---- started laughing and said, "We got 'em! Everyone of them! They hid their fish and came right on down here and started again. Three of them caught their limit and one caught five. Lied like hell when we confronted them with it. They said they hadn't been fishing anywhere else. One guy was going to give us some trouble about not signing his summons but when we threatened to take him to jail, he signed. (Each person given a ticket must sign it to acknowledge that they accept it as a legal summons.) I knew those guys were going to do that. I saw them go down

the road early this morning dressed up in old clothes and I just knew they were going to try this. I bet they think twice about trying it again. Ha! Tell H---- about it. He'll have to come over here to testify if they don't pay off before court" (Emphasis added).

The above account demonstrates the results of one warden's "observation" of what is going on in his community. A simple thing like noticing a car and the men with their "fishing clothes" on driving down a road they hardly ever frequent started the whole sequence of events noted above. In this case "observation" was a successful technique to detect violations of the law. The role facilities ("...the techniques, resources, and conditions of work--the means available to fulfill one's organizational functions....") mentioned by Levinson (1969:301) are, in this case, characterized by a knowledge of what to look for, and communication and cooperation between two wardens. Fulfilling the role expectation of catching wildlife law violators is, therefore, many times dependent upon complementary role performances by two or more role incumbents.

The Use of Informers

Field Wardens use informers to help them perform their law enforcement duties. Fifty-six wardens (83.6%) said people gave them information enough that they might be called informers. Eleven wardens (16.4%) said they did not receive enough information from any particular person to call him an informer. Of the fifty-six wardens who did use informers, forty-six of them (82.1%) said the information they received was "very important" in helping them perform their law enforcement role. Six wardens (10.7%) said the information was "important",

three (5.4%) said that the information was "not so important", and only one warden (1.8%) felt that the information was "useless". These results are presented in Table 13.

Even though the wardens make most of their arrests based on personal initiation (an average percentage of 81.4%) some arrests result from information supplied by general citizens (an average of 12.5%) and six percent result from tips supplied by steady sources of information; the "informer".

Many of the informers used by wardens are citizens within the community who are land owners and who cooperate with the wardens in other ways as well (stocking programs, planting winter forage, etc.). The wardens make the acquaintance of many land owners when the landowner calls them to check on crop damage or to complain about people trespassing on their property while hunting. The landowner--warden relationship is beneficial if cultivated to the point where the landowner calls in certain information and acts as a second set of eyes in a notably large geographic area.

Due to the remote places that wardens frequent, they often "stumble upon" people who have sought out such refuge for a variety of activities. Lovers, pot-smokers and illegal whiskey makers number among those encountered by the wardens in this manner. While the general reaction to the wardens by such people are in terms of the wardens being "the law", the wardens are not empowered to enforce any of the rules that these persons might be violating. In regard to the whiskey makers, one warden stated:

TABLE 13
IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION
SUPPLIED BY INFORMERS

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very important	46	82.1
Important	6	10.7
Not so important	3	5.4
Useless	1	1.8
Total	56	100.0

Yes, we run upon stills every once in a while. I can carry you to three in my county right now. People have been making corn liquor back in these mountains for Lord knows how long. I don't bother them, though. They tell me what's going on up here, who's hunting out of season or catching too many fish. They were scared when I walked up on them for the first time but I just told them that what they were doing was their own business and I couldn't arrest them for it. I did mention that they might keep me informed if they saw anybody breaking "my" laws. They were happy to oblige. I've caught several people they told me about.

The bootleggers and the wardens, then, sometimes enter into a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship. The wardens get to "make a bust" on wildlife law violators based on information supplied by the whiskey makers and the whiskey makers benefit by not being turned in to alcohol beverage control agents by the warden. They also benefit by the fact that their operation is less likely to be discovered by a wandering squirrel hunter who goes "way back in the woods" to hunt illegally if the hunter realizes that the game warden has also been known to frequent those same locations.

There are also some informers that may be equated with city "police buffs". Usually these are the people who just like to "be in on things" and they will actually watch for illegal hunters or spot-lighters and then run to the game warden with the information. Sometimes they ride with the warden and show him where the illegal activity is taking place.

One warden said that the best informers were members of families who were "on the outs" with each other and would turn each other in for revenge or spite.

When two of these old mountain families have a falling out they'll beat your door down telling on each other. They come

to us and the sheriff's office with anything they can find out about the other one.

And finally, members of different hunting or sporting clubs sometimes act as informers for the wardens. Many times they do it out of a real "sense of conservation" but at other times they inform on members of other clubs if they have had a "falling out" with each other. In summary, then, the game warden receives information from a variety of informants, each with a variety of reasons for informing. Even though the extremely rural people are notorious for being clannish and for sticking together against outsiders, their internal conflicts sometimes involve the same warden, who, in one sense, benefits from their attempts at retribution.

The small percentage of arrests due to information supplied by informers (6.0%) may be in part explained by the rules of evidence that must be adhered to by the wardens. Many wardens mentioned that when their informers supplied them with information that it was in many instances "old", that is, it pertained to something they already knew about or about something that happened days ago. Many wardens said that it was common for someone to come to them and tell them that someone had been trespassing on their place or had been shooting from the roads at night, or that "old so-and-so" had been hunting out of season. Since apprehending the violator "in the act" maximizes the likelihood of eventual prosecution, much of the information supplied is only generally helpful in that it only apprises the warden to be on the lookout for certain people or certain activities occurring in a parti-

cular place. The restrictions placed on the wardens by the rules of evidence may help explain why so many wardens (82.1%) who were interviewed felt that informers were "very important" to them but resulted in a very small number of arrests (6.0%).

Deduction

Another technique used by wildlife law enforcement officers can be called "deduction". Six wardens (9.0% of the sample) first mentioned deduction as a technique used to detect wildlife law violations. Deduction includes such things as looking for and collecting physical evidence (shell casings, blood, hair, etc.) and learning how to read tracks and "mud puddles". Several wardens stated that they saved many miles of driving into remote areas after they learned to read mud puddles, thereby being able to tell if a vehicle had gone into an area and was still there, or if it had gone in and already returned. Learning to tell how "fresh" tracks are also helps the wardens deduce how long ago someone was in an area. "Reading the weeds" is also a novel type of deduction employed by wardens on boat patrol in marshy areas. By looking closely at the direction the underwater flora are pointed, the wardens can actually "track" a boat through the water.

According to some of the wardens, deduction also takes place on a psychological level. Some stated that after a while with the Commission they developed an intuition or a "sixth sense" that cues them in to someone who is a violator. Wardens learn to look for people who get nervous when they are approached. The following tape

recorded conversation offers an example of the "psychological deduction" carried out by wardens.

Man, violators get nervous. They're going to be moving. They can't stand still. They'll try to hide birds in the brush. A lot of them will have a way they can bust their coats open and the illegal game will fall to the ground. You can see birds passing hands. They get "fidgety". If you get close enough on a creek bank and just watch you can tell. If they would keep their pole in their hand they would be all right. A lot of women fish without a license. Man, they can't hold the pole still. That thing gets red hot, they have to put it down. When we see this we check them out.

The Commission also sends certain wardens to special schools to increase their "scientific" powers of deduction. One such workshop conducted in the State of Maine in 1975 had as its major purpose the teaching of skills necessary to determine how long an animal had been dead by the use of a rectal thermometer. The wardens stated that by using this method they could check a deer and see if it had been killed during the legal time periods. Several wardens stated that deer were killed at night illegally and then checked in after daylight when it could be claimed as "legal" game. "Some of the deer checked in early in the morning are already cold and still as a board," stated one warden. "We know they were killed during the night but we can't prove it."

Avoiding Routine

Since many violators, particularly "habitual" violators, are aware that they are violating the law, they try to "out-fox" the game warden. Since wardens realize that attempts are continually made to "throw them off the track" they counter such attempts by

staggering their patrol hours and patrol areas. By avoiding routine patterns the game warden stands a better chance of apprehending violators. The following statement made by a Game Warden Supervisor denotes that avoiding routine is one of the first things wardens learn when they begin working for the Commission.

People look for the local game warden's patterns and that's one thing we try to keep them from doing--avoid setting patterns. We don't like them to even set a pattern at meal-time. Eat at odd hours during hunting season. Don't eat at 12:00 everyday, because people will know that this warden is eating dinner everyday from 12 to 1. Don't travel the same way every morning when you go out if you got something you're working on. You've got to move in different directions. The element of surprise is the main thing in keeping down violations (Emphasis added).

Sneakiness

Six wardens (9.0%) mentioned "sneaky" activities as being a wildlife law enforcement technique. Some other categories mentioned denote essentially the same type of behavior (avoiding routine, deduction, using informers, special equipment, etc.) and, combined with the sneakiness category, constitute the basic theme of wildlife law enforcement.

The wardens pride themselves on being sneaky. They are not adverse to the term as, according to some wardens, "That's the only way to catch some of these violators." The craftiness of some wildlife law violators is ingenious and calls for a similar ingenuity on the part of the wardens. Calkins (1971:8) tells about some of the illegal activities carried out by offenders.

Certain farmers shot pheasants from their bedroom windows, then retrieved them after dark. In August the corpses of a

young sage grouse were sometimes hidden beneath an auto's large hub caps. Pheasants were stuffed into wells for spare tires or under the cars' seats. Sometimes deer were poached and then quartered and sneaked home under the hoods of automobiles. Overlimits of trout were likely to be hidden in rolled sleeping bags.

The game wardens related many similar tactics that called forth their best detective efforts. Some hunters placed illegal small game into deflated spare tires and then replaced the innertube. Some fishermen had constructed "secret compartments" in the trunks of their cars to conceal large numbers of trout or other fish. Some deer hunters had hidden compartments built into their "dog boxes" on the back of pickup trucks. Storing an illegal deer in a concealed compartment and then placing their hunting dogs in the cages makes a complete search unlikely or at least troublesome. One warden related the following:

There's an old mountain man around here that will go out and kill a groundhog, cut an opening in the side of the animal "clean it out" and stuff it full of illegal game (squirrels birds, etc.). You can see this old man walking casually down the road and never suspect a thing. I never would have caught on if someone had not told me about it.

When people are out hunting doves and see the game warden coming it is not uncommon for those hunters with too many birds to give some to other hunters that do not yet have their limit. This "shuffling" of birds is many times accompanied by dropping the birds and claiming ignorance as to who shot them.

Several wardens who were studied had worked "under-cover" in plain clothes in order to catch poachers. One warden had "busted" a group of men hunting bear illegally. He let his hair grow, grew a mustache and wore a leather motorcycle jacket. He "got in" with

the group and went into the woods with them, fell back, and arrested them all when they came back from the hunt. The same warden also executed a similar technique in order to apprehend a group who were illegally "snagging" fish. They even taught him how to "snag" and when he arrested them his undercover work was the "talk of the town for months". Several of the wardens work trout season in plain clothes, especially on the first day of the season and shortly after the creeks have been stocked. Many times there will be a warden in uniform working the creek and will check the plain clothes warden along with the other fishermen. After the uniformed warden leaves many people will think that they are in the clear and take more than their creel limit or start "chumming", throwing corn and other bait into the water to attract the fish.

Several other sneaky law enforcement techniques were mentioned by the wardens. Some wardens used a camouflage parachute to cover their cars while looking for spotlighters at night. Small magnets are used to attach the parachute to the car to keep it from being blown off by the wind. Some wardens sneaked into the woods on foot at night and set up a type of "rural stake out" to observe suspected spotlighters. Occasionally this type of behavior is necessary because some of the rural residents were known to sound automobile horns whenever they saw a game warden driving in the area, thus warning violators (and everyone else) that "the law" was in the vicinity. Wardens hide their cars in low spots or behind trees or bushes and some even tape over the white decals on their cars with black tape to make their automobiles less visible at night.

Many violators telephone the warden's home to find out his location in the county. As a result, wardens often give their wives instructions not to provide any information to strangers who phone inquiring as to their whereabouts. Even if the caller does give his name, oftentimes the warden will call the person's home to verify the caller's name and address.

Wardens basically pride themselves on being in the most unlikely remote places at the most unusual times. In addition, some wardens carry this type of tactic into the courtroom and use whatever psychology they can to sway the judge ("adequately present their case") in their direction. One warden reported that after he had apprehended a man with a doe deer he cut the fetus out of the deer and carried it to court in a jar of formaldehyde as physical evidence that the hunter had in fact shot a doe deer. The warden stated, "Man, that tears a judge up. He'll throw the book at him when he sees that."

A rather typical sneaky technique used combines rural stake outs with the element of surprise to detect spotlighters. A specific statute regarding spotlighting reads:

Any person who kills or attempts to kill any deer or elk between a half hour after sunset on any day and a half hour before sunrise the following day by use of a light attached to any vehicle or a spotlight or flashlight shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred fifty dollars nor more than five hundred dollars or by confinement in jail for not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days, either or both....The flashing of a light attached to any vehicle or a spotlight or flashlight from any vehicle between a half hour after sunset on any day and a half hour before sunrise the following day by any person or persons, then in possession of a rifle, shotgun, pistol, crossbow, or bow and arrow or speargun, without good cause, shall raise a

presumption of an attempt to kill deer or elk in violation of this section. (Virginia Game, Inland Fish and Boat Laws, 1973: 67).

Most spotlighting work involves some degree of hiding and positioning of the warden and his automobile. If working on "good information" the more ambitious warden may get someone to "drop" him at a particular place to be picked up at a prearranged time. In this manner, he works close to the road side or close to an open field in which corn or some other grain has just been cut, providing both a good feeding area for deer and a place for a good shot by the spotlihter. The more usual technique, however, is for the warden to go into an area in his car, unseen if possible, and position the car on an off road, preferably in such a manner that he has a wide range of vision and easy access to the main road that he is watching. The following account, taken from field notes, details the procedure used by one warden.

We had been parked approximately 30 minutes on top of a hill in the edge of a pasture, which had a rutted road leading to a black-topped road, when the first spotlihter appeared. Although it was legal to spotlight until 10:00 p.m., the people were to be checked to see if they had weapons in their vehicles, in which case they would be in violation of the law. When we saw the spotlight from our strategically superior position, B--- said, "There it is--Let's go." We had been standing outside the car and when we got in he cautioned me about slamming the door too hard. When the spotter-car was about perpendicular to our position, B--- started the car and drove down the path to the blacktopped road, without lights. The person in the spotter-car, an old VW sedan, was spotting at his leisure, creeping down the blacktop. We pulled out behind him, still with no lights, and stayed about 100 yards behind him. The beam of light caught a deer and the car stopped. "If they're going to shoot, it will be now. Man, I'd like to see a red blast from the barrel of a gun," the warden said. "We'd be on their ass before they knew what happened." I mentioned that I was worried that the squeaking

from our disk brakes would alert the spotters. "Don't worry about it, they can't hear us for the sound of their own car engine. And they're glued to where the light is shining and won't look around--they don't even suspect we're back here." The car went on without shooting. It traveled about a half mile, shining the light first on one side of the road and then the other, according to the best view. The car went over a hill, where there was a bank on each side, and the spotlight went out. When the car approached another field the spotlight came back on and began its search again. B--- apparently knew where the boundaries of the fields were and accelerated to overtake the car, still in the dark. When we were approximately 50 feet from the spotter-car, B--- flipped on the headlights and red lights (which are mounted in the grill of the car). The spotter-car turned off the spotlight and pulled to the side of the road. A quick search of the car revealed no guns and we thanked him and got back in our car and turned around and headed back to our spot on the hill. We had passed several driveways while following the spotter-car, and B--- said "I try to follow them for a long way without them knowing I'm back here so when I do pull them over they won't know where I came from. They probably think I was parked in that last driveway."

Special Equipment

Five wardens (7.5%) first responded that they used "special equipment" as a technique to detect violations in their area. Special equipment refers to such things as the two-way radios² in each vehicle, parachutes to camouflage the cars and "walkie talkies" for mobile communication while on stake out or foot patrol. Several wardens have rigged the back-up lights on their vehicles so they will not come on, and thereby warn a violator of their presence, when they

² Although not yet standardized for the State as a whole, the wardens use the basic "ten" signals used by other law enforcement agencies (10-4, acknowledgement, 10-20, location, etc.). In addition, some radio code signals reflect the specific tasks of the wardens, such as 10-15 (spotlighting complaint), 10-30 (request for a check on boat registration), 10-31 (boat accident) and 10-45 (deer carcass in road).

place the car in reverse gear. Brake lights and dome lights were also rigged so they would not come on when the brakes were applied or the door opened.

The Commission also uses six Chevrolet four-wheel drive K-5 Blazers to get into remote areas and traverse rough terrain. One enterprising warden was observed to have used two beer cans as "special equipment" in that he placed the cans on two bushes about ten feet apart adjacent to a roadway where spotlighting had been reported. The warden hid his car in a spot that had been especially prepared for him by the owner of the field next to the roadway (the farmer had cut down small trees and cleared away the brush in an area just wide enough to back an automobile into). Being securely hidden from view from passers-by on the road, the warden could watch for spotlighters and quickly pull out and give pursuit if necessary. The two beer cans acted as "markers" indicating the most efficient path from the field on to the road. Had the path not been marked, the warden might have driven into the fairly deep roadside drainage ditch, which would have made "hot pursuit" impossible.

Other types of special equipment used include such things as field glasses, airplanes, riot guns, flashlights (some that also serve as night-sticks), and, sometimes, horses, to get into otherwise inaccessible areas. While not exactly "special" equipment, some of the wardens were observed to wear wrist watches with luminous dials. When parked in an automobile at night working "spotlighting" they would hold the watch down close to the floorboard of the car, place

the lens of a flashlight over the face of the watch and briefly flick the flashlight switch. When the flashlight was removed, the dials on the watch would glow brightly. In this manner the wardens could tell the time without giving away their position. The exact time was important in that during certain months it was permissible to spotlight deer (provided there were no weapons involved) but at other times it was illegal just to use a spotlight to look at the deer after a certain time of the night, usually 10:00 p.m.

Working "Hot Spots"

Three wardens (4.5%) gave "working hot spots" as a major technique used to catch violators. Working hot spots means observing or patrolling in areas where there is a lot of hunting and fishing activity or, as several wardens stated, where there is a lot of "pressure". Working trout streams on the first day of trout season staking out certain areas on the first day of deer or dove seasons, or going to places where wildlife are known to feed are examples of this activity. Working certain scheduled days at lakes, streams or rivers could be called working hot spots because those are the places most likely to be heavily populated with fishermen. Wherever there are people in abundant numbers hunting, fishing or boating constitutes a "hot spot" in that these are the places violations are most likely to occur. Time could also be added to the spatial factor in that there are more sportsmen on the rivers and lakes and in the woods on holidays and weekends than at other times; thus making the "hot spots" even "hotter".

Blitzing

This technique was mentioned by three wardens (4.5%) as a major tactic used to apprehend offenders. "Blitzing" may involve hot spots, but carries the additional connotation of coordinated drives by several wardens working together. If they know that spotlighting has been occurring in a certain place they may plan a "blitz" on the area and have wardens stationed along all roads and even set up road blocks to check the traffic around the area. Constant radio contact greatly aids the planning and facilitation of such a blitz. Blitzing may also occur without previous planning. When one warden was called and told that someone had illegally killed a bear and was waiting until nightfall to bring the bear out of the woods, he contacted two other State Game Wardens to help apprehend the violator.³ Radio contact was also

³This "bear case" offered several observations that, at least from the perspective of the observer, characterizes the real "cops and robbers" activities of the game wardens. Some of these observations, based on field notes, are presented below.

We were having dinner at the wardens home about 7:00 p.m. when a telephone call came in from a college student who was working at a nearby deer checking station that it had been reported to him that a man had killed one bear and possibly two. The warden immediately ran to his car and radioed for assistance. He ran back in the house, changed into his uniform, put on his gun and we jumped in the car and took off. By that time the radios were buzzing with other officers asking, in essence, "What's going on? Where are we headed? What are we looking for?" When we approached the small town, the warden turned on the red lights and siren. We shot by a couple of stop signs and ran the town's one red light with the siren going full blast. After we were clear of the town, and after passing several cars which pulled over to the side to let us pass, the warden said, "Man, I've been living in this place for two years and have wanted to bust the town open like that ever since I got here. They won't know what the hell's going on!"...After the stake out had been set up and all the roads blocked in and out of the area the hunter was supposed to be in, we sat in the car and talked back and forth over

established with three special wardens and a deputy sheriff to seal off the area where the hunter was located. After sufficient manpower was procured, the warden contacted the deputy sheriff and one of the regular wardens (who was still several miles away from the scene) and told them that they had everything under control and no longer required their assistance. The blitz was a success and two men were written a total of five tickets involving the illegal bear kill.

Physical Evidence

Only one warden (1.5%) mentioned the collecting of physical evidence as a major technique used to catch violators. As previously mentioned, the rules of evidence that law enforcement personnel are instructed to abide by facilitates their reliance upon "catching someone in the act" whereby the game warden becomes the "Commonwealth's witness" when he gives court testimony. However, the collecting of evidence to be used in court requires wardens to sometimes preserve in their home freezers such items as: dead fish, birds, squirrels, rabbits and parts of the carcasses of larger animals such as deer and bear heads. Usually these potential exhibits are not used in court proceedings because most people "pay off" before court. The wardens

the radio to the other wardens as to what would be the best procedure to catch the violator. Some men wanted to "move in" on the violator and others wanted to let the guy "come to us" as we had all roads sealed off. The violator made the first move and went out by the checking station. He was stopped by the warden who was stationed at the exit. After we were informed that the "suspects are in custody", we all met at the checking station where the three men involved in the case were interrogated and two of them written five summonses for violating the game laws.

keep the evidence, however, until after the court date in the event it should be requested by the judge.⁴ Due to the tenuous nature of the laws they enforce and the attitudes of some judges (which will be treated later) toward game wardens, and wildlife in general, the wardens hardly ever involve themselves with blood samples, plaster of paris casts, ballistics identification, hair identification, etc.

The Conservation Role

When the wardens were asked "What do you see as being the main aspect of your job?" sixteen wardens (23.9%) stated "conservation" (see Table 10). Even though a lot of the wardens referred to "conservation through law enforcement" there are certain activities performed that may be singled out as strictly "conservation activities". Some of these are revealed in the answers to the question about the percentage of time spent in selected activities. Table 11 indicated that conservation, game management and fish management take up an average of twelve point two percent (12.2%) of the wardens' work time. This rather small percentage of time spent in conservation related

⁴One anecdote regarding the consternation of a game warden's wife was related to the author by the wife who said, "I came home from work one day and found this big box setting right in the middle of the kitchen. I thought, 'Oh, B--- has brought we a present.' I opened the box and a darn deer jumped out at me. I like to have had a heart attack. I bet I lost ten pounds right there on the spot. But he's always doing things like that. You ought to go look in our freezer. He's got old squirrels and rabbits and things in there, whole I mean, hair and everything. We've had a deer head in there and one time he caught these fellows dressing a deer and he brought the whole thing home, just like it was, insides hanging out and everything. Yuk!"

activities corresponds closely to the official regulations concerning the wardens' duties. Section 1-5-5-B of the Game Wardens Handbook includes the following point in reference to duties that are to be performed by Virginia Game Wardens.

He will cooperate, work with and assist the personnel of other divisions in carrying out fish, game, boat and education-information work. Law enforcement duties do, however, have first priority. The warden is expected to arrange his work so that he can, upon specific or general instructions from his supervisor, assist and cooperate on fish and game management work, educational activities, etc. He is more than a law enforcement officer....

To better describe how the game warden is "more than a law enforcement officer" each of the three categories (conservation, game and fish management) are presented separately below.

Conservation Activities

In terms of conservation activities (preserving natural resources) game wardens work basically as auxiliaries to other State and Federal agencies. While they preserve wildlife through preventative law enforcement measures they become only marginally involved with conservation activities. The comment of one younger warden concerning a comparison of his job with that of a forest ranger made the following statement that symbolized the sentiments of several wardens. The warden said, "Hell, I can't half identify with a tree. A tree is a tree to me. Those guys are into that stuff. I'm not."

Wardens do become indirectly involved in conservation measures when they investigate a "crop damage" complaint. If the warden deems the existent and potential damage to a crop to be sufficient he may

issue a permit to kill the animal(s) responsible, even if illegal to do so otherwise. He might also supply the farmer or gardener with particular types of chemical sprays that retard the damage done by animals.

Conservation is also achieved, in some measure, by coordinating the planting of food-crops for winter feeding of animals if the weather is extreme. In certain sections of the Commonwealth the wardens also work with youth groups in "conservation contests". Groups like the Future Farmers of America and 4-H Clubs plant "wildlife patches" that are judged as to content and quality of wildlife foodstuffs. The wardens distribute game bird food mixtures to the clubs and help coordinate the planting, tending and judging of the patches. The wardens' coordination efforts usually place them in contact with other personnel, such as County Extension Agents and Vocational Agriculture teachers, who are involved in similar activities.

Game Management Activities

Wardens are involved in game management in that they aid the Game Division of the Commission in the stocking, distribution and protection of game animals in the Commonwealth. They establish checking stations (usually with rural grocery store and gasoline station owners who also act as license agents for the Commission) to aid in the recording of "harvest yields" of particular "large animal crops" (such as deer, elk and bear). Wardens, in this sense, aid in game management by facilitating a more accurate record keeping system of what kind of harvest a particular area produced. This information is used

by game managers to better plan the distribution and stocking programs carried out on a state wide basis.

Wardens are also involved in the actual stocking programs. They may be called upon to help in placing bands on migratory fowl so game biologists can more accurately determine the migratory flight patterns of certain species of birds.

Investigating and reporting highway "deer kills" aid in game preservation by allowing the Game Division to better plan and distribute warning signs so motorists will be more aware of "deer crossings" along the highways. Wardens may also be called upon to actually do the stocking of, or "transplanting", of turkeys, grouse, deer and other animals. After the biologists log all the data they need pertaining to the animals, the procedure is simply to transport the animals to a specified place and turn them loose.

Sometimes the wardens become more involved in game management than the above illustrations connote. Emotional involvement many times runs high when the wardens have to take an animal away from people who are illegally holding it in captivity. Since children become so emotionally attached to animals, the warden is sometimes accused of being cruel when he must liberate the animal from its keepers. Sometimes people will find an injured deer and take it home to care for it until it gets well. Then, rather than turning it loose when it is well, they keep it "for their kids" or for a "curiosity". According to the wardens, such people sometimes do not realize that they are reducing the ability of the animal to fend for itself in its

natural habitat. If someone should, for example, find a fawn, bring it home and domesticate it, and then get tired of tending to its needs and release the animal, the deer would not have cultivated the skills necessary for a life "in the wild". Wardens and game managers realize this fact of nature but according to them, are unappreciated when they instigate the animal's release from an attached family. Some wardens also believe that if they did not prevent people from keeping wild animals that a "fad" might be started where, according to one warden, "Everybody and his neighbor would soon have a deer penned up. Then the deer would get out and be splattered all over the roads. We can't let this happen. They're better off in the woods."

A comment made by a warden regarding injured deer found on the highways documents the same feature of emotionality involved in this, basically, "public relations", aspect of game management.

Sometimes when we are called out to get an injured deer off of the road it gets pretty messy. Most of the time if it was hurt bad we would just shoot it and throw it in the trunk and carry it somewhere. But on the side of the highway a lot of young deer get cut up by the state mowing machines and a lot of people stop to look at it. Kids that maybe have never seen a deer before are amazed. They want to take it home and keep it. If we shoot it in front of them and their parents they get all upset. I usually wait until they leave and shoot it or put it in my car and tell them I'm going to carry it to the vet. Then I take it off and kill it if it's hurt real bad. This helps our public relations.

When an animal is not seriously injured the wardens may take it to Commission maintained "game farms" or nurse the animal back to health and turn it loose in the forest. Sometimes the wardens will place the animal at the homes of people who will care for it until

well enough to be returned to its natural surroundings. Some wardens responded that they took the animal to a veterinarian and paid the bill themselves. Others reported that some veterinarians would doctor the animal for free.

Fish Management Activities

Virginia Game Wardens are expected to cooperate with members of both the Fish Division and Water Control Board in reporting "fish kills" and occurrences or instances of badly polluted water. The wardens may be asked to collect water and fish samples and send in specific reports concerning the number of fish killed and the time and location of kill.

Wardens aid in the stocking of fish by cooperating with the Fish Division in setting up times and locations to place fish in streams and public lakes. The following excerpt taken from the author's field notes demonstrates the activities of wardens in this phase of fish management.

Met H----- and Z--- at a small restaurant at N-- C----- at 10:00 a.m. (H----- is a Regular Warden and Z--- is the warden for C---- County.) We had coffee and left for P---- Creek, a trout stream about fifteen miles from N-- C-----. We were to meet the "fish truck" at 10:30 a.m. We arrived at the stream before the truck and drove by parts of the stream to see if there were any cars around. (Trout season was not open and the wardens wanted to check the area out for potential violators.) There were no cars parked close by and we proceeded to the spot where we were to meet the truck.

The truck arrived at 10:50 a.m. The equipment on the truck consisted of four wooden "fish" tanks complete with oxygen supply and a small gasoline engine rigged to circulate the water in the tanks. Each of the four tanks were approximately six feet long, four feet wide and five feet high and contained approximately 700 trout. The trout were from approximately six to eighteen inches in length, probably

averaging around ten to eleven inches.

The actual stocking procedure consisted of driving the truck along the side of the stream, stopping at spots where the water was deepest (usually below very small rapids), and placing the fish in the water with a net "scoop". (The "scoop" was made up of a wooden handle approximately eight feet long attached to a heavy gauge circular net. It would hold approximately thirty to forty fish, depending on the size of the fish.) One man, usually the driver of the truck, would climb on top of the tanks, open the wooden door of a tank, and scoop up a net full of fish. He would then hand the net to one of us and we would walk or run to the stream and dump the fish in. Sometimes the fish would jump out of the net and we would pick them up and throw them into the water. If they jumped out close enough to the bank of the stream, we would just kick them toward the water. When we had to walk several yards to the creek we would fill five gallon cans with water and fish and carry them in this manner. Usually, the truck stopped at spots where this was not necessary. When we crossed a bridge going over the stream, we would stop the truck on the bridge and throw over several netsful. The procedure took about two hours. Within the two hours we traveled approximately two miles and stocked nearly 3,000 fish. After the truck left we drove back along the stream to see if anyone was fishing. We didn't see anyone. We headed back to N-- C----- at 1:20 p.m.

These two practices of reporting fish kills (and taking samples of water and dead fish) and stocking streams with trout constitute the major portion of fish management activities carried out by wardens.

Public Relations

The Commission is concerned with public relations in the sense that adequate public relations are thought to engender more adequate financial and legislative support for the programs undertaken by the Commission. That the wardens are viewed as extensions of the whole Commission is indicated by paragraph one of section 1-5-3-B of the Handbook, which states:

To most of the public, the game warden is the Commission and his exemplary conduct and treatment of the public, particularly, when questioning, investigating or apprehending a

suspected violator is of the highest importance. An officer's conduct and approach must always reflect credit and honor upon himself, the Commission and his fellow employees.

Public Relations Through Demeanor

The achievement of good public relations requires many types of activities ranging from media campaigns to public speeches on the activities of the Commission. For the warden "in the field", however, the public responds to "the warden" and not to the Commission as a whole. Game wardens cope with public appraisals in a number of ways, not least of which is their own personal demeanor or the manner in which they conduct themselves while performing their occupational duties. Paragraph two of section 1-5-3-B of the Handbook instructs the wardens along these lines:

Officers must treat offenders with courtesy, fairness, and common sense, but with firmness....You are not judged on the number of convictions alone--it is sometimes wise and often makes better law observance to explain and give a friendly warning rather than a summons. Here is where, through personal enlightenment, the warden can make his best educational contribution.

The field notes collected for this project contain examples that indicate that at least some wardens are cognizant of the results of treating offenders with "courtesy, fairness, and common sense". One warden stated that public relations would be improved if wardens did not "jump on people verbally". This warden had written a man a ticket and the man "thanked me for not yelling and screaming at him". Another warden stated the following in regard to the wardens' "image":

I give warnings on the basis of age. Older hunters and fishers know what's going on so I'll issue them a summons. If I issued a summons to a teenager on his first offense, it would

hurt his image of the game warden from the start and that defeats the purpose. So I'll usually give a warning to young hunters."

One warden gave the following account of his public relations work that involves his demeanor in situations not involving arrests or citations.

I do a lot of what the Commission likes to call "public relations" by just being a regular guy. I'll stand around and joke and shoot the shit with these old boys that really rib me a lot. They'll ask me if I really have the authority to shoot at somebody or to take them to jail and I'll usually laugh and tell them to just let me catch them doing something wrong and they'll find out. They hassle me a lot but I just hassle them right back. That's the only way to be. You've got to let them know that you're not just a smart-ass. If they think that then you're in trouble.

Public Relations as Part of Professionalism

Closely intertwined with the demeanor of the wardens is the idea of "professionalism". Several wardens mentioned that their image had improved and that the public appreciated them more because they were more professional than in the past. In the past many wardens were political appointees who had no formal or even informal training. Several of the older wardens said that when they started working for the Game Commission they were given only a badge, a summons book and was congratulated by their supervisor who told them to "Get out there and give 'em hell." Some of the wardens are cognizant of the older image of the game warden and, in many cases, seem to be striving to live it down. One warden stated that in the past the wardens had to furnish their own cars and weapons, had no uniforms and were "rough, crude, crass and didn't have near the degree of professionalism we

have today". The wardens' definitions of professionalism many times means that wardens are now better trained, better educated, have better, more standardized, equipment (uniforms, hats, cars, standard issue revolvers and "leather") and are more organized as a state "unit".⁵

Another major reason wardens think their status has improved is that they no longer have to do the "dog work" that they were charged with in the past. One warden, in a rather typical response, stated that "Doing dog work was the most degrading thing that ever happened to the Game Commission." Another warden reported that he was extremely glad to be relieved of dog work.

We made a lot of enemies by killing their dogs. A lot of times it was really physically dirty, having to crawl up under a porch and drag a stray dog out and then put it in your car and carry it off.

As mentioned in a previous footnote, game wardens no longer are saddled with the responsibility of dog work. Counties and municipalities now employ dog catchers or dog wardens exclusively for this purpose. However, some county dog wardens are "special wardens" and their uniforms and shoulder patches, although distinct, are similar in appearance to the State Game Warden's uniform. Also, particular

⁵Skolnick offers a caveat in regard to professionalism among policemen that may, in some respects, apply to the "professional" concept held by game wardens. He states (1972:56): "Professionalism may be able through training and education to improve performance by teaching restraint, respect for the law, skill, and honesty. Often, however, professionalism has been equated with technical innovation--shiny cars, sophisticated weaponry, communication systems, computerization--rather than with legality and social service."

Virginia statutes have not yet been reworded to exclude dog laws from the game wardens' host of responsibilities.

The public relations activities of wardens are partially woven into their concept of professionalism that includes, among other things, training, equipment, and the nature of the work done (no more "dog work"). (These themes are treated in more detail in the next Chapter under the heading "Public Image".)

Speaking Engagements

Wardens are called upon to speak to various groups concerning wildlife conservation and, in doing so, have a chance to further their "public relations". Wardens are requested to speak before sportsmen's and conservation clubs, boating groups, youth groups (scouts, FFA, 4-H, etc.), civic clubs, garden clubs and other groups that might be interested in the activities undertaken by the Commission. Many times wardens will present a "program" to the interested group, utilizing movies, slides and other materials prepared by the Commission. Should the warden be unable to personally attend the meeting he is charged with securing other speakers for the occasion.

In summing up the basic public relations activities performed by wardens it is found that wardens promote public relations by (1) their demeanor, (2) sometimes being lenient on an offender, (3) by being "professional", (4) by performing basically less "degrading" work than in the past, and (5) by appearing before different groups as representatives of the Commission.

Education

The Commission promotes several education programs with which the wardens become involved. Wardens teach hunter safety and firearms safety courses to interested groups as well as boat safety courses. Most wardens qualify as hunter safety instructors under the auspices of the National Rifle Association. As qualified personnel they instruct interested groups in firearm and hunter safety and issue certificates and patches to those that score well enough on standardized tests supplied by the National Rifle Association.

Part of the educational duties of each warden includes the selling of the official publication of the Commission, the Virginia Wildlife. Wardens that sell the highest number of subscriptions to Virginia Wildlife are given awards at yearly Commission meetings. Wardens also dispense pamphlets and brochures on hunting regulations and seasons and see to it that their "checking stations" have copies of Commission publications for interested parties. Wardens also contact public school officials and help coordinate annual wildlife essay contests and other conservation activities (such as the planting of wildlife patches mentioned previously). Through these activities the wardens educate the public to the need for hunter and boat safety and conservation measures and the necessity for relevant laws to be enforced.

Education is also achieved "in the field" through law enforcement. Several wardens mentioned that, especially with young people, they sometimes lecture violators on the necessity of preserving

certain species or on the cost of stocking game in the area. Through these various activities, Virginia Game Wardens perform their "educational" role for the Commission.

Other Activities

To add to the numerous activities already mentioned, wardens are involved in a host of "other" or "miscellaneous" role performances. A brief listing and description of these are presented below.

Accident Investigations

Wardens are to investigate and report on standardized forms all hunting and certain boating accidents that occur in their county. The investigation and reporting of hunting accidents is not performed in order to legally assess blame, guilt or negligence, but to supply statistical data to the Commission on hunting accidents. The Commission, in turn, supplies these data to the National Rifle Association and selected state agencies that request such information. Section 1-2-6-A of the Handbook specifies that:

Regular wardens will promptly investigate and report, in duplicate, to the Commission office (attention Safety Officer) all hunting accidents. Include only accidents which can be construed as legitimate hunting accidents. Such firearm accidents as are caused by cleaning a gun in the home or accidents associated with target practice, etc., should not be reported on the Hunter Casualty Form, but reported to local police authority (Emphasis in original).

The warden does not act in any legal capacity in hunter accident investigations. He may, however, be called as a witness should the "accidental" nature of the incident be questioned and a criminal trial be held.

Boating accidents are investigated and reported if the accident "causes (a) death of any person; (b) injury causing any person to be incapacitated for more than 72 hours; or (c) property damage in excess of \$100.00" (Game Wardens Handbook, Section 1-1-7-A). As with hunting accidents, boating accident reports are not admissible as evidence but are used to provide statistical information on the causes, frequency of occurrence, and the locations of boating accidents. These data are then used by the Commission as a basis for future remedial regulation of boating activities.

Rescue Work

Several factors are related to game wardens' involvement in "search and rescue" work. First, they are law enforcement officers and, as such, are traditionally expected to help people in times of crisis or emergency. Secondly, the nature of their law enforcement activities (i.e., patrolling remote geographic areas) and their "geographic gestalt" (having a knowledge of the geography of an area) makes them likely candidates to be contacted should someone become lost or separated from a hunting or camping group. Thirdly, their equipment (rough terrain vehicles, boats, communication systems, etc.) provides them with the means to more adequately carry out search and rescue work. Fourth, and last, not only do people contact wardens because of traditional and "general" law enforcement expectations but because of specific expectations regarding the wardens' involvement in outside work. Since game wardens deal with hunters, fishers and boaters in their law enforcement work they are the ones to turn

to in the event a hunter, fisher or boater needs assistance. While wardens are not formally required (by regulation or statute) to aid in search and rescue operations, they are, nevertheless, called upon to help with such matters. One example of the type of search and rescue activities engaged in by wardens is presented below. The material is based upon field notes and tape recordings obtained by the author while participating in a search and rescue mission with an Area Patrol Leader.

We were just returning home from a day of looking for squirrel hunters when we received a call from the sheriff's department to contact a lady about her husband being lost in the woods. We went to the address and talked to an older lady who was distraught that her husband, who was 68 years old, had left early that morning to go squirrel hunting and had not yet returned. It was approximately 6:00 p.m. She mentioned that he had not eaten breakfast and had not carried any food with him. She was afraid he had had a heart attack or was lost and hurt. N---- questioned her as to where he had gone hunting and she replied that she had called the pastor of her church and her husband had left his car parked at the church but the pastor did not know which way he had gone. N---- asked her if she wanted him to call the local rescue squad to get up a group to go look for him. She was basically noncommittal about the rescue squad and kept fretting about not knowing what had happened to him. Finally N---- said, "Do you want me to go down there and see if I can locate him? I can go down there and see if I can find him." The lady seemed relieved and we went to look for the old man.

When we arrived at the church where the man had parked his car two men who lived nearby came out to talk to us. N---- asked them if they had seen the man leave his car there and if they had seen where the man had entered the woods. They replied in the negative but speculated about where he would have most likely gone and where the best places to hunt were. Based upon the men's speculation and his own hunch, N---- decided to go back into a particular section of the woods to look for the presumably lost hunter. We drove approximately one-half mile up a rough "field road" until we could travel no farther. We proceeded on foot. When we had walked approximately another half mile, N---- began to call out. We stood very still and listened for an answer. It was beginning to get dark and N---- repeatedly said "There's no telling

where that old man went. He could be in any one of these hollows or even on the mountain back at the church." We proceeded, however, to walk in the same direction and came upon an old house and clearing in the woods. We called out several times and when we received no answer, N---- said, "Well, we better head back to the car before it gets completely dark or they'll have to send someone to look for us. We're about two miles from the car." We walked back to the car and as we drove toward the church we saw three men standing beside of the road. It was the two men we had talked to at the church and the man we had been looking for. As we approached them one of the men said "Here he is!" The older man walked up to the car and said, "Mr. N----, I'm Mr. P-----. Glad to meet you, sir. I wish it hadn't happened." N---- asked him, "Did you get in touch with your wife?" The man replied that he had and said, "Next time kinda let it go easy, If she ever calls you again, just give me time to get home." "Well, I'm just glad you're all right. Your wife was really worried about you. We just thought we'd come down here and look around and see if we could see you anywhere."

On the way home N---- said, "I'm glad I had you along. Now you see some of the things we get into. That lady was really worried about that old man. I'll bet he gets hell when he gets home....I believe the old man was lost, don't you?.... But I'm glad it turned out the way it did....You don't do much on a deal like that but it's good public relations....They know you're interested in them anyhow. Not all you're going to do is arrest people."

This rather lengthy discourse provides an example of the types of activities wardens are involved with that are not formally required of him but are, nevertheless, expected of them by community members. The following statement by another warden indicates that many times wardens are not given the credit they think they deserve in their role as "rescue worker". The warden stated that he had found several bodies and had rescued several people who were lost on lakes, but proclaimed:

We get no publicity for it. It's common for us. But let someone else like a deputy sheriff, state trooper or the Coast Guard find a body or someone lost and it makes headlines.

"Businessman, Engineer and Foreman"

In addition to the occupational duties previously mentioned, game wardens are expected to help maintain Commission property. They are expected to keep their automobiles, boats, etc., clean and in good working order. Several wardens mentioned spending time washing their cars and having them serviced. (Others thought that if the state troopers could have their cars washed at a service station that they should have the same privilege.)

The Commission is responsible for, in many cases, building and maintaining public boat docks and loading ramps. Wardens are charged with the maintenance of these public facilities in their counties. While they may not do the actual work themselves, they are, however, responsible for seeing that it is done. In this respect they may hire local carpenters, painters and other workers to maintain the facilities. They hire people they want to do the work, help in transporting workers and supplies and act as foremen for the ongoing work and inspectors for the finished product. They must also act as time-keeper on the job and payroll clerk in that the wardens must sign and send to the main office in Richmond the necessary papers for the workers to receive financial remuneration. They must also see to it that the necessary forms are completed in order for the supply houses to get their money for materials used in the maintenance work.

In one instance an Area Patrol Leader undertook the complete construction of a public boat ramp. He hired the operators for the front-end loader and back-hoe, contracted with a local trucking

company and rock quarry for needed rock, with a construction company for needed concrete and hired one person as a chain saw operator and general worker. The warden helped with the actual geographic surveying and engineering for the project and took on the role of foreman for the total job. He inspected the job when completed, and filled out the forms for the payment of all people and for all supplies.

Not all wardens may undertake the complete responsibility for such a project as mentioned above, but all wardens are marginally involved with this type of work behavior in addition to their other major work roles.

Other Requests

As previously mentioned in the first part of this Chapter, wardens are requested to perform some things that do not fall under their formal role expectations. Similar to their involvement in rescue work, wardens are called upon to aid in various chores involving animals. Wardens mentioned that they had been called upon to:

(1) remove a bat from a high school auditorium, (2) chase bears out of peoples' yards, and, in one case, out of a person's house, (3) to "gut", dress and deliver a deer carcass to a motorist's house after the motorist had killed the deer with his car, (4) to remove skunks from basements, (5) to get stranded cats out of trees, (6) to shoot or trap rabbits and groundhogs that were destroying gardens, (7) to advise people where to hunt and fish, (8) to destroy packs of wild dogs that were disturbing cattle, (9) to remove or destroy dogs that were overturning garbage cans, (10) to vaccinate dogs, and (11) to

act as guides for hunting parties. Requests of this type were met with a variety of responses, from actually performing the service to telling the people, in essence, to "go to hell".

Wardens are also bothered with people calling them late at night or in the early morning asking questions. Although wardens are expected to perform an educational function by informing people about seasons and what is legal or illegal, they sometimes become annoyed at people who call them at all hours of the night. Wardens mentioned being called at two o'clock in the morning and being asked to help settle an argument between two "drunks" as to the legality of shooting a deer with a .22 calibre rifle and if shotguns could legally hold more than three shells. They also mentioned that people would call them at 4:30 a.m. and ask if their child, age fifteen, had to have a license or if they could legally keep bass under twelve inches long. Again, wardens responded to these inquires in a variety of manners. Sometimes the wardens would politely answer the questions and sometimes not. One warden mentioned that he "got tired" of people asking him where to hunt or fish. "Sometimes I'll tell them that I don't know and other times I'll send them to places where they are very unlikely to bag any game." One warden mentioned that he had devised a method to stop people, particularly "drunks", from calling at night and asking asinine questions. If the question was pertaining to a legal matter, the warden would tell the party that he "didn't know for sure" about the law but would "have to look it up". He would take the caller's name and telephone number and wait until four or five o'clock

in the morning and call them back with the answer. "By that time they're already in bed with a hangover and don't want to be bothered any more than I did to start with."

Some of the activities the wardens are formally expected to carry out place the wardens in positions of stress or strain between specific expectations and the performance of the larger role demands.

For example, Section 1-6-4-B of the Handbook, pertaining to the use of radios, requires the wardens to "sign on and off" with the local sheriffs' stations. In other words, the wardens are expected to inform the sheriff's radio dispatcher when they are patrolling in their automobiles. The field notes contain the following information that demonstrates an incompatibility between following this regulation and doing a "good job" as a game warden. When asked about cooperation with other law enforcement agencies, one warden stated:

They hinder me in doing my job. Only one deputy sheriff will talk to me and then not in public. Due to the political involvement of the warden that was here before me the sheriff instructs his men that "they have their job and I have mine". The sheriff is in with a bunch that are involved in organized pleasure poaching. They use citizens band radios and go out and hunt anything they want to anytime they want to--just for sport. I got suspicious because everytime the dispatcher at the sheriff's office would call me in regard to a complaint or a case, he would ask me my 10-20 (location). As it turned out the dispatcher would then call the sheriff's friends and tell them where I was working. Of course, they would then go in the opposite direction. Now I never go 10-40 (sign on) with the sheriff's department. I just use the Commission radio.

Several wardens mentioned the incompatibility between the requirement to keep their equipment clean and shiny and still work in the terrain (rough, muddy field roads) they had to work in to catch

violators. Another example of contradictory expectations involves the Commission decals on Regular Wardens' cars. The Handbook (Section 2-2-2-B) states that "All game warden cars having public-use license plates must display Virginia Commission decals at all times" (Emphasis in original). Yet wardens on stake out feel they must use whatever means necessary to camouflage their cars so as not to tip off the violators. In some cases, then, they use black electrician's tape to cover the otherwise noticeable decals.

Another, and the last, example of how certain role requests are dealt with concerns the requirement to treat violators with "fairness". Even though the following account may not actually be "unfair" by certain standards the wardens involved were jokingly accused by other wardens of "entrapment". The case involved two Regular Wardens who had been working spotlighting together and had been unsuccessful in apprehending a man who had been using his automobile headlights to look for deer.

We knew this one guy was looking for deer but we had no grounds to stop and search him. Rather than using a spotlight he would drive real slow back and forth around this sharp curve in the road where his headlights would shine out across this field. We were parked where he couldn't see us but we couldn't catch him for just riding up and down the road. So we decided we'd fix him. The next day we went to the store and bought two small reflectors, you know, the kind that you use to mark driveways. We nailed them to a board and the next night V----- and I stuck the board up next to a tree in the edge of the field and went back to our hiding place. And sure enough around midnight here he came down the road. His headlights hit those reflectors and he stopped real quick and jumped out and opened his trunk and got his shotgun and "Blam--Blam", two shots at our "deer's eyes". I was on him before he knew what happened. V----- sneaked around and ran into the field and got our board before he could figure out that it wasn't a deer he shot at

while I kept his attention by questioning him....we wrote him a ticket for hunting deer at night and the judge convicted him.

These examples are offered simply to demonstrate the numerous kinds of requests made of the game warden from a variety of sources and to document a few of the ways in which wardens cope with sometimes contradictory role expectations.

A Comparison of Wildlife Law Enforcement And Other Models of Law Enforcement

As previously mentioned, one purpose of this study is to compare wildlife law enforcement with other types of law enforcement. Having described the work activities of game wardens, a basis for such a comparison now exists.

Wildlife Law Enforcement and Police Roles

Previous literature on law enforcement and police roles has offered a variety of points which may serve as the bases for comparisons of various types of law enforcement behavior. For the purpose at hand, the characterizations posited by Johnson (1973), and Brodsky (1973) are used as comparative reference points.⁶

⁶Wilson (1968) identified different styles of police organization which were associated with particular varieties of police behavior. As the present study contains information regarding only a single organization, the data are not sufficient for similar inter-organizational comparisons to be made. Wilson's work is relevant to the present study, however, in that it identifies two variables which are associated with different types of police organization. These variables (Wilson, 1968:84-85) are (1) the "nature of the situation" (whether the organization's basic objective is law enforcement or order maintenance) and (2) the basis of police response (whether the

Johnson's Model

According to Johnson (1973:27) the roles of police personnel "fall into various points along a continuum ranging from control functions to supportive functions." The control function is best exemplified by the "guardian-of-society" role, which is concerned with "manning the battlements in a war on crime" and "centers around search, chase, and capture as the typical sequence of activities" (Johnson, 1973:29). The offenders (counter positions) associated with the performance of this role are likely to be participants in organized crime.

The supportive function may best be characterized as involving a "prevention role". Delinquency prevention, for example, often entails a "casework" response to predelinquency or unofficial delinquency whereby the police officer acts as counselor and confidant to select categories of youths.⁷

police action is police-invoked or the result of a complaint by a citizen). Even though all law enforcement may be viewed as entailing a degree of order maintenance, Wilson (1968:85) defines order maintenance as specifically involving "a dispute in which the law must be interpreted, standards of right conduct determined, and blame assigned." Law enforcement, in contrast, "involves a violation of a law in which only guilt need be assessed" (Wilson, 1968:85). Based on the data obtained, it appears that the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries is primarily concerned with law enforcement rather than order maintenance, and the basis of the "police response" is decidedly warden-invoked instead of citizen-invoked. Wardens, due to the nature of the laws they enforce, are seldom involved in settling disputes or "order maintenance" as defined by Wilson (1968:85), and, in addition, reported that the vast majority (81.5%) of the arrests they made were due to personal initiation. The wardens indicated that only one-eighth (12.5%) of their arrests were based on citizen complaints, with an even smaller percentage (6.0%) based on information supplied by informers.

⁷The "prevention role" is similar in content to the "philosopher, guide and friend" idea posited by Cumming et al., (1969).

According to Johnson (1973) other law enforcement roles fall between the control and supportive ends of the functional continuum. The "peace-keeper" role, for example, falling closer to the control end of the scale, finds police personnel fluctuating between coercion and mediation as the individual enforces traffic regulations, settles family disputes, or contends with riots. As an "instrument of the law", the enforcement officer becomes ever more involved in mediation activities. Performing this role, the officer frequently becomes a third party in various disputes. The decision to arrest fixes liability in civil cases and, "extends the social stigma of criminal status to such incidents as automobile accidents, labor disputes, and racial unrest" (Johnson, 1973:31). The "public servant" role necessitates that police attempt to meet the needs of individuals in crises. Duties involve search and rescue, recovering drowning victims, referring individuals for emergency medical treatment, receiving complaints about rubbish, etc. In this respect, the police officer provides "services" similar to those of particular social service "agencies".

Several of the law enforcement functions delineated by Johnson (1973), were found to be performed by game wardens. However, partially due to the nature of game warden work and partially due to the flexibility of the points on Johnson's scale, the isomorphic comparison is less than exact. Game wardens, as the name implies, might better be viewed as performing a "guardian-of-wildlife" role rather than one of "guardian-of-society". While the terminology "manning the

battlements in a war against crime" is too militaristic to apply to wildlife law enforcement, game wardens do take up positions, both physical and ideological, against wildlife law violators. Wardens do "search" for offenders and, in some instances, "chase and capture" the transgressors. The typical wildlife law violator, however, is not to be classified as a "participant in organized crime". In this regard, an analysis of the data gained through interviews with game wardens reveals an inability on their part to develop categories when asked to generalize about the type of people to whom they gave citations most often. Apparently, wardens do have their own evaluative system of ranking violations in terms of gravity of offense, and a few wardens specifically mentioned that "habitual offenders" might be involved in other types of crimes, but the data do not support the notion of wildlife law violators being "real criminals". In summary on this point, then, wildlife law enforcement varies markedly from the "guardian-of-society" role posited by Johnson (1973).

The ideas behind the "prevention role" explicated by Johnson (1973) are somewhat applicable to the game wardens' treatment of youthful offenders. While the content of the specific "prevention role" is not synonymous with the game warden's involvement with juveniles (i.e., they are not involved as "caseworkers" operating under the auspices of a particular preventative "program") the wardens appear to recognize the importance of prevention. This is partially reflected in the fact that wardens were most likely to attempt to educate and explain to a juvenile offender the reason for particular wildlife

laws than to issue citations, particularly for a first offense. Thus, it may be said that in reference to the laws they enforce, game wardens do perform a "prevention role".

The wardens surveyed were seldom found to be concerned, to a very great extent, with "peace-keeping" as part of their over-all law enforcement role. The usual functions performed by game wardens do not generally involve the settlement of family disputes, riot control, or the mediation of other conflictual occurrences. Even though wardens now have the power of arrest for "disturbing the peace" and "public drunkenness", they are basically concerned with other matters and are involved only incidentally with such "peace-keeping" functions. Likewise, even though all law enforcement officers are technically "instruments" of the law, wardens are not concerned with fixing "liability" in civil cases or serving as "third parties" in various disputes. In this respect, wildlife law enforcement does not exhibit the characteristics essential for classification of wildlife law enforcement officers as "instruments of the law" under Johnson's (1973) schema.

The "public servant" role performed by other law enforcement personnel is also a part of the role behavior of game wardens. The "clients" of such services, however, are select in the sense that they are usually engaged in outdoor activities of a sport or recreational nature. As previously mentioned, game wardens are not bound by legal statute or specific Commission policy to aid in "crisis" situations. Nevertheless, they become involved in "search and rescue"

work, the recovery of drowning victims, and with the aid and transportation of injured persons to medical facilities. These particular work related behaviors appear to be more of an accident of the role facilities (rough terrain vehicles, communication systems, the "geographic gestalt" of the wardens) than of regulatory design. The wardens are simply expected, as are various other people (neighbors, campers, rescue squads), to help persons in times of emergency. In this respect, a particular segment of the wardens' role closely approximates the "public servant" categorization depicted by the Johnson model.

To summarize, the role of game warden can be broken down into a number of different segments or aspects. While the "master role" segment is one of "law enforcement", the ancillary expectations demanded of wardens involve them in a host of activities that may, like those mentioned by Johnson (1973:27), fall at varying points "along a continuum ranging from control functions to supportive functions." By modifying Johnson's (1973) "guardian-of-society" role to "guardian-of-wildlife", with an attendant reduction in the gravity of the offense and the nature of the offenders' "criminality", the control function of wildlife law enforcement fairly well approximates the "guardian" role of other law enforcement officers. The activities subsumed under the heading "search and rescue" also demonstrate that game wardens are often called upon to perform the "public servant" role. As to the overall "fit" of the activities of wildlife law enforcement officers with Johnson's (1973) typology, two roles, that of the "guardian" and "public servant", appear fairly congruent.

Brodsky's Model

The work of Brodsky (1973) offers specific models of police behavior by which further comparisons with the law enforcement role of the game warden may be made. Specifically, Brodsky (1973:125) describes the "Soldier" model as concerning such behaviors as mob control and hand-to-hand combat, requires physical fitness and quick reflexes and is aimed toward apprehending and physically subduing active law violators. Even though physical fitness is an asset in game warden work, and quick reflexes are essential in a few arrest situations, the goal of wildlife law enforcement is not the apprehension of "hardened" felons. Again, the magnitude of the offenses concerning wildlife law violations are of a misdemeanor calibre. Even the most serious wildlife offenses involving, usually, large animals (deer, bear, elk) are "minor" when compared to the host of criminal activities on the American scene today. Several wardens mentioned this specific comparison by judges and offered it as a reason for judicial leniency on poachers and other wildlife law violators. As mentioned previously, game wardens do not believe most wildlife law violators to be "criminals". Thus, the Soldier model does not represent an adequate point of comparison to wildlife law enforcement behavior.

Brodsky's (1973:125) "Inspector model", however, provides an excellent description of wildlife law enforcement activities. The inspector model is identified primarily by document examinations, and observation of the citizenry and business establishments while

on patrol. Necessary skills involve perceptiveness, memory and attention to detail. The targets of the inspector model include passive offenders, negligent citizens, and potential criminals. Game wardens are constantly involved in document examination. They continuously check such items as hunting and fishing licenses, damage stamps, deer stamps, and boat registration certificates. Hunting and fishing without a license are among the most numerous offenses detected by wardens. The techniques of apprehending violators mentioned by the wardens, document the importance of perceptiveness, memory and attention to detail. "Observation and patrol" and "sneakiness", each involving perceptiveness and attention to detail, epitomize the techniques utilized by wardens in their law enforcement role. Based on the attitudes of the wardens toward offenders and the small number of cases involving physical arrest, the "targets" of wildlife law enforcement are best characterized as "passive offenders" and "negligent citizens". (These points receive additional treatment in Chapter 6.)

By modifying the techniques of observation of the citizenry and business establishments while on patrol" to "observation of the sporting public and the Commonwealth's wildlife populations while on patrol", wildlife law enforcement can be viewed as corresponding closely with this facet of the Inspector model. In one sense, game wardens observe or "keep watch" on a business establishment; a "state" business establishment. The wildlife law enforcement officer can generally be characterized as one who attempts to prevent the theft of the state's property or to prevent people from using illegal

means to attain property of the Commonwealth. In many respects, then, with slight modification of content but not form, game wardens may be characterized as fitting the "Inspector model".

Another categorization offered by Brodsky (1973:125) is the "Clerk model" and refers mostly to report writers, switchboard operators and typists who are skilled at paper work and have a high tolerance for routine and repetitive tasks. The referents of such role playing usually concern departmental and other administrative structures. The wildlife law enforcement officer is only minimally required to perform clerical duties as evidenced by the small average percentage of time spent on "desk work" (5.0%) (see Table 11).

Brodsky's last categorization, the "Helping Agent" model, characterizes one segment of the game warden role, specifically in style rather than necessarily in content, and may be compared to Johnson's (1973) "public servant" model treated above. The "Helping Agent" model involves mediating disputes, giving directions, lecturing to classes of teenagers and helping lost children. The required skills include empathy, sensitivity and a nonjudgemental attitude. The behavior of the helping agent is directed toward all citizens in need of assistance. Wardens are fairly well identifiable as helping agents with the deletion of the mediator function. Education programs (wildlife food projects, hunter and boater safety) conducted or coordinated by wardens compare closely to the "Helping Agent" model. In addition, the empathy and nonjudgemental attitudes of wardens in regard to search and rescue work, for example, was observed by the

author and noted several times in the comments of the other project interviewers.

In summary, then, two of Brodsky's (1973) models, the "Inspector model" and the "Helping Agent" model, provide a great deal of comparative utility for studies of wildlife law enforcement. Of all comparisons made, concerning the characterizations of Johnson and Brodsky, the "Inspector model" most nearly approximates, and offers an adequate description of, the activities of the wildlife law enforcement officer.

Summary

As can be seen in this Chapter, game wardens perform a myriad of work activities involving a wide assortment of duties and expectations. They are basically "jacks-of-all-trades" dealing with wildlife law enforcement, conservation activities, public relations, education and a host of miscellaneous activities. This Chapter has detailed the basic work activities and has presented some of the sources of role expectations regarding the general work behavior of Virginia Field Wardens. These descriptions hopefully provide substance to the statement made by Hazel (1968:547) that the wildlife law enforcement officer is an:

....individual who, under all sorts of adverse conditions, prevails as master of a vast territory in which he is literally the boss of wildlife affairs.

The last section of this Chapter has offered a comparison of wildlife law enforcement activities with models of police behavior

posited by Johnson (1973) and Brodsky (1973). While the degree of isomorphism between the roles of the game warden and these posited models is far from precise, two models presented by each author offer fair descriptions of the behavior characteristic of wildlife law enforcement officers. Johnson's "guardian" role, if modified regarding content, is similar in style to the law enforcement endeavors of game wardens. The modification is best reflected in the terminology, "guardian-of-wildlife". Johnson's "public servant" role is also applicable in that wardens perform several functions (search and rescue, handling land owner complaints about crop damage) of the public service variety. Most applicable as a description of the occupational activities of game wardens is Brodsky's (1973) "Inspector model". Again with slight modification in regard to content, the inspector model offers an excellent point of comparison as it involves document examination, observation and patrol, memory and attention to detail, and enforcing laws broken by passive offenders and negligent citizens. Brodsky's description of the "Helping Agent", similar to Johnson's "public servant", is also applicable to at least one segment of the warden's role. By tradition, but not by design, wildlife law enforcement officers are expected to help citizens in need of assistance and were found to have empathy and a nonjudgemental attitude toward lost campers, hunters and fishers. Wardens also, "help" in the sense of giving directions and lecturing, mostly about sport related topics, to teenagers.

The next Chapter presents data on the wardens' attitudes towards selected facets of their work role. Information will be

presented on the activities enjoyed and those that are not enjoyed, on the wardens' conception of their public image and on various aspects of the work role that contain potentialities for work related pressures.

CHAPTER VI

WORK ATTITUDES OF AREA PATROL LEADERS AND REGULAR WARDENS

Introduction

The major purposes of this Chapter are to explore data relevant to a host of work attitudes among Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens. This exploration involves examining data concerning (1) job satisfaction, (2) attitudes and beliefs regarding the perceived public image of "game warden", and (3) occupational role stress.

Job Satisfaction

To obtain information on job satisfaction among Virginia Game Wardens, two measurement techniques were employed. One technique involved asking the wardens, "Would you choose the occupation of game warden as a career if you had it all to do over again?"¹ The second technique consisted of obtaining responses from the wardens to an

¹While no reliability "score" exists for this measurement of job satisfaction per se, the following quote lends support to its utility. "Over the last two decades, one of the most reliable single indicators of job dissatisfaction has been the response to the question: 'What type of work would you try to get into if you could start all over again?'....This question, some researchers feel, is a particularly sensitive indicator because it causes respondents to take into account the intrinsic factors of the job and the very personal question of self-esteem." (Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973:15-16).

eighteen item Index of Job Satisfaction (see Brayfield and Rothe, 1951).²

Utilizing both measures of job satisfaction, Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens are shown to be highly satisfied with their jobs. When asked if they would choose the same job again, over three-quarters (77.6%) said "yes". An additional five wardens (7.5%) stated that they might choose the same occupation again but were not completely sure. Only ten wardens (14.9%) said they would not choose the occupation of game warden again were they now given the choice of an occupational career. Several of these individuals, upon further questioning indicated that they liked the work just fine but that the hours required were too many and the pay too low.

An analysis of the data gathered through use of the Index of Job Satisfaction³ reflects a similarly high level of job satisfaction

²The Index of Job Satisfaction consists of the first eighteen items contained in the General Job Satisfaction section of the self-administered questionnaire (see Appendix B).

³The "Index" consists of a series of eighteen statements to which the respondents are to indicate whether they strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree. The Likert scoring weights for each statement ranges from one to five, allowing a range of possible total scores from eighteen to ninety. The scoring system necessitates correlating the weight assignments for each response category with the "direction" of the evaluative statement. For example, the scoring for a negative statement (i.e., "I definitely dislike my work.") would be: strongly disagree = 5, disagree = 4, undecided = 3, agree = 2, and strongly agree = 1. For a positive statement (i.e., "I feel fairly satisfied with my job."), the scoring procedure would be reversed (strongly agree = 5, agree = 4, etc.) In this manner, the higher the total score, the higher the job satisfaction; the lower the total score, the lower the satisfaction.

for those Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens surveyed. The total mean score utilizing the Index, which has a range of from eighteen to ninety,⁴ was 69.6, thus indicating a high level of job satisfaction.⁵

This high level of job satisfaction found to exist among wardens is shown to be even more noteworthy when compared to that found for other occupations. In a book entitled Work in America, a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (1973:15) reports that:

....of a cross section of white-collar workers (including professionals), only 43% would voluntarily choose the same work that they were doing, and only 24% of a cross section of blue-collar workers would choose the same kind of work if given another chance....

⁴While the "Index" range is from eighteen to ninety, the data ranged only from fifty-one to seventy-nine, indicating that the scores are highly skewed toward the satisfied end of the scale.

⁵Brayfield and Rothe (1951:310) report a Spearman-Brown reliability of .87 for their Index of Job Satisfaction. To obtain an additional reliability score for the "Index", a Cronbach alpha (see Cronbach, 1951) was computed based on the responses of the Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens. While the Cronbach alpha score for the total eighteen item scale was not exceptionally high (.76), the scale's reliability rose to .83 by the deletion of two scale items, "It seems that my friends are more interested in their jobs" and "I feel that my job is no more interesting than others I could get". To test the validity of the job satisfaction indicators employed in this study, the results obtained by the two independent measurement procedures were compared. The single indicator, "Would you choose the occupation of game warden as a career if you had it all to do over again?" was dichotomized into nominal "yes" and "no" categories. Included in the "no" category were those respondents who were unsure as to whether or not they would enter the same occupation again. The modified "Index" scores (with the two items mentioned above deleted) were trichotomized into high, medium, and low job satisfaction categories. A Chi Square value of 7.09 (d.f.=2) was obtained between the two measures and was significant at the .03 level. Through this manner, the two independent methods of measuring job satisfaction were found to possess "convergent validity" (see Campbell and Fiske, 1967:274).

Based on Task Force (1973:16) data, Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens are slightly more likely to choose their occupation again than church university professors (77.0%) and solo lawyers (75.0%). Wardens are 34.6 percent more likely to again enter the same occupational field than a cross section of white-collar workers.

In light of the fact that the high job satisfaction among Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens constitutes an interesting serendipitous finding, the next section is intended to explore possible reasons for this occurrence.

Possible Correlates of High Job Satisfaction Among Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens

The fact that wardens are highly satisfied with their jobs could result from a multitude of factors.⁶ The literature, however, directs attention to particular factors assumed to be associated with job satisfaction. One source has identified six of the "most oppressive features of work", the absence of which are thought to contributed to increased job satisfaction. These factors include (1) constant supervision, (2) constant coercion, (3) lack of variety, (4) monotony, (5) meaningless tasks, and (6) isolation (Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973:13). Each of these features will now be explored in light of the data obtained from Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens.

⁶Those factors, to be discussed, are not intended as statements of ultimate causation, but of possible correlates, in hopes of casting some light upon why wardens are satisfied with their work.

Lack of Constant Supervision

To obtain information regarding the nature of the supervision experienced, the wardens were asked to indicate (using a Likert response format), the extent of their agreement to the statement "For the most part, my boss leaves me on my own." The results indicate overwhelming agreement in regard to the "lack" of constant supervision. Of sixty-six wardens responding, five (7.6%) strongly agreed with the above statement and fifty-seven (86.4%) agreed. Two wardens (3.0%) were undecided while only two wardens (3.0%) disagreed with the statement. No one strongly disagreed. This appears to indicate that the wardens who were interviewed generally enjoy a great deal of autonomy from supervision in their work.

While the large area which each warden is responsible for patrolling makes constant supervision impractical, the high level of job autonomy enjoyed by game wardens may be seen to be the result of other features of the job itself. In this connection, the author had accompanied an Area Patrol Leader to a county in his area to work a freshly stocked trout stream. Upon arriving, and meeting the Regular Warden for the county, the Regular Warden began telling the Area Patrol Leader (his boss) where to go, what to do, and which fishermen to observe. The Area Patrol Leader was older, had had more experience as a game warden, and was above the Regular Warden in rank, yet he followed exactly the Regular Warden's directions. When the Area Patrol Leader was later queried as to why he did not "take over" and give "the orders" he made the following explanation:

I didn't mind taking orders from B---. After all, this is his county, and he knows more about it than I do. He knows where the best spots are to catch somebody and what people are more likely to be violators. Besides, what if I went into each of my wardens' counties and took over and started telling them what to do. I'd have to leave at the end of the day and probably wouldn't be back in a month. They'd probably get pissed off and wouldn't do their work unless I was around. They'd think "If that son-of-a-bitch wants to run things up here then let him. I'll just fuck off unless he's around." I can't watch them every minute and don't want to as long as they do their job half right. They've got to have pride in their job and if I'm bugging them all time they won't.

As the above example demonstrates, the lack of constant supervision is partially a function of the geographical distance between the wardens' designated counties and the relatively small ratio of supervisory personnel to Regular Wardens. Another feature, however, could best be described as a "best leave them alone and let them do their job" philosophy. As the wardens each have a "social" and "geographic gestalt" pertaining to their work area, they are literally the boss of wildlife affairs in their own counties. A fact that looms large in the minds of supervisors and rank-in-file wardens alike, and contributes to a sense of active mastery over area, and autonomy in work.

Lack of Constant Coercion

Similar to the lack of supervision mentioned above, wardens are also relatively free from coercion. Rarely were there instances, reported to the interviewers, of Supervisory personnel trying to coerce (by verbal reprimand or short suspensions without pay) wardens into doing something against their will or judgement. In addition, when wardens were asked to respond to the question "How does your immediate superior communicate with you?" Fifty-four wardens,

(83.1%) responded that their superiors usually asked, suggested or consulted with them (or some combination of the three) about a particular task prior to implementation. Six wardens (9.2%) responded that they were only "ordered" to perform certain duties, while five wardens (7.7%) mentioned that their superior ordered them to do things but asked, suggested and consulted with them as well.

Variety in Work

That wardens have "variety" in their work is indicated not only by the multiple roles performed by Virginia Game Wardens but by variation in work activities during the calendar year.

The regulations concerning the taking of certain forms of wildlife are based on "open seasons" which fall at similar, though not exact, times during the year. In this respect, the wardens' work fluctuates from one part of the year to the next, offering a great deal of diversity in work tasks.

Lack of Monotony

While wardens were not queried directly regarding "monotony", they were asked to respond to the statement "My job is usually interesting enough to keep me from getting bored". The responses to this item fell totally on the agreement side of the Likert response framework. Twenty-three wardens (34.9%) checked the strongly agree category while the other forty-three wardens (65.1%) indicated that they agreed with the statement. Even though boredom and monotony may not be synonymous, the two characteristics are thought to be

closely related. The interpretation of these responses, along with data from the "Variety in Work" section above, appear to suggest that wardens are relatively free from monotonous work tasks.

Meaningful Tasks

While all occupations may involve activities that could be labeled "meaningless tasks",⁷ wardens are involved in ecologically meaningful work performance in that they enforce laws which aid in the preservation of "beneficial" species of wildlife. When the wardens were asked a specific question regarding ecology and job satisfaction ("The opportunity to help preserve the ecology in the State of Virginia makes my job satisfying."), the responses obtained to the statement reflect strong agreement. Twenty-four wardens (36.4%) checked the strongly agree category and thirty-nine (59.1%) indicated that they agreed with the item. Two wardens (3.0%) were undecided and one warden (1.5%) disagreed that preserving the ecology made his work satisfying.

As an additional check on the meaningfulness dimension of job satisfaction, wardens were asked if they received a sense of accomplishment from their work ("My work gives me a sense of accomplishment"). Twenty wardens (30.3%) indicated that they strongly agreed that their work gave them a sense of accomplishment and forty-three (65.2%) agreed with the statement. Two wardens (3.0%) were undecided and one

⁷The Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (1973:13) alludes to this general feature of work by stating that "Workers recognize that some of the dirty jobs can be transformed only into the merely tolerable...."

(1.5%) disagreed that he received a sense of accomplishment from his job. Taken together,⁸ these data indicate that wardens are involved with what they consider to be meaningful work tasks.

Lack of Isolation

While wardens work "alone" a great deal of the time when on patrol they are far from being isolated from other people. All of the roles performed by the wardens involve them in some manner with "the public". As demonstrated in Chapter 5, wardens confront members of the community regarding a variety of requests and expectations. The education and public relations aspects of their work role, as the names indicate, are directly linked to associating with sometimes large numbers of people (i.e., when teaching a hunter safety course or speaking at a public gathering). The law enforcement duties of the wardens place them in positions of public visibility when they check licenses, creel limits, etc. Even when the relationship involves arresting a single violator, the job performance is less than "isolated". Based on these factors, then, the work behaviors of the wardens are found to be highly "integrative" rather than isolated.

⁸ Further evidence of the "meaningfulness" of the occupation, at least from the wardens' standpoint, is found in their evaluation of the functional importance of their job. When asked to evaluate the occupation of game warden in terms of functional importance, defined as how necessary, important, or indispensable an occupation is or how much of a fundamental contribution it makes, twenty-three wardens (34.9%) ranked their functional importance very high and thirty-five (53.0%) ranked it as "high". Eight wardens (12.1%) indicated that the functional importance of their job was medium. None of the wardens indicated a "low" or "very low" response to functional importance.

In summary regarding job satisfaction, then, the occupation of game warden is found to be relatively free from the six "most oppressive features of work" delineated by the Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, (1973:13). Even though a multitude of factors may be associated with the "disaffections" of work (see Bryant, 1972:481-490), the lack of these oppressive or disaffective elements associated with the occupation of game warden are believed to be associated with the high level of job satisfaction found among the wardens surveyed. A statement made by one warden, in summarizing the reasons for his job satisfaction, may be reflective of the generally positive characteristics of the occupation as a whole. He stated:

Where else could I get a job riding around and enjoying the scenery in a state vehicle that makes me look important. I usually set my own work hours and go where I want to. And I just like to be outdoors. I worked in a factory for awhile and nearly cracked up. Out here I never know what or who I'm going to run into. There's something different all the time.

The Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens surveyed, while being essentially free from oppressive features of work, nevertheless enjoy the performance of particular occupational duties more than others. It is to these data, and data relevant to other work attitudes, that the present undertaking now turns.

Activities Enjoyed Most

As previously pointed out, the majority of the wardens see the main aspect of their job as being law enforcement and spend most of their time engaged in law enforcement behavior. When the wardens

were handed a card with several activities listed on it and were asked to indicate, in preferential order, the work activities they enjoyed the most, law enforcement activities again received the highest number of responses. These data are presented in Table 14.

In addition to the activities listed in the table above, the cards from which the wardens made their choices contained the categories fish management, desk work and attending court (see Appendix A). These categories are noticeably lacking from the list of most enjoyed activities. By inspecting the data in Table 14 and collapsing those categories dealing with law enforcement (game law enforcement, fish law enforcement and boating activities) we see that fifty wardens (75.8%) indicated these activities as being the most enjoyable. Twelve wardens (18.2%) enjoyed education and public relations most, three wardens (4.5%) mentioned conservation as the most enjoyed activity and only one warden (1.5%) indicated he liked game management the most.

Public Image

Students of law enforcement and police administration have previously pointed out that police officers are either helped or hindered by the community of which they are a part (see, for example, Cromwell and Keefer's edited book, Police-Community Relations, 1973). Game wardens and their activities are likewise aided or hindered by the degree of support offered them by the public. When the data on the game wardens' perception of their general community acceptance are inspected it is revealed that, for the most part, wardens believe themselves and their job to be fairly well supported. The responses

TABLE 14
MOST ENJOYED ACTIVITIES OF VIRGINIA
FIELD WARDENS

Activity	Frequency	Percentage
Game law enforcement	42	63.6
Education and public relations	12	18.2
Boating activities	6	9.1
Conservation related activities	3	4.5
Fish law enforcement	2	3.0
Game management	1	1.5
Total	66	100.0

to the question "Do you think the public adequately appreciates the work you do?" are in Table 15.

While the majority of the wardens (64.2%) feel that the public adequately appreciates the work that wardens undertake, a sizeable minority (35.8%) feel that their work is not adequately appreciated. The basic reasons that this minority gives for feeling that their work is unappreciated are presented in Table 16.

The twenty-four wardens who felt their work was not appreciated by the public gave as reasons that the public did not know what wardens did or that the public felt that wardens infringed upon the rights of the public in regard to their recreational pursuits. Several comments contained in field notes reveal more explicitly why some wardens say their work is unappreciated. One warden stated that:

The public might see me or my car at home in the middle of the day and say "That bastard's still asleep. He's not worth a damn." What they don't realize is that I may have been out working all night.

Several statements made by one warden are rather typical of the rationales presented for being unappreciated.

To the public, a game warden is a son-of-a-bitch if he just wears a uniform. If he writes tickets he's a dirty son-of-a-bitch. People will bitch about there not being any game for them to hunt but when they see a violation they will not report it or testify about it in court.

The same respondent mentioned that "dog law violations" were still contained in the record books in Richmond and that this "is an example of how ignorant people are as to what a game warden does. The State doesn't even know what we do."

TABLE 15

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU THINK THE PUBLIC
ADEQUATELY APPRECIATES THE WORK YOU DO?"

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	43	64.2
No	24	35.8
Total	67	100.0

TABLE 16

REASONS GIVEN AS TO WHY THE PUBLIC DOES
NOT ADEQUATELY APPRECIATE THE
WORK DONE BY WARDENS

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Unaware of the duties performed by wardens	19	79.2
Public thinks their rights are being infringed	5	20.8
Total	24	100.0

The following account based on observations by the author reflects the "infringement" idea given by wardens as one of the reasons their work is not appreciated. The following occurrences were observed while participating in a Labor Day boat patrol with an Area Patrol Leader and a Regular Warden.

We saw a man fishing from the bank and went ashore to check him out. J--- checked the man's fishing license (it was valid). J--- then pulled up a metal fish stringer from the water and found a "short bass" (bass under the legal twelve inch limit). J--- took it off the stringer and sloshed it around in the water. The fisherman came to the bank and asked if the fish was too small. The man claimed that he didn't catch the fish but that someone came by in a boat and gave it to him. J--- countered by saying, "Maybe so, but it was on your stringer, in your possession and I don't have any proof that you didn't catch it. I'm going to write you a ticket." The fisherman replied, "A man can't even have any fun any more without you bothering him. I try to live right and be honest and you come along and mess it up." J--- kept writing in the summons book. The fisherman said, "O.K., how much is it" (and took out his wallet). J--- stated that he didn't know, that it was up to the judge, that it was a \$10 minimum and \$50 maximum fine but told the fisherman, "I've saved you a three dollar replacement cost by turning the fish loose." The fisherman, still holding his wallet in his hand, asked, "Well, where do I go to pay it off. I don't know anyone in Xburg." J--- replied, "Mr. X, if you'll wait just a minute I'll explain your options to you."

When J--- had completed filling out the summons, he said, "Mr. X (he called the man by the name on the fishing license), this is a summons for you to appear in the District Court on the 24th of September in Xburg, Virginia at 10:00 a.m. to answer the charge of possessing an illegal bass, undersized. Now I need your signature on the summons to insure that you will either be in Court on that day or that you will take care of it by going to the Clerk of the Court before that day and paying your fine before court. Sign here, please." Before the fisherman signed the summons he asked, "Where is this District Court building--I don't know anything about Xburg, and I have to work." J--- replied that court would be held in the courthouse in Xburg. "Well, where is the courthouse? I don't know where it is," replied the fisherman. J--- told him that if he didn't know where it was to just ask anyone on main street for directions. The fisherman signed the summons but grumbled some more about not being able to have any fun.

As J--- started back toward the boat, the fisherman said, "Just go on. Get away from here and let me alone." J---

turned toward the man and said, "What did you say?" The man replied, "You heard me--just leave me alone." J--- said, "Mr. X, having a short bass isn't too serious but you can make it worse. I think you're trying to get smart with me." The fisherman went back and picked up his fishing pole. Just as J--- climbed into the boat and as B--- started the engine the fisherman yelled to J---, "I hope you drown!" J--- turned his back to the man and looked at us, laughing. We pulled out into the river and didn't look back. Down river a bit and out of hearing range from the fisherman J--- said, "Did you hear that old fart. He said he hoped I drowned. Ha Ha." I asked J--- what he would have done if the fisherman had gotten more hostile than just giving him some "lip". J--- responded that, "We'd have locked his ass up."

Several observations were made that reflected a similar attitude to the one indicated above. From the perspective of the wardens, having to do this type of job, that does infringe upon what some people think of as their "right", is one of the reasons they are not appreciated. This aspect coupled with ignorance as to what wardens do in fulfilling their occupational duties, were the main reasons expressly given for not being appreciated by the public. Other data collected in regard to the public's perception of the occupation of game warden indicate several other related aspects of the wardens' public image. When the wardens were asked "Do you feel that people look on the job of game warden better, worse, or in the same light as in the past?" the majority (92.5%) said "better". These data are presented in Table 17.

It is interesting to note that none of the wardens surveyed indicated that the occupation of game warden was seen by the public in a "worse" light than in the past. Even though several wardens felt that their job was unappreciated by the public (Table 16), the majority (92.5%) felt that their public image was improving. The

TABLE 17

RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU FEEL THAT PEOPLE
LOOK ON THE JOB OF GAME WARDEN BETTER, WORSE,
OR IN THE SAME LIGHT AS IN THE PAST?"

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Better	62	92.5
Same	2	3.0
Don't know	3	4.5
Total	67	100.0

reasons offered as to why the public holds the occupation in a higher position than in the past are presented in Table 18.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 5, one of the reasons wardens gave for the previous status of their occupation was that they had to perform "dog catcher" duties or "dog work" of which many wardens responded that the work was "degrading". The public image of the occupation of game warden was thought to have been improved by no longer being charged with these responsibilities. Seventeen wardens (27.4%) indicated this work role reassignment as a major reason for status improvement. Sixteen wardens (25.8%) stated that being more "professional" had improved their public image while eleven (17.7%) indicated that the improvement was due to more public exposure or good public relations work. Eight wardens (12.9%) felt that the improvement was due to the work now having more prestige and another eight wardens (12.9%) gave as a major reason for image improvement that there is now more emphasis on ecology than in the past. Two wardens (3.2%) stated that their image had improved because they now receive more public cooperation. Several statements made by the wardens indicate specific reasons for the improved image. Examples of these statements are listed below.

The Commission now has more educated men than in the past. The quality of the employees has been upgraded.

Television and radio broadcasts now get information about our work across to the public.

We're more professional than we used to be. We're better equipped, better educated, have better uniforms and cars and are more efficient.

TABLE 18

FIRST REASONS OFFERED AS TO WHY THE OCCUPATION
OF GAME WARDEN IS SEEN IN A BETTER
LIGHT THAN IN THE PAST

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
No longer do "dog work"	17	27.4
More professional	16	25.8
More exposure through public relations work	11	17.7
More prestige	8	12.9
More emphasis on ecology	8	12.9
Better cooperation from the public	2	3.2
Total	62	100.0

People are more aware of what you do than they used to be. The organization is getting better. It's more professional.

Ninety percent of our public relations is in the schools and through hunter safety programs.

It has better prestige now. More people are concerned with wildlife and appreciate a game warden now.

It's a cleaner type of work now. We don't have to mess with dogs anymore.

Because the organization is more professional. The men are receiving more training, better equipment. They have a better appearance to the public.

Today, there are good uniforms, good equipment and good public relations, especially in the schools.

No more dog work. Two days of dog work would pull our public image down more than we could build it up in a month.

When the younger wardens get in positions of power this is going to be a top notch outfit. We are the new breed.

These responses, concerning all aspects of why wardens believe their occupation is now seen in a better light than in the past, can be collapsed into four major categories dealing with (1) the nature of the work (no more dog work), (2) the perceived professionalization of the occupation, (3) more and better public relations efforts,⁹ and (4) more emphasis on, and attendant appreciation for, ecology and ecologically related occupations.

⁹The ideas of perceived professionalization and more and better public relations efforts may be considerably linked in that the latter may serve as a vehicle for obtaining professional status. A statement which deals with this linkage is found in Snizek et al., (1975:107) which posits that "...an occupation is a profession only to the extent that significant publics accept the claim." More and better public relations efforts, then, serve as a mechanism which attempts to present the "claim" of professional status of the occupation of game warden to the public.

Hazards of the Job

Jerome Skolnick has indicated that certain elements in the police milieu combine to generate "distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses in police...." (Skolnick, 1966:42). One of these elements concerns the danger that policemen face in the course of their work. Although no attempt is made to outline a game warden's "working personality",¹⁰ game wardens are faced with hazardous tasks and learn to cope with this facet of their occupation in characteristic ways.

That wardens believe their occupation to be a hazardous one is pointed out in their responses to the direct question "Do you consider your job to be physically hazardous?". Of the sixty-five wardens who responded, fifty-nine (90.8%) answered "yes". Wardens perform a hazardous job in that many of the people they confront have loaded weapons in their possession. And, as with other law enforcement personnel, wardens sometimes encounter people who are drunk or who resist arrest. Wardens also mentioned that it was not uncommon for a violator to try to evade the warden by foot or automobile. Several mentioned that they had at one time or another been engaged in high speed automobile chases, most of the time on poor quality, winding country roads. Several wardens thought that they had been intentionally shot at by violators and had heard shot fall or had seen bushes and

¹⁰For criticisms of and contradictory evidence toward the notion of "working personality" of policemen see Balch (1973). For a criticism of the whole "subcultural" idea of the police involving danger, authority, solidarity, suspicion and conservatism, see Buckner et al., (1974) who conclude that, "La police n'est pas radicalement differente des autres agences sociales" (Buckner et al., 1974:84).

leaves move from the impact of bullets. Two wardens presently occupying supervisory positions had been critically injured (when they were Regular Wardens) in the "line of duty". One man had been shot at close range and had lost his left arm as a result. The injured man and another warden had been checking into a report of out of season squirrel hunting.

We were waiting on the other side of a hill where he had to come out. As soon as he came out, I saw him lift his gun and I jumped behind a tree. If I hadn't, he would have cut me in two....he shot at us again but ran after that.

The other man had suffered head wounds and a skull fracture and had been "left for dead" by two violators. The warden had had several surgical operations to correct the damage done to the left eye and the left front of his forehead.

I was on a routine patrol and had found that these three people did not have fishing licenses. I was taking them to the car and they were in front of me going up the creek bank. They turned on me like dogs and I fought them before they knocked me in the head with a brick and left me for dead. They took my wristwatch and tore the three tickets which had their names and address on them out of the summons book. Two young people found me and helped get me to the hospital.

The field notes contain the following report that indicates some of the hazards of trying to enforce the wildlife laws. This case involved a man fishing from a boat with a .22 calibre automatic pistol in a shoulder holster and a .22 calibre rifle in the boat. After trying unsuccessfully to obtain a fishing license or any other type of identification the warden asked the violator to give him his gun. The violator refused.

Well, right then I knew I had a problem. I knew I had to arrest him because I didn't know him, he was violating the law

by having the guns in the boat, and he didn't have a license and I could tell by his attitude I was going to have a problem. So I just dropped my hand down, unsnapped my holster, put my finger on the trigger and jerked my gun out and put it on him and said, "Now take your gun off." The violator said, "I'll take it off but I ain't going to give it to you." I said, "Well, take it off and lay it down, and if you do anything wrong I'm going to shoot you." I got him in my boat and we towed his boat back to the bank. I told him to tie up his boat. When he did he also made a move for the gun in the boat. I told him not to touch it and that he would have to come with me to the courthouse because he was under arrest. He said that he was not going and took off running. I caught him and we got in a fight. He kicked me in the groin and I sprayed him in the face with tear gas which affected him but didn't stop him from fighting....I finally got him to jail. He was charged with assault and resisting arrest and spent thirty days in jail and was fined \$300.

One warden related the following technique of dealing with a potentially hazardous situation involving the issuing of summonses. The basic approach was mentioned by several wardens.

When you have to arrest or write tickets to three or four guys for spotlighting by yourself, alone on a dark road in the wee hours of the morning--when they could possibly do you bodily harm--you have to make it so awesome and damned official looking that they don't get the idea of beatin' up on you. I keep them all separated until they have all been ticketed and then let them leave and I leave at the same time. If you write one guy a ticket and let him get back in the car, write another one and let him get in the car, they are liable to get to talking to each other and get pissed off and try to beat you up.

These examples provide evidence that the occupation of game warden, like other law enforcement occupations, contains certain elements of danger and risk. While all wardens may not have had to cope with exactly the same type of hazardous situations mentioned above, most did mention that the job of game warden was a hazardous one. The rather typical responses about the dangers involved were, "It's just part of the job", "You handle it the best way you can", and "You just have to approach these situations with common sense".

Attitudes Toward Violators

Even though the wardens perceive their job as dangerous in that they sometimes encounter people who react in a hostile manner toward them, they, nevertheless, do not generally think of the violators as criminals. Table 19 indicates that only four wardens (6.0%) said they considered wildlife law violators to be criminals. Fifteen wardens (22.4%) said "no" that they did not believe violators to be criminals while forty-six wardens (68.7%) said no but added certain qualifications. Two wardens (3.0%) said they considered violators criminal but not in the same sense that a "serious felon" is a criminal.

The wardens, evidently, hold an attitude toward most violations similar to what Hanna (1968:521) indicates as that held by the average citizen.

The average citizen, unfortunately, does not look upon violations of our game and fisheries or boating laws as a crime. This is similar to the public attitudes towards traffic offenses.

Many of the wardens, in speaking about the misdemeanor quality of the offenses, equated most wildlife law violations with traffic offenses.¹¹ In addition, they were unable to make any generalizations about the people they most often wrote summonses for violating wildlife

¹¹The general opinion of traffic law violations, and possible reasons for this opinion, are pointed out by Ross (1973:80) when he states: "Violations of the traffic laws....do not generally entail criminal stigma. Possible factors in this matter are the lack of basis for the regulations in traditional morality, the statistical nature of the harm and general lack of victims, the inherent arbitrariness of enforcement and the impression of wide-spread violations."

TABLE 19

RESPONSES OF THE WARDENS TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU
CONSIDER VIOLATORS TO BE CRIMINALS?"

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No	15	22.4
No--except intentional violators	15	22.4
No--except spotlighters	14	20.9
No--except habitual violators	12	17.9
No--except market-poachers	5	7.5
Yes	4	6.0
Yes--but not like a serious felon	2	3.0
Total	67	100.0

laws. A rather typical response was, "We get all kinds, rich and poor, black and white, young and old, preachers and laborers."¹²

The wardens' perception of wildlife law violators are, however, less than completely random. The qualifications made as to whether or not they considered violators criminals fell into identifiable patterns. Wardens identified certain activities as being criminal and saw the detection of these activities and the apprehension of the perpetrators as good work or as a "good bust". In this respect, they are similar in their attitudes to the policemen mentioned by Wilson (1968:68) who believed that "real" police work "is catching 'real' criminals--making a 'good pinch' on a felon, preferably while the felony is in progress" (Emphasis in original).

Some of the wardens indicated a belief that some of the violators (such as spotlighters, intentional violators, habitual violators or market-poachers) possess additional characteristics (than just being wildlife law violators) that make them criminals. One of the taped interviews obtained for this project captures the feeling of one warden toward a market-poacher that he had attempted to apprehend.

I've been after him for four years now but to catch him you're going to have to devote a full time warden to him and we're understaffed. I've caught him for everything except what I

¹²A similar statement about wildlife law violators, particularly spotlighters, is found in Eye (1968:571) which states: "Records show that some of the finest citizens have been caught at night killing deer. Educational background and one's personal conduct has not entered into the picture. Also, we have found that even those with money or wealthy people down to the poorest person have been found to be engaged in spotlighting."

want to catch him at. He is a full time poacher and bootlegger. He's sharp. The dam guy is just like an Indian. For his woodsmanship I admire him. They've been trying to catch him bootlegging for ten years. But he's a worthless bastard. He's common. His wife's a prostitute and all of that. I think he sells dope to kids on the side. He's one sharp son-of-a-bitch. I chase him on and off every chance I get.

A quotation from Kirkpatrick (1968) may adequately reflect the qualifications made by the wardens in regard to the criminality of wildlife law violators. In speaking about the use of undercover investigators in wildlife law enforcement, he states (Kirkpatrick, 1968:530):

Please keep in mind, however, that when you must revert to the use of undercover agents in any type of law enforcement, it is because the agent is dealing with the extreme individual--the exception rather than the rule. This type of wildlife criminal is not dim-witted or illiterate, not the proverbial hill-billy living in poverty who is out to make an occasional fast buck, but most often the type of wildlife criminal who is cunning, brazen, fearless and very knowledgeable in his nefarious activities. He is the type of individual who possesses the same mental characteristics as that of any criminally minded underworld figure. It may be interesting to note, in several cases I have worked on involving the illegal killing and selling of game, the same suspects were simultaneously involved in various other crimes, such as narcotics, moonshine, numbers, etc." (Emphasis in original).

The apprehending of spotlighters appeared to be the wardens' most prestigious "bust". While there may be a correlation between the size of the animal (and the amount of fines and replacement costs involved in the illegal killing of such an animal) and the priority of catching one who kills the large animal, more often than not the wardens mentioned the "police work" involved in catching the spotlighter. The sneaky techniques used to apprehend spotlighters and the night time drama of the rural stake out combines to add an element of

detective work and "real" police work to the apprehending of spot-lighters. One warden mentioned that he "got his kicks" out of catching a spotlihter "at three o'clock in the morning when he thinks there is nobody within a hundred miles." The comments made by one warden while talking about market-poachers may typify the wardens' attitudes toward violators.

I think most violations are just from ignorance or negligence. But you get in with those damn nasty, grimy tobacco-chewers and listen to them talk--eventually you're going to catch someone who has been doing it for a livelihood. That way you catch a real crook. To me that's a real bust.

While the wardens place certain violations and violators into criminal categories, they do not, as a rule, stereotype violators. The practical application of the "typological approach"¹³ may hold little utility for the wardens in that they are faced with a variety of offenders and offenses and approach each event according to the demands of the situation. This may be indirectly supported by the claim of several wardens that prospective wardens should be "level-headed" and have a lot of "common sense" to deal with the role requirements of a wildlife law enforcement officer. The wardens seem to perceive violators in terms of and in basic agreement with the content of a statement made by Gibbons (1971:268) that:

¹³On an academic level, Gibbons (1971) warns of over dependence on the typological approach. He states (Gibbons, 1971:265): "There is the danger that the typological approach may be pushed beyond heuristic usefulness. These classification schemes might lead to a criminological picture of offender behavior which oversimplifies and distorts the nature of criminality, and perceives types as more crystallized and distinct than they are."

....many lawbreakers do not fit into any role-career kind of typology, that they lack clear-cut criminal motivation and do not derive out of a distinct etiological background. Many of them engage in "folk crimes" or other situationally induced forms of deviance"(Emphasis in original).

Attitudes Towards the Courts and Statutory
Regulations Concerning Wildlife Law Violation

Section 1-5-4-B of the Game Wardens Handbook pertaining to the wardens' role in court states that:

Officers should not be discouraged when a defendant is dismissed. The laws are passed by the Legislature and Commission and the officers' responsibility ends when they have given their testimony to the Court."

Although the wardens' formal responsibilities end when they give their testimony in court they are not completely divorced from the courts. The end product of much of their labor is determined by the courts, and, as such, the wardens have a vested interest in and attitudes toward court proceedings and judicial philosophies. Table 20 contains data that reflect the attitudes of the wardens toward the penalties levied by the courts on wildlife law violators.

None of the wardens felt that the courts were too harsh on wildlife law violators. Thirty-eight wardens (56.7%) felt that judges were too lenient and twenty-one wardens (31.3%) stated that the judges were just about right in their treatment of violators. Eight wardens (11.9%) gave a mixed answer and indicated that their responses would depend on "which judge you are talking about" or the particular offense "you have in mind".

Many wardens mentioned that judges did not consider violations of the wildlife laws to be very serious and one warden specifically

TABLE 20

RESPONSES OF THE WARDENS TO THE QUESTION "GENERALLY,
DO YOU FEEL THE COURTS (JUDGES) ARE TOO LENIENT,
TOO HARSH, OR JUST ABOUT RIGHT?"

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Too lenient	38	56.7
Just about right	21	31.3
Mixed answer	8	11.9
Total	67	99.9

stated that judges considered game wardens to be a "second-rate police force". Another warden mentioned that one judge dismissed a warden's case involving a person fishing from a restricted bridge "because the judge said that he had fished off of the same bridge himself". One warden said that he and another warden had apprehended two men fishing when the legal bass limit was eight per person. The two violators had in their possession seventy-six (76) bass. When the violators appeared in court they admitted catching the seventy-six fish and "The judge just leaned over the bench and said 'I wish I could catch that many and dismissed the case."¹⁴ Some wardens mentioned that they would not write a person a summons if the case was to be heard by certain judges. One warden stated "Why should I bother if the judge is just going to kick the case out anyway."

The wardens were also queried as to their feelings about the statutes regulating wildlife law violations. The responses of the wardens to the question "Do you feel the penalties for violation of Virginia game, fish and boating laws are too lenient, too harsh, or just about right?" are contained in Table 21.

Generally, the wardens are more satisfied with the statutory regulations regarding wildlife law violations than they are with the

¹⁴An article written over twenty years ago documents the fact that some judges are not overly concerned with wildlife law violations. The article by Kelley (1954:14) states: "Two years ago a federal judge....practically chewed the ears off a U.S. game management agent and four state wardens who dared burden his court with fifteen migratory-bird cases....Significantly, none of the four state wardens has carried a case into federal court since that day."

TABLE 21

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU FEEL THE PENALTIES FOR
VIOLATION OF VIRGINIA GAME, FISH, AND BOATING LAWS ARE
TOO LENIENT, TOO HARSH, OR JUST ABOUT RIGHT?"

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Just about right	41	61.2
Too lenient	23	34.3
Mixed answer	3	4.5
Total	67	100.0

judicial treatment of those statutes. Nearly two-thirds of the wardens felt the laws were just about right while approximately one third indicated that the laws were too lenient. Noticeably absent from this table is the "too harsh" response. None of the wardens mentioned that the laws were "too harsh".

Basically, as concerns the courts, wardens felt that the judges should levy more severe penalties on wildlife law violators. "It's not that the laws are weak, it's just that the judge gives the minimum fine", responded one warden. Other wardens mentioned that the laws were too lenient because the penalties were "set a long time ago when a dollar meant something. Now it's cheaper to get caught and fined than it is to buy the necessary licenses."

Occupational Stress

One conceptual underpinning appropriate to the study of occupational stress (frustration, dissonance, strain, or stress related to the work role) involves looking at role conflict.¹⁵ Role conflict usually occurs when a person is confronted with incompatible expectations and may result from a number of sources (Nix and Bates, 1963; Kahn et al., 1964; Klein, 1971; Ritzer, 1972). Incompatible expectations may occur as a result of "intrarole conflict", defined as

¹⁵ Mention should be made that, herein, the treatment of role, conflict is based largely, though not exclusively, upon information supplied by the wardens. As such, it involves the wardens' perceptions of others' expectations placed upon the focal position of game warden. (For a similar approach regarding perceived vs. actual expectations, see Gross et al., (1958:249.)

occurring when "an individual perceives that others hold different expectations of him as the incumbent of two or more positions (Gross et al., 1958:249). Another type of stress associated with the occupation of game warden might best be called "role overload"¹⁶ which refers to expectations that are mutually compatible in the abstract but which may be "virtually impossible for the focal person to completewithin given time limits" (Kahn et al., 1964:20).

Stress may also result because of "incongruity of status attributes" defined as the extent to which "important attributes of status are (1) in balance with one another or (2) internally consistent" (Pellegrin and Bates, 1959:24). Another type of stress associated with the occupation of game warden may be called, for lack of a better term, inadequate role "placement" on the part of the public toward the appropriate duties and expectations made of game wardens. While the data available do not permit a measurement of the extent of stress (i.e., no psychological measure was undertaken) the data are believed adequate to identify certain sources of stress for the game warden. These stresses will be explicated below in terms of (1) intrarole conflict, (2) inter-role conflict, (3) role overload, (4) status incongruity, and (5) inadequate role placement on the part of the public and the state.

¹⁶For a complementary term, see Nix and Bates (1962:16) for their discussion of "role superfluity".

Intrarole Conflict

As with other law enforcers, the game warden is sometimes placed in situations in which he must decide whether he is going to enforce the law or not. Discretion among game wardens sometimes involves giving the person a break or writing the person a summons. Wardens stated that people, as a rule, do not believe themselves to be doing harm to anyone by violating most of the wildlife laws. From the wardens' viewpoint, some people do not appreciate the true meaning of the term "Commonwealth" and to them catching an extra fish or killing an animal whenever they care to is their "right", and a right that had its roots in the country's early history. The wardens, then, are placed in positions of enforcing laws of misdemeanor calibre that are unpopular at least for a proportion of the population. The warden, then, is burdened by the conflicts inherent in any "enforcement" officer's role which involves "proper" grounds for arrest, balancing public relations with law enforcement, and decisions of when and how much coercive force is to be used in particular situations.¹⁷ In this respect, wardens are confronted with intrarole conflicts regarding treating a person with leniency (giving a "break") and treating everyone alike under the law. A recent newspaper article entitled "Game Wardens Drawing Wrath of Anglers", contains an example of the type of pressures associated with the enforcer role of the wardens.

¹⁷For treatments of these traditional role conflicts among enforcers, see Klein (1968) and Johnson (1973). For two well known articles on police discretion, see Piliavin and Briar (1964) and La Fave (1969).

In times past, it has been a common complaint that there weren't enough game wardens to go around, that wardens never were in the right place at the right time, that they just weren't doing their job when it came to issuing citations for violations.... Now, in at least two instances, the complaints are just the opposite; that wardens are too tough, that they are writing citations with an iron hand, that they are making a game of how quickly they can race through a pad of tickets....John McLaughlin, chief of the Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries law enforcement division, said...."It is a situation....where a warden simply can't win. He is damned if he does; damned if he doesn't" (Cochran, 1975:12).

Inter-Role Conflict

One type of inter-role conflict experienced by the wardens involves competing expectations placed upon the wardens by their families and "the job". Wardens are required to work forty-eight hours per week and, unlike other state employees, are not paid overtime for all hours over forty worked. The wardens actually work much more than their required forty-eight hours per week and are "on call" twenty-four hours per day. During peak seasons wardens mentioned working around the clock for days at a time. Wardens are asked not to ask for leaves during the holidays or on Saturdays or Sundays because of the heavier work load during these periods. The saliency of this feature of game warden work is demonstrated by the responses to the question "If you interviewed a potential game warden, what points about your job would you emphasize?". Of the sixty-seven wardens that responded to this question, twenty-eight (41.8%) first mentioned that they would emphasize to the applicant that he would have to work long hours.

Not only do wardens work long hours but because of the night

and weekend work involved, the hours are irregular. As previously mentioned, part of the job requires not establishing patterns of work behavior. In this respect wardens never know what time they are going to be called concerning a complaint and have to cancel their plans. This uncertainty, while possibly representing a dimension of job autonomy, places certain stresses on the wardens; stresses that they are quick to point out puts them under quite a bit of "pressure". Part of this pressure is directly related to the effect of uncertainties on their family life in that working long, irregular hours precludes the establishment of routine patterns of family interaction that is characteristic of many households. While wardens may positively accept this aspect of their jobs in some cases, most wardens mentioned that their jobs placed hardships upon their families. One warden, even though he said he really enjoyed the work, was rather bitter toward his job primarily due to the fact that he had recently gotten a divorce and stated that his ex-wife blamed his job for their marital problems. "I used to go out one morning and not be able to come back until the next morning. I guess she just got fed up." This warden indicated more dissonance concerning his job when he said "I would quit today if I could find a job with similar pay and benefits. It's not that I don't like the work it's just that it's so demanding." This clearly points up the conflict regarding the husband/father role dealing with family allegiances and occupational role demands. Several wardens mentioned to the interviewers for this project that if we really wanted to get an idea of what game wardens did we should talk to their wives.

"They'll tell you what we do and how much we do and how little we're home and about the number of phone calls we get," stated one warden.¹⁸

Another possible example of the stress associated with the occupation of game warden involves the suicides of two wardens a few months after the data were collected for this project. While it would be erroneous to assume a one to one correlation between the occupation and the suicides, follow-up interviews with wardens who knew the suicide victims offered additional insight into some aspects of the occupation of game warden.¹⁹

Both wardens who committed suicide worked in the same district and had known each other for approximately ten years. Both were reported to be having marital difficulties. One warden killed his wife and daughter, shot his mother-in-law and shot at his son-in-law before killing himself. The other was a single suicide. When respondents were questioned as to possible connections between the occupation and the suicides, they first said there were no connections, that the wardens would have done the same thing if they had been salesmen or truck drivers. When the subject was probed by the interviewer in more detail the wardens concluded that there "might" be a connection between being away from home a lot, the chance for extra-marital affairs and

¹⁸See Preiss and Ehrlich (1966:33-36) for a similar account of the conflicts between police work and family life as well as methods wives developed to compete with the job for the time and attention of their husbands.

¹⁹The interviews are not reported in detail because of concerns for insuring the confidentiality promised the respondents.

resultant marital problems. Another point made by one respondent dealt with the image of one of the wardens in the community. The warden was "proud" to be a law enforcement officer and liked for "people to look up to him" in the community. Related to the fact that this warden had allegedly beaten and raped his wife previously (see The Roanoke Times, Wednesday, May 28, 1975;13) and the wife was now trying to have him arrested (which would bring these incidences into public view) the warden, according to the respondent, could not "live down" these charges. Several times during the course of the interviewing for this project wardens mentioned that marital problems and mental and physical hardships plagued some wardens. While the extent of these hardships are not known, they are indicative of one type of stress associated with the occupation of game warden.

Role Overload

Wardens perform a multiplicity of tasks associated with their work role. These tasks, as previously indicated, involve law enforcement, education and public relations, conservation, and a host of miscellaneous requests. Related to the long, irregular hours worked by the wardens are what might be seen as "excessive" expectations. Wardens, as detailed in Chapter 5, are called upon in reference to a variety of matters concerning animals, both domesticated and wild. They are "on call" twenty-four hours per day and may be expected to speak to a group of teenagers regarding gun safety during the day, to address a civic group regarding conservation at night, and catch a spotlighter at 3:30 in the morning. While these expectations are not directly

incompatible, they may be excessive, especially during heavy hunting or fishing seasons. A few quotes, taken from interview data and field notes characterize this feature of the occupation of game warden.

My telephone rings all the time. A lot of the calls are unrelated to game warden work. People want me to get skunks out of their basements and keep the ground hogs out of their gardens. I don't consider this to be part of my job, but I have to do it sometimes.

The people in Richmond (Commission headquarters) are not aware of all the problems we face. We need more manpower.

This is a twenty-four hour a day, seven days a week job. You just can't be everywhere and do all the things you're supposed to do.

We should be able to go home and not have to be on call at a moment's notice. Family problems pop up because of the amount of time you're away from home.

We need more help. We need at least two game wardens per county.

We have to check property damage (done by animals) and estimate the cost. I'm not trained to estimate the cost of damaged crops. I just take the landowner's word for it. It's the county's responsibility anyway. A State Game Warden shouldn't have to spend time doing county work. The county should hire their own man to do it.

These statements, together with the delineation of the multiple roles performed by game wardens in Chapter 5, offer evidence which appear to suggest that the wardens are subjected to excessive role demands. Several wardens mentioned that their necessary postponement of certain work activities sometimes aggravated members of "the public", such as a landowner seeking a property damage settlement or a store owner requesting pamphlets or brochures on the hunting regulations for the upcoming season. But according to one warden:

It doesn't aggravate them half as much as it does me. People call you for everything. One man called me the other day

through the sheriff's office and when I got to his house all he wanted was for me to see his new boat. This is the kind of stuff that takes up your time.

Status Incongruity

Work positions have been conceptually treated as possessing particular "status attributes" (Pellegrin and Bates, 1959:24) that may vary in regard to congruency or balance. The responses of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens to a scale (see Appendix B) designed to measure the consistency of certain status attributes of their occupation (economic rewards, authority, prestige, functional importance, and psychological reward) indicate that they perceive their occupation to possess a certain degree of incongruity. Particularly out of balance are the attributes of economic rewards and functional importance. When wardens were asked to evaluate their occupation in terms of functional importance, twenty-three wardens (34.8%) checked the very high response category. Thirty-two wardens (48.5%) felt that their job had a high degree of functional importance and eight (12.1%) evaluated it as having medium functional importance. When the wardens evaluated the economic rewards received as a result of their employment, however, they ranked their salaries as being medium to low. Seven wardens (10.6%) indicated their pay as very low, twenty-five (37.9%) as low, and twenty-nine evaluated their economic rewards as medium (43.9%). Four wardens (6.1%) gave a high ranking for their salaries, while only one warden (1.5%) felt his remuneration to be very high.

Perceived inadequate compensation on the part of the wardens is also reflected in the fact that several wardens complained of the

fact that their expense accounts were not comparable to those of state troopers. The wardens many times come into contact with state troopers at particular restaurants that are frequented by members of both law enforcement groups. These situations sometimes produce low levels of antagonism between the groups. The symbolic points of departure for some of this antagonism is the fact that game wardens only receive \$1.25 reimbursement for meals while state troopers get \$2.00. State troopers were also accused of chiding the wardens with such statements as "Do you guys have dress uniforms?" or "How much is it you guys get for lunch, \$3.00 isn't it?". While these incidents do not involve open hostility between the groups (the wardens mentioned good cooperation between the two agencies) they do signify stress points for the wardens.

Even though status incongruity may not be synonymous with occupational stress, these data indicate that the wardens believe their jobs to make a fundamental contribution to the operation of the Commonwealth but think they are underpaid for performing these important work tasks. These data are further supported in that at the end of the interview (see Appendix A), when asked if they could think of any other problems concerning their work, the majority of the wardens mentioned that their salaries were inadequate for the work they performed. These data, then, indicate that the wardens are confronted with at least a potentiality frustrating or stressful situation as a result of the incongruity of these status attributes.

Inadequate Occupational Role Placement

Inadequate occupational role placement is defined here as refer-

ing to a paucity of adequate role descriptions, held by the public, regarding the duties associated with an occupational group. As previously mentioned, some wardens felt that their occupation was not adequately appreciated because the public was thought to be unaware of the duties performed by the wardens. Not only do people request from wardens things wardens are not required to do, but they do not always properly identify the wardens as State Game Wardens. People mistakenly identify wardens as dog catchers, county game wardens, alcoholic beverage control agents, game managers and state maintenance workers. Even with the new uniforms that wardens have just been issued, they are still mistaken for forest rangers and park rangers.

Misidentification also occurs regarding the wardens' authority. When asked "Do people ever try to get you to change your mind about an arrest?" sixty-four wardens (95.5%) stated "yes". Of those sixty-four wardens, twenty-two (34.4%) stated they had been offered bribes in one form or another (money, food, sexual favors, etc.). The act of discretion regarding whether or not to issue a person a summons sometimes places the warden in a stressful situation of deciding whether to be impartial or to give this person "a break".

The inadequate role placement by the public (not knowing what game wardens do) is linked to a mididentification of the wardens authority (not knowing what game wardens can do). Several examples were given by the wardens where people would tell the wardens "You can't do that" or "You don't have the authority to do that, do you". Some members of the public question the wardens' symbol of power,

the gun. Some people ask the wardens "Do you really have the right to carry that gun. Are you going to shoot me for catching one fish too many?". One story related to the author by an Area Patrol Leader demonstrates the lack of clarity surrounding the wardens' authority.

I observed this man violating the law (littering) and I approached him with my badge out and told him I was a State Warden and that I was going to write him a ticket for throwing beer cans out in a public place. He looked shocked and asked to see the badge again. When he looked at it he said "Why, anybody can have a badge like that. I could buy one in a dime store. Anybody could have one of them." The warden replied, "Maybe so, but there can't just anybody give you what I'm going to give you" (a summons).

Inadequate role identification and inadequate knowledge of and appreciation for the wardens' authority many times places wardens in ill defined situations that necessitate, in some cases, a definite assertion of their authority to "let them know" (the public) who is in charge. For some wardens, at least, this lack of public clarity as to the nature and extent of the wardens' authority places an additional strain on the wardens in performing their occupational duties.

Similar problems involve, from the wardens viewpoint, an ambiguous definition pertaining to the legal status of their occupation. Even though the major raison de etré of the Commission is the enforcement of wildlife laws, and the wardens self-perception is one of law enforcement officer, the State, in certain instances, does not treat the Commission as a law enforcement agency nor the wardens as law enforcement officers. This is a concern of the wardens in that because of this official position they are denied certain benefits obtained by other state employees and law enforcement officers. One incident

regarding the presumably accidental death of two wardens in a plane crash, while on duty, resulted in the widows of wardens being unable to receive the \$25,000 life insurance settlement received by spouses of other state law enforcement agents killed in the line of duty. In this case the wardens were classed as general state employees.

Another example involves the right to financial aid offered to state law enforcement officers to better their education. A specific statute grants financial aid to "law enforcement officers of the State, its political subdivisions, departments or authorities, or of any county, city or town thereof...." (Code of Virginia, 1950:149). When one warden entered a local community college and requested the financial assistance, he was informed that he was not eligible. When the warden asked for a ruling from the State Attorney General in regard to the matter, the Attorney General replied in letter that:

The Department of Education has consistently interpreted the term "law enforcement officer" to include law enforcement officers whose primary function involves the enforcement of criminal laws in general and to exclude employees of agencies whose primary function is the enforcement of civil, regulatory or administrative law, even though some violations may carry criminal sanctions. Game wardens....are appointed by the Commission....which is not an authority or political subdivision of the State, nor is it a "department" as that term is used in the Code of Virginia....therefore, the exclusion of game wardens by the Department of Education is not inconsistent with the statute....Your inquiry is answered in the negative.

Wardens' comments about this matter reflect a bitterness and confusion over their being denied the opportunities given to other law enforcement officers. One comment was that:

We're being shit on and everybody is going to hurt in the long run. We can't go to school but schooling is necessary to get

high paying jobs in this agency. They want you to put forth a good image but won't help you go to school so you can.

In summary in regard to occupational stress, the wardens were found to occupy positions that place them in at least potentially stressful situations in performing their work roles. These situations involve different types of (1) intrarole conflict, (2) inter-role conflict, (3) role overload, (4) status incongruity, and (5) inadequate role placement.

Summary

This Chapter has presented data that indicate some of the work attitudes of Virginia Game Wardens. These attitudes were investigated in regard to a host of occupational concerns, including: (1) job satisfaction, (2) the wardens' conception of their public image, (3) the hazards attached to wildlife law enforcement, (4) wardens' perception of wildlife law violators, (5) the beliefs of wardens concerning the courts and the laws governing wildlife use, and (6) occupational stress.

The Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens surveyed were found to possess a relatively high degree of job satisfaction. Possible correlates of this aspect of the work role of game warden were delineated. Factors thought to be related to high job satisfaction among wardens are (1) lack of constant supervision, (2) lack of constant coercion, (3) variety in work tasks, (4) lack of boring and monotonous chores, (5) perceived meaningful work, and (6) lack of isolation in performing their work roles.

Wardens were also found to be concerned with their public image and offered several reasons as to why they thought the image of game warden had improved in the recent past. Primary among these reasons were that they were no longer responsible for the "dog work" which State Game Wardens had previously been involved. Other basic reasons for felt improvement in public image were that wardens presently consider themselves more professional than in the past and that they now benefit from public relations efforts carried out by the Commission.

Wardens, while they consider certain of their law enforcement efforts hazardous, do not consider, for the most part, wildlife law violators to be "criminals". Even though wardens rank particular offenses as involving greater and lesser degrees of criminality, they perceive most of the perpetrators of these offenses to be drawn from the "average" population and, as such, were unable to make generalizations about wildlife law violators as a whole. In regard to the statutes regarding wildlife law violation, most wardens felt that the laws ranged from just about right to too lenient. None of the wardens surveyed thought the laws were too harsh. Similarly, the majority of the wardens surveyed believed the judicial treatment of offenders to be too lenient.

The final section of this Chapter identified several potential sources of occupational stress associated with the job of game warden. These stress factors involve, among others, an array of role conflicts, excessive role demands, and public ambiguity regarding the role of the Virginia Game Warden. The seemingly discordant findings of this study pertaining to occupational stress and, at the same time, high job

satisfaction, will receive additional treatment, both conceptually and methodologically, in the final Chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The protection of wildlife by man in order to insure a more adequate food supply originated in prehistoric times. The proscriptions regarding the taking and utilization of wild animals involved a variety of taboos concerning, among other things, the number and types of animals that could legitimately be killed and the method of harvest. Modern societies no longer rely entirely upon tribal taboos to regulate their wildlife populations but, rather, have implemented statutory guidelines, complete with legal sanctions for their breach, to better preserve and control the use of various species of beast, fowl, and fish. In addition, an occupational specialty has developed which has as its main concern the enforcement of wildlife laws. It has been the major purpose of this study to provide a description of one such occupation; that of game warden.

The data for this study were obtained utilizing a variety of research techniques: (1) a structured interview schedule, (2) a self-administered questionnaire, (3) tape recorded conversations, and (4) direct observation. These data were collected by four Graduate Assistants employed by the Sociology Department of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University during the summer of 1974.

The exploration of this occupation has basically focused upon and detailed the various roles performed by Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens. Supervisors and Assistant Supervisors were deleted from this analysis because they are less concerned with work "in the field".¹ In this respect, the sample size for this study is sixty-seven (N=67). This number consists of twenty-five respondents holding the rank of Area Patrol Leader and forty-two Regular Wardens.

Based on the data obtained, the occupational role behavior of Virginia Game Wardens was found to involve primarily (1) law enforcement, (2) conservation, and (3) education and public relations. The majority of the wardens considered law enforcement to be the main aspect of their job and spent most of their work time engaged in such efforts. As wildlife law enforcement officers, the wardens employ a variety of techniques to detect and apprehend wildlife law violators. The major law enforcement technique used was observation and patrol, while the majority of the other techniques used involved, in one way or another, a certain degree of "sneakiness". The wardens were found to pride themselves on their abilities to be at the most remote places at the most unexpected times in order to apprehend a violator. Basically, however, wildlife law enforcement behaviors performed by Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens were found to differ considerably when compared to models of police behavior posited

¹This is not to imply that they do not perform duties similar to Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens, but that they are involved primarily in supervisory duties.

by previous writers. The "Inspector model", presented by Brodsky (1973:125), was found to offer more comparative utility than others found in the literature.

The education and public relations roles of the wardens are manifested by an involvement in programs undertaken in cooperation with local schools, youth groups and civic clubs. In performing these roles, the wardens instruct hunter safety and boat safety courses, coordinate and judge particular conservation contests (i.e., wildlife food patches) and address sports and civic clubs on Commission policies and conservation measures. Some wardens mentioned that they performed education and public relations functions through law enforcement, in that they would sometimes lecture and warn a violator rather than issuing a citation.

Wildlife law enforcement officers are also requested to perform a variety of tasks that are not officially required of them, but are performed as a "service" to the community. Prevalent among these are search and rescue work, which wardens are equipped to perform because of their "geographic gestalt" and various physical facilities such as rough terrain vehicles and communication systems.

The wardens tended to perceive their job as being hazardous. Often they confront sportsmen who are in possession of weapons and sometimes these sportsmen are engaged in illegal activities at the time of confrontation. Several wardens mentioned that they had to cope with "dangerous" situations, many of which involved violators who were less than appreciative of the wardens' law enforcement efforts.

In terms of the work attitudes of the wardens, a finding of particular interest was that wardens were highly satisfied with their jobs. Based on previous literature, it is hypothesized that their high job satisfaction results from a basic lack of the traditionally more oppressive features of work: (1) constant supervision, (2) constant coercion, (3) lack of variety, (4) monotony, (5) meaningless tasks, and (6) isolation. Wardens enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy, perform a variety of work tasks (some of which are modified by seasonal changes), are not bored with their work, and perceive themselves to be performing a "meaningful" task in that they help protect beneficial species of wildlife and educate the public to the potential dangers involved in certain sporting activities. Rather than being isolated in performing their work roles, they are integrated into the community because of their relationships with "the public", acting not only as wildlife law enforcer, but as a local representative of the Commission.

Wardens possess a basically lenient attitude toward most wildlife law violators, with some exceptions. The perceived gravity of the offenses of spotlighting deer, habitual and intentional offending, and market poaching (illegally killing, transporting, and selling the carcasses of animals) prompted the wardens to label the offenders "criminals". Most violators did not fall within this category, however, and were thought to be similar to traffic offenders in that the offense was minor and due to negligence and unintentionality. Most wardens believed the statutory regulations pertaining to wildlife law violations to be just about right or too lenient, but believed,

in general, that judges were too lenient on offenders in that they were likely to levy the minimum fine for such offenses.

The wardens were also concerned with improving their public image, having previously been labeled as "unprofessional" by the public. This label was attached (they believed) because of a variety of characteristics of work tasks previously required of State Game Wardens. One of the more "degrading" of these tasks was reported to be "dog work". Wardens are still requested, by uninformed members of the public, to vaccinate dogs, kill packs of dogs that are disturbing heres of cattle dispose of "stray" dogs and prevent them from overturning garbage cans. Wardens are making a conscious effort to remove themselves from this perceived stigma by "public relations" efforts, explaining to the public that they no longer are charged with these responsibilities. Other reasons mentioned for a less than appreciative image of wardens, in the past at least, were that earlier wardens were inadequately trained and undereducated, and did not benefit from standardized role facilities (uniforms, standard weapons, vehicles). Wardens believe that they are now viewed in a better light than in the past due to a more "professional" image, no longer having to perform "dog work", better public relations efforts on the part of the Commission, and the recent importance attached to ecology and ecologically related occupations.

Another finding of this study, and a seemingly discordant one because of the high job satisfaction experienced by the wardens, is that wardens were found to be subjected to a variety of occupational

stresses (defined as frustration, dissonance, strain, or stress related to the work role). These stress situations revolve around various types of intrarole and inter-role conflicts. Intrarole conflict occurs when the incumbent of a single role position is confronted with incompatible expectations held for the person by others. Inter-role conflict involves others holding different expectations of the person as the incumbent of two or more positions. Wardens experience intrarole conflict when violators expect, and many times try to affect, a lenient response to their violations; they attempt to persuade the warden to "give them a break" by not issuing them a citation. The conflict, possibly endemic to the role of disciplinarian or enforcer, presents the warden with conflicting expectations in the sense that he is expected by the Commission and segments of the public to enforce the laws, but is expected by the offender to be "let off" with a warning rather than a summons. Violators employ the argument that their offense "doesn't amount to anything" and that they should be left alone to pursue their recreational and sporting "rights". A similar, yet distinct, form of intrarole conflict involves the Commission's philosophy that it is sometimes actually better to give warnings to violators rather than citations, but expects (unofficially, at least) the wardens to write an adequate number of citations. The "adequacy" of the unofficial quota is vaguely defined, but according to one warden, "They'll let you know when you don't write enough." In these situations, at least, the wardens experience intrarole conflict. Probably the best example of inter-role conflict found among

game wardens regards incompatible expectations made involving the positions of "game warden" and "father/spouse". Because wardens are on call twenty-four hours per day and are required to work on weekends and holidays, the role expectation regarding this role conflicts with expectations made of the warden by his wife and children to stay at home and "be with them". The majority of wardens surveyed mentioned that this aspect of their work was very problematic. Most wardens said that an understanding wife was a necessary prerequisite to being an effective game warden.

Wardens also experience role-overload in that they are, from their standpoint, "understaffed" and need more "manpower". Their various work roles require, in their opinion, excessive expectations that, while not incompatible in the abstract, are difficult to perform within a given time period. Wardens are also "misidentified" by segments of the population who are unsure as to what duties game wardens perform and of the limits of the wardens' authority. In this regard wardens operate in an "identification vacuum" because of inadequate role placement by their audience.

While these stresses were commonly mentioned by wardens, and some adamantly voiced these frustrations, they were, nevertheless, highly satisfied with their jobs. It appears that one manner of reconciliation of these two variables, if they are in fact discordant, is the premise that the positive aspects of the job simply outweigh the negative. One warden offered the remark, after complaining vehemently of all the "bad" things associated with his job, that "I still

wouldn't do anything else. I guess I've got it in my blood." Another approach, and possibly the most applicable one, is that the two phenomena, (job satisfaction and occupational stress) are not conceptually opposed to one another. It may be hypothesized that certain types of stress, in particular occupations, actually contribute to the job satisfaction experienced.² In this sense, those job related "problems" may add an element of involvement and excitement to the performance of the work role that, when taken as a whole, are less problematic than reported by the respondents.

Implications

One section of this study involved a comparison of wildlife law enforcement with other types of law enforcement. While the models offered by previous authors hold some utility for such a comparison, they offer less than excellent reference materials for analyzing the role behavior of game wardens. The content of the laws enforced by game wardens and the nature of their specific role performances lend support to the development of different, more occupationally specific, comparative frameworks. Should other studies of a similar nature be undertaken, the role descriptions presented herein (and in Snizek et al., 1975) could be employed as comparative reference points in the construction of typologies specific to wildlife law enforcement. Of particular interest in this respect would be studies of law enforcement

²For material pertaining to stress and job satisfaction, and the statement "Moreover, role conflicts tend to reduce one's general satisfaction with the job", see Kahn et al., (1964:66).

personnel employed by other state game and fish Commissions. While the data contained in this study are believed to be generalizable to the state as a whole, the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries may possess features not found in other Commissions. Wildlife law enforcement officers employed by other Commissions might consider their "master role" to be one other than law enforcement. Their focal concerns might involve work roles and occupational ideologies quite different from those found among Virginia Game Wardens. Should such differences be discovered, the variables generated could be utilized in a variety of subsequent research undertakings. These different "master roles" could be used as independent variables in an examination of the relationships between type of role and job satisfaction, occupational stress, perceived public image and, should an acceptable measure be devised, wildlife law enforcement effectiveness.

As a final note regarding the implications of this study, previous literature (Giles, 1971; McCormick, 1971) has indicated that salient concerns of administrative personnel of various wildlife Commissions are "efficiency and effectiveness" of wildlife law enforcement efforts. While these two concepts have traditionally enjoyed positive evaluations from those in management positions and time-and-motion experts, increased efficiency and effectiveness may produce less than desirable consequences from the standpoint of the rank-and-file. As high job satisfaction among the wardens surveyed for this study is thought to be related to factors such as job autonomy (with attendant lack of constant supervision and coercion) and the

performance of a variety of work tasks, efforts toward increasing efficiency (if they conflict with job flexibility) may reduce the job satisfaction of wardens. Specifically, it is hypothesized, in regard to the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries, that attempts to increase the efficiency of wildlife law enforcement (by the addition of scheduled activities and routinization of tasks) will reduce the job satisfaction of Area Patrol Leaders and Regular Wardens.

In conclusion, this study has attempted, through a variety of techniques, to describe what game wardens do, how they do it, and how they feel about performing their work tasks. Hopefully, the material in this study has provided documentation that helps to answer these questions and has afforded the reader a more penetrating look, and a more insightful knowledge of, a previously unexplored, and neglected, occupation; that of the game warden.

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APPENDIX A

VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN SURVEY

VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN SURVEY

Card No. _____

Interview No. _____

Respondent's Name: _____

Address: _____
(Street) (City) (County)

District: _____

Phone: _____
(Area Code) (Number)Date: _____
(Month) (Day)Interviewer's I.D. No.: _____ Length of Interview: _____
(Minutes)INTRODUCTION

Guess you've received letter.

Confidentiality.

No right or wrong answers, simply opinion on different issues.

1. Specific job title: _____
- (1) G.W.A.-Trainee
 (2) G.W.B.-G.W.
 (3) G.W.C.-B.W. Leader
 (4) Asst. Supervisor
 (5) Supervisor
 (6) Other
2. Previous full-time occupation(s):
- (1) _____ (most recent)
 (2) _____
 (3) _____ (least recent)
3. How many locations have you been assigned to? No. _____
 Reason for relocation: (1) own choice (2) Commission's request
4. Military experience: yes___ no___
- 4a. Veteran: yes___ no___
- 4b. Length of service (in years): _____
- 4c. Branch: _____
- 4d. What training, if any, did you receive while in the military that has helped you in your performance as a game warden? _____

TRAINING, RECRUITMENT, SOCIALIZATION

ASPIRATION

5. At what point in your life would you say you made the decision to become a game warden? _____
- (1) prior to high school
 (2) during high school
 (3) after high school and before college
 (4) during college
 (5) after college

6. We found from talking to game wardens that there's a wide range of reasons for many of them selecting this area as a career. What would you say were the major influences in your decision to become a game warden? _____

7. Was the occupation of game warden your first choice of a career?

- (1) yes
- (2) no (one other)
- (3) no (several others)

If No: What other profession or area of study were you seriously considering working toward? _____

If Several: Indicate last area considered in the space provided below:

Specify: _____

7a. What were the major reasons you didn't go (on) in that kind of work? _____

8. Would you choose the occupation of game warden as a career if you had it all to do over again? _____

- (1) yes
- (2) no
- (3) yes--no
- (4) don't know

Yes (Why?) _____

No (Why?) _____

9. Would you advise or encourage your own son or daughter to become a game warden if you have or had one? _____

- (1) yes
- (2) no

Yes (Why?) _____

No (Why?) _____

10. If you were to interview a person who applied to be a game warden, what qualities would you look for in the applicant?

_____ (most important)

11. If you interviewed a potential game warden, what points about your job would you emphasize?

12. How did you actually go about getting the job of game warden? (probe - Is it really as involved as the rules state?)

13. What types of training are involved in becoming a game warden?

- (1) no training
- (2) 2 weeks
- (3) 5 weeks
- (4) 7 weeks

14. What position did you expect to reach when you first became a game warden? (probe - Does he want to move up; has he changed his mind about moving up; does he want to remain at present level, etc.?)

15. In what ways have you changed your opinion of your job since you joined the department?

16. Since you have been in this department, have you ever thought about leaving for some other kind of work?_____ If Yes:

16a. What are the main reasons that made you consider leaving?

17. With nearly all jobs it takes a while to learn the best ways to get things done (timesaving devices, shortcuts, etc.).

If you were training a new warden, what types of things would you tell or show him that you have learned through experience that would enable him to do his job better as well as easier? (probe - tricks of trade)

Field Work _____

Office Work _____

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your activities in your community.

18. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations in this community? (probe)

- (1) yes
- (2) no

If Yes: What clubs or organizations are they, and have you ever been an officer in any of these? _____

19. Now, I'd like you to think about three persons whom you would consider your closest friends (no relatives). Without giving me their names, would you tell me their occupations and whether or not they reside in this community?
 (Code: No. of occupation)

- (1st)(1) Other Game Wardens
- (2) Law Enforcement Officers
- (3) Other Professional (specify) _____
- (2nd)(4) Business Mgr. or Official
- (5) Business/Clerical Employee
- (6) Skilled/Unskilled Worker
- (3rd)(7) Farmer
- (8) Unemployed
- (9) Other (specify) _____
- (10) Lawyer

SOURCES OF INFORMATION YOU RECEIVE IN THE COURSE OF YOUR WORK

20. Do people give you information about game and fish violations (ors)?

20a. How essential is this information to you in carrying out your work?

_____ very impt. _____ impt. _____ don't know _____ not so impt. _____ useless

20b. Do any people give you information enough for you to call them informers (or any other similar name)? _____

20c. How essential is this information to you in carrying out your work?

_____ very impt. _____ impt. _____ don't know _____ not so impt. _____ useless

20d. Do you suspect people in the area are reluctant to provide information to you that could help you in your job?
 yes _____ no _____

If Yes: Why do you think they withhold such information?

- 20e. Of the arrests you make, how many were a result of complaints by general citizens? _____ Informers? _____
Personally initiated? _____
21. Are there any other ways in which people help you in your job?
- _____
- _____
- _____
22. To what extent do "special wardens" (appointed by circuit court judges) aid you in the performance of your work?
- (1) to a very great extent
(2) to a great extent
(3) to some extent
(4) to a small extent
(5) not to any appreciable extent
23. To what extent do "special wardens" (appointed by the Commission) aid you in the performance of your work?
- (1) to a very great extent
(2) to a great extent
(3) to some extent
(4) to a small extent
(5) not to any appreciable extent
24. Do you think the public adequately appreciates the work you do?
- yes _____ no _____ (probe)
25. Do you think hunters, fishers and boaters adequately appreciate the work you do?
- yes _____ no _____
26. Do you think the public is adequately or inadequately informed in regard to the work you do?
- adequately _____ inadequately _____
- 26a. If inadequate: Suggestions for improvement of public knowledge.
- _____
- _____
- _____

27. Do you feel that people look on the job of game warden better, worse, or in the same light as in the past? _____ If better or worse, explain.

28. Approximately how large (sq. miles) is the territory for which you are responsible? _____

29. How does your area differ from other areas within the state?

29a. What techniques do you use in patrolling your area to detect violations?

29b. Are these techniques used by all wardens or are they unique to your alone?

30. Among game wardens, are some areas considered "easy" districts or more manageable districts? yes ____ no ____

What are the characteristics of "easy" districts? (probe human and geographic factors)

Hard districts?

31. Does your territory overlap with federal territory? ____ If so, do any problems arise as a result of this overlap? ____ Examples.

32. Some wardens have indicated that many times they will patrol a neighboring county while the warden for that county works in their area. Have you ever done this? yes ____ no ____ Reasons.

33. Do you think some wardens resent other wardens working their territory? yes ____ no ____ Reasons.

34. How do you generally handle the disposition of homeless or wounded animals? _____

35. Do you own any property in this area? _____ How much? _____
What kind? _____

36. Do you own a pet(s) or livestock? _____ What kind? _____

37. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you hear the term ecology?

LAW ENFORCEMENT SECTION

38. What do you see as being the main aspect of your job? (probe)

VIOLATOR

39. Would you list the top three areas in which you give most of your citations.

40. Do you consider violators to be criminals? (probe)

41. Can you make any generalizations about the types of people you issue citations to most often?

42. Over the past 12 months, how many persons have resisted arrest?
No. _____

42a. What were the circumstances surrounding these incidents?
(probe)

43. Do people ever try to get you to change your mind about an arrest?
(probe bribes)

VIOLATION

44. Just what is "poaching"? _____

45. Do you have any knowledge of organized poaching in your district?
(probe extent to which organized - families)

ENFORCEMENT

46. During the past 12 months approximately how many arrests have you made? _____

46a. Are some wardens known as "gung ho" or do some wardens try to make more inspections, arrests, etc. than others?
yes _____ no _____

46b. What is your opinion of these wardens?

47. In the past 12 months, have you used force in making an arrest?
(probe)

48. Do you think it necessary for game wardens to carry weapons and handcuffs? _____

49. What percentage of the people you arrest do you search? _____

49a. Do you have the legal authority to search a motor vehicle without the owner's permission? yes _____ no _____

49b. What percentage of the arrests you make involves the search of a motor vehicle? _____

50. Do you ever confiscate a violator's property? _____
51. How many times in the past 12 months have you taken someone to jail? _____
- 51a. What were the surrounding circumstances for this action?
(probe)
- _____
- _____
- _____
52. Do you ever wish you had more legal authority than you currently have in regard to enforcing laws other than those pertaining to game, fish and boating violations?
- _____
- _____
- _____
53. The game warden many times may give a warning to violators rather than a citation. Under what circumstances do you give warnings rather than citations? (probe)
- _____
- _____
- _____
54. Have you ever encountered any difficulty in regard to private property (e.g. large corporate land and/or timber owners)? _____
Explain.
- _____
- _____
- _____
55. What percentage of the arrests you make occur while you are in uniform? _____ Plain clothes? _____ = 100%
56. Do you give or receive adequate cooperation from other law enforcement agencies? (probe)
- _____
- _____
- _____

DISPOSITION

57. Do you feel the penalties for violation of Virginia game, fish and boating laws are too lenient, too harsh, or just about right? (probe, e.g., "In what ways?")

58. Generally, do you feel the courts (judges) are too lenient, too harsh, or just about right? _____

59. To what extent do you believe that most violations of wildlife laws represent a threat to the ecological balance of the state?

- (1) very great extent
- (2) great extent
- (3) some extent
- (4) little
- (5) no extent

60. Do most violators appear in court or are there other means available to them to pay their fines in lieu of a court appearance?

What means? _____

What percentage use this method? _____

61. Do you see your job as being distinctly different from allied occupations (federal game wardens, forest rangers, park rangers, etc.)? Explain your answer.

62. When you are off duty, do you feel that you must act in a way that keeps up your image as a game warden? _____ If Yes: go to 62a.

62a. In what ways does this affect your social life?

62b. How do you feel about this?

63. Do you believe the equipment provided you by the state is adequate to carry out your job properly? yes ____ no ____

If No: What other equipment do you need?

64. To what extent is there a feeling of brotherhood among game wardens?

- (1) to a very great extent
- (2) to a great extent
- (3) to some extent
- (4) to a small extent
- (5) to no extent

65. (Hand respondent card)

Would you look over this list of activities and indicate, in preferential order, the three you enjoy the most, and the three you enjoy the least.

MOST

LEAST

_____	Game law enforcement	_____
_____	Fish law enforcement	_____
_____	Game management	_____
_____	Fish management	_____
_____	Boating activities	_____
_____	Conservation related work	_____
_____	Desk work (filing reports; other paper work)	_____
_____	Attending court	_____
_____	Education and Public Relations	_____

_____ Other _____

Would you please tell me why you chose these particular areas as most and least enjoyable.

Most Enjoyable

(1) _____

Least Enjoyable

(1) _____

66. Is there anything else you would like to mention about being a game warden or the problems you face that you think we should be informed about?

Do you have any solution for the problems?

APPENDIX B

VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN STUDY

VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN STUDY

INSTRUCTIONS

Included in this book are a number of short questions requiring, for the most part, no more than a check (✓) mark. Please be as candid as possible in answering these questions. Apart from the initial background questions, there are no right or wrong answers. Instead, we are simply asking, in many instances, for your opinion.

Be assured that all answers will be kept in strictest confidence, and that your answers will be merged with those of others so as to get a total picture of game wardens currently working throughout the state.

After answering the questions in this booklet, please return the completed booklet in the self-addressed, stamped envelope which accompanies the booklet.

Thank you.

Should you desire a copy of the study's results, please check (✓) the box appearing at the left.

GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age _____
2. Education - highest grade completed (Check one)
- ____ a. Grad. prof. training
- ____ b. Standard college or university graduate
- ____ c. Partial college training or technical school
- ____ d. High school graduate
- ____ e. Partial high school (10-11)
- ____ f. Jr. high school (7-9)
- ____ g. Less than 7 years

If your answer to question No. 2 fell into categories a, b, or c above, please answer questions 3 and 4. If not, skip to question No. 5.

3. What degree, if any, do you hold? (Check one)
- ____ No degree received
- ____ A.A.
- ____ B.A. or B.S.
- ____ M.A. or M.S.
- ____ Ph.D.
- ____ Other (please specify) _____
4. What was your major while in college? _____
5. Present marital status (Check one)
- ____ Divorced or separated
- ____ Widowed
- ____ Married
- ____ Single
6. Have you ever been previously married? (Check one)
- ____ Yes
- ____ No
7. Past Residence Size: What would you estimate the population to have been of the community in which you grew up? (Check one)
- | | |
|--|---|
| ____ Open country | ____ Large town 5000-9999 |
| ____ Small village less than or equal to 999 | ____ Small city 10,000-49,999 |
| ____ Large village 1000-2499 | ____ Large city 50,000-99,999 |
| ____ Small town 2500-4999 | ____ Metropolitan area of 100,000 or more |

8. Present Residence Size: What would you estimate the population of the community to be in which you are currently living? (Check one)

<input type="checkbox"/> Open country	<input type="checkbox"/> Large town 5000-9999
<input type="checkbox"/> Small village less than or equal to 999	<input type="checkbox"/> Small city 10,000-49,999
<input type="checkbox"/> Large village 1000-2499	<input type="checkbox"/> Large city 50,000-99,999
<input type="checkbox"/> Small town 2500-4999	<input type="checkbox"/> Metropolitan area of 100,000 or more

9. Father's Education - highest grade completed (Check one)

a. Grad prof. training
 b. Standard college or university graduate
 c. Partial college training
 d. High school graduate
 e. Partial high school (10-11)
 f. Jr. high school (7-9)
 g. Less than 7 years
 h. Don't know

10. Mother's Education - highest grade completed (Check one)

a. Grad prof. training
 b. Standard college or university graduate
 c. Partial college training
 d. High school graduate
 e. Partial high school (10-11)
 f. Jr. high school (7-9)
 g. Less than 7 years
 h. Don't know

11. Father's occupation - for the major portion of his life.

12. Mother's occupation - for the major portion of her life.

13. Your age at becoming a game warden? _____

14. How long (to the nearest year) have you been a game warden? _____

15. Please indicate your main hobby or recreational activity _____

16. Approximately how often, if at all, do you attend church? (Check one)

4. Do you consider your job to be physically hazardous? Yes _____
 No _____ More or less than 5 years ago? More _____ Less _____
- a. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a Fireman?
 Yes _____ No _____
- b. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a Town
 Policeman? Yes _____ No _____
- c. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a State High-
 way Patrolman? Yes _____ No _____
- d. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a FBI agent?
 Yes _____ No _____
- e. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of an ABC agent?
 Yes _____ No _____
- f. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a Deputy
 Sheriff? Yes _____ No _____
- g. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a Park Ranger?
 Yes _____ No _____
- h. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a State
 Forester? Yes _____ No _____
- i. Do you consider your job as dangerous as that of a Dog Warden?
 Yes _____ No _____

5. Based on a year's working period, would you indicate the percentage of time you are engaged in each of the following categories of your job.

_____ Game law enforcement	_____ Attending court
_____ Fish law enforcement	_____ Education and Public
_____ Game management	_____ Relations
_____ Fish management	_____ Other (please specify)
_____ Boating activities	_____
_____ Conservation related work	_____ Total = 100%
_____ Desk work (filing reports, other paper work)	

6. Circle the three months in which you give the most citations.

Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec.

7. About how many times were you in court in the past 12 months? _____

8. Approximately how many miles will you average traveling per month in the following modes of transportation while performing your job?

car _____
 boat _____
 airplane _____

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

You are asked to look at each of the activities listed below in terms of how much emphasis they received in your training and how much you now think the activities should be emphasized.

The three spaces to the left of the activities refer to the categories none, little, and great. Please indicate how much emphasis these activities received in your training by checking the appropriate space on the left. Then on the right hand side of the page, please indicate how much emphasis you think should be placed on the activity by making a check in the space that refers to same, less, or more.

If your experiences as a game warden suggest some activities not listed, please write those activities in the spaces marked "other" and proceed as above.

How Much Emphasis Was
There During Training

How Much Emphasis Should
There Be During Training

(none-little-great)

(same-less-more)

_____	_____	_____	How to fill out forms and do the paperwork of a Game Warden	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to handle oneself physically when faced with a dangerous situation	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to provide assistance to persons in need	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to investigate and make arrest	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to safely handle firearms and other weapons	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to protect the Constitutional rights of violators	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to patrol new or unfamiliar geographic areas	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to relate to the public	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to plan and carry out conservation measures	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to prepare talks or programs to interested groups	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	How to present talks or programs to interested groups	_____	_____	_____

How Much Emphasis Was
There During Training

How Much Emphasis Should
There Be During Training

(none-little-great)

(same-less-more)

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		How to maintain and ser- vice state equipment			
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		How to conduct oneself in court			
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		Programs spelling out the legal bounds of the Game Warden's authority			
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		Other (specify) _____			
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		Other (specify) _____			
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
		Other (specify) _____			

GENERAL JOB SATISFACTION

Some jobs are more interesting and satisfying than others. We want to know how you feel about your job. Please read the statements found below and circle either "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Undecided," "Disagree," etc., depending on how you feel about your present job. There are no right answers. We would simply like your honest opinion on each one of the statements.

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
1. My job is like a hobby to me.	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. My job is usually interesting enough to keep me from getting bored.	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. It seems that my friends are more interested in their jobs.	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. I consider my job rather pleasant.	SA	A	U	D	SD

		<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
5.	I enjoy my work more than my leisure time.	SA	A	U	D	SD
6.	I am often bored with my job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
7.	I feel fairly satisfied with my job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
8.	Most of the time I have to force myself to go to work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
9.	I am most satisfied with my job for the time being.	SA	A	U	D	SD
10.	I feel that my job is no more interesting than others I could get.	SA	A	U	D	SD
11.	I definitely dislike my work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
12.	I feel that I am happier in my work than most other people.	SA	A	U	D	SD
13.	Most days I am enthusiastic about my work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
14.	Each day of work seems like it will never end.	SA	A	U	D	SD
15.	I like my job better than the average worker does.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16.	My job is pretty uninteresting.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17.	I find enjoyment in my work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
18.	I am disappointed that I ever took this job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19.	My job provides me with adequate economic security	SA	A	U	D	SD

		<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
20.	I feel my pay is adequate.	SA	A	U	D	SD
21.	My work gives me a sense of accomplishment.	SA	A	U	D	SD
22.	I feel that my opportunities for advancement in this job are somewhat limited.	SA	A	U	D	SD
23.	My boss doesn't supervise enough.	SA	A	U	D	SD
24.	My boss adequately acknowledges the good work that I do.	SA	A	U	D	SD
25.	For the most part, my boss leaves me on my own.	SA	A	U	D	SD
26.	Being a game warden makes it more difficult than usual for my wife/husband and children to make friends.	SA	A	U	D	SD
27.	My coworkers are easy to get along with.	SA	A	U	D	SD
28.	My co-workers do their share of work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
29.	My promotions and raises have been fair.	SA	A	U	D	SD
30.	I feel that I am as capable as anyone to do this work.	SA	A	U	D	SD
31.	I am satisfied with the work habits of my co-workers.	SA	A	U	D	SD
32.	Fish and wildlife conservation is promoted by public relations work.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
33. One thing I like about my work is the feeling that comes from helping people.	SA	A	U	D	SD
34. I like the retirement plans and other benefits that come with my job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
35. The opportunity to help preserve the ecology in the state of Virginia makes my job satisfying.	SA	A	U	D	SD
36. I feel my formal <u>schooling</u> has been adequate to perform the duties of my job.	SA	A	U	D	SD
37. I feel my formal <u>training</u> has been adequate to perform the duties of my job.	SA	A	U	D	SD

OCCUPATION EVALUTATIONS

Listed below are nine occupational specialties with which you probably are familiar and possibly have come into contact with in the course of your experience. Below each of the occupations are five attributes or characteristics. Beside each of these attributes are five blanks, each representing a value such as high, very high, low, etc. We should like for you to consider each of the occupations and decide how you would evaluate the occupations in terms of the five attributes or characteristics. For each of the attributes rank the occupation from very low to very high, and place a check or mark in the appropriate blank. Thus for each occupation you will make five evaluations. Please evaluate all nine occupations in this manner. If varying experiences with any of the occupations suggest to you different evaluations, try to generalize concerning the occupation as best you can.

The Occupational Attributes and a brief explanation:

- a. Economic Rewards - Salary, income, wages, or any monetary reward derived from the occupation.

- b. Authority - That amount of control over the behavior of others which an individual possesses as a result of his occupation.
- c. Prestige - Distinction, reputation, or social ranking attaching to an individual as a result of his occupation.
- d. Functional Importance - How necessary, important, or indispensable an occupation is or how much of a fundamental contribution it makes.
- e. Psychological Reward - That degree of satisfaction, enjoyment, or pleasure which accrues to an individual as a result of his being in a particular occupation.

The Occupations

	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low
1. Game Warden					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Federal Game Warden					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Forest Ranger					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Park Ranger					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low
5. State Trooper					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. State Biologist					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Forester					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Dog Warden					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Next highest position above your own					
a. Economic Rewards	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Authority	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Prestige	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Functional Importance	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Psychological Reward	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

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WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION
OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF THE VIRGINIA GAME WARDEN

by

C. Eddie Palmer

(ABSTRACT)

This study, based upon data obtained from a more encompassing research endeavor (Virginia Game Warden Project, Hatch Act, Project Number 616236), identifies and explores the nature of various occupational roles of selected Virginia Game Wardens. Only those wardens holding the rank of Area Patrol Leader or Regular Warden are included in the analysis (N=67). The methodology utilizes a variety of research techniques to obtain data from wardens (selected by enumerative and random sampling procedures) which include: (1) in-depth interviewing based on a structured interview schedule, (2) a self-administered questionnaire, (3) tape recording formal and informal conversations, and (4) direct observation of the activities of particular wardens.

The roles which wardens perform are found to include: (1) wildlife law enforcement, (2) conservation activities, (3) education and public relations, and (4) a host of "other" related behaviors, including investigation of hunting and boating accidents and search and rescue work. The "master role" of wardens is found to be one of law enforcement, in that most wardens consider this to be the main aspect of their job, spend more work time engaging in such efforts, and indicate a preference for law enforcement activities over the others they perform.

The law enforcement behavior of wardens involves an array of techniques employed to apprehend wildlife law violators. Primary among these are observation, patrol, the use of informers, and a variety of techniques the wardens identify as "sneaky". The wardens surveyed pride themselves on their ability to apprehend wildlife law violators at the most unexpected times and in the most remote geographical regions of the Commonwealth. The wardens' attitudes toward violators are, however, basically lenient. Only specific offenses, including spotlighting, intentional violations, and market poaching, prompt the wardens to attach the "criminal" label to offenders.

A serendipitous finding of the study demonstrates that wardens experience a high degree of job satisfaction. Over three-quarters of the wardens surveyed would choose the same occupation again. In addition, on an eighteen item Index of Job Satisfaction, with a range of possible scores from eighteen to ninety (the higher the score the higher the satisfaction) the average total score for the sample was sixty-nine point six (69.6). It is hypothesized that this high level of job satisfaction is associated with a lack of constant supervision and coercion, a variety in work tasks, perceived meaningful work, and lack of isolation in work performance. Descriptive statistical and observational data are presented to strengthen this claim.

The wildlife law enforcement behavior of wardens is compared to police roles previously explicated by other writers. While such models hold some utility for such comparative efforts, the isomorphic fit is far from exact. The development of other, more occupationally specific, typologies is suggested.