

**An Examination of Attitudinal Lessons  
Acquired in Police Training**

By

Jane Marie Naydiuk  
B.Sc., University of Victoria, 1986

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Faculty of Education  
Department of Curriculum and Instruction

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## **Abstract**

This thesis reports the results of a comparative analysis of the attitudes held by police recruits about police work, before and after training. By employing an instrumental case study methodology combining quantitative and qualitative techniques, the researcher was able to demonstrate the early stages of development of *traditional police* values, over the course of basic police training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia.

An abundance of police based literature has shown that traditional police tactics are ineffective in reducing crime and that some aspects of the traditional police culture can contribute to police misconduct. As a result, in the later part of the twentieth century community policing has become the philosophy endorsed by police experts and managers across North America. The philosophy of community policing promotes values that are in many cases diametrically opposed to those of the traditional police philosophy. While the Justice Institute of British Columbia and police training institutions across the continent teach police recruits about the community policing philosophy, this research demonstrates that recruits show a closer alignment with the values implicit in community policing before basic

training, than they do after training. The researcher sees this distancing of *self* from the values associated with community policing not as any indictment of the police academy, but as an expression of the dominant discourse of the police culture through the curriculum of the police academy.

Through an exploration of the police value system inferred by behaviours and attitudes demonstrated by police recruits, the researcher argues that community policing is resisted not because it is *ineffective* but because it is *unattractive* to police officers. Traditional police attitudes and behaviours are promoted in the police culture because they are more suited to the already masculinized nature of the job and are simply more *desirable* to most police officers than the behaviours emphasized under the community policing model. The researcher believes that for this reason, policing has failed to transform to a model based on the principles of community policing, and that the police culture will continue to resist these changes until the values implicit to the culture are challenged. Changing the values of the police culture must logically start at the recruit training level, but to be effective the researcher believes this change must also involve a process of introspection on behalf of all police practitioners.

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I must also thank Dr. Pineau from the Public Administration Faculty, for his patience and assistance as I grappled with the quantitative aspect of this work.

I sincerely thank Steve Watt, the Director of the Justice Institute of British Columbia Police Academy, for his support and cooperation in allowing me free access to police recruits for my research. As well, my appreciation goes to Don Walden, the Manager of Police Recruit Training at the JIBC, for his friendship and help with the data gathering. While I acknowledge the critical stance of my research, I want to be clear that my observations on the state of the police value system are indicative of the police culture in general and are not intended to be critical of the training at the JIBC. I am proud to be a former member of the staff at the JIBC.

I must also acknowledge my colleagues in policing across this country, particularly those who have taken the time to examine their motives and who truly aspire to the highest ideals of this profession. Please take heart and continue in your work, because you are the future of policing in this country.

In closing, I would like to thank my family for their support and continued encouragement throughout this process. I hope you each understand the important roles you have played in my life.

## Dedication

*To my husband and best friend, Terry.*

## **Chapter 1:**

### **Introducing the Research Design**

#### **The problem**

I came back to university to learn how I could create a more 'effective curriculum' in police training. I wanted to establish a transformative learning environment that would encourage police recruits to embrace the philosophy of community policing and thereby see the importance of truly ethical and accountable police practice. I was frustrated with the status quo and was convinced that important aspects of police work, such as family violence and child abuse, were being marginalized in favour of the more traditional, high profile pursuits, on drug teams, dog squads and tactical response teams. I saw these sidelined police responsibilities as being key to crime prevention and to the promotion of safer, healthier communities. I had also come to believe that the whole philosophy of community policing was being paid only lip service and that the traditional model of policing still flourished in police agencies across this country.

I felt that if I could learn how to promote effectively the community policing ideal, then I could create understanding and appreciation for the less traditional and less popular aspects of police work. Perhaps I could give police recruits the tools with which to work beyond the traditional limits of police practice and thereby learn to approach police work from a more productive and socially responsible perspective. I was tired and frustrated with the way things were and hoped that more sophisticated teaching and curriculum development strategies would enable me to make a difference.

As my inquiry progressed, I began to stumble along a path which has now led me into the depths of the police culture and how it is defined by those of us who are a part of it. I now believe that the culture, as conveyed through the discourse of policing, is firmly entrenched and is so durable that it has changed little, despite the new packaging of “community policing.” I am now seeing that the discourse of police culture is riddled with contradictions, which I had only unconsciously sensed. My thesis now represents my effort to understand more fully the actual development of the values implicated by the discourse. This perspective has aroused my long ignored concerns about the hegemonic value system of policing. It is as if my participation in the police culture for the last eighteen years has been creating dissonance and a sense of hypocrisy, which I could not identify until now. I believe this look at the curriculum of policing and at my life, is allowing me to come to grips with my career choice and to make sense of this culture for the first time. I have become more convinced than ever that we need change.

### **My purpose**

This inquiry is situated from my perspective as a 42 year old, white female, born and raised in the Province of British Columbia. Since this inquiry began in 2001, I have married and now have a three-year-old child. I grew up in a close-knit, rather traditional family who had a close affiliation with the First Baptist Church. My father was a member of the RCMP and my mother was an elementary schoolteacher. As a child I developed a great respect for both the ideals of policing and the importance of education. I had always had an interest in police work, even as a small child. From my perspective now I see that this was largely an expression of the admiration I have always felt for my father. My mother was also influential in my

career path as she consistently encouraged my sisters and I to pursue an education and any career that captured our interest. After high school I completed my Baccalaureate of Science with a major in biology, and worked for two years as a biological field technician before realizing that I craved a job that provided more social contact. I turned to policing as a career, at age 25. At that time, I held the view that policing would be an honourable and challenging way for me to make a real difference in the community, and I clearly recall saying this during my personal introduction to my class on the first day at the police academy. To my embarrassment, this comment came back to haunt me. I soon learned, from several apparently more savvy fellow recruits and the academy curriculum, that the only truly acceptable motivations in police work centred around “catching bad guys,” and “going to the big calls.” An instructor later told me that I had sounded naïve and idealistic on that first day of training and that I would have to toughen up if I were to survive in the police world. In retrospect, this was the first time my worldview came into conflict with the “culture of policing.” This dissonance has persisted throughout my career.

As a new recruit, I was one of three females (at the time, an unusually high number of female recruits for any one class) in a class with twenty-five males. While I had met the same physical and academic entrance requirements as the men, I was constantly reminded by instructors and class mates, that I would have difficulty doing police work due to my size. I had no difficulty with the academic requirements of training and in fact achieved the highest marks in Legal Studies, and Human Relations. However, these accomplishments always seemed overshadowed next to my perceived shortcomings as a *small female*. This was perhaps another glimpse at the hidden value system of policing, which would years later fuel this inquiry.

Admittedly, my biggest challenges in training were the physical requirements and I spent much extra time running, lifting weights and climbing ropes, just to ensure that I would measure up to expectations. I left training pleased with my achievements and was sombrely poised for a challenging career which, I had come to believe, would be physically demanding and often violent.

Because of my training, it was years before I could leave police headquarters without wondering if the next call would turn into that long anticipated and much visualized fight for my life. I do not recall finding this particularly stressful; this was just how I had come to perceive my job, based on the experience of my training. It would be some years later that I would reflect and realize that the 'physicality' of police work was one of the least problematic aspects of the job. In my 18 years of service in a midsize urban police agency, I have rarely been challenged at a physical level. When physical force has become necessary, I have been able to handle the situation and there has always been an abundance of co-workers, eager to ensure the task is completed safely, if it became too much for me alone.

I feel that it is important for me to stress that on those few occasions where physical force has been required of me, I have been grateful to have training and eager co-workers to assist me. My research is in no way meant to minimizing the importance of the tactical aspects of police training and the team aspect of the police culture. My research is not meant to minimize the fact that policing can be very dangerous, nor is it meant to discount that, occasionally, a police officer makes the ultimate sacrifice for the job. My research is meant to inquire into why this aspect of the job is valued above all others; why there is a disproportionate emphasis on combat-like scenarios over communication-based scenarios at the academy; and why the social service aspects of policing are consistently and systemically marginalized. I

feel the need to ask these questions because my experience and much of what I read about policing indicates that only a fraction of actual police work involves anything more than physical presence and communication.

I have had a varied and rewarding career, spending nine years in a front line patrol position, almost two years in the traffic section and one year on an undercover drug team. I have spent three years on a Child Abuse Team and three years as a Police Academy Instructor at the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC). I have had an opportunity to travel extensively with my job and have taught courses on Family Violence to the police and to judges in China, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates. I have both loved, and been continually at odds with my career.

Looking back, I realize that a turning point in my career came during my three-year assignment on the Child Abuse Team. My exposure to the complex area of child abuse and family violence introduced me to a field of practice where my original ideal of police work, as a truly helping profession, was able to thrive. I found that the legal, investigative, and emotional issues that surround child abuse and family violence presented both the biggest struggles and the biggest rewards of my career. It was here that I realized that there was more to police work than I had been led to believe while at the police academy. Working in this area provided opportunities for me to facilitate meaningful changes in the lives of people in my community that are to date unmatched in any other assignment.

For the first time I felt that I had found my calling; but here again I soon found myself at odds with the police culture. After two years in the section, I was openly encouraged to leave and return to patrol duty, especially if I wanted to get promoted. Supervisors warned of getting “pigeon-holed.” I was often teased that I was becoming a “social worker not a cop.” To my surprise I began to see that this

field held little status in the profession and carried with it derogatory labels about “social work” that imply it is regarded as something less than ‘real police work’.

Nevertheless, I worked to become a specialist in this area, and because I had noticed that child abuse and family violence received little, if any, coverage in police training, I approached the JIBC Police Academy about teaching a module on Child Abuse and Relationship Violence. From here I was able to establish myself as a guest lecturer at the Police Academy. This exposure to the police-learning environment caused me to think that the Police Academy might be the next place I could go to make a difference in another way.

In the eleventh year of my career, I returned to the JIBC Police Academy, the same place where I had received my basic training- as a recruit instructor in Professionalism and Communication Skills. Again I had been counselled against leaving front line police work, by those “in the know” about promotion. I was too excited about the notion that I could influence the way police recruits learned about their profession, to listen to the counsel of others. Besides, I was sure I would be recognized for my contribution as a police educator if I could just figure out how to “make a difference” here. I was committed to the ideal that policing should be a profession, grounded in trust and honour, with a proactive focus on making communities safer places for families to live. I was sure that the new community policing philosophy, which had been adopted- at least rhetorically- by all police agencies in North America in the early 1990s, would also dovetail perfectly with my perspective. I was very excited about the possibilities.

When I had an opportunity to view the established syllabus at the Police Academy I was struck by the fact that community policing seemed to figure

prominently. The community policing model of police practice was introduced in the late 80's in response to the failure of the traditional policing model. Traditional policing was based on a reactive crime-fighting model and the implementation of community policing was intended to restructure police priorities to include more pro-active strategies and encourage a problem solving focus. I soon saw that while community policing ideals were written into the lesson plans at the JIBC, in practice, it was not a popularly accepted concept. The training practices at the police academy actually seemed to suppress this philosophy and to emphasize the same traditional reactive, power-based crime fighting techniques; use of force, the war on drugs and, more lately terrorism. In many ways there had been little change in the pedagogy of the police academy since my recruit days more than a decade earlier.

I taught recruits for three years and the frustrations and triumphs of this phase of my police career, finally inspired me to pursue further academic study. My inquiry arises from a desire to define more clearly the dominant values of a culture which I have been a part, and yet at odds with, for eighteen years. My thesis is an exploration of the values embedded within the culture of policing, the emphasis being on how beliefs and attitudes which give rise to observable behaviours, are introduced during the training of new recruits.

### **The significance of the study**

Policing in Canada has undergone many changes in the last fifty years. The most documented shift is one from the traditional or "professional" model of policing to the current community-policing paradigm. This transition has necessitated a change in perspective from every level of the police bureaucracy, and many people question the effectiveness of this change. Arguably, the biggest impediment to the

adoption of this new policing paradigm is the existence of what has become known as the “cop culture” or as a Robert Reiner, a well-known police researcher would say, the “macho-cult”. The label of “cop-culture” developed and was identified during the era when the traditional model of policing was the accepted model of police service delivery. Much research has been done on this aspect of *police personality* (Cain, 1973, p. 59; Holdaway, as cited in Chan, 1996; Manning, as cited in Chan, 1996; Trojanowicz, 1971; Van Maanen, 1973). We now know that the personality traits associated with cop culture have both a counterproductive effect in the application of the community policing model and also have long been associated with police misconduct and abuse of authority. This is confirmed in recent research that claims:

These [core referents of cop culture] beliefs and values are widely regarded as having a malign influence upon criminal justice, being responsible for many of the routine injustices that are perpetuated against vulnerable people and also mobilizing the lower ranks to resist enlightened change. (Waddington, 1999b, p. 287)

If we accept that these researchers have established that the traits characterized by cop culture can undermine a police officer’s ability to do his or her job in a manner that is now expected by society, then I believe any effort to unearth the early stages in the development of these counterproductive qualities holds significance. Researchers have already established that police recruit training has a major impact on the socialization and formation of the police officer personality (Meadows, 1985; Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley as cited in Meadows, 1985). For this reason, the police academy seems to be a logical place to begin my exploration of the development of the police value system.

### **The central question**

My experience within the police culture has brought me to a point where I am constantly observing contradictions between the values implied by the dominant discourse of this culture and values implied by the community policing philosophy. The literature and my own experience lead me to believe these contradictions first arise at the Police Academy. Do police recruits experience changes in their attitudes about police work while they are in training? And if so, do these changes serve to more closely align them with the community policing philosophy or the traditional model of policing. This inquiry is designed to unmask the 'hidden curriculum' in police recruit training which I believe conveys traditional police values and promotes attitudes which are contradictory to those endorsed within the community policing perspective.

### **My research tradition**

To answer the main question of my thesis I employ a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to create a descriptive portrait of police recruit's attitudes associated to police work. I chose a quantitative approach as one way to explore whether or not attitude shifts occur during police training. I combined this descriptive tool with an interpretive hermeneutic approach, through case study, to provide an in-depth look at the value changes which each police recruit experienced. To add further depth to the discussion, I supplement the data with my own insights.

The practitioner must choose. Shall he remain on the high ground where he can solve relatively unimportant problems according to prevailing standards of rigor, or shall he descend to the swamp of important problems and nonrigorous inquiry? (Schon, 1987b, p. 3)

### **My philosophical assumptions**

Given the changes in police philosophy, it would be logical to assume that the pedagogy of police training had changed considerably since my recruit days in the 1980s. Recruit instructors now teach from lesson plans, which promote the ideals of community policing. While this does not ensure each instructor agrees with the concepts, the official mission statement for the police academy staunchly endorses the concepts implied by the philosophy. There are now core curricula on crime prevention, conflict resolution and problem solving, child abuse and family violence. There is ample recognition in course training standards, that every police officer should be actively seeking ways to protect the most vulnerable members of society and to work towards long term, meaningful solutions to problems in the community. Terms like “community service”, “social work”, “caring professionals” and “community centered”, are now liberally applied to course training standards. Despite this, I have seen a great duplicity in the methods used to train men and women to perform as police officers. In many ways I feel that despite the new rhetoric, the actual priorities implied by the discourse of the police academy have changed very little in the last eighteen years.

I believe that power, physical toughness, aggressiveness and isolationism are still primary police *metavalue*s.<sup>1</sup> The physical and confrontational aspects of the training (and actual police work) still hold a special status in the training hierarchy and to excel in this area is still the most effective way to ensure a successful police career. While I am not denying the importance of these skills in certain circumstances, I am troubled by the lack of balance with other aspects of the job. I

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<sup>1</sup> Metavalue : “Tacit cultural values, sometimes enforced by powerful indoctrinative means and sinister normative controls [...] that go without question, unexamined and effectively dogmatic” (Hodgkinson, 1986, p. 180).

am also troubled by how routinely inappropriate use of force brings discredit to the profession. I believe this is a result of how frequently aspects of the job, which promote 'use of force', are encouraged within the police culture and how frequently other priorities of modern policing are subverted in the interest of these more confrontation-oriented aspects.

Finally, I believe many police officers expend a great deal of energy maintaining and promoting a more rugged image of policing than is necessary, given the actual nature of the work. This becomes evident in the activities we promote and endorse, the heroes we choose and the stories we tell on coffee breaks. In short, I believe that the attitudes promoted or encouraged within the police culture reflect an allegiance to an image that the men and women who do police work want their job to have, rather than those ideals which would better serve the community. This thesis explores my perspective that there is a contradiction between what policing *ought to be about*, and what we as police officers *try to make it into*.

As I planned my research I realized I was not only interested in the attitudes which police recruits held, but also whether shifts in their attitude occurred while in training. I considered the possibility that recruits were maintaining the views they held before being hired, and perhaps it was these values, which drew them to policing in the first place. While my beliefs were certainly challenged in police training, as I have mentioned, many of my peers already seemed to have a belief system in place which fit the dominant discourse of the academy. If the latter were true for most recruits, this would lead me to believe that sources external to police training largely influence how police officers view their role. My purpose would then become an examination of the attitudes held when a recruit began his or her immersion in formal police culture. This finding would certainly be much less critical

of the police training curriculum, as it stands now, yet at the same time would raise new challenges aimed at creating transformative learning opportunities for eager police recruits. It would also turn my attention in the direction of examining police selection and hiring practices.

While expeditions into complex sociologically based concepts such as *values* and attitudes are undoubtedly best explored qualitatively, it is perhaps my science background and police experience which have compelled me to employ a more positivistic approach to this piece of the puzzle. To demonstrate *if* an attitude shift was occurring, I conducted a survey of police recruits, by administering identical pre and post training questionnaires (see Appendix A) to independent groups of police recruits. A semantic differential scale design was chosen for the questionnaire to help identify if there was a statistically significant change in the numerical values assigned to responses given to ethical questions before and after training. By a simple comparison of means I was then able to provide an empirical description of a collective shift in attitude from the start to the end of training.

For the more in-depth, qualitative component of my research, I interviewed four police recruits before and after training to get a sense of how individual recruit's attitudes developed during that thirty-three weeks of training. I also interviewed a spouse or close relative of each recruit. This provided a second perspective and insight into how training affected the self-concept of the recruit being studied.

I had originally intended to write my thesis avoiding the use of language that emphasized perceived differences between men and women. In my adult years I have always bristled at the suggestion that "throwing like a girl" or doing anything *like a girl* is necessarily an insult and that "behaving like a man" is necessarily a compliment. For this reason I felt duplicitous in suggesting the opposite by labelling

the negative aspects of the police culture, such as glorification of violence or isolationist tendencies, as masculine, and the more social service based aspects of the job, as feminine. Initially, I felt that this type of labelling would only create more resistance to change in the police community. I did not want to suggest that men must sacrifice their masculinity to be authentic community policing officers, nor did I want to suggest that women who excel in the police culture must always compromise their femininity. In China they have a saying, “women hold up half the sky”. As in this adage, I am advocating an evolved police culture where police practitioners value the masculine and feminine agendas of the job equally. That said, the gender-based literature on police culture is very powerful and it provides such clarity to my discussion that I decided to incorporate this language to help illustrate the differences between the traditional police culture and the community policing culture.

I chose the more informal, personal voice to write my thesis, as much of what I was exploring was my own understanding of the police culture. This was a challenge. I still struggle with a tendency to use nomothetic language, reification of the police and the use of the passive voice. I realize these characteristics permeate accepted police writing practice and court testimony. I now believe that this represents yet another example of the discourse of policing in action. Just as the passive voice in writing allows me to keep my distance and make sweeping generalizations about the men and women who undertake policing as a career, for police practitioners, this writing style sustains many of the core referents of cop culture. Writing in the third person has a tendency to distance, isolate, generalize and depersonalize the subject of the discussion. This perspective seems sterile and unemotional. This, for me, has long been confused with the notion of objectivity.

While the police culture claims fierce commitment to the ideal of objectivity, I have come to believe that police investigations are anything but objective, by virtue of the fact that police officers conduct them. In this thesis I make no claims of objectivity for myself as I am a police officer who has been immersed in the culture of policing for many years. I recognize that my interpollation began more than thirty years ago, as a child proudly watching as my father shined his tall brown boots and took his Red Serge from the plastic bag where it was stored for special occasions. To see policing from any other vantage point but my own is now not an option for me.

### **My theoretical framework**

My theoretical framework uses Hodgkinson's (1991) Value Model which, I believe, "enables us to classify values and eventually establish some bases for the resolution of values conflict" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 96). I use Hodgkinson's approach in my analysis of both the questionnaire and interview responses. His insights are discussed in Chapter 6 (six) of this thesis and are used to add clarity to what can indeed be very murky concepts.

### **Summary**

Police recruit training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia is intense and demanding. For many of the women and men selected to enter the academy, I believe the lessons learned are life-changing and belief-challenging. My thesis is an exploration of *if and how* the attitudes and beliefs of police recruits change during academy training. In this study, I combine both qualitative and quantitative methods as descriptive tools, in a longitudinal case study. By employing both interview and questionnaire methodology I am able to build a detailed portrait of the shifts of attitude that I believe are occurring for police recruits in training. As an experienced

police officer and police trainer, my assumptions are that changes in the attitude of recruits reflect an adherence to the traditional model of policing, rather than the current community-policing model. My assumptions have arisen from my immersion in, and struggle against, a dominant discourse that seems to value the more confrontational and physical aspects of a job but which, in my experience, is more often about communication and problem solving. To construct the theoretical framework of my discussion of value, I benefit from Hodgkinson's (1991) Value Model and his insights into how human beings assign value and meaning to their world. I also rely heavily on his advice in selecting my use of language in this discussion. I found it was, and still is, very easy to be lulled into committing what is technically referred to as a *naturalistic fallacy* (Hodgkinson 1986, p. 198), by assuming values from observed behaviours when one is really only able to see the manifestation of attitudes. This distinction becomes critical in my later discussions.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **Foundation for the Research**

The literature specifically dealing with attitude changes in police training is limited. I have had to rely on sources from a variety of fields to piece together a platform from which I am able to construct my own research. I am relying on a combination of ethnographic studies of police culture from the sixties and seventies and the few more current studies of modern police training practices. I also borrow from mainstream practitioners and philosophers in the educational field.

#### **The image**

The “near mythological image of the red-serged, square jawed, male Anglo Mountie, astride his mighty steed” (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 29) is still the dominant symbol of Canadian policing. Despite recent trends toward diversity and greater community access, this rugged portrayal of a masculine police hero is a durable part of Canadian culture. The icon is bolstered and given a powerful Hollywood twist, with the preponderance of high action, high danger police shows. Together these images create a perception of the police as highly skilled, heroic and routinely tested, action figures.

The truth is, policing is rarely as exciting and action packed as many would have the public believe. It has been said,

If television were to create a program that realistically depicted police work, it would soon go off the air due to poor ratings. It would offer little in the way of action and would quickly be tuned out by bored viewers. (Kappler, Talbot & Potter, 1996, p. 212)

The realities of the job are reflected far more accurately in the old adage that describes the job as “long hours of boredom punctuated by brief periods of sheer fear

and terror” (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 24). Opportunities for service and a preponderance of paperwork far outweigh crime-fighting activities. Yet the rare moments of action and their resultant opportunities for heroism fuel the mythology and define the culture. Despite the lack of evidence to support the image, the rugged masculinized police persona persists.

As an insider I believe that policing is a perfect example of the “institutionalization of the masculine ethic of rationality” (Kantner, as cited in Pinar, 2000, p. 366). This ethic values tough minded, analytic, cognitive and unemotional thinkers and a split between personal and private worlds” (Rich, as cited in Pinar, 2000, p. 367). I also see much evidence of “the functional myth that emotionalism, expressivity, and the imagination and intuitive apprehension of the world [are] signs of weakness and lack [...] ‘truth’” (Rich, as cited in Pinar, 2000, p. 367). Fielding (1994) goes as far as saying that the stereotypical values of the police culture become an almost pure form of *hegemonic masculinity* and that these stereotypical values serve to highlight:

(i) aggressive, physical action; (ii) a strong sense of competitiveness and preoccupation with the imagery of conflict’ (iii) exaggerated heterosexual orientations, often articulated in terms of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women; and (iv) the operation of a rigid in group / out-group distinctions whose consequences are strongly exclusionary in case of out-groups and strongly assertive of loyalty and affinity in the case of in-groups. (p. 47)

Given Fielding’s description of the culture, it should be no surprise that the police academy curriculum is preoccupied with confrontation and “officer safety”. I believe that in some ways isolationism and “in-group” loyalty are openly promoted from the first day of training, with uniforms, drill practices, and the constant reminders of the ultimate importance of team. These priorities exist despite an abundance of evidence in which isolationist tendencies and the glorification of violence are aspects of the

police culture, which promote the existence of the dark side of Canada's finest (Kappler, Talbot & Potter, 1984).

### **The tradition**

Any discussion of a culture would be shallow without reference to its history. For modern policing, history began with Sir Robert Peel, founder of the London Metropolitan Police (Scotland Yard). Peel wrote the famous mission statement for the London Metropolitan Police, which has become the basis for the modern philosophy of Community Policing. Peel stated "the basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder" (Melville Lee, as cited in Kelling & Sousa, 2001, p. 1). He also wrote "the efficiency of the police should be seen in the absence of crime and disorder, not visible evidence of police action dealing with it" (Melville Lee, as cited in Kelling & Sousa, 2001, p. 1). Peel's idea is distinctly different from the Hollywood version of policing where you wait for the crime to happen and build the climax of the movie around the process of catching the criminal in a fast car.

Peel's nineteenth century vision of un-armed, proactive, problem solving, community policemen in London was initially adopted in North America. However, by the early 1900s, the philosophy of policing had begun to change and the focus had narrowed almost exclusively to law enforcement or arresting wrongdoers. Carrying a gun became an important part of the North American police image. Technological advancements, including the transition from foot patrols to the use of automobiles for patrols, and the use of radios which necessitated a coded police language, encouraged a more reactive and arms-length approach to police work (Braden, 1993). This trend promoted secrecy and isolationism and, combined with the mid-

century social movements, began more frequently to place the police in conflict with the public.

In the 1960s, police, trained to fight crime by 'catching bad guys', found themselves using techniques designed for criminals to deal with problems involving families, communities, society, and the public in general (Trojanowicz, Kappler, Gaines & Bucqueroux, 1998, p. 266). Efforts to keep the peace began to look like police brutality and racism. This tarnished the reputation of law enforcement. By the 1960s and 1970s, social scrutiny of the police and public pressure to increase police accountability, spurred the development of the professional model of police work (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This model was readily adopted by police and is based on several key principles that were derived from military theory.:

- Police officers are the professionals who have sole responsibility for crime and control.
- The objectives of police work are legally defined and involve responding to calls that involve criminal injustices.
- The role of the police officer is crime control and this role is carried out via preventative patrol and by rapid response times.
- The police do not work in conjunction with community residents or other agencies.
- Police services are centralized.
- Decision making occurs through a hierarchical command and control structure. (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 113)

This traditional model of policing is based on random patrol, rapid response, and reactive investigation. The central premise of this model, "...also known as the watch system, is that the mere presence and visibility of patrol cars serves as a deterrent to crime while increasing a citizen's feelings of safety" (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 113). Under this model, officers who had historically walked *a beat* and knew everyone in their area, now worked from patrol cars and only interacted with the public when there was a problem. This separation of police from the community was

considered important because it created the appearance of objectivity for front line officers and allowed the police to react to crime based on a priority system derived by the police. This reactive stance promoted action oriented police practice with a strong focus on apprehending offenders.

Also in the 1960s, a number of inquiries into the police practice were undertaken to determine exactly what it was that the police did. These studies revealed that in reality the police rarely did “crime fighting” and the majority of their time was spent providing service and managing disputes (Bittner, 1970; Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Wilson, 1968). The police role was repeatedly cited as one where service or peacekeeping activities dominated over so-called arrest and apprehension roles (Banton 1964; Misner, 1967; Preiss & Ehrlich, 1966; Reiss, 1971; Wilson, 1968). Today it is widely accepted that less than ten percent of daily police practices in the United States (Birzer, 1999) and Canada (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 24) have anything to do with crime control and policing is predominantly about service delivery to the community. In addition “crime fighting tactics including rapid response to calls and automobile patrols [random patrols] have been proven to have little if any impact on crime” (Kelling & Sousa, 2001; Kennedy, 1997). Research has also shown that reactive arrests generally have no significant impact on crime rates except in cases where the offender is employed. Unemployed offenders tend to re-offend, while arrest appears to act as a deterrent for employed offenders (Sherman et al., 1971). In the police based literature, the traditional model of policing is now seen as largely ineffective because of its reactive orientation, limited analysis, narrow view of the police role and emphasis on ‘means over ends’ (Chacko & Nancoo, 1993, p. 7).

For these reasons 'crime-fighting models' of police work have been 'officially' set-aside in the last decade or two, in favour of Peel's one hundred and seventy-five year old philosophy of Community Policing. Community Policing not only represents a policing strategy which can be very effective but it has the amenability to respond to fiscal crisis for governments, diversity issues, public demands to increased police accountability, the expansion of collaborative policing (rise of private security forces), the use of technology in police work, issues around policing social disorder and trends towards globalization of policing (CACP, 1997). This philosophy now dominates police literature and administrative visions of police practice. The philosophy of Community Policing is said to:

- Endorse creative new ways of pro-active, rather than re-active problem solving.
- Invest trust in the front line officers relying on their judgments, wisdom and expertise to fashion creative new approaches to contemporary community concerns.
- Promote collaboration and cooperation with community agencies and encourages a direct link between the police department and the community, through the front line officer.
- Refocus the priorities of the police in the direction of protecting the most vulnerable members of society.
- Encourage the public to think of the police as a resource
- Advocate a commitment to the issues that the community feels are most important to them, rather than those the police see as a priority.
- Involve a detachment of the police institution from the rule of law and its professional crime fighter orientation to develop a true service ethos.
- Necessitate autonomy for line police officers to make decision and problem solve in a creative, innovative manner. (Kappler & Kraska, as cited in Trojanowicz, Kappler, Gaines, & Bucqueroux, 1998, pp. xi-xii)

For whatever reason Community Policing was re-employed, no one can deny that the philosophy takes a notably less rugged and succinct view of policing than does the traditional, crime-fighting model. After a long tradition of reactive police work, the fact that the Community Policing philosophy is resisted (Griffiths,

Whitelaw & Parent, p. 239; Trojanowicz et al., 1998, p. 270) is really no surprise. Those committed to the traditional vision of the profession often associate community policing with weakening or softening the image of police work (Chacko & Nanchoo, 1993; Delatre, 1989; Silvestri, 2003).

Certainly the community police officer does not resemble strongly the heroic police figure of our imaginations. Waddington (1999a) uses a gender based argument to explain the resistance to community policing by claiming that the “traditional ‘macho’ police sub-cultural values are directly assaulted by the implicit, but strong, emphasis on ‘care’ rather than ‘control’” (p. 219). For some police officers, the shift from ‘force’ to ‘service’ is resisted because it represents a feminizing of the police culture. Many will argue the police culture still has not even recovered from the introduction of women to the job. Women in policing “symbolized a threat to men’s definition of their work, their occupational culture, their social status, and their self image as ‘real’ men” (Silvestri, 2003 p. 38). This latest ‘insult’ in the form of community policing, despite its gender-neutral packaging, poorly disguises further *feminization of the job function*, and for many this represents another attack on the police culture. This explains why it is widely noted that most community policing initiatives have had to contend with subversion and opposition (Delatre, 1989; Fielding, 1994; Miller, 1999; Silvestri, 2003).

### **The culture**

Antonio Strati (1992) provides an excellent description of organizational culture that assists us in this discussion:

An organizational culture consists of the symbols, beliefs and patterns of behaviour learned, produced and created by the people who devote their energies and labour to the life of an organization. It is expressed in the design of the organization and of work, in the artifacts and

service that the organization produces, in the architecture of its premises, in the technologies that it employs, in its ceremonials of encounter and meeting, in the temporal structuring of organizational courses of action, in the quality and conditions of its working life, in the ideologies of work, in the corporate philosophy, in the jargon, lifestyle and physical appearance of the organization's members.  
(p. 578)

If you read this definition with policing in mind it is easy to see why police culture often seems 'larger than life'. Few other types of organizations have more obvious symbols (e.g., the badge, the hat, the uniform), ceremonials of encounters (e.g., the salute, labels of rank), jargon (e.g., 10 – codes, police colloquialisms); more distinctive appearances (e.g., the uniform, marked vehicles), technologies (e.g., guns, tasers, computers in cars) and beliefs. It is as if the police organizational culture, by its very nature, can not help but be powerful through the distinctiveness and fervour with which it demonstrates the referents that compose a culture.

“Police organizational cultures are powerful sites where symbols, images, and forms of consciousness ... are created and sustained” (Silvestri, 2003 p. 22). The accumulation of observations of a distinct police culture began in the 1970s and 1980s with ethnographic studies by scholars like Cain (1973, p. 59), Manning (as cited in Chan, 1996), Holdaway (as cited in Chan, 1996, Van Maanen, 1973, and Trojanowicz, 1971). Robert Reiner (1992), a well known police academic, describes what he calls 'core referents' in the police culture: “A sense of mission, the desire for action and excitement, the glorification of violence, Us/Them division of the social world with its group isolation and solidarity, machismo and racist attitude, authoritarian conservatism, suspicion and cynicism” (pp. 87-105).

Police culture is characterized as having “rigid bureaucratic procedures, a fear of change among employees and a pervasive hypermasculinity” (Rosenbaum & Lurigio, 1994, p. 303). The police culture is also portrayed as a “pervasive, malign

and potent influence in the behavior of officers” (Waddington, 1999b, p.287). For many years scholastic acknowledgement of the existence of a police culture has provided a ready-made explanation for any misconduct or perceived injustices perpetrated by the police. “These beliefs and values are widely regarded as having a malign influence upon criminal justice, being responsible for many of the routine injustices that are perpetuated against vulnerable people and also mobilizing the lower ranks to resist enlightened change” (Waddington, 1999b, p. 287).

While police scholars recognize that the culture is not monolithic, it is certainly seen as a powerful motivator. It has been said, “the development, maintenance and transmission of this culture are assumed to be related to the demands of police work” (Reiner, 1992, p. 109). I question this statement, in that the job demands do not seem to require such an extreme adaptive response. Police work is only classified as a medium risk profession in Canada, being much less dangerous than garbage collection or mining (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 24). So if job demands are responsible for the development of the culture, this is not because of *actual* danger. Perhaps it is the preoccupation with the potential for danger? In any event, it does not seem reasonable to conclude that job exposure can be solely responsible for the development, maintenance and transmission of the mentality attributed to police culture. There must be more at work here. While I would agree that the maintenance of the values of ‘cop-culture’ may be encouraged by the nature of the work, experience leads me to believe that the cultural assumptions and entrenched values, or, in gendered terms, the macho-orientation that defines the police culture (Silvestri, 2003), begin to form in recruit training, even before the demands of the job can ever be accused of having an impact. In this I see an

application of Plato's assertion that "a thing is not valued because it is good; it is good because it is valued" (as cited in Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 89).

### **The birth of the value system**

Researchers acknowledge that a 'socialization' process occurs during police training, which can change a recruit's view of policing (Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley, as cited in Meadows, 1985). Gilsinan's study in 1982 concluded that "recruits often learn how to be authoritarian, suspicious, and enforcement-oriented even before being exposed to actual policing" (as cited in Meadows, 1985, p. 195). In 1977, Goldstien characterized police training as "both demeaning and boring" (as cited in Meadows, 1985, p. 195). Twenty years later the Honorable Mr. Justice Oppal conducted a survey of police recruits in British Columbia where he found that the teaching methods in the JIBC academy were "stale, dry and inappropriate" (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, p. 98). This does not sound like radical progress, especially considering the big philosophical changes in police practice, which are supposed to have occurred in the last part of the twentieth century.

Michael Birzer's (1999) article in the FBI Bulletin, titled "Police training in the 21st century," recognized that there is a need for a fundamental change in policing and police training methods. He placed the responsibility for this change squarely on the shoulders of the police academy and went on to expose misplaced priorities that exist in police training. He noted that the bulk of police training is devoted to the mechanical and technical aspects of the job (shooting, tactical driving, self defence, law), which prepare recruits to deal with criminal related matters. Williams noted that the remaining service related training (communication skills, ethics, conflict resolution, human relations, problem solving) gets relatively minimal coverage, and

that it is often resisted and disliked by recruits. To me, a clear message is given in this “concrete example of value” placed on certain aspects of police work. While technically (considering liability) time required to master these skills may be necessary and unavoidable, when a recruit eagerly scans the training syllabus on that very first day of training, I believe that disproportionate allotment of time for ‘traditional police skills’, begins to establish the hidden value system of policing. The hidden curriculum hatches.

To add further credence to the notion that police training plays a role in the persistence of the traditional police mentality, a particularly illuminating paper by George Williams (1999) claims that our academies actually ‘condition’ problematic frames of reference for police. “Taking their cue from the military, law enforcement agencies have developed training methods to ensure their officers will be able to employ deadly force when the need arises” (p. 1). Using a variety of operant and Pavlovian conditioning techniques in firearms and self-defence training, police academies systematically train recruits to overcome their natural reluctance to take another life. These techniques include confrontational simulations, the use of human silhouette targets, video training simulators with shoot – don’t-shoot decision-making activities. This process not only ensures that police officers have the *skill* to act appropriately, it overrides their natural reluctance to kill. While this conditioning allows an officer to respond appropriately, should the necessity arise to use deadly force,

This type of training [self-defence based simulations] may have unintended, perhaps even detrimental, consequences for recruits and their ability to perform their jobs in a manner expected by society. Academy instructors who refer to the suspects in a derogatory manner reduce the humanness of suspects in the minds of recruits and introduce an us-versus-them mentality. On the street, field training officers and other veteran officers reinforce these feelings. At the very

least, new officers may develop a callousness that contradicts the values of today's community policing environment. Worse, they may perceive that criminal suspects do not deserve the same rights as other citizens. (Williams, 1999, p. 2)

Williams (1999) goes on to say that while this insensitivity and isolationist mentality may have applications in the realities of police work, it can also have a detrimental effect on an officer's personal life. This conditioning can lead to a separation from family, social safety nets, and ultimately from society.

Just as Williams suggests that there are aspects of police training which impede the development of the community policing ideal, I also believe that the milieu of the traditional police academy is inherently flawed. The majority of police classrooms are arranged with desks in a row and seating is assigned in alphabetical order. Hierarchy is immediately stressed with visible symbols of status, or lack thereof, emblazoned on every uniform. All instructors are formally addressed by their superior rank. Most police instructors do not encourage discussion, particularly in the first few classes, and in many cases unacceptable conduct such as chewing gum, or speaking out of turn is punished in front of the rest of the class. I will never forget my female co-recruits and I being forced to do extra push-ups when we were last in an obstacle race. The drill instructor yelled obscenities about the fact that our breasts were not touching the ground, as we did our push-ups in front of the class. I recall another incident where a fellow recruit answered a question incorrectly in class and was forced to write 'I have ovaries for brains' multiple times on the blackboard, in front of the class. Over time these experiences become laughable stories from training, but I wonder about the values, which are interpolated by students in this type of learning environment. Admittedly, things have changed since the 1980s and police academy instructors rarely attempt such blatantly oppressive teaching

strategies, but the hierarchal structure is retained, the class structure remains, the teaching styles are largely transmission-based and ridicule is still used to correct behaviour which does not conform. The question remains, what lessons about power are being taught to future 'persons in authority'? What are they learning about how to treat those with less power or those who have made mistakes or are different than us in some way?

### **The source of the resistance**

The refusal of many police practitioners to give up their occupational self-image as police as crime-fighters has been described not only as "a distortion of what they do [but as] [...] a collective delusion" (Waddington 1999a p. 177). So why is this image so persistent? I believe that the traditional police model appeals to the pragmatic nature of the police culture in a variety of ways. For the front line officer, it approximates the tried and true, utilitarian, military model, which no-one seems to question on those rare occasions when things become dangerous and it legitimizes (and, I would argue, encourages) the pursuit of high-speed, heroic opportunity. For police management and administrative teams, it promotes a command and control structure that ensures greater accountability and allows easy assessment of police activity through arrest and clearance rates (Griffiths, Whitelaw, & Parent, 1999, p. 114). I also believe, at a deeper level, it appeals to the 'masculine ethic of rationality' thereby creating a cocktail of factors which elevates this traditional belief system to, what Hodgkinson (1986) might call, a *metavalue* in policing. Hodgkinson describes the process whereby "tacit cultural values, sometimes enforced by powerful indoctrinative means and sinister normative controls can achieve the status of metavalues, values that go without question, unexamined and effectively dogmatic"

(p. 180). The danger in any society having narrow interests is that instead of attending to the interests of others, and the possibilities they express, the prevailing purpose comes, as Dewey puts it, “the protection of what it has got, instead of reorganization and progress through wider relationships” (Dewey, as cited in Garrison, 1996, p. 98).

My theory is that this professional, rational police metavalue permeates and drives the discourse of policing, starting at the academy and continuing staunchly forward. The discourse creates roadblocks and tacit resistance to modern community policing principles thereby rendering incompatible the ‘social service role’ (Punch, 1979, p. 102) of the police in modern society.

In the early stages of community policing implementation (early 1990s), the resistance was fierce and vocal. Now it is a far subtler, but no less potent aspect of the police discourse. Any educator knows that *learning shapes and is shaped by* the dominant discourse. For police culture, if the dominant discourse reflects the traditional police model, no wonder community policing fails to thrive. Traditional policing is, in my opinion, alive and well, although it has gone undercover as hidden curriculum at the academy and as a hidden dimension of the culture and of the value system of policing.

### **The values the attitudes and the behaviours**

While I will not attempt a complex philosophical deconstruction of the police value system, I will draw upon Christopher Hodgkinson’s Value Theory (1991) to help conceptualize my assertions about the prevalent behaviours exhibited by police officers as a product of the values which are promoted by the police culture as a whole. Hodgkinson (1991) describes behaviours as, “observable fact connected by

inference through chains of cause and effect to the psychological phenomenon of attitudes, value orientations, values, motives, and self-concept” (p. 96). The behaviour of police officers is then an expression of their attitudes, and is formed from the values, and built out of deep-rooted motives which are tied inexplicably with each self. The priorities of the organization are a collective expression of these same values.

As discussed earlier the discourse of policing promotes certain ways of thinking. In the early 1900s John Dewey first called these ways of viewing the world ‘habits’. Dewey states: “man is a creature of habit, not reason nor yet of instinct” (Garrison, 1996, p. 88). As Dewey puts it, “concrete habits do all the perceiving, recognizing, imagining, recalling, judging, conceiving and reasoning that is done” (Garrison, 1996, p. 88). Yet “habit does not of itself stop to think” (as cited in Garrison, 1996, p. 124). For Dewey, largely unconscious habits comprise our minds. “The subconscious of the civilized adult” wrote Dewey, “reflects all the habits he has acquired; that is to say the organic modification he has undergone” (Garrison, 1996, p. 124). Dewey and Garrison shed light on this discussion by explaining that ‘habits’ are, shall we say, hardwired into the unconscious, until something disturbs them and forces them into the light. A ‘habit’ implies a consistent way of thinking and being. In the *police subconscious*, I see an example of ‘habit’ in the consistent and unquestioned way in which certain aspects of police work are valued and others are marginalized.

This was concretely demonstrated to me as I began my tenure as a Justice Institute of BC, Police Academy Instructor. Based on my areas of experience, I was selected as the Professionalism and Communications Skills (PCS) Instructor. The other instructional positions at the police academy were Legal Studies, Investigation

and Patrol (which includes general investigative and officer safety skills), Traffic, and Use of Force (which includes self defence and physical training [PT]). I recall being mildly disappointed with this assignment because I had applied to be the Legal Studies instructor. I was aware that the PCS position held the most complicated and controversial curriculum and it was also the least popular position among instructional applicants, formerly being called Human Relations, and informally labelled the “touchy feely curriculum”. In this position I would teach police ethics, professionalism and use of discretion, community policing, diversity and harassment training, interviewing, communication skills and public contact skills. At that time I understood that this was a less valued assignment and in some way my disappointment lay in realizing that this job would bring less status than the Legal Studies position for which I had originally applied.

During my orientation at the JI, my supervisor told me that in his experience, and in order to gain credibility with the recruits, the PCS instructor should make time to participate in Self Defence and Physical Training classes with the recruits. At the time, I automatically assumed that, being the only female on staff, this was simply another example of how women need to prove themselves repeatedly in policing to gain and maintain credibility. Had I been male, I do not believe that I would have been asked to do this. Now I realize that there was likely another cultural phenomenon at work. Perhaps I *was* being marginalized for my gender, but I now believe that my area of instructional responsibility was also being undervalued for its *feminized* content. While getting to know the recruits on those early morning runs did pay off in the classroom, I realize there was no encouragement to have the Use of Force or Legal Instructors participate in my ethics classes. This was an example of how the police culture automatically assigns value and credibility. In the police

culture there is no need for a self-defence expert to demonstrate an ability to deconstruct a complex ethical dilemma, but the ethics instructor must be able to do push-ups.

Another example of the placement of police values is seen in the police reward system where apparent acts of bravery are highly decorated, even though they may border on reckless risk taking. In my first year on the job I took a big risk and arrested a well-known local drug dealer at a local bar before my back up officer arrived. I recall basing my decision to engage this potentially dangerous individual on ego and a desire to prove myself to my male squad mates. When the subject of my arrest began to resist, I called for cover on the radio and the closest officer began racing to assist me. Unfortunately, he was delayed due to a collision with an impaired driver. While this officer was not at fault in the accident (he had been speeding through an intersection with his lights and siren on when the impaired driver ran a red light), he would not have been in that position if I had waited to engage the suspect until after he had arrived in a routine manner. I was fortunate that the individual whom I was arresting was too drunk to be overly coordinated so, by the time a *second* back-up car arrived with sirens blaring, I had the angry man in hand cuffs. However, my ribs were badly bruised and I was acutely aware that had I waited for cover this would all have ended very differently. I braced myself to be reprimanded by my Sergeant, but the reprimand never came. In fact, I have only ever received praise regarding this incident and I know it went a long way in allowing me to establish myself quickly as a viable member of my squad. In hindsight I see my foolishness and irresponsibility, but I know my reputation as a "good cop" began to gel that night, despite my bad judgment. That incident has been brought up repeatedly by my colleagues over the years and, while I am aware it is meant to be a

complimentary way of telling people I am tough enough to do the job, it always makes me cringe.

The placement of value in the police culture can also be seen in the glorification of certain types of police work. Drug work is a favoured aspect of police work. It is by its nature action-packed and secretive and, as a result, it has become a favourite focus for media portrayal of police. Prevailing standards of police practice dictates that the police devote endless resources to *the war on drugs*. This devotion is demonstrated mainly through the arrest and prosecution of drug addicts and those who grow marijuana. These activities are relatively straightforward and easy to accomplish, provided the personnel and court time is available. Really, the only limiting factor to how many times a drug addict can be arrested is the availability of a police officer to install the handcuffs. The irony is that the war on drugs continues to demand a huge drain of resources despite its well-known lack of impact on crime, or its failure as a deterrent (Griffiths, Whitelaw & Parent, 1999, Kappler, Blumburg, & Potter, 1996). The war on drugs is a perfect example of the reactive orientation, limited analysis, narrow view, and 'means over ends' emphasis, that has become the "habit" of the traditional model of policing-at-work (Chacko & Nancoo, 1993, p. 7).

Meanwhile, the only known factor that has been consistently, positively correlated to adult and juvenile violence and criminality, substance abuse, suicide and psychopathology, is child maltreatment including the witnessing of family violence (Widom, 2000). Knowing this, one would assume the police would throw massive resources at this issue. Child abuse and family violence investigation remain a little understood aspect of police work and historically the job was relegated to policewomen. This in itself gives an indication of the perceived status of the job. While gender based assignments to these jobs are not necessarily seen today, those

committed to this aspect of the job are routinely labelled 'social workers'. This designation in the police culture is not a compliment, and it implies a soft, superfluous and somehow less than rational approach to police work. As said before, the glorification of certain aspects of police work and the marginalization of others, are expressions of 'habits of mind' at work in policing. This habit of mind exposes an adherence to the masculinized ethic, which permeates the police culture embedded in the metavalues of traditional police work.

This discussion shows that the values, which influence the attitudes exhibited by the behaviours most acceptable in the police culture, are at best, dissonant to, and at worst, diametrically opposed to, the underlying principles of community policing. Realizing this marked a critical point in the development of my research plan. The task now turned towards finding a way to illuminate the dichotomy for further analysis.

### **The questionnaire: Semantic Differential Scale**

The purpose of developing a questionnaire was to find a descriptive tool that could tease out some of the tangible indications of the values and even metavalues, through exploring the attitudes at work, in policing. Ultimately, the results would be analyzed for what they reveal about attitudes and for any shift in attitudes from the beginning to the end of training. In an effort to find an instrument that could capture this shift I read about the process of *scaling*. Scaling is an attempt to associate numbers to qualities of things or events. "Scaling is a process that uses rules to assign numbers to attributes of things or events observed in circumstances assumed by the observer to be qualitative. Scaling produces measurements and these measurements are called scaled values" (Young, 1984, p. 65). More specifically, "*attitude scales* may

be employed in measuring the changes in attitudes [...] following a given educational program” (Anastasi, 1988, p. 587). “In all attitude scales, respondents indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about the object of the attitude” (Anastasi, 1988, p. 584). The attitudes espoused by the ‘politically correct’ community policing paradigm, as we have established, are in many cases the polar opposite of those espoused by the traditional police model. For this reason a semantic differential (Osgood & Luria, 1953) version of the attitude scale was chosen. In this type of instrument,

the subject is to make a rating between two extreme positions: this rating is to indicate his or her feelings about the concept presented above the scale. The extremes of the scale are defined in terms of bipolar semantic adjectives instead of in terms of agreement or disagreement; furthermore the positions between the extremes are not paired with verbal labels-although the midpoint is clearly meant to be used when the rater associates the concept with neither pole of the adjective scale. (Dawes & Smith, 1985, p. 534)

In the instructions for this test, the subject is asked to mark his or her answers rapidly, without struggling over any particular items, in order to provide an “immediate impression” (Osgood & Luria, 1953, p. 580). This first impression is assumed to be the key to tapping the respondent’s true opinion on the topic.

As I was trying to learn about the attitudes and values actually held by police recruits, not the answers they might feel compelled to write on an exam or give in a staffing interview, my task was to find an instrument which would measure ‘typical response’, rather than ‘maximum performance’. In a discussion about varieties of psychological tests, Cronbach (1990) states,

If typical behaviour is wanted, the subject must not know what is being observed. The observer may be concealed, or the person may be led to believe that he is being tested on one characteristic while something else is actually being observed. (p. 42)

While masking the true purpose of assessment (particularly personality assessments) has traditionally been the approach, some sources question this approach (Carey & Dedrick, 1994). In an apparent contradiction of his earlier point, Cronbach's (1990) discussion about coping with bias and distortion when studying personality says, "the simplest way to get interpretable results is to make the purpose of the questioning and questions themselves transparent" (p. 519). He goes on to explain that candour is encouraged through anonymity, given that no judgment will be passed. Certainly the factor that will determine the success of this evaluation will be the ability of the instrument to assess attitudes, which for the 'politically correct officer' are hidden.

Upon considering these relevant factors I chose a semantic differential scale method, relying on truthful and anonymous responses. I designed the questions to expose some of the contradictory and opposing priorities that distance the traditional model of policing from the community policing model (see Appendix B). The questionnaire was administered to police recruits before and after training, for three or four consecutive classes. Depending on recruit class sizes, I determined that this would yield between sixty and one hundred results from both pre-training and post-training samples. The data were analyzed with a focus on the changes in the scaled mean values of the responses. The descriptive information about attitudes, which arose from this analysis, was then viewed based on Hodginson's (1991) assertion that the priorities of an organization are a collective expression of attitudes and values held by individuals.

### **The interview structure**

As Cronbach (1990) said, “some evaluations are close to pure science, but nothing value laden can be purely scientific” (p. 29). So, to depend on a purely scientific instrument to quantify, qualitative data about values would be precarious and ultimately disappointing. For this reason interviews were included in this inquiry to provide a deeper look at the development of cop culture and identify the first appearances of attitude changes in the four participating recruits. The research participants were asked a series of open, non-leading questions, before and after training. These interviews were intended to reveal attitudes about their police career. Once the interview’s data were transcribed, they were stripped of names and any other references which could identify the participants. The data were then coded for references to attitudes and changes in attitudes. Hodkinson’s (1991) analytical model of the values concept (p. 97) was then used to discuss the values and motives associated to these attitudes.

Facts and values are closely interwoven. Positivistic science insists on splitting them and disregarding the values. It thus ignores the most important part of our lives and falls into the error of thinking that values can be derived from facts. Facts decide nothing. It is we who decide about the facts. (Greenfield, as cited in Sergiovanni & Corbally, 1984, p. 153)

## Chapter 3:

### Methodology

#### The methodology

My research is designed as a case study divided into two, longitudinal, phases. I employ a variety of descriptive tools to describe the shifts in attitude that I believe are occurring. The first phase of the research employs a more quantitative approach using questionnaires and statistical analysis of the data. I intended this phase to provide a quantitative description of attitude changes demonstrated by beliefs expressed by recruits prior to, and after, completion of police training. My original plan had been to conduct a questionnaire study alone. While I soon saw the limitations of this method for an inquiry into attitude, I retained a quantitative component in my research because I saw that the questionnaire data could provide coherence (Eisner, 1991, p. 53) and structural corroboration (p. 55) for the qualitative data, which I would gather in phase two of my research. I also felt the quantitative component would appeal to the positivistic nature of the police audience. In the police culture, empirical evidence is more likely to be considered concrete evidence, and concrete evidence or at least the *idea* of concrete evidence, is valued. While I know there is much debate about the wisdom of incorporating the more traditional methods of data collection with qualitative inquiry, Merriam (1988, p. 2) assures me that case study methodology can be suited for this. A third aspect of the research, my own observations and experience, was used to triangulate (Cresswell, 1998, p. 202; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 55) the researched data, in order to provide further corroboration during the analysis phase.

## **Case study**

“Case study is an exploration of a ‘bounded system’ or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (Cresswell, 1998, p. 61). The bounded system in question is the recruit training program at the JIBC. As this case study is exploring attitude changes which may occur in police recruits during training, my research could technically be called an *instrumental case study* (Stake, as cited in Cresswell, 1998, p. 62). The recruits surveyed and the recruits and their relatives being interviewed are used instrumentally to illustrate the issue at hand- that of attitude changes.

“Case study does not claim any particular methods for data collection or analysis” (Merriam, 1988, p. 10). For me, this methodology provided a freedom, which allowed room for creativity and an evolution of my research plan. I needed this kind of scope to explore such a complex issue. I was aware that, even though I had been intimately involved in the police training process as both a student and teacher, and immersed in the culture for almost two decades, teasing out the issues would be a delicate task. It had taken me eighteen years to come a point where I could begin to articulate the contradictions I felt. I knew that exposing and exploring these issues would be no simple matter.

## **Quantitative phase: The questionnaire**

As I have already stated, the literature in this field suggests that police training has a strong influence on the attitudes and beliefs of the women and men who embark on this profession (Meadows, 1985; Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley, as cited in Meadows, 1985). We also know that “some people will be attracted to the job

because of an unhealthy desire to wield power over others, [but] many police men and women who seek careers in policing are inspired by idealism and altruism” (Trojanowicz et al., 1998, p. 265). So if we are to accept that any police classroom may include both of these two types of people, we can quickly see the need for a curriculum which extinguishes the problematic frames of reference and promotes the kind of habits of mind found in community policing.

This stage of this research was meant to illuminate some of the tangible indicators of attitude, as well as when the changes in attitudes occur in police training. To zero in on these changes I decided on a longitudinal design, which compared attitudes before and after training in independent groups of recruits.

Upon considering these relevant factors for construction of the survey (see Chapter 2) I chose a semantic differential scale method, relying on the possibility of obtaining truthful responses through the promise of anonymity. I structured the questions in a manner that would provide specific examples of attitudes held by recruits in terms of their police priorities at the time the questionnaire was administered (see Appendix A). The same questionnaire was administered to new recruits and to recruits who had just completed their thirty-three weeks of training. The statistical analysis of the differences in the collective pre and post-training responses provided a descriptive tool to demonstrate the shifting of attitudes in the group over the course of training.

### **Qualitative phase: The interviews**

In addition to the quantitative data gathered through questionnaires, I decided to include recruit interviews that would reveal more directly and deeply the nature of change. I believed this would yield interesting insight but I was also aware

of the limitations of interviews. From my own police practice, I am aware, for any number of reasons, that people can be less than forthright in an interview. New recruits are understandably eager to fit in and appear competent. I also knew that the specter of political correctness would haunt me in this phase of my research. I understood that recruits may avoid honest dialogue in order to avoid appearing too eager, unsophisticated or motivated to do the job by less than altruistic intentions. As I tried to imagine ways to breach this wall, I recalled sitting at recruit graduation dinners having conversations with spouses of the fledgling officers. Although proud of their partners, I remember many wives and girlfriends eagerly speaking of the unforeseen changes they had observed in their spouses, and their lives, since police training began. Recruit training is all-consuming and exhausting. These women (and in a few cases men) had dealt with thirty-three weeks of partner absenteeism. During training there was little time or energy to spend with partners and many relationships struggled under this pressure. These people had a lot to say about what they saw and believed had changed in their partners who were perched at the end of training and on the brink of new careers. Having been privy to this information informally, I realized that interviewing the spouses could potentially be a very rich source of information.

To design this phase of my study, I prepared a series of non-leading interview questions for recruits and their selected relatives, which would be administered before and after training (see Appendix C). My plan was to analyze this information, along with the quantitative data, for evidence of present attitudes and attitudinal changes.

## **The context**

### **The milieu: Police recruit training in British Columbia**

I structured the longitudinal aspect of this research around the police recruit training which takes place at the JIBC, located in New Westminster, BC. The Attorney General has designated this institution to be the training facility for all jurisdictions in the province of British Columbia who have chosen not to contract their police services to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Potential police recruits must first undergo a battery of tests and assessments administered by the municipal police department to which they apply. Successful candidates are hired by their respective police agencies and then sent to the JIBC for training. Once there, they become part of a recruit class, which will consist of inductees from any of the twelve municipal police jurisdictions (Vancouver, Victoria, Saanich, Esquimalt, Central Saanich, West Vancouver, Delta, Abbotsford, Port Moody, New Westminster and Nelson), plus one aboriginal police jurisdiction (Stl'atl'imx). The training is an intensive thirty-three week process divided into three, eleven-week blocks. Block I consists of approximately 378 instructional hours at the academy. Block II is an eleven-week field placement where recruits return to their home police department and are assigned to a designated field trainer. This trainer will supervise the recruits at all times as they are immersed into general police work. The training officer provides guidance and direction and extensive documentation of the progress and competence of the recruit over this field training time. The recruit then returns to the academy for Block III. This is the final eleven weeks of academy training. There are approximately 343 designated training hours allotted to this final, formal phase of training. I believe the training at the JIBC is of a high caliber and generally consistent with the training provided to police recruits across this country.

## **The Interviewees**

My intention was to interview a larger group of participants however I was limited by the available police recruits in my area who provided consent for this process and who had received clearance from their respective employers, to participate. The four police participants in the qualitative component of this research, were interviewed within two weeks of being informed that they had been hired as police officers and just prior to reporting for recruit training at the JIBC.

Recruit one was a white male, single and in his twenties. For his secondary interview source he requested that I interview his father, as he did not have a significant other at the time of the initial interview. Policing was his first career.

Recruit 2 was a white female, single and in her twenties. Her secondary interview source was her sister, with whom she was very close. Policing was her first career.

Recruit 3 was a white male, married with children, in his early thirties. His wife was his secondary interview source. Policing was his second career. He had previous police exposure as a summer student in a local police agency.

Recruit 4 was a white male in his twenties, newly married with no children. His secondary source was his wife. Policing was his second career.

## **Methods**

### **The questionnaire: Semantic Differential Scale**

The questionnaire has 19 semantic differential questions designed in such a way that the object of the question demonstrated an attitudinal indication of greater adherence to either the traditional culture or to the community-policing paradigm. There was also one final question in which recruits were given a list of postings

within the police department, and then were asked to rank them in order of the respondent's preference for the work and the perceived status of postings.

I gave the questionnaires (see Appendix A) and the accompanying consent letters (see Appendix E) to all one hundred and sixty-three (163) members of seven different recruit classes on either their first day of Block I or during their last week of Block III at the JIBC. I had access to classes that attended training between May 27, 2002 and November 25, 2002. In total, I was able to sample four Block I (entry level) classes and three Block III (graduating) classes. This yielded a total of 101 pre training responses (Block I) and 62 post training responses (Block III).

I considered testing the same groups of recruits both before and after training to track a single class through training and avoid assuming too much about the collective changes that may be occurring. I eventually decided that the recruits might remember their responses to the pre- test and that this might interfere with my attempts to get truthful results on the post-test. So, in order to avoid what is called the testing effect (O'Sullivan & Rassel, 1999, p. 57) no class was ever administered both the pre-test and the post-test.

### **Interpreting the meaning of the questionnaire data**

The format of the semantic differential scale used in the questionnaire, and the directions provided to the recruit participants, can be seen in Appendix A. The visual scale used to accompany each question was exactly ten centimetres long with the centre-point clearly denoted. From this scale I was able to convert individual responses into scaled values by measuring the point along the scale at which the participant's response crossed the line. This value was measured in centimetres and

became a scaled value indicating a belief or position held by any single recruit. The scaled value data from all questionnaires was then analyzed with a focus on the collective changes in the responses from pre and post recruit classes, rather than for the types of the responses given by an individual recruit. I decided to use this technique because I wanted to capture not only the changes in attitudes but the merging of attitudes and opinions which can occur during training. While cop culture is not monolithic, it arguably reflects the dominant value system in policing.

The questionnaire sampled some of the more obvious expressions of contradiction between the traditional model of policing (cop culture) and the community-policing paradigm, that I have come across in my experience. For analysis and discussion, the poles on each end of the semantic differential scale for each question were labelled to indicate alignment with the philosophical paradigms we are discussing (see Appendix B). In this way, any given scaled value reveals an attitude, which exposes a relationship to either community policing or to the traditional model with its association to cop culture. On the questionnaire, the poles were mixed to eliminate establishing a pattern, which might interfere with the recruit's spontaneous association to any given, scaled value.

Scaled values are considered interval scale data because the differences between the values can be quantified, but the ratio of values is not defined, and zero is arbitrary. As there were a large number of samples from the recruit population (greater than thirty), I was able to assume that the distribution of the scaled values would be *normal*. A two-sample *t*-Test Assuming Unequal Variances was used to compare the difference between means of the pre and post training samples. (Bernstein & Bernstein, 1999, p. 250). The *t*-Test calculations were performed using Microsoft Excel, Data Analysis Tools.

## **The interviews**

My original intention was to choose eight to ten recruits at random and request their participation in the interview process. I had hoped to capture both male and female subjects for the process. Logistics, however, dictated that I amend this plan and choose recruits who lived closer to me. This was done to reduce the significant expense of commuting to interviews with each recruit and each spouse, before and after training. I approached two recruits who declined to participate and three who did not have clearance from their employer, in time to participate in the process. For this inquiry I was able to access three males and one female. The recruits were between the ages of 25 and 35 and all had at least two years of post-secondary education.

I conducted two audio taped interviews with each of the four recruits in my sample, between October 2002 and November 2003. The interviews were scheduled to fall before Block I training started, and after Block III training when the recruit had graduated. I also interviewed a spouse or relative of each of the recruits in question, in the same time frame.

I conducted a rapport-building session prior to the taped portion of the interview in order to build trust and a comfort level for the process to follow. I relied on non-leading, behavioral questioning techniques for the interviews. My police experience and training has led me to believe that this type of questioning yields more detailed, more insightful and more truthful information than any other method. I listened to the interview responses with an ear for comments, which revealed attitudes about police work or value positions.

### **Interpreting the meaning of the interview data**

To protect anonymity, once the interviews were transcribed, I removed all references to name and gender from the narratives. The data were then analyzed for any expression of the attitudes or changes in attitudes. As noted before, attitudes are formed from values, which are built out of the deep-rooted motives. Through a process, which may be described as categorical aggregation (Cresswell, 1998, p. 153), comments revealing attitudes were dissected from the interview transcripts. These comments were then sorted for similar content and the embedded attitudes were then sorted into groups or themes. The interview data was read repeatedly until no new themes were unearthed and I felt that saturation was achieved (Cresswell, 1998, p. 56).

The groups of data were then compared between pre and post training data for both recruits and their relatives, and then analyzed to show how they aligned themselves with the core referents of Community Policing or Cop Culture.

### **The final analysis**

Once the qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed, it was compared in the context of my expectations, based on my experience. While I did not claim objectivity in this analysis, I was mindful of making unsupported claims from the data. In the few cases where the data were not easily explained or corroborated in other ways, I was careful to admit that this was my interpretation, supported only by my personal experience and observations.

Finally Hodgkinson's Value Concept (1991) was imported into the Chapter 6 (six) discussion to provide a structure, language and, most importantly insight for

further discussion of the findings and to assist in making sense of the observed changes.

## **Issues**

### **Judging the quality of the research**

My experience as a police officer has often left me feeling ineffectual and hopeless despite the excitement and all the attention I have received for doing this work. On a few occasions though, I have experienced profound moments of satisfaction, knowing that I have had a unique opportunity to play a small part in helping someone find his or her way out of despair. These moments are generally unseen by others and carry no external reward or accolade. Yet it is in these moments that I have seen the true value of police work. I believe good police work is meant to focus on creating opportunities to help people who truly need assistance, those who are victims of society's injustices. Rarely are doors kicked in and guns drawn in these circumstances.

I trust that the instrumental utility of my research (Eisner, 1991, p. 58) will be seen in the understanding and awakening of awareness that it provides. I believe that we need to change our priorities in policing if we are to address the complex problems of the twenty-first century.

I intend that this inquiry into training at the JIBC will be transferable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to training academies across Canada. I have visited the RCMP training facility in Regina and have shared lesson plans with other Provincial Police Training Facilities across the country. I have attended many international seminars on police training and from this I know that the JIBC provides a high quality of police training content, which is similar to that provided to police recruits

across this country. I have also conducted investigations that have required close contact with police officers from Halifax to Whitehorse. From this contact I have come to believe that as police officers, we share similarities in our attitudes and behaviours concerning police work and that there is a 'national' component to the police image in this country. This image contributes to a consistency in attitudes and values, which in turn contributes to the dominant discourse of policing in Canada. There will always be individual differences between police officers and regional differences between police training facilities across this country, but because training will always reflect the dominant discourse that permeates the profession, I believe that this research could have applications for many in the police training field. In addition the established literature on the existence of traditional police culture supports my suggestion that there are aspects of my study that will resonate for many in the profession.

My intention in this inquiry is not to be critical of the JIBC or its trainers, of which I have been one, but to provide understanding and to provoke honest inspection, or as Eisner (1991) says, "retrospective generalization" (p. 52) regarding the motives within the profession. I anticipate that I will have to forgo any "pragmatic validation" (Patton, 1990, p. 485) of my research, because my perspective is unpopular and is in fact, threatening for many of my peers. Redefining the values of police culture, in the manner I am suggesting, would emphasize aspects of police work that many officers do not enjoy, many find boring, and some may even see as beneath them. The type of *police value reform* I am suggesting would reduce the number of opportunities for traditional types of glory and glamour and would mean that many officers would find the need to make fundamental changes in how they approach their work.

The questionnaire data is intended to be descriptive in nature and it will provide structural corroboration for the qualitative data of the case study. It will also serve to give the more empirically minded reader a tangible sense of attitudinal change during police recruit training. I do acknowledge that the questionnaire instrument, which I employ in this inquiry, is original (see Appendix A). This is likely a unique application of the semantic differential scale and I cannot make any official claims of reliability. That said, I carefully crafted the questions and chose the poles of the scale based my own observations of the obvious dichotomies between community policing and traditional policing priorities. I believe that this instrument can be used as a descriptive tool and is one way to demonstrate tangible shifts in collective attitudes.

I conducted one pilot trial of the instrument in May of 2002 with fourteen recruits, pre and post- training (Block I and III). This pilot test was conducted to determine if there were any problems with the wording of the questions or confusion with the directions. The results of the pilot were only used to verify the usefulness of the semantic differential scale instrument in capturing the data that I was looking for. The subjects who participated in this pilot and the results of the pilot are not included in the results of this study.

Finally, because I could never completely remove myself from this process, I use my own experience to triangulate the data and oversee this process. I watch for indications of the value shifts I have seen occurring in myself through the evolution of my career and I use this insight to assist me in my interpretation of the data.

The 'credibility' for this study comes through my reliance on the input of the people who are actually going through the training process (Patton, 1990). A second source of credibility and coherence comes from listening to the stories of the spouses

who are living through the changes from their unique perspectives. A third source of credibility comes from within me, in those moments of this inquiry when the dissonance that has accompanied my police practice fades away and I can reconcile the behaviours that I see with the values which they imply.

### **Ethical consideration**

My largest ethical dilemma came from my inability to protect the anonymity of the recruits I was studying in the interview phase. While their names will never be associated with the research, their association with me, as the researcher, and the timing of the research corresponding with the timing of their training, could identify them for their peers. While I do not foresee a huge police readership for my thesis, it is possible that any examples of attitude shifts revealed by the recruits could be a source of ridicule, if the recruit was identified. I attempted to minimize this possibility by never revealing the names of the research subjects to my peers. I also suggested to the recruits and their relatives that they consider not disclosing the fact that they are a part of the research. The female recruit was particularly vulnerable to identification because her gender identifies her specifically among the four recruits.

A serendipitous delay in completing my research, due to personal circumstances, has now assisted in protecting the identity of the participants. It has been almost three years since the interviews were conducted and many new recruits have come through the system since that time, providing time and distance and another level of anonymity.

### **Difficulties and limitations of the research**

As I have mentioned earlier, I anticipated that one of my main obstacles in getting accurate information on attitudes, would be the desire for recruits to avoid

saying anything, particularly on audiotape, that might be considered controversial. The need to guard one's comments around members of the public, or in any official document or proceedings, is inculcated early in training. From the recruits, I was hoping to capture the kind of candor I had experienced hundreds of times in my career at four am on a quiet shift, warming my hands on a coffee cup in a donut shop. From the relatives, I attempted to recreate the conversations that I have described earlier, at graduation dinners and other social events. My biggest fear was that I would not be able to duplicate that level of trust in such a short period of time and in such a setting. The fact that I was somewhat of an outsider, following my educational leave, had to be considered a factor.

### **Suggestions for further research**

This topic provides several possibilities for future research. An obvious step would be to explore how this process of attitude change continues to develop after training and throughout a police officer's career. I have also considered testing the recruits before and after their field training (Block II) to see if this practical phase of training has a more noticeable effect on attitude, than the classroom training phases (Blocks I and III). I could also expand the scope of this study to look at the teaching techniques of police instructors and the field trainers. I could look for subtle messages which could reinforce the traditional police paradigm in how teachers teach, and how field trainers model behavior. It would even be interesting to look at why individuals are selected to teach or field train in the first place.

There were indications in my research that a gender-based study of attitude changes would be fascinating. While I did not elaborate on the indicators of the

distinctions in values between genders in this inquiry, in order to respect and protect the identity of my female participant, this is an enticing project.

### **Summary**

The methodology for this research evolved as the challenges of this inquiry were revealed to me. I have carefully considered my decision to combine qualitative and quantitative techniques and believe that this strategy will add coherence and depth to the study. The questionnaire was used as a descriptive tool and was intended to give a sense of how collective attitudes change, and perhaps even align, during training. A blurring of individuality and narrowing of variance of opinion is all part of the traditional para-military training process. I was curious to see if this alignment would be demonstrated in this inquiry, as I believe it contributes to the establishment of the behaviors, which constitute cop culture. The interview data was intended to provide further insight into this process and to illustrate how recruits experience the process of becoming police officers. I had envisioned that the data obtained from the relatives would provide an interpretation of the changes in the recruit from a place of intimate knowledge, of the person before he or she had become a recruit. I imagined this vantage point would provide a valuable window into the process as discussions with spouses had been so illuminating in the past.

The multiple methods case study design was intended to expose the first shifts in attitudes that occur for recruits in police training. Understanding these changes is a critical first step in understanding the culture itself. By illuminating the values as they first hatch, we can examine their source. This may one day allow us to

adjust police training and ultimately the priorities of police culture, so that the best interests of communities reside at the core of good police practice.

## Chapter: 4

### Results

#### The questionnaire

While the questionnaire data will be discussed in a quantitative context in this chapter, I have designed this data to be used as a descriptive tool to add insight and detail and to corroborate both the interview data and my own observations.

#### Section 1 of the questionnaire

Tables 1 to 19 include the questions posed to the recruits in the questionnaire along with the semantic differential scale used for each question. For the purposes of analysis, the poles of the semantic differential scales shown below are labelled to reflect their philosophical grounding and alignment to the Community Policing philosophy (CP) or that of the Traditional Policing paradigm (TP). The poles of the scales were not labelled in this manner in the questionnaire distributed to the recruits. Also, the semantic differential scales in this chapter are labelled with the pre-training means ( $M_1$ ) and post-training means ( $M_2$ ) of the scaled data and with a directional arrow which indicates the direction in which the scaled means shifted from pre to post-training.

The tables associated with questions 1 to 19 were generated by Microsoft Excel Data Analysis Tools and contain the *t*- Test results derived from the tabulation of the pre and post-training data.

While I did suspect that there would be a shift in scaled mean values towards the Traditional Police pole, this hypothesis was based solely on my experiences and instinct. I wanted to acknowledge the likelihood that the pedagogy of the academy could have changed since I was at the JI. For this reason I chose a two-tailed test



## Question 2

Question 2 was designed to demonstrate the *glorification of violence* trend that is often seen in the traditional police (TP) model, on the right pole. Table 2 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) above the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 2. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 2**

2. The thought that I may be required to use physical force in my job is:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	6.41	7.35
Variance	3.14	2.08
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	2.83 * E-04	

\* E refers to exponential notation such that  $P = 0.000283$

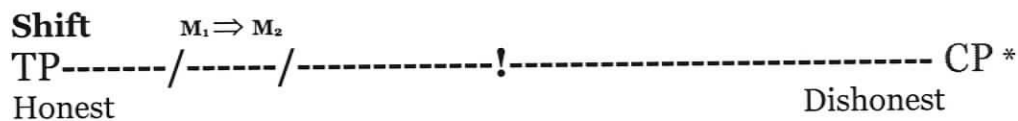


#### Question 4

Question four was crafted (along with question 5) in an attempt to capture the early stages of development of group loyalty and to indicate that alienation can develop between the police and the public in a traditional police environment (TP). Table 4 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) low on the scale. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) towards the midline of the scale ( $\alpha = .05$ ). Sample variance increases from pre to post test.

**Table 4. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 4**

4. I have come to see the police as basically:



\*This is not necessarily a characteristic of the philosophy of Community Policing but it is an attempt to show any early signs of development of some of the characteristics of police solidarity and isolationism.

t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	1.13	2.05
Variance	1.22	2.79
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	1.91 *E-04	

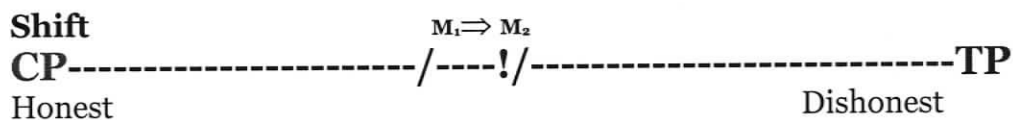
\* E refers to exponential notation such that  $P = 0.00019$

### Question 5

As for question five, this quotation attempts to capture the early stages of development of group loyalty and alienation that can develop between the police and the public in a traditional police environment (TP). In community policing the police work along with community members and develop a cooperative and collaborative relationship. Traditional Policing encourages a distancing of the police from the public and this often results in distrust. Table 5 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) just below the midpoint on the scale on the honest side of the scale. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) past the midline towards the dishonest side of the scale ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance greatly decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 5. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 5**

5. I have come to see the public as basically:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

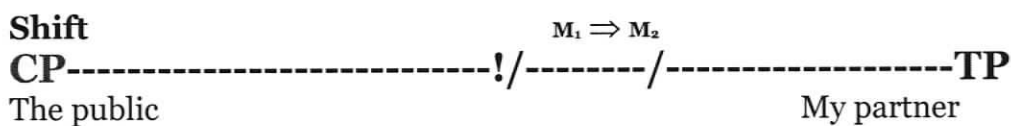
	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	4.19	5.02
Variance	12.58	2.28
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.04	

### Question 6

Question six is designed to demonstrate attitudes often arising from the traditional police (TP) model on the right pole, and attitudes encouraged by the community police (CP) model on the left pole. Table 6 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) slightly above the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 6. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 6**

6. When it comes right down to it, my loyalty must be with;



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	Variable 1	Variable 2
Mean	5.18	6.84
Variance	7.16	2.63
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	1.85 * E-06	

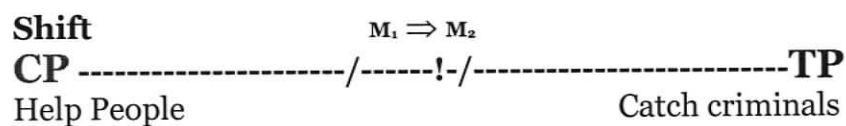
\* E refers to exponential notation such that P = 0.00000185

### Question 7

This question demonstrates the traditional police (TP) focus on the right pole and community police (CP) focus on the left pole. Table 7 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) past the midpoint towards the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance stays largely unchanged from pre to post test.

**Table 7. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 7**

7. I became a police officer to:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	3.93	5.48
Variance	4.03	4.47
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	9.04 * E -06	

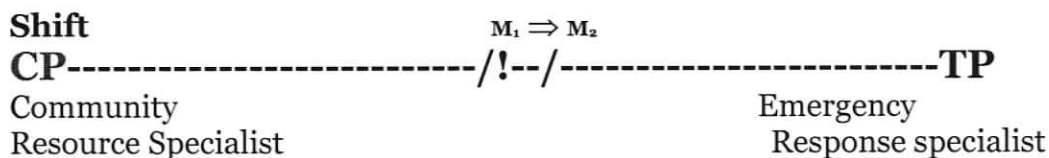
\* E refers to exponential notation such that  $P = 0.00000904$

### Question 8

In question eight the traditional police (TP) focus is represented by the right pole and the community police (CP) focus travels towards the left pole. Table 8 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) just below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) above the midpoint toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 8. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 8**

8. I like to view my role in policing as one of a:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

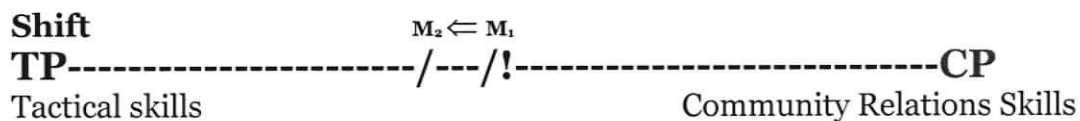
	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	4.84	5.48
Variance	3.87	2.71
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.03	

### Question 9

This question demonstrates more traditional police (TP) priorities on the left pole and community police (CP) based priorities on the right pole. Table 9 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) just below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 9. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 9**

9. I feel it is more critical that I work hard on my:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	4.73	4.07
Variance	3.81	2.40
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	.02	

---

### Question 10

In question ten, a traditional police (TP) attitude is demonstrated in answers falling nearer to the right pole and attitudes more compatible with community policing (CP), fall closer to the left pole. Table 10 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) well below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance increases from pre to post test.

**Table 10. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 10**

10. I would be more ashamed if I:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	1.91	2.93
Variance	3.76	7.54
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.01	



### Question 12

This question demonstrates attitudes more strongly associated with traditional policing (TP) on the right pole and the priorities of the community police (CP) model on the left pole. Table 12 shows both the pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) and post test mean ( $M_2$ ) above the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows no statistically significant shift between pre and post test means. ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 12. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 12**

12. As a police officer I would be more insulted to be called:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	6.78	6.52
Variance	7.12	6.29
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.53	

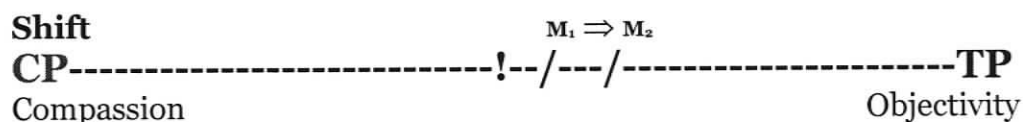


### Question 14

This question demonstrates the masculinized agenda of the traditional police (TP) focus on the right pole and the more feminized community police (CP) focus on the left pole. Table 14 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) above the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decrease from pre to post test.

**Table 14. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 14**

14. As a police officer I most value:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	5.52	6.11
Variance	4.47	2.45
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.04	

### Question 15

This question demonstrates the traditional police (TP) priorities on the left pole and more community police based (CP) priorities on the right pole. Table 15 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 15. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 15**

15. I want my main focus in policing to be:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	3.58	2.99
Variance	2.74	1.83
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.015	

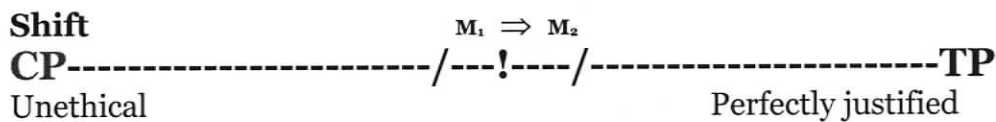
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### Question 16

This question demonstrates attitudes more closely associated to the traditional police (TP) model on the right pole and to the community police (CP) model on the left pole. Table 16 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a highly significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) above the midpoint toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance slightly decreases from pre to post test.

**Table 16. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 16**

16. Police officers who accept free coffee on duty are:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	4.30	5.85
Variance	4.21	4.06
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	5.12 *E -06	

\* E refers to exponential notation such that  $P = 0.00000512$





### Question 19

The final question demonstrates the masculinized trends often seen with traditional police (TP) attitudes on the left pole, and the more feminized trends associated to community policing (CP) on the right pole. Table 19 shows a pre test mean ( $M_1$ ) below the midpoint of the continuum. The post test shows a statistically significant shift of the sample mean ( $M_2$ ) toward the traditional police pole ( $\alpha = .05$ ). The sample variance increases from pre to post test.

**Table 19. Scaled values and pre and post test descriptive statistics for question 19**

19. I would rather that my public image appears:



t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	<i>Variable 1</i>	<i>Variable 2</i>
Mean	3.87	3.28
Variance	2.98	3.22
Observations	101	62
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.04	

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## Section 2 of the questionnaire

Tables 20a – 20b demonstrate the changes in ranking of seven different police postings from pre-training to post-training, based on: (a) the recruit's preference to be assigned to a particular posting, and, (b) the recruit's perception of the status of a particular posting within their organization. Rank assignments went from one (1) to seven (7) with one (1) being assigned to the first choice in Table 20a or highest status in Table 20b.

My choice of job posting for the survey was based on the job's alignment to the action based traditional police model (e.g. Emergency Response Team (ERT), Drugs, Robbery and Traffic) or the social service based community policing model (e.g. Child Abuse, Family Violence, School Liaison).

The data were analysed simply by comparing the sum totals of all ranked values assigned by each recruit, for each posting. Because the ranks assigned were inversely related to their numeric values (i.e. 1 = high ranking, 7 = low ranking) the posting with the lowest sum was ranked the highest, and the highest sum indicated the lowest ranking.

**Table 20a. Pre and Post-training ranking of police postings based on preference**

Pre-training			Post-training		
Posting	Sum	Ranking	Posting	Sum	Ranking
Drugs	276	1	ERT	168	1
ERT *	280	2	Drugs	173	2
Robbery	356	3	Robbery	220	3
Schools	438	4	Traffic	272	4
Family Violence	439	5	Family Violence	279	5
Child Abuse	451	6	Child Abuse	286	6
Traffic	498	7	Schools	300	7

**Table 20b. Pre and Post-training ranking of police postings based on perceived status in the organization**

Pre-training			Post-training		
Posting	Sum	Ranking	Posting	Sum	Ranking
Drugs	285	1	ERT	131	1
Child Abuse	357	2	Drugs	137	2
ERT	365	3	Robbery	181	3
Robbery	388	4	Traffic	266	4
Family Violence	396	5	Child Abuse	251	5
Traffic	468	6	Family Violence	274	6
Schools	501	7	Schools	348	7

### The Interviews

Pre and post-training interviews were conducted with the four recruits and also with a close relative of each recruit, each of whom had been selected by the recruit. Consent forms were signed before each interview (see Appendix E). The interviews were held in private and audio-taped with the consent of the participant. In total, just under 20 hours of interviews were recorded and transcribed. Once transcribed, all references to identity, including gender, were removed. Tables 21a through 21f, show the comparative responses that the recruits gave to the same questions posed in both the pre and post-training interviews. The inserted tables show minor themes in the data which complimented and added depth to the interview question featured on that table. Tables 22a through 22e, show the pre-training themes which emerged in the recruit interviews. Table 23 shows the pre-training responses for the relative interviews. The inserted tables here show the corollary recruit data for the same topic. Table 24 shows pre-training training observations about the changes which the relatives felt their recruit may experience

in police training and, post training observation regarding the changes that did occur. I chose to report the results in this manner because I when the individual quotes are read verbatim- I believe this provides further insight. The qualitative analysis of the interview data is left for Chapter 5 (five).

## The recruits

**Table 21. Comparison of Pre and Post-training responses for Recruit Interviews**

**Table 21 a.**

What are you most looking forward to? / What do you like the best?							
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses						
<p>I will enjoy reflecting on the process</p> <p>I like spending the time to figure out what happened</p> <p>I like helping people I really like kids</p> <p>I want to be able to take a stab at something and see how far I can take....like really figure out what happened</p> <p>I know it is a team work job but I like the autonomy, the ability to go out there and make my own decisions, choose the course I am going to take</p> <p>I like the independence that I think the job brings. Like I go out there and do my own thing</p> <p>I am looking forward to making my own decisions and solving my own problems</p> <p>New things every day</p> <p>I think there will be a lot of opportunity to use my brain-power and I look for that in a job.</p> <p>Table 21a insert 1</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>What attracted you to the job ?</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Time with my family</li> <li>• Good money</li> <li>• Something I can be proud of</li> <li>• I can really make a difference</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	What attracted you to the job ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Time with my family</li> <li>• Good money</li> <li>• Something I can be proud of</li> <li>• I can really make a difference</li> </ul>	<p>I would have to say the chase...it is a rush</p> <p>Catching Bad guys, that is what I love the best</p> <p>Nothing beats catching the bad guy</p> <p>Driving code three<sup>2</sup>, I can't believe I get paid to do that</p> <p>The team aspect is amazing, like I had no idea how close I would be with my squad</p> <p>Well I have to admit it would have to be driving code three, it is such a rush, well you know you've been there, can you believe we get paid to do that?</p> <p>My favourite thing is catching bad guys, like when you put the cuffs on you know you have accomplished something</p> <p>Table 21a insert 2</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>What do you like the least ?</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The paperwork (x2)</li> <li>• The paper is endless</li> <li>• Being tied up on paper when you should be out there</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Table 21a insert 3</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>What was your favourite part of training?</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of Force (unanimous)</li> <li>• Legal Studies</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	What do you like the least ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The paperwork (x2)</li> <li>• The paper is endless</li> <li>• Being tied up on paper when you should be out there</li> </ul>	What was your favourite part of training?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of Force (unanimous)</li> <li>• Legal Studies</li> </ul>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Time with my family</li> <li>• Good money</li> <li>• Something I can be proud of</li> <li>• I can really make a difference</li> </ul>							
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The paperwork (x2)</li> <li>• The paper is endless</li> <li>• Being tied up on paper when you should be out there</li> </ul>							
What was your favourite part of training?							
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of Force (unanimous)</li> <li>• Legal Studies</li> </ul>							

<sup>2</sup> Code 3: Police radio code for emergency response driving with lights and siren activated.

Table 21 b

What makes a good cop?	
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses
<p>A good cop knows everyone in the neighbourhood</p> <p>Unquestioned Integrity</p> <p>A good cop is patient and kind, not intimidating, good natured, positive</p> <p>A good cop is just there to help people</p> <p>A good cop is well , I hope you don't mind but...male</p> <p>You have to feel a part of your community</p> <p>The guy I worked with as a summer student did such a great job bringing himself down to the level of the kids. I admire that</p> <p>There should be positive energy , no talking down to people</p> <p>I admired that he just always calmed things down never the other way around</p> <p>He was behaving heroically but certainly not doing it so people could see it.</p>	<p>Competent</p> <p>Looks the part</p> <p>Fit</p> <p>Knows the law</p> <p>A good cop to me is a street cop....he knows the streets, knows how to stay safe, can talk to people sure but is really all about catching bad guys.</p> <p>Good skills</p> <p>Makes good decisions and sticks with them</p> <p>Can make a decision under pressure</p> <p>A good cop has to be able to handle himself, like physically</p> <p>Officer safety is a priority</p> <p>A good street cop knows how to catch bad guys, my field trainer is a good street cop and that is what he does and that is what I want to do.</p>
<p>Table 21b insert 1</p> <p>Negative police stereotypes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refused to admit a mistake</li> <li>• Power trip</li> <li>• Talk down to people</li> <li>• Will not listen</li> <li>• Jump to conclusions</li> </ul>	

Table 21 c

How do you feel about Community Policing?	
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses
<p>Well I am not sure I know exactly what it is but it seems like well what the police are supposed to do.</p> <p>I agree with it. That is what we did when I was a summer student and it really was great.</p> <p>If I am getting it right from what I read, I read a bunch of stuff on it in college, it is the best way to keep a neighbourhood safe. Seems like a good idea to me.</p> <p>Isn't that just what police do, I mean they work in the community so it just makes sense.</p>	<p>I know it is where 50% of our resources should go but it is not for everybody</p> <p>Some guys just get more excited about the reactive stuff and that's OK..better be 'cause I am one of them</p> <p>Some instructors took it (Community Policing) more seriously than others</p> <p>My field trainer did not have a lot of good things to say about the whole idea</p> <p>Community Policing is definitely on the back burner for me</p> <p>Police Post<sup>3</sup> and Block Watch, my trainer always said these were a downer and I would have to agree. I probably should not say that because I know it is a community policing thing, but we have better things to do with our time.</p> <p>I agree with it and I am glad we have that section but it is not for me, at least not now.</p> <p>Well I would go to that section later, it is good to have it for people if they get hurt or something.</p>

<sup>3</sup> Police Post: Community Policing initiative where patrol officers attend a predetermined location (i.e. mall or community center) and make themselves available to the public for questions and answers and local problem solving.

**Table 21 d**

What are your biggest fears about doing the job on a daily basis?	
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses
<p>Getting lost</p> <p>Getting there and not knowing what to do</p> <p>What am, I going to do when I come across a dead body , like will I handle it?</p> <p>Fainting with blood and gore</p> <p>That classic dark road scenario, pulling over a car by yourself, no-one around</p>	<p>Not getting the paperwork done</p> <p>Keeping up with paper work</p> <p>I don't really feel afraid of anything anymore</p>

**Table 21 e**

Where do you want to work?	
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses
<p>With kids, I do like working with kids</p> <p>Street Crime undercover like XXX, maybe down the road</p> <p>I like coaching so I think I will like to work with kids, the School Section</p> <p>In the Community Section</p> <p>I look up to my School Liaison Officer, I would really like to do that</p> <p>I worked as a summer student at XX Police Department in their School Liaison section and I don't think I would go back there right away. They did not do a lot of real police work.</p>	<p>ERT (2 responses)</p> <p>I used to think I wanted to work with schools and crime prevention but that is all I knew, now I want to get into undercover work like in SCU (Street Crime unit).</p> <p>SCU I guess, maybe schools down the road But not now.</p>

**Table 21 f**

To be compared with Table 24	How have you changed the most?
Asked in post-training interview only	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grew-up gained confidence</li> <li>• Really everything about my life has changed and I love it.</li> <li>• Gained confidence</li> <li>• Gained confidence</li> </ul>

**Table 22. Post-training themes for Recruit Interviews****Table 22a**

The Image
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The uniform does wonders</li> <li>• You gotta look the part</li> <li>• From the perspective of the public we are all the same</li> <li>• Going to a school dance tonight and I know I will be a bit of a celebrity</li> <li>• The public expects us to look professional</li> <li>• My trainer, everyone said he was a good cop but a bit of a mean bastard</li> <li>• You have to control things, well handle them with authority and not get walked on which is what has happened to me sometimes before</li> <li>• You have to act like you know what you are doing even if you don't</li> <li>• I have a lot of responsibility now that I am a real Police Officer</li> <li>• Everywhere I go I am introduced as XXXXX, the police officer</li> <li>• Everyone says I could never do your job</li> <li>• I am really proud</li> <li>• You have to have pride to put up with the stuff we put up with</li> <li>• My (relative in police work) said at the start of all this.....you will never be the same again... you become the job in a way</li> <li>• I am a different person in uniform and I try really hard to separate the work from the home life and social life. "It is not who I am it is what I do"</li> <li>• It has created problems with dating because people more interested in the job than in me.</li> </ul>

Table 22 b

Solidarity / Isolationism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We see things no-one else sees</li> <li>• I would never have gotten to do this or seen all this in my old job</li> <li>• We were forced (at the academy) to go as slow as the slowest guy, it made us work as one</li> <li>• Now I find I really have to be patient when I deal with people outside of work because they just don't get it sometimes, just have not been there</li> <li>• I really try hard to remember how I was before I became a cop , like without the authority, so I can be patient with the public</li> <li>• I try to make a conscious effort to react like I was a normal person and use my authority only when I have to</li> <li>• A guy (another police recruit) ratted the others out when he could have dealt with it on his own</li> <li>• You are part of a team and that changes how you handle something that you don't agree with</li> <li>• You just don't rat on another member</li> <li>• This job relies on the team thing</li> <li>• I was part of a team when I worked at XXXXXX but this job is different and the team thing is even more important</li> <li>• You would always go to a co-worker before you went to a supervisor, that is how it is done</li> <li>• Things (re ethics) are not as black and white as they were before the academy</li> <li>• This job has changed really everything about my life and I love it.</li> <li>• I have all these new friends at work, friends that really get me and what I do</li> <li>• To be a good team player is to be an excellent Police Officer</li> <li>• I don't honestly know how you could do this job if you were not a team guy, I don't honestly think people know how much of a team job this is</li> <li>• The cop culture thing is like you are a part of a family.....the guys they are like family to me now</li> <li>• My circle of friends has really changed, I just don't have time for them now</li> <li>• On a date....they are more interested in my job than me</li> </ul>

Table 22 c

Action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I get to work Hallowe'en that is going to be a blast</li> <li>• I think detectives and undercover work is where the action is, where I want to be</li> <li>• Definitely want to go to ERT, that's top of the heap</li> <li>• In my last interview I talked about school and working with kids but that was all I knew about policing. Now I see there is ERT and Street Crime Unit and this is where I want to go</li> <li>• Well I just feel good out there waiting for the next big call</li> <li>• Like driving code 3, it is such a rush, I can't believe I get paid to do that</li> <li>• My favourite thing is catching bad guys, like when you put the cuffs on you know you have accomplished something</li> <li>• Use of Force was my favourite class. Our instructors were awesome and I think I did well.</li> <li>• I liked the officer safety stuff. The touch feely stuff was just too much, no-one really got it. I know the instructor meant well but we could have used the time for more important things.</li> </ul>

Table 22 d

Having Fun
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I just love it</li> <li>• This job is such a rush</li> <li>• I just want to have fun out there for the next few years, and I am</li> <li>• I never thought anything that you got paid to do could be so much fun</li> <li>• .....and I thought, I can't believe they pay me to do this?</li> <li>• I can't sleep the night before my first shift I am so excited to get to work</li> <li>• I had no idea how much fun it was really going to be</li> <li>• I just want to have fun out there for a while</li> <li>• Patrol is so much fun, I had no idea</li> <li>• I just can't get enough</li> </ul>

Table 22 e

Language / war stories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I definitely swear more</li> <li>• Before I went to the JI I never swore in front of my mom but last week out for dinner I swore twice telling her about something that happened at work</li> <li>• You just can't talk about work without swearing</li> <li>• There are sometimes just no other words that work when you are talking about the stuff that happens out there</li> <li>• my language has gone in the tank</li> <li>• Ill be driving along and say there is a yellow violation and like people in the car will totally laugh at me</li> <li>• We would sit around at the academy and tell war stories from block two and drink and our language would get totally bad.</li> <li>• I got caught one time telling a story at the front desk and a member of the public heard me swearing and complained. I really have to watch it.</li> <li>• You know when it comes to work stuff, sometimes there is just no better word.</li> </ul>

## The relatives

**Table 23. Pre-training themes relatives of recruits**

**Table 23 a**

Why do you think (your relative) is drawn to this job.		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More family time</li> <li>• Predictable time with the family</li> <li>• Steady job, good benefits and an interesting job at the same time</li> <li>• He likes to know where the income is coming from</li> <li>• Absolute job security</li> <li>• He likes the hierarchy and the idea that based on your work you can go as high as you want</li> <li>• He likes to complete a job and take it the whole way thorough</li> <li>• The challenge</li> <li>• I think it is the pride of the job and the team, he is very much a team player</li> <li>• He can really relate with kids and wants to work with them, there is no better way than this except for teaching I guess</li> <li>• He is so steady and predictable it is like this is what he was meant to do</li> <li>• Not sure why but I know it is not because of the guns or the power trip. He is not like that at all.</li> </ul> <p>Table 21a insert 1</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center;">What attracted you to the job ?</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <p>Recruit Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Time with my family</li> <li>• Good money</li> <li>• Something I can be proud of</li> <li>• I can really make a difference</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	What attracted you to the job ?	<p>Recruit Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Time with my family</li> <li>• Good money</li> <li>• Something I can be proud of</li> <li>• I can really make a difference</li> </ul>
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**Table 23 b**

What aspect of policing do you think (your relative) is going to pursue?			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• X's (relative) is deep under cover, X has no desire to do that. He is more School Liaison you know.</li> <li>• X has no desire to do drug work. X might be drawn to family violence or child abuse.</li> <li>• I see X getting out of street work as soon as X can. Maybe getting an office position.</li> <li>• I can see X doing something energetic like bikes.</li> <li>• I think X will like schools, that is what he tells me anyway.</li> <li>• X likes the outdoors so I think more like bikes or boat patrol if you have that.</li> </ul>	<p>Table 21e insert 1</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Where do you want to work</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <p>Recruit Post Training Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ERT (2 responses)</li> <li>• I used to think I wanted to work with schools and crime prevention but that is all I knew, now I want to get into undercover work like in SCU (Street Crime unit).</li> <li>• SCU I guess, maybe schools down the road, but not now.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Where do you want to work	<p>Recruit Post Training Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ERT (2 responses)</li> <li>• I used to think I wanted to work with schools and crime prevention but that is all I knew, now I want to get into undercover work like in SCU (Street Crime unit).</li> <li>• SCU I guess, maybe schools down the road, but not now.</li> </ul>
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**Table 24. Comparison of Pre and Post-training responses for relative interviews**

How do you think X will change?	What changes have you noticed in X?
Pre-training Responses	Post-training Responses
<p>X will not change once X gets the gun and the uniform</p> <p>X will stay the same, reserved and solid</p> <p>X has had life experience so I do not think the job will change him that much</p> <p>No it is X we are talking about here, X won't change in any bad way.</p> <p>I see the job as needing people that are very outspoken and dominating X will have to change to fit that.</p> <p>I think X will become more serious</p> <p>I expect X will come out very well versed and confident</p> <p>I think X will become more firm and sure of self I think X will build a bigger character</p>	<p>X has totally grown up, new job, moved out on her/his own, whole new group of friends</p> <p>Next to his family the job is everything for X. It was never that way with her/ his old job.</p> <p>There is a lot more swearing in our house now</p> <p>I have never seen X experience camaraderie to this extent.</p> <p>I didn't really notice too much until graduation night. Then I realized how much more outgoing and confident X was.</p> <p>X now has this group of friends and if it wasn't for family responsibilities I swear they would spend every waking hour together.</p> <p>X has very little time for the old gang now</p> <p>Sometimes I bug her/him to leave the work at the office because we can't even go for a drive anymore with out a traffic lesson or her/him pointing out some traffic issue with another car.</p>

<p>Table 24 continued</p> <p>X will walk bigger and want to contribute more.</p> <p>I hope X does not change, not into one of those egomaniac cop types, sorry no offence ....</p>	<p>We hardly have any time together anymore because of the shifts and extra training and her/his new friends. I can get a bit annoyed about this but I am sure it will get better.</p> <p>X even walks differently. X did that the first time X put on the uniform, like her/ his shoulders are squarer and everything.</p> <p>Now X is like, there is no one who can get the best of me.</p> <p>X is so much more confident and has a perma grin on his face.</p> <p>I swear X walks differently with the uniform on, even her/ his mother said that.</p> <p>X is so much more confident and frankly bossy, but in a good way I guess</p> <p>X is more fit, more confident and more outspoken and is always talking about work.</p> <p>X seems to have her/his own life now</p> <p>X swears a lot more.</p>
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## Chapter 5:

### The Discussion of the Data

The central question of this inquiry focused on whether or not police recruits experience changes in their attitudes and in their beliefs about police work during their time in training. In particular, I was interested in whether or not the training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JI), despite its formal adherence to the community policing philosophy, was still managing to convey aspects of 'cop culture' that have been identified in the discourse of the traditional policing model.

#### Discussion of the Questionnaire results

The questionnaire for this inquiry was designed to show shifts in mean scaled values assigned by recruits before and after police training. The questionnaire had 19 semantic differential questions designed so that the object of each question represented opposing beliefs or attitudes, which demonstrate either a greater adherence to the traditional cop culture or to the community policing paradigm. By committing to a point on the scale, the recruit displayed an attitude about the topic at the time the question was asked.

By scaling the individual attitude data and comparing the mean scaled values for all recruits before and after training, I was able to demonstrate attitudinal changes, which occurred over the course of training. For the purposes of clarity in the following discussion the term *mean scaled value* was replaced by the term *mean attitude*, in order that the mathematical usage of the word *value* is not confused with its philosophical usage.

### **General observations**

In a *t*-test comparison of mean attitudes of the pre and post training data, sixteen of the nineteen semantic differential questions showed a statistically significant shift ( $p < .05$ ) in mean attitudes from pre to post training. All but one of the shifts of attitude were in the direction of the traditional police perspective. Nine of the sixteen statistically significant shifts of attitude were highly statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ). This, in my opinion indicates that the shifts in attitude that I was suspecting, and had indeed experienced myself, were still occurring.

In terms of the spatial placement of the mean scaled values on the continuum, for nine of the sixteen statistically significant questions, mean attitudes fell on the traditional policing side of the mid-line in both the pre and post- training data, with attitude shifts in the traditional police direction in all but one case. In three of these sixteen questions, both pre and post test mean attitudes fell on the community policing side of the midline, with the shift in the traditional policing direction. In four of the questions, attitude shifts straddled the midline with the shift in the traditional police direction. For the three questions which showed no statistically significant shift between the pre and post test attitudes, two fell on the traditional police side of the continuum and the other remained virtually on the midline, only slightly to the community policing side.

I have considered at length the data derived from the spatial placement of the mean attitudes relative to the poles, on the semantic differential scales. This information is interesting but far more difficult to interpret than the data depicting the shifts in mean attitudes, previously described. The placement of a mean value at a point on the scale, between two hypothetical and opposing values, reflects the collective opinions of recruits at the time of administering the questionnaire. To

judge this data thoroughly I would have to know that point at which the mean “ought to lie” in either the traditional police model, or the community policing model. As this investigation is unique, I have no point of reference here. I suppose I could canvass the best police minds on the planet for their collective opinions on the value placements for each question, in a *hypothetically perfect police practice*. But realistically, I have only my opinion from which to establish these hypothetically perfect scaled values and I think it would be much wiser to simply describe the results of the questionnaire, making no attempt to comment on the *correctness* or implications of the placement of the mean attitude data on the scales. Suffice to say that there is statistically significant evidence to suggest a shift in mean attitude in a certain direction. This is the most that I am willing to surmise about attitudes from the numeric values of the mean attitude data.

Another interesting statistical result from the data came in the fact that variance decreased in all but five of the nineteen questions. The narrowing of opinion illustrated by the closer clustering of the post recruit data suggests the beginning of the development of *group think*.

### **Discussion of scaled values**

Question one was designed to inquire into how the recruits felt about the relative importance of quick decision-making and reflective analysis. The data analysis revealed that by the end of training police recruits believed it was more critical to master quick decision-making than it was to use reflective analysis. Placement of the pre training attitude mean reveals that this belief was held before training. The highly statistically significant shift, however showed an *exaggeration* of this belief by the end of training (see Table 1).

Question two was intended to delve into the recruit's attitudes about using physical force. Even before training the thought that a recruit might be required to use physical force on the job was more exciting than distasteful but by the end of training there was a highly statistically significant increase in the excitement level associated with using violence (see Table 2).

In question three, recruits consistently saw themselves as fairly balanced between emotional and unemotional in both pre and post-training tests. Training did not appear to have any impact on collective perceptions of their emotionalism (see Table 3).

Questions four and five were crafted to expose the beginning stages of police solidarity and isolationism and the 'us- them' mentality. Question four asks recruits to situate their opinion on police honesty on the scale. Before training recruits saw police as very honest. By the end of training there was a highly statistically significant shift towards the dishonest pole. Post training results show that recruits see other police as very honest, just less honest than they did before their training. I was surprised at the direction of this shift and this is the only shift of the study which challenges what I believe are the more traditional police attitudes (see Table 4).

Question five asked the same question about the public, rather than the police. For this question, pre- training recruits situated the public just on the honest side of the midline of the continuum. Their collective attitudes demonstrated a statistically significant shift across the midpoint towards the dishonest pole by the end of training. This is interesting, because not only did recruits change from seeing the public as more honest than dishonest, to more dishonest than honest, but they greatly decreased their variance of opinion here. Post-training results were very closely clustered on this question and were quite widely spread on the pre-test (see

Table 5). One could extrapolate that the question four and five results signal the beginning stages of cynicism as the data shows that everyone, including other police officers, becomes less trustworthy in the eyes of the trained recruits.

Question six addressed the matter of loyalties. The results derived from this question were for me, very meaningful. Pre training results showed that the recruits saw a balance of their loyalties between a partner and the public. Post training results showed a highly significant shift of loyalty towards the partner and away from the public. In my opinion, this demonstrates the beginning stages of the isolationist core referent of cop-culture and the *us versus them* mentality which the literature has suggested, can be so problematic (see Table 6).

In question seven, the placement of the pre-training results showed that the recruits were more interested in helping people than “catching bad guys.” The post-training data shows a highly significant shift across the midline to the traditional police pole where catching bad guys is valued above helping people. (see Table 7). This again showed a collective movement towards the kind of attitude that is regularly associated with cop-culture and counterproductive for community policing.

In question eight, pre- training recruits see their role as balanced between community resource specialist and emergency response specialist. Post-training reveals a statistically significant shift across the midline to place an emphasis on emergency response (see Table 8).

Question nine reveals that, prior to training, recruits see a balance between tactical skills and community relations skill. By the end of training there is a statistically significant shift in interest in mastering the tactical skill (see Table 9).

The rationale behind question ten was the notion that “being ashamed to have a bad attitude” was more apt to be associated with the community policing pole

because of the service orientation of community policing. Being “more ashamed to be a bad shot” might be more indicative of a person who emulates traditional police practice, because of its emphasis on the masculinized agenda and action. Before training, recruits were more ashamed to be seen as “having a bad attitude” than “being a bad shot.” By the end of training recruits still valued a good attitude over their ability to shoot, but they valued their ability to shoot more than they had at the start of training. This attitude shift makes good sense especially in consideration of the time recruits at the academy are required to devote to shooting. It is normal to value something you have worked hard to achieve. Revealed here, is what I believe is an example of the curriculum influencing the attitudes of the recruits. It is necessary to spend time to learn the skill of shooting. This skill could potentially save your life one day, so it is logically more important to a recruit after training, than it was before. But here, again, in this subtle change of attitude is the appearance of the traditional police paradigm. By no fault of their own, police officers are encouraged to value aspects of the job which tacitly overshadow the priorities of the community policing ideal (see Table 10).

In question eleven, pre-training recruits saw community policing as by far the best way to do police work. Over the course of training recruits still saw community policing as a good thing, but showed a statistically significant shift toward seeing it as a waste of time. I was not surprised at the direction of this shift, I know many officers who will say community policing is a waste of time. I was pleasantly surprised that the magnitude of the shift in the post-training data was not greater, especially when considering the post-training interview data discussed later in this chapter (see Table 11).

In drafting question twelve I reasoned that police officers aligned with the community policing philosophy would be more insulted to be deemed “rude” than “inefficient.” Because efficiency is so valued in the military model, I believe it would be a larger insult to be called inefficient than to be labelled rude, in the traditional police paradigm. The results showed that pre and post-training results varied little on this question. Before and after training, police officers felt they would be more insulted to be called inefficient than rude (see Table 12).

Question thirteen showed no shift in the perception of the danger levels of the job from pre to post training, with both a very small variance and virtually no change in variance from pre to post training. Both pre-and post training attitude means showed the scaled value only slightly on the dangerous side of the midline. This is very interesting if viewed alongside the questions, which demonstrate changes in attitudes towards emergency response, crime fighting and an increased emphasis on tactics and officer safety. If the job is not seen as any more dangerous, from the beginning to the end of training, why is more emphasis and interest placed on the aspects of the job where danger is confronted, by the end of training? (see Table 13). Earlier in this discussion (see Chapter 2, *The culture*) I questioned the assertion that “the development, maintenance and transmission of this [police] culture are assumed to be related to the demands of police work” (Reiner, 1992 p. 109). In the results of question thirteen, I see evidence to indicate that the culture propagates itself independently from the demands of the job or, at least from the kinds of job demands such as ‘exposure to and perception of danger’ which one would logically expect to influence a culture in the manner described in Chapter 2 (two). This observation leads me to believe that instead, the development, maintenance and transmission of [police] culture is more closely related to the expectations and

preferences of the culture rather than to the demands of the job. Again I hear Plato's contention that "a thing is not valued because it is good; it is good because it is valued" (Hodgkinson, 1995, p. 89).

For question fourteen, the pre-training data showed that recruits valued objectivity slightly more than compassion, placing the scaled mean attitude slightly to the 'objective' side of the midline. Post-training recruits showed a statistically significant shift towards valuing objectivity, once again aligning more closely with the traditional policing priorities (see Table 14).

For question fifteen, while pre-training results showed a focus on crime fighting over social work, post-training results showed a highly statistically significant shifting of attitudes to more markedly focus on crime fighting with a very small variance of opinion (see Table 15).

As an instructor of police ethics, I found the response to question sixteen, that of accepting free coffee, particularly interesting. The code of professional conduct, which governs police behaviour, clearly states that it is not permitted to accept anything, no matter how small, for personal gain. The free coffee / free food debate has percolated for decades and while most people turn a blind eye, it is technically considered a *corrupt practice* when a police officer fails to account for, or to make a prompt and true return of, any money or property received in the course of duty (Police Act, 1998, Sec 9.a). In some restaurants and for some police officers, accepting free or discounted food or drink is common practice, even though police managers would formally frown upon this behaviour. Despite the pedantic nature of the free coffee debate, accepting gifts can alienate the police from regular citizens with whom they are to be aligning themselves. This can, and sometimes does, leave the police open to criticism because accepting free coffee is very hard to justify on

any ground, but that of tradition. In my many discussions about this topic, I have found that police officers often see accepting free food as one of the perks of the job and do not consider the impression, left with the community. I included this question to demonstrate that this attitude is still appearing and I argue that it persists as a part of the value system of elitism and isolationism that is a hallmark of traditional police practice. It is clear from the results shown in pre-training that recruits somehow assumed that accepting free coffee was an unethical practice, even though they had likely never read the Police Act (1998). The pre-recruit mean attitudes fell slightly on the unethical side of the midline of the continuum. By the end of training, there was a highly significant shift in the mean attitudes across the midline from unethical to ethical. This shift occurred despite the clear guidelines included in the ethics curriculum at the Justice Institute of British Columbia (see Table 16).

The logic behind question seventeen was similar to question ten. I surmised that a person who values the hard skills (i.e. driving, shooting) over softer social skills would prefer a complaint to be about his / her manners rather than her / his driving, thus showing alignment to the traditional police paradigm. This question again indicated a highly significant shift in data from one pole towards the other in the direction of traditional policing. The pre-training data showed an initial valuing of the communication skills solidly over the driving skills and a shift towards the midline indicating an increased valuing of the hard skill set over the communication skill set (see Table 17).

Question eighteen showed a highly significant increase in emphasis on officer safety over community safety, during the course of training (see Table 18). While officer safety is still an important part of the community-policing paradigm, this

result again demonstrates that the recruits are taking on priorities that are more reflective of the traditional model of policing at the expense of the community-policing paradigm.

The final semantic differential question asked recruits to identify how they wanted to be seen on a scale from “strong to sensitive.” Pre-training recruits wanted to appear slightly on the strong side of the midline, but by the end of training, displayed a statistically significant shift in attitudes, indicating that they wanted to be seen as stronger rather than more sensitive. From a gender perspective this shift illustrates the masculinization trend which is often associated with the traditional police paradigm (see Table 19).

### **Discussion of the ranking data**

The results of the ranking of data in Table 20a were intended to show how certain police job posting become more or less valued, or more or less preferred over the course of training. The results showed that pre-training recruits preferred working Drugs, ERT and Robbery. They ranked the social work positions of Schools, Family Violence and Child Abuse next, with Traffic being last. The post- training data showed ERT now first choice followed by Drugs and Robbery. Traffic moved up to fourth place from last. Family Violence, Child Abuse and Schools were lowest in ranking (see Table 20a). While I fully expected that the social work affiliated postings would drop in rank as recruits learned more about the culture I did not expect them to be ranked so low in the pre-training data. This is one of the few areas of the questionnaire data that is not consistent with the interview data and a possible rationale for this discrepancy will be discussed later in the chapter.

The second question in this section, based on Table 20b, shows recruits ranking job postings in terms of the status which they perceive these jobs hold within their organizations. The pre-training data showed; Drugs, Childs Abuse, then ERT followed by Robbery, Family Violence and Traffic, with Schools last. In this part of the table I found this intermingling of traditional action oriented police postings with the social service based posting, very interesting. Perhaps pre-training recruits surmise that it is logical for a squad, which helps abused children, to be given credit. Having said that, based on Table 20a, they do not want to be the ones who do that job. I also note that Traffic is seen to have the second lowest status ranking in the pre-training data. Acknowledging the peril of assuming too much from the data, I feel this result makes sense because it is very likely that before entering police training, any contact a person would have with a traffic officer might, be negative.

The post-training data ranks the *perceived status* of the various jobs in the collective minds of the post-training recruits in almost the identical order as the job *preferences* of the collective post training recruits. This result indicates that police recruits are drawn to the jobs they feel are of the highest status. Or, as I will later argue, perhaps the jobs that the police officers prefer are unconsciously assigned the highest status. I also note that by post-training, Traffic shows a notable increase in perceived status. I can only surmise that after giving a few tickets to *deserving speeders*, this posting becomes more palatable to recruits, elevating its a perceived status to just below ERT, Drugs and Robbery. In the post-training data for perceived status, the soft side of policing falls to the bottom, with Schools, once again, in the lowest status position. Only Family Violence and Child Abuse were reversed on this list as compared to the *preference* list (Table 20a).

### **Summary of the questionnaire data**

In general, the questionnaire data demonstrated that there *are* shifts in the attitudes of police recruits that occur while in police training. In the context of the scaled values these shifts can be considered statistically significant in 84 percent of the questions (16 questions out of 19). Of the sixteen statistically significant questions, nine of these were highly significant; this is 47 percent of the total number of questions (9 questions out of 19). The direction of the shifts corroborates my assertions that police training plays a role in aligning the attitudes of recruits more solidly with the traditional policing model, and at the expense of the community policing model. I also found that the questionnaire data provided sound structural corroboration for the interview data, generally revealing shifts in attitudes in the same areas, and in the same directions.

### **Discussion of the interview data**

I chose not to separate the interview data by participant, as I felt this would allow specific comments to be attributed too easily, to individuals. The interview responses were stripped of all reference to identity, and then grouped together according to content. These responses were then coded to compare pre and post-training responses, and then to identify themes which emerged from the data, and which were common to the narratives of all four interviews.

### **The recruits**

Table 21a summarizes the responses which were given by recruits to open discussions regarding factors which drew them to the job, what she/he was most looking forward to in a career as a police officer (pre-training), and what he/she liked best and least about the career (post-training). Pre-training data showed the recruits

were anticipating being able to reflect and deliberate in order to solve problems, to be able to help people, to be able to work independently and to face new challenges every day. The pre-test recruits were drawn to the job because it provided security, provided something to be proud of and provided them with the opportunity to make a difference (Table 21a insert 1). The post-training responses had no overlap with the pre-training data. Post-training recruits were enjoying the chase, “catching bad guys” and “driving fast.” Without exception, post-training recruits cited the paper work as being the least favoured part of the job (Table 21a insert 2). Use of Force and in one case legal studies were listed as the best part of their training (Table 21a insert 3). The camaraderie of the job was also an important part of the post-training recruit’s positive experience. This showed a clear shift from appreciating the more community-oriented aspects of the job towards the action and team oriented aspects of the job.

The opinions that the recruits held about what made a “good cop” also changed in training (see Table 21b). The pre-training image of a good cop portrayed this officer as a part of the community, the person that knew everyone. This officer was there to help people (particularly kids). He/she was patient, kind, honest, good natured, positive, approachable and in one case, male. This officer could communicate at any level, could calm down any situation, and while the officer could behave heroically, this was not his motivation for helping others. Negative stereotypes of police officers offered by the pre-training recruits (Table 21b Insert 1) included descriptors such as - condescending, power tripping, one who would refuse to listen or admit mistakes. For the post-training recruits the ultimate “cop icon” was a person who knew the law, was fit and could handle him/ herself physically. He/she was skilled and decisive, could talk to people, but was one who caught bad guys.

He/she made officer safety a priority. There was some overlap here regarding communication skills and the potential for heroics, but little other overlap between the pre and post test-officer construct.

The pre-training interviews revealed that the recruits were not sure of what community policing entailed, but they had a strong sense that, basically, it was a good idea and that most police departments operated from that premise. Post-training interviews indicated that the recruits had heard mixed messages about the topic of community policing, during training. There were two specific instances of negative messages being given by field trainers. While the recruits still felt community policing had merit, by the end of training they each indicated that it was “not for them”- or at least “not for them right now” (see Table 21c).

The pre-test questions regarding fears revealed a different *dreaded* scenario, for each recruit; fear of getting lost when you were responding to an emergency, fainting when coming across a dead body or gory scene, freezing at a call, or pulling over a car while all alone on a deserted road. These are all legitimately scary scenarios. For three recruits, post-test fears were about failing to get paper work done in a timely manner. The fourth recruit claimed no real fear of anything. I can only assume that this data reveals a change in the threshold of willingness to admit to fears or show weakness, rather than an irrational fear of paperwork, but this common theme among the recruits is worthy of discussion. From my understanding of the culture, I know that *paper work* has long been viewed as the antithesis of *being out there where the action is*. As discussed earlier the traditional police model employs *random patrol* as a core activity, and you can not perform random patrol duty while you are doing paperwork. Distancing oneself from office-bound activities is in my opinion a subtle sign of the traditional police priorities at work once again.

In my early years on the job I had been led to believe that police officers who “hung around the office doing paperwork” were exhibiting behaviour which likely indicated that they were afraid to be on the road where they may have to confront danger. As a new officer I went as far as taking my unfinished paper work home, so that I would avoid any possibility of being labelled as fearful. Since then, the demands for police accountability have resulted in ever-increasing paperwork burdens, to the point where being stuck in the office on the computer is inevitable. In recognition of the report writing demands, police cars are now equipped with laptop computers with word processing capabilities. Even though things have changed and paperwork is now considered a necessary evil, from my vantage point in the culture, showing your preference or even aptitude for paperwork is perilous if you are trying to demonstrate your suitability for the job, and your lack of fear of confronting danger.

The pre and post-training responses to preferential job assignments in the police department in Table 21e, showed an initial affinity by all four recruits to the School Liaison Section and working with kids. One recruit stated that he / she would also be interested in undercover drug work, down the road as he / she had a relative that was doing that work. This was the only interview data that was not totally compatible with comparable questionnaire data. Table 20a of the questionnaire posed the same question about job preference of 101 pre-training recruits. They ranked ERT, Robbery and Drugs higher than Schools. This dichotomy led me to wonder if the interview process was yielding reliable results. Perhaps recruits felt that they should give politically correct answers in this face-to-face process, and that the anonymity of the questionnaire data was producing more truthful answers. This was admittedly one of my initial concerns about the credibility of this process. On the

other hand, it could also be that these four recruits just happened to have a preference for the School Liaison Section in the pre-training interview. The post-training data once again conformed with the questionnaire data with recruits now preferring ERT and Drug work, while leaving the other sections for other members, or for a later time in their careers.

Aside from the responses to directed questioning summarized above, the recruit interview data for the post-training recruits revealed a number of attitude-laden themes worthy of discussion. These are summarized in Tables 22a to 22e.

In the post-training data, a strong theme indicated the awakening of awareness of the traditional police image (Table 22a). Recruits saw themselves as being distinctive from the public and they began to place importance on looking the part and doing that well. They also acknowledged the power of the uniform and the power of their position as it was reflected in that uniform. The interviews showed the development of pride and the perception of status (in one case celebrity status) that was associated with the image. The image also was described as “having to look strong”, “never get walked on”, “in control” and “able to handle everything.” One recruit described the necessity to “never back down” and “look like you knew what you were doing even if you didn’t.” A particularly insightful comment was made by a recruit who stated that “everyone (clearly more than one source) had told him that his training officer was a really good cop, but a bit of a mean bastard.” This suggests that the police culture accepts *meanness* in a police officer as long as he / she is a “good cop.” The two descriptors are apparently not mutually exclusive in the discourse of policing. Could this be said in a community policing culture?

The female recruit (I have been given permission to reveal the gender of the recruit in this instance only) spoke at length about making an effort to separate *self*

from the job image and she spoke of the constant effort this took. This recruit had heard a saying; “It is not who I am, it is what I do” and was trying to live by that. She also mentioned that she found the police image had made social contact more difficult, stating that many people seemed more interested in her job, than in her. None of the other recruits mentioned this issue.

A second powerful theme in the interviews formed around the notion of solidarity and isolationism (Table 22b). Recruits almost unconsciously revealed a feeling of separation from and even superiority to, the public. They stressed the importance of team and a family-like bond to their co-workers. Recruits admitted that they had less time for pre-police friends and that they now had trouble relating to non- police people. On the topic of a then recent, and highly publicized example of police misconduct, two recruits referred to the whistle blower as a “rat”, and all expressed the belief that in almost every case of misconduct, a good police officer would deal with the offending officer face to face, and *never* go over the person’s head with a complaint. One recruit commented, “since training, things [ethics] are just not as black and white as they used to be.”

A third theme arose in the data, unearthing the police affinity for action (Table 22c). The recruits, without exception, spoke of the action-based activities as being the best part of the job and made several references to action-based jobs such as ERT, having the highest status in the organization. One recruit acknowledged a shift in his job preference from Schools to ERT, justifying this change by saying “that was all he/ she knew before.” Another recruit spoke of his interest in the action-based activities at the academy adding that the “touchy-feely stuff was well meant, but a waste of time.”

A fourth rather unanticipated theme, the notion of having fun, arose in the interviews (Table 22d). This comment came up repeatedly in the data. It was used to describe one recruit's short-term career planning: "I just want to have fun on patrol for a while." It described the work in general: "Patrol is so much fun, I had no idea." One recruit described being so excited about work that he / she could never sleep the night before the first shift of a rotation. One recruit described the job as "a rush, I just can't get enough", another said: "I can't believe they pay me to do this." From my experience I know that this concept of the work being fun, is regularly conveyed by police officers when they speak of the more action oriented aspects of the job.

I find this "fun" comment worthy of discussion and I will return to it in the discussion of values and attitudes in Chapter 6 (six). For now, let me say that I now see this theme as another example of the contradictions that riddle the discourse of the police culture. When this theme arose in the data, I realized this notion of police work being *fun*, has always made me somehow uneasy. To me, fun implies a sense of light heartedness and even self-gratification that seems incongruous when applied to a job that is supposed to be about public trust and service to the community. I recently saw this *fun theme* reinforced at a departmental training day. A high-ranking officer referred to a particular police tactic<sup>3</sup> as not only being "effective, but a lot of fun." Everyone in the room laughed knowingly. I instantly identified this exchange as relevant to this discussion and recall feeling annoyed by what was implied about police use of force, particularly when this message came from a senior officer. By saying that the tactic was "fun," did he not imply an almost *game-like* mentality in a situation where the police may legitimately need to use a high level of

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<sup>3</sup> This tactic was a vehicle take-down strategy designed for situations where the suspects are considered armed and dangerous. The technique employs a high level of force and intimidation.

force, with an equally high potential for injury to the suspects? Certainly this was not the intended message of this influential and highly ranked police leader. So what was his intended message and what did the audience hear? From my experience, I know that most police officers take the authority and responsibilities of the job seriously and generally behave appropriately when intervening in crisis. But why is this fun theme so consistent? Do nurses or social workers describe their job as fun? Is that what judges or teachers say about their occupational choices? The decisions that the police make and the actions that we take, even when perfectly justified, often impact people in a profound way. Whether it is by arresting someone for a criminal offence, by intervening in a family fight, by pursuing and then finally subduing a mentally ill person by use of a taser; these activities can change the course of people's lives. Police work is not a game. What would the public think if they knew that the police viewed an intervention in their private crisis, as being "fun."

Perhaps I am being pedantic. There is nothing wrong with a police officer finding the work gratifying. Yet there is something about the consistency and frequency with which this comment arises, and the tendency for the fun to be associated with the action and power related aspects of the work, that troubles me. Here I see another example of where my worldview is slightly out of sync with that of many of my peers. Unearthing this theme has exposed another facet of this general feeling of dissonance that has shadowed my experience within the police culture.

The final theme in the recruit data came from reference to bad language and "war stories" (see Table 22e). Without exception recruits claimed that since training began, they had been using profanity far more than they had before. Those people closest to the recruits (see relative interview data Table 24) corroborated this fact. One recruit stated- "You just can't talk about work without swearing" (see Table 22e).

Clearly swearing is accepted in the discourse of policing. I am not clear what, if anything, the “creeping in” of profanity means in terms of attitudes in police training. Perhaps it is just another indication of the action-orientation and the masculinization process that is inculcated in the recruit training process. Perhaps it is a process through which the stress of the job can be expressed without admitting weakness, and released in a manner that is acceptable in the culture. For whatever reason this phenomenon arises, it represents a tangible change, which occurred for all four recruits interviewed, and I must admit, for me myself.

Intrinsically related to the kinds of language used in policing, are the stories that are told. Each recruit mentioned “war stories” in his / her interview. These are stories about work. They generally involve action and humour. From what I know of police war stories, they help pass the dead hours of the nightshift, liven up parties, and generally demonstrate the bravado of the teller or the stupidity of an *outsider* (non-police person, non-member of the department or non-member of the particular group you are telling the story too). These stories are meant to be told with flare and are generally peppered with profanity. I believe that an analysis of the discourse of police war stories would disclose rich data about the values of the police culture. But this analysis is for another thesis and would require much more study.

### **The relatives**

I will preface this part of the discussion by saying that these interviews did not provide the depth of insight for which I had hoped. As I mentioned earlier, I have had numerous value-laden discussions with spouses or partners of recruits, at graduation dinners and other social functions. These discussions were rich with insight into the changes that were occurring for the recruits. Perhaps it was the tape

recorder, or maybe it was the absence of red wine; for whatever reason the relatives seemed more guarded than I had anticipated. They seemed somehow concerned that they might jeopardize their recruit if they said too much. Very few negative or critical comments were made about the recruits or the police culture, in these sessions. I have considered the fact that this may have been a flaw in the design of my research and that it may have been more productive to interview relatives of police recruits who had not been associated to this inquiry in any way. While I would have lost the ability to make direct comparisons between comments elicited from a recruit and comments from his / her relative, perhaps there would have been a more open discussion.

The pre-training interview data was fairly consistent between the recruits and their relatives (see Table 23a with insert from Table 21). The relatives stated that they felt their recruits were drawn to police work because it represented a stable and well-compensated job. One relative believed his/her recruit was well suited for the job in terms of fitting into the hierarchal model. Another cited his/her recruit's ability to perform on a team and relate to kids. There were comments made which indicated the belief that the job would "hold interest" and it was "something to be proud of." One relative revealed a belief about the job requirements by saying "X is so steady and predictable it is like this is what X was meant to do." Another relative revealed his/her beliefs about the negative aspects of the job by saying "Not sure why [he was drawn to the job] but I know it is not because of the guns or the power trip. He is not like that at all."

Table 23b displays the pre- training comments made in response to what aspect of police work the relative believed their recruit would pursue. I felt this was

very insightful when displayed beside the post-training job preferences of the recruits (Table 21e).

Relatives saw their recruits drawn to the social service oriented jobs like Schools, Child Abuse and Family Violence or, in one case, an outside job such as bikes or boat patrol. One relative assumed that the recruit would want to stay away from undercover work stating "X has no desire to do that." Another relative felt his/her recruit would want to get off the street quickly and go to a desk job. This comment stood out for me because of its irony. For a police officer to express a wish to get off the street and into a desk job, unless he/she is nearing retirement, is tantamount to career suicide. This relative clearly had no intention of implying a weakness in his/her relative. From this person's point of view, a police desk job was a viable option for their loved-one and likely from a selfish perspective, seen as a safe and desirable assignment. In any event, none of the career paths predicted for their loved ones, were followed by any of the recruits. As discussed earlier, post-training recruits all gravitated to ERT or undercover drug work. By the end of police training none of the recruits were looking for a desk job and there was not one aspiring school liaison officer in the sample.

The final aspect of the relative interview data to be discussed is the relative's perceptions of changes which occurred for his/her recruit in training (Table 24). Before training most of the relatives were confident that there would be no negative changes in their recruit. One relative stated he / she was "not sure, but hoped" there would not be a change. The changes that the relatives did anticipate were increased confidence and skills mastery. One relative felt that his/her recruit might "become more serious" and would "build character." I came out of the of the pre-training relative interviews with the feeling that only one of the relatives had any fears about

their recruit entering training and generally they all held the police profession in high regard. The one relative who had misgivings about the “power-trip” aspect of the police image, was guardedly hopeful that recruit X would not succumb.

The post training results for the relatives included observed changes such as: “more confident, more mature, more fit, more outspoken.” Recruits were observed to “stand up straighter and walk differently both in and out of uniform.” The relatives noticed the powerful camaraderie and noted that the recruits had made strong new friendships and had less time for old ones and less time for family. The recruits were observed to swear more and in two cases were described as not being able to leave their job at work; “[...] we can’t even go for a drive anymore with out a traffic lesson or her/him pointing out some traffic issue with another car.”

I came out of these last interviews with the impression that the relatives could have said more here, but had chosen to refrain from doing so. While each relative remained supportive of his/her recruit I could see that training had taken its toll on relationships. From the tone and content of some of the comments made by relatives in the post-training interviews (see Table 24) I felt that the recruit’s post-training pre-occupation with the job, was beginning to wear thin for the relatives.

### **Summary discussion of the data**

The data obtained from this inquiry, both qualitative and quantitative, supports the hypothesis that, recruits experience changes in attitudes during training at the police academy. The interview data revealed that over the course of training, the recruits changed their priorities in terms of the types of police work that they wanted to pursue and the type of police officer they want to be. Specifically, over time social work priorities were unanimously set aside, for crime fighting priorities

(Tables 21 a, b, d & e). At the end of training, the recruits stated that they still believed that community policing had value, but only limited value, and that they felt there was a *choice* to do *that kind of police work*, or not. The recruits all stated that they would rather do *community policing* later in their career, or leave this type of work for someone else (see Table 21c). All recruits showed the development of action- orientated priorities and an affinity for the “high-speed” aspects of the job, which they did not appear to possess at the beginning of training (Table 22d). By the end of training the recruits, without exception, claimed to love their new careers, claimed that they were proud to be doing the job, and claimed to be having fun while at work (Table 22 a and e). The recruits all demonstrate awareness that there was a public image that went along with being a police officer and three of them had readily assumed this image. One recruit easily accepted the image for work purposes, but struggled with how to leave the image at work (Table 21d, f, 22a). The recruit interviews also revealed what I interpreted as the beginning stages of police solidarity, and the development of isolationist tendencies (Table 22a, b, 24). The relative interviews confirmed that in their recruits, there was an emergence of cynicism, a separation from the public, and a narrowing of social and of support networks. The relatives also indicated that they saw the development of a preoccupation with police work, on the part of their recruits. The relative interviews also corroborated the recruit’s assertions that they used profanity more frequently, particularly to describe aspects of their work and when telling police “war stories” (Table 22f and 24).

The questionnaire data provided structural corroboration for the interview data and it also illustrated that by the end of training, recruits had experienced quantifiable attitudinal changes. These changes were categorized to show the early

stages of development of *isolationist tendencies* (question 3,4,5,6,8,9,14,16,18,19), the *us vs. them mentality* (question 2,3,6,7,9,16,18,19), *cynicism* (question 1,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,16,17,18), *action-orientation* (question 1, 2,7,8,9,10,11,14,17), *preoccupation with danger and glorification of violence* (question 1,2,8,9,13,15,18). The questionnaire data also demonstrated the development of a preference for *crime fighting roles over social work roles*, by the end of training (question 1,6,7,8,9,10, 11,14,15, 17, 18,19). The ranking data corroborated this affinity to crime fighting roles and action orientation.(Tables 20 a and b) The ranking data also showed that the recruits were attracted to the same jobs that they saw as having the highest status in the organization.

The data clearly demonstrates that the traditional model of policing is strongly reflected by the attitudes that police recruits exhibit at the end of police training. I believe the data also illustrates that recruits display attitudes that resonate more powerfully with the community policing model before training, than they do after training. This is in no way meant as a criticism of the recruits, but meant as a step towards unearthing the hidden values that come to life through the police-training curriculum. The values of a culture, when filtered through the lens of a learner, cannot be altered. Recruits (just like other learners), learn from the hegemonic values that are translated through the *curriculum* (used in the its broadest sense), not just from the course training standard or from the concepts intended to be expressed in the lesson plans. What the recruits learn about the values of police work, both consciously and unconsciously, is reflected in their attitudes at the end of training.

In order to attempt any discussing about changing the traditional hegemony in police training, one must first acknowledge that it exists as an important force that

shapes the attitudes of police recruits, even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I believe that the data from this inquiry confirms that the traditional model is still the dominant discourse of the police academy because the attitudes of recruits clearly reflect this philosophy by the time they are finished training.

## Chapter 6:

### Defining the Values

When I first began my inquiry I knew that I wanted to explore the conflict between what I believed was *valued* by the police culture and what I thought the culture *should value*. I was approaching this conflict from the perspective of a police practitioner and educator and using the word *value* to describe the aspects of police work that I saw as being emphasized, resourced and rewarded, both by the police organizational culture and by the curriculum of the police academy. In one of my graduate courses, the Philosophy of Leadership, I was introduced to the work of Christopher Hodgkinson and I immediately knew that his insight into how human beings assign value and meaning to the world, would add an important layer to my inquiry. Discovering Hodgkinson's "Value Theory" (1991, p. 89) allowed me to move beyond my frustration with *what* is valued in the police culture and begin to examine *how value is expressed* by certain attitudes and behaviours which are commonly displayed in the culture, and to examine how this process of *valuing* shapes the way new police officers construct their interface with the world.

Hodgkinson (1991) begins his discussion of values by explaining the difference between values and facts. In what Hodgkinson calls the "Aristotelian West ... grounded in science and materialism" (p. 89), a fact is irrefutable. There are no false facts. Values on the other hand are *concepts of the desirable* (p. 89) and are assigned by the individual based on his/her view of the world; these values are strictly subjective. Now this discussion can get very murky and has, on more than one occasion, caused me to consider abandoning this chapter of my thesis. If values are totally subjective and continually shifting, then assigning an absolute *right way*

to approach police practice is impossible and highly presumptuous on my part. This task should rightfully be left to those akin to *Plato's Guardians of the Republic*.<sup>4</sup> But who are the *Guardians* of police practice? Certainly those of us working in the culture cannot claim to be free of all desires for power, success or pleasure. I do not claim to be objective or *Guardian-like* in any way, but I still believe that there is a place for me to refute the dominant discourse of the police culture. I am encouraged in this endeavour by the fact that the behaviours associated with traditional police practice are also challenged by the literature.

Instrumental to understanding *values* is Hodgkinson's (1991) Schema of Value Related Terms (p. 95). Applying his logic allows me to dissect onion-like layers of easily confused value related terms and organize these terms in concentric rings around a core, which is the 'self'. Hodgkinson suggests that just outside the surface of the self, observable to the whole world, there are *behaviours*. Behaviours are *factual* representations of our *attitudes*. Attitudes reside just below the interface between the self and the world and are also measurable facts. Attitudes are manifestations of the next layer, our *values*. If we then peel back the layer of values, this reveals our *motives*. Motives are tied into needs, wants and desires and can be either unconscious drives or conscious reason, depending on one's level of self-awareness. In either case, motives are the source of our values. Because we can pass value judgements on our motives or on those of another, Hodgkinson states that this shows that values are something other than motives. *Self* is at the centre of it all.

Visualizing the self in this way allows me to be far more consistent in how I apply the nomenclature of values. This schema has also shown me that in collecting

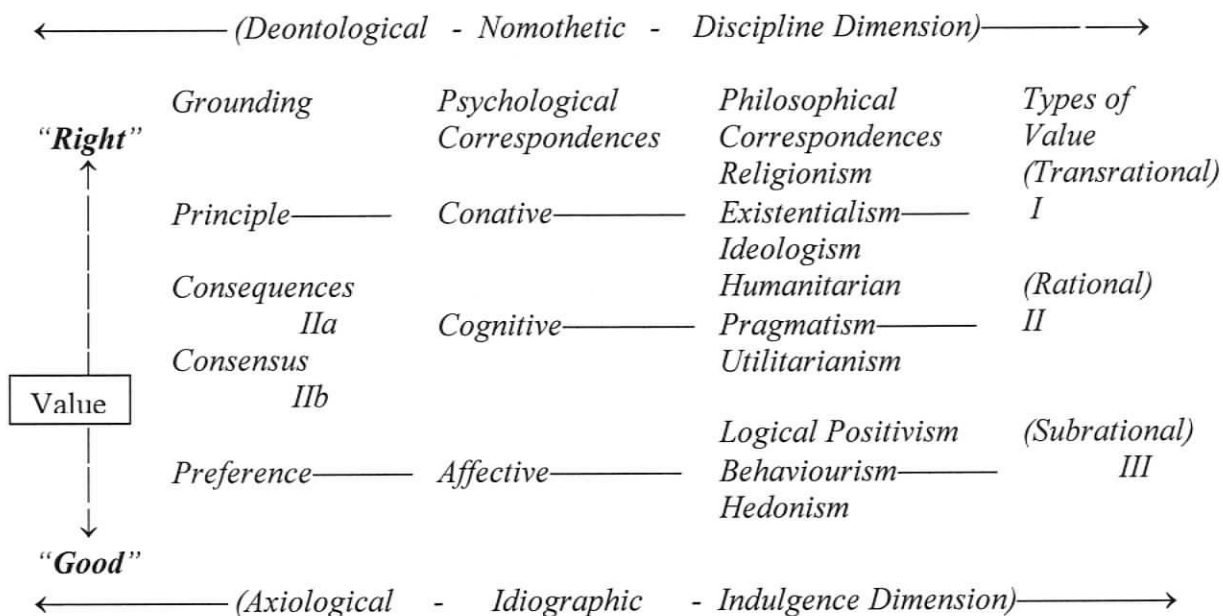
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<sup>4</sup> Guardians: Plato's ideal of the perfect breed of leader to run his perfect state, the *Republic*. These men [sic] were to be single, celibate, mature, experienced and were to live without luxury. They had glimpsed the absolute *Ideal* and had overcome any desire for power, success and pleasure.

my data for this inquiry, because I can only reliably record observable facts, I can only collect data from the level where the self interfaces with the world (in this case, me). In constructing my research design I then knew that I was only able to record *behaviours and attitudes* as they were conveyed in an interview or a questionnaire. From this vantage point the values were beyond my view. In my inquiry I compared the factual data collected before and after training, and demonstrated that there were changes in the observed attitudes and behaviours. While I could not actually observe the associated values or motives, because of this chain of inference between behaviours – attitudes - values and motives, I could reason that a shift in attitude was most likely the manifestation of a shift in values. So with Hodgkinson's help, I can say with confidence that my inquiry reveals significant shifts in attitudes of police recruits, and that these shifts reflect a stronger alignment with traditional police *values*, than with the community policing.

So why does traditional policing appear to be more popular than the community policing values by the end of police training? To tackle this issue I employ Hodgkinson's (1991) Analytic Model of the Value Concept (see Figure 1). In this model, Hodgkinson classifies values and identifies the sources of grounding or motives, associated with values. This model distinguishes between the two components of value—considerations of what is "*right*" and what is "*good*."

This is the difference between what is "desirable" and the "desired" (Whyte, as cited in Hodgkinson, 1991) and is technically known as the distinction between the axiological (good) and the deontological (right). The former refers to what is enjoyable, likable, pleasurable; the latter to what is proper, "moral", duty-bound, or simply what *ought* to be. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 97)



Source: Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 97

**Figure 1. Hodgkinson’s analytical model of the value concept**

Illustrating the basic breakdown of the components of *value*  
from the axiological (good) to the deontological (right)

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All organisms have an innate understanding of what is good, desirable and pleasurable. The decision to drink because you are thirsty is simply a decision to seek pleasure and avoid pain and it requires little thought or discipline. Alternatively, pursuing what is right, what is moral or responsible generally takes more effort. These kinds of value laden decisions are generally believed to be the exclusive domain of humanity and when the pursuit of what is good comes into conflict with what is right, we expose the roots of the classic war between self-discipline and self-indulgence. The decision to drink green tea because it is healthful, instead of coffee which I prefer, is an example of this internal conflict of will over want.

Hodgkinson's (1991), in his model of value (see Figure 1), identifies three types of values and also identifies the grounds for judging these values. He arranges these values in a hierarchical manner with those based on more self-indulgent, pleasure based grounds (what is good) at the bottom, and the values with more self-discipline or ethically based grounds (what is right), situated at the top.

Understanding the grounding of values and how one can judge them on the scale between what is "good" and what is "right", is an important step as I try to explain why police recruits seem to gravitate to the traditional police value system.

Type III Subrational values are at the bottom of Hodgkinson's (1991) value model (refer to Figure 1). Type III values are grounded in preference. At this level one would say that *x* is good simply because *you like it, it is enjoyable, or it is fun*. Type II values are more cognitively based and presuppose a social context which dictates expectations and standards. There are two types of Type II values. Type IIb Rational values are grounded in consensus. In this case *x* is valued because it concurs with the *will of a majority*. Type IIa Rational values are based in an analysis of consequence and can imply a philosophical grounding consistent with Humanism, Pragmatism or Utilitarianism. At the top of the continuum are Type I Transrational values. These values arise from the metaphysical and can be called grounds of principle.

They [transrational values] are unverifiable by the techniques of science and cannot be justified by merely logical arguments [...], they are base on will rather than reasoning faculty and their adoption implies some kind of act of faith, belief, commitment. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 99)

While motives are certainly stratified in this model, Hodgkinson is not saying that a Type I Value grounding is more legitimate than either Type II or III,

rather he is suggesting that Type I Values represent a higher “quality of commitment” to a cause. (Hodkinson 1991, p. 100).

### **Putting the values to work**

Community policing is designed to be a philosophy that guides practice at every level of the organization. In an authentic community policing organization, there is an ethos of altruism, which places the priorities of the community, as defined by community members, over the priorities of the police and any individuals in the police service. Catching criminals, being competent in your use of equipment, and your ability to respond effectively to emergencies is logically important in any policing model, but in the community policing schema there is a realistic balance struck between the action- oriented aspects of the job, and a more proactive-problem solving agenda. An authentic community policing organization is built on a service-oriented mentality, which encourages trust and collaborative problem solving between the community and the police, with an emphasis on promoting the good of the community.

In the schema of community policing, *catch and release* behaviours that have traditionally signalled success in policing (e.g. drugs are sold ... buyer is arrested and charged ... crime is solved...police officer identified as crime-fighter) are balanced with far more complex proactive investments in the success of future generations. (e.g. police officer gives anti-drug lecture ... child is influenced and makes a choice to avoid drug use- six months in the future). To be successful, the community policing officer must be *driven by a belief* that what he or she is doing, will make a difference and that these proactive endeavours are just as important as the reactive aspects of his or her job. This belief must be maintained despite the constant seduction of

instant gratification, which accompanies the more reactive types of police work. This same balance must be struck for the community policing organization, despite the urge to defend police budgets with easily obtained statistics on arrest rates and tickets served.

At the personal level, this gives rise to a kind of internal conflict - two desirables warring within the bosom of a single self - as we feel on the one side the *pull of affect* (my italics) and on the other the demands of the situation and what ought to be done. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 98)

In previous chapters I have established that there is consensus in the more recent police literature that this is how policing *ought to be* done. I will now suggest that the manner of thinking, or habits of mind, characteristic of an authentic community police-oriented individual, group, or culture can elevate this philosophy to the level of an *ideology*. Borrowing from Hodgkinson again, I will argue that adopting the attitudes endorsed by community policing often requires a higher *quality of commitment* to the profession because it places less emphasis on traditional rewards or traditional standards of measurement (crimes solved, arrests made). The ideology of a community police organization, and of the authentic community police officer, is in this case *conatively*<sup>5</sup> grounded in 'principle' or Type I *Transrational*<sup>6</sup> values (see Figure 1).

Certainly one must acknowledge that the traditional police paradigm has its *Transrational* grounding as well. When a police officer risks his/her life for the safety of another the 'honour and duty to protect' aspect of the job is grounded in Type I values. However, in my experience these instances are rare and it is far more likely that the pragmatic nature of the traditional policing paradigm finds its motivation in values of consequence (Type IIa) or consensus (Type IIb) rational values. In a

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<sup>5</sup> Conative: an inclination (as an instinct, a drive, a wish, or a craving) to act purposefully; an impulse

<sup>6</sup> *Transrational*: values based in principle which may go beyond reason or defy rational explanation

traditional policing organization, where the primary roles are reactive and intended to apprehend criminals, actions that often lead to action and confrontation- are easily reconciled within the hegemonic nature of the culture. In a system which celebrates the “ masculine crime fighter” (Miller, 1999, p.3), rewards are given for action- oriented behaviour because these behaviours have always been seen as the logical way to fight crime (Type IIa) or fit a pattern that has always served to reinforce the masculine image of the job (Type IIb). The fact that many of the traditional police behaviours are considered exciting and enjoyable (or at least more enjoyable than the arguably feminized alternatives in the community policing strategy), combined with the fact that these strategies have been repeatedly proven to be ineffective in reducing crime, to me suggests that the motivations for these behaviours can easily shift from being cognitively grounded (Type II) in logic, to being sub-rationally grounded in preference (Type III). For individuals who revel in power and action, they may even be hedonistic. In simpler terms, in the traditional police model, I see a system that assigns status and rewards to participants who engage in behaviours that they already find enjoyable. If the traditional policing model was effective at controlling crime and keeping communities safe, this would indeed be the ultimate working environment. However, I have already established that unfortunately, the traditional police system is not accomplishing these goals.

Just as the traditional police motives can slide from Type I to Type III, the same pull of affect can impact the values of those committed to community policing. For some police officers, community meetings and pro-active police work may be enjoyable, desired and preferable. Some may readily engage in these activities because they have read the literature and realize that proactive work is most likely to inspire long-term change and reduce crime (Type II a). Some may conform because

they happen to work in a police agency or section of an agency that endorses the philosophy (Type II b). Some officers may even have Type III value grounding and prefer the more feminized agenda. I must even acknowledge the possibility that some officers may be drawn to community policing because they believe that this model will allow them to avoid action and possible danger. While authentic community policing demands *well-rounded* police officers that are able to operate successfully in a tactical setting (as this is a part of their problem-solving repertoire), this model certainly does take on a *softer* set of priorities. If an officer were trying to disguise a fear of confronting danger, inferior tactical skills or perhaps even poor fitness, a community policing culture would be a less hostile environment. However, unlike in traditional police culture where *action orientation* is rewarded regardless of motive (Type I or Type III), a demonstrated preference for community policing comes with a price. Regardless of what motivates a community police officer, demonstrating a preference for this style of police work changes how a person is perceived in the police culture and threatens his or her reputation as a *good cop*.

When you become a NPO<sup>7</sup>, some patrol officers act like you give up your gun belt and put on a sweater and you are now going to be in Mr. Rogers' neighbourhood. –Stewart, black man, current NPO. (Miller 1999 p. 99)

As I commented in my Chapter 5 (five) discussions of *paper-work*, the police culture routinely commits a naturalistic fallacy (assuming a value from a fact) by associating an officer's preference for office work or non- action based activities, with that officer's fear of danger. The possibility that pro-active police work may disguise an officers fear of danger, accompanied by the likelihood that the masculinized culture

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<sup>7</sup> NPO: Neighbourhood Police Officer. This is an American equivalent of the Community Policing Program.

will jump to this conclusion is, in my opinion, a source of resistance to community policing.

From this exercise in *value deconstruction*, I am reminded of the incident at the local bar, which I described in chapter two. If you will recall, I based my decision to engage in an arrest of a potentially dangerous person, on a desire to “look tough” (Type III sub-rational). I took an unnecessary risk that was interpreted by my peers as being good police work, and even considered mildly heroic, even though it risked the safety of a colleague. In this case I was obviously given the benefit of far more *deontological* motives than I deserved. There is a legitimate, rational Type I and IIa value grounded argument for placing worth on an officer’s competence to apprehend an offender and engage in action oriented behaviours. If someone had been in imminent danger from the subject of my arrest, or even if he had been on the verge of fleeing some crime, I could then lay claim to these *higher* motives. However, identifying my duplicity in terms of accepting credit for motives, which I did not possess, has provided me a rare moment of clarity.

Realizing the ease with which motives associated with traditional police practices can be misplaced or *inflated* marks an important breakthrough in my inquiry. I can now see that the traditional police culture is constructed in such a way that it has a sophisticated and systemic capacity to camouflage Type III motives in Type II or even Type I rationale. Legitimizing these enjoyable or self-serving behaviours under myriad conditions, encourages the persistence of traditional police attitudes and at the same time subverts the behaviours associated with more proactive policing. By attributing values to traditional police attitudes and behaviours, at a level which may not always be deserved, police officers can easily be seen as “good cops” when they are really just having fun or exercising bravado. I

again acknowledge that it is not possible to prove motives, nor is it wise to assume motives (other than those you possess for yourself), simply based on behaviours. But, as an insider to the police culture, I feel confident in saying that this *inflation of motives* can and does occur. Coming to this realization has allowed me to expose and express the dissonance I have felt for so long, and also to illuminate a major source of systemic resistance to authentic community policing.

Returning to the data, I see evidence of *sliding motives* in the “fun” theme, which was identified in the post recruit interview data (Table 22e). As mentioned in the earlier discussion “fun” implies a sense of enjoyment and self-gratification that one would not expect to see associated with behaviours which have serious rational (logical) or trans-rational (ideological) grounding. In fairness, it could be that the recruits are all referring to that internal feeling of gratification which can come from committing an unselfish act (Type I). But here again, I will rely on my experience within the culture to suggest that the fun more likely comes from the *game-like* mentality, which is so easily achieved in the traditional policing paradigm. In fairness, I believe that if this shift of values grounding is occurring, it is unconscious for many officers, especially for new officers who have little interest in meta-analyses.

Another example of what is likely the unconscious *pull of affect* implicit in the traditional police model, can be seen in the post-training ranking of the police job types (Table 20a). These rankings showed a collective preference amongst trained recruits, for the action based jobs over the social service jobs. The fact that the trained recruits also perceived the action-based jobs (i.e., their preference) as having the highest status in the organization (Table 20b) suggests that they see the police culture as valuing or as supporting their job preferences (Type IIb). In the context of

the values paradigm this can now be seen as an expression of a police officer's affinity for jobs that facilitate self-gratification (Type III). The police culture allows recruits to justify, albeit unconsciously, these Subrational Type III preferences, in a rational manner, elevating them now to a Type II (consensus) rational value grounding. For most officers this is seen as a lucky coincidence, spawning statements like "I can't believe I get paid to have so much fun" (Table 22 Part c). But again- Plato prompts me to ask: Are specific types of police work desirable because of their status (value) within the organization, or is it because certain types of police work are desirable (fun)? While the answer to this is uncertain, this study has shown that by the end of training, few recruits desire the low status jobs such as School Liaison and Child Abuse. This does not bode well for the state of community policing.

I want to acknowledge that this is only a hypothetical model intended to explore what could be happening when motives change during police training. This model is not meant to be accusatory but to be explanatory; allowing me to articulate my awareness of a systemic factor at work, which subverts the more altruistic motives for police work, and that relentlessly interferes with the establishment of an authentic community policing environment. I sincerely believe that most police officers claim rational, and even transrational, motives for their behaviours, but I also feel that it is important to identify the externally imperceptible *pull of affect* and expose how readily it can erode police values. We are all vulnerable.

This realization that we are all vulnerable to this *erosion of motives* has helped me to see that only by making more desirable-the whole spectrum of behaviours associated with community policing can we ever hope to encourage this philosophy to take hold and flourish in the manner that we have seen with its traditional police predecessor.

### Where do I stand?

I believe I have established that there are attitudinal changes that occur for police recruits while in training. I believe I have also shown that these attitude changes signal the fact that the traditional model of policing is still the dominant philosophy conveyed by the discourse of policing and the curriculum of the police academy. Using Hodgkinson's Value Concept (1991, p. 97) to explore the values associated to both the traditional police paradigm and the community policing paradigm, I have detected a facet of the police value system, which I believe provides insight. It is my submission that the police culture harbours a capacity to allow motives for traditional police behaviours, to silently shift, from the deontological (right or desirable) to the axiological (good or desired). This ability to slide undetected, creates resistance to the community policing philosophy and fuels the persistence of the traditional policing paradigm. Simply put, the behaviours promoted by the traditional police model are more *desirable* to most police officers, than the behaviours promoted under the community policing model. For this reason policing has failed to transform.

When beginning a career in policing most recruits feel willing to sacrifice for the privilege of having the job and community policing conatively appeals to their altruistic sensibilities. For the uninitiated police recruit, community policing is consistent with what they may see as the *higher calling of police service*. However, as soon as the recruit enters the police academy, messages of value associated to the reactive aspects of police work begin to accumulate both subtly and overtly, through the curriculum. Soon the recruit has been repeatedly exposed to the enticements of reactive police work, in the necessary practice and training that must be done to prepare for the rare but extreme danger that may be encountered on the job. In

juxtaposition to these adrenaline rich experiences, classes on communication skills, mediation and problem solving become lacklustre and far from glamorous. Once in the field, the recruit is free to choose; does she/he focus on the reactive aspects of policing which are “fun” and exciting and carry the label of “good cop”, or does she/he take the moral high ground and focus equally on the social service and community based aspects of the job. Keep in mind that the recruit may not even realize that there is a moral high ground and may only see that these “softer jobs” are rarely rewarded, are time consuming and often carry negative stereotypes. Remember too that the recruit must also keep his/her reactive skill sets well honed, in the event that they are needed in the interest of public safety or officer safety. In this context, it is easy to see why police recruits show a preference for the behaviours promoted exclusively by the traditional police model; community policing is simply too much extra work with too little payoff.

### **Final remarks**

The idea that realism and idealism are somehow opposed to each other – as though realism meant cynicism and idealism meant naiveté-needs to be corrected... This error suggests that ethics and morality are separate from real police work. (Delatre, 1989, p. 141)

At this point in my career I still believe that police work is an honourable way to serve my community and to help people. When I first made this statement eighteen years ago it was considered naïve. Now I see it as idealistic, realistic and necessary. Canadian police experts are saying that “societal and economic trends are creating new expectations for policing in Canada – police will have to adapt.” (Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police [CACP], 2001, p. 11) and that “succeeding in the new social environment means creating a new social framework for police work.” (CACP, 2001, p. 23) It seems that many have identified the need for a

systemic change in policing and most police scholars and administrators see community policing as the philosophy with the most potential to make these changes happen. Yet despite these intentions, I am not seeing any real changes in police practice. Community policing *looks good on paper*, but I think it is largely irrelevant to the police officers on the road. I now believe that this is because the ideal of community policing has been introduced to the police culture without considering the values which must be in place as a foundation to fuel the philosophy. Police administrators may demand that the behaviours associated to community policing be demonstrated by its police officers (Police Post, Block Watch, Crime Prevention Programs), but these demands are futile without first investing in changing officer's attitudes, values and motives, to harmonize with the philosophy.

I am convinced that police priorities in North America are more strongly influenced by the preferences of the police culture and the maintenance of the masculinized agenda, than a desire to make communities safer. I am deeply concerned by the current state of the police culture and I believe that if police organizations do not transform they will continue to lose societal respect and community support. At some point the widening gap between the public and the police will render community policing impossible, and the police will be forced to take on a completely reactive and almost military –like role, simply to maintain order.

“The outbreak of crime and violence is a symptom of lives not lived deeply enough ... At the end of the twentieth century we are in a boundary situation. We can transform ourselves, or not” (Asworth Doll, as cited in Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, Taubman, 2000, p. 856).

Just as society must look inward for transformation, I believe that police officers and police organizations must also begin to examine the motives that drive them in the culture. I believe this process must start with a wholehearted reconstruction of the curriculum of police training to convey a balanced evidence based perspective of police practice. I also see the need for a stronger ethical component in police academy training that would convey the importance of assessing motives so that police officers can keep the well-being of the community and the honour of the profession at the forefront of decision making. In addition police leaders must start rewarding behaviours that demonstrate sound values rather than heroics and the blind pursuit of “badguys.” We must also start placing greater expectations on the individuals who supervise new recruits. Until police role models and supervisors share the values that are endorsed by an authentic community policing organization, the dissonance will persist and the police culture will be unable to transform. With these factors in place, I sincerely believe that over-time we could see a collective shift of values that would permeate the police culture and allow for enlightened change. For each of us in the police profession, this change must start by looking inward at our *self* and at our *motives*.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: The Questionnaire

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#### JIBC Police Recruit Questionnaire

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**Demographic Information:** If you feel any of this information will compromise your anonymity, please feel free to leave it blank.

M\_\_\_ F\_\_\_ Dept. size: 1-100 members\_\_\_ 100-500 members\_\_\_ 500+ members\_\_\_  
 Age range: 20-25\_\_\_ 26-30\_\_\_ 31-35\_\_\_ 36+\_\_\_

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Congratulations on your new career and thank you very much for your participation in this survey. This questionnaire is a part of a research study designed to give insight into *police training*. This process will only provide reliable data if you are honest with your responses. For this reason you are asked to answer truthfully based on what *you believe* about your role as a police officer. This questionnaire is anonymous and *will not* be viewed by any police academy staff or members of your police department. There will be no repercussions for your answers or your participation on this study. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

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#### Instructions:

Please mark the place on the continuum (scale) which most accurately reflects *your* position. Your response should indicate where you place yourself, not where you think you should be. **Please go through the questionnaire rapidly recording your immediate impression and then moving to the next question.** If you have no preference, and like or value both choices equally, your response should fall at the midpoint which is indicated (!) on the scale below each question.

#### Example:

My favorite movies are:

O-----!-----/--O  
 Action Romantic





16. Police officers who accept free coffee on duty are:

O-----!-----O  
 Unethical Perfectly justified

17. If I ever get a citizen complaint, I would prefer it be about:

O-----!-----O  
 Bad driving Bad manners

18. My biggest priority in my daily routine will be:

O-----!-----O  
 Community Safety Officer Safety

19. I would rather that my public image appears:

O-----!-----O  
 Strong Sensitive

Assuming that you qualified for a transfer and could apply to any position listed, rank the following assignments (1 being the best and 7 being the worst) in order of:

**a) your preference**

**b) the status you perceive this job to have in your organization**

- School liaison ..... \_\_\_\_
- Traffic ..... \_\_\_\_
- Emergency Response Team \_\_\_\_
- Family Violence Squad..... \_\_\_\_
- Drug Section ..... \_\_\_\_
- Child Abuse..... \_\_\_\_
- Robbery Squad..... \_\_\_\_

- School liaison..... \_\_\_\_
- Traffic..... \_\_\_\_
- Emergency Response Team \_\_\_\_
- Family Violence Squad ..... \_\_\_\_
- Drug Section..... \_\_\_\_
- Child Abuse..... \_\_\_\_
- Robbery Squad..... \_\_\_\_

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

*Thank you very much for you time. Please have a safe and productive career*







**Appendix C: Sample of non-leading behavioural questions**

- a. What excites you the most about being a police officer.
- b. Tell me what you have found to be the most interesting part of police training.
- c. Tell me about a time when you saw a police officer in action and you were impressed (or unimpressed)
- d. Tell me about a time in training where you disagreed with the opinion of the instructor.
- e. Can you give me an example of how you feel you have changes during training.
- f. When you imagine working on your own, what scares you the most.
- g. What is it that in your opinion draws people to this profession?
- h. From what you know now is police work what you thought it would be?
- i. What is your opinion of Community Policing.
- j. What aspect of training has had the biggest impact on you so far?
- k. What aspect of training has been the most difficult for you to accept?
- l. What do you think is the most important part of your job?
- m. What is the real reason that you chose to do this job?
- n. Describe the single most memorable incident you have experienced in training (field training) so far.
- o. What part of training is the hardest for you?
- p. Is Community Policing a realistic philosophy in your department?

## Appendix D: Ethical Approval Documents

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA  
OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT, RESEARCH  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Questionnaire Participant Consent Form

### Examination of Attitudinal Lessons Acquired in Police Training

My name is Jane Naydiuk and I am conducting this research as part of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree, as a Graduate Student in the Faculty of Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, at the University of Victoria. The research is being conducted under the supervision of my Graduate Advisor, Dr. Ted Riecken. My research is an examination of attitudinal lessons acquired during police recruit training. If you have any questions about this research you may contact me at (250) 478-7348 or my supervisor at (250) 721-7759.

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the values and beliefs that police recruits hold about policing and whether these values and beliefs change over the course of the police officers training. You have been selected for this study because you are in a recruit class that is in either the beginning or final stages of training at the Justice Institute. The Director of the Police Academy, Steve Watt, has granted me permission to conduct this research project among students at the Justice Institute of B.C.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include completing a questionnaire during class time. This will take a maximum of 15 minutes of your time. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. While there are no obvious direct benefits of your participation in this research, you may find that this process assists you in gaining insight into your career path by allowing you to explore your understanding of the different dimensions of policing. Should you decide to participate in this study, your participation will ultimately provide insight into police training and may be used to improve training delivery at the Justice Institute.

**You are under no obligation to participate in this study. If you agree to participate and then change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice or negative consequences. If you agree to participate and then change your mind, the researcher will make every effort to retrieve your questionnaire and exclude the information gathered. All information gathered will be anonymous therefore, it may not be possible to retrieve a questionnaire in every case.**

In order to assure myself that you are giving your consent to participate in this research you can exercise your right to decline to participate by leaving this questionnaire blank. In order to protect your anonymity your choice to fill out the questionnaire will only be known by you. When everyone has made their choice and is finished with the questionnaire, an envelope will be passed around the class. Place your questionnaire in the envelope whether you have completed it or not. In this way there will be no way for me to determine who has volunteered to participate and who has declined. All questionnaires will remain anonymous and *will not* be viewed by any police academy staff or members of your police department.

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected as the questionnaires will be placed in a sealed envelope only to be opened only by the researcher. The questionnaires will then be held in a locked cabinet until they are destroyed at the end of the study.

The designated date for destruction of all questionnaires and field notes is: June 30, 2003.

As your participation in this study is not associated in any way the police academy curriculum, there will be no impact on your marks or evaluation at any level. As we assure the anonymity and confidentiality of your responses, you need fear no consequences of anything you might say.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways:  
Thesis, Dissertations and class presentations, presentations at scholarly meetings and journal articles.

In addition to being able to contact the researcher and the supervisor at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria (250-472-4632).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

***A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.***

## Appendix E: Interview Participant Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA  
OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT, RESEARCH  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

*Interview Participant Consent Form*

### Examination of Attitudinal Lessons Acquired in Police Training

My name is Jane Naydiuk and I am conducting this research as part of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree, as a Graduate Student in the Faculty of Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, at the University of Victoria. The research is being conducted under the supervision of my Graduate Advisor, Dr. Ted Riecken. You were chosen at random to participate in this study of attitudinal lessons acquired during police recruit training. If you have any questions about this research you may contact me at (250) 478-7348 or my supervisor at (250) 721-7759.

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the values and beliefs that police recruits hold about policing and whether these values and beliefs change over the course of the police officers training. You have been randomly selected, as one of six recruits from your class, to participate in the interview component of this study. The Director of the Police Academy, Steve Watt, has granted me permission to conduct this research project among students at the Justice Institute of B.C.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, you will be asked to participate in four, thirty minute audio-taped interviews during training. The only known inconvenience to you will be that of time. Arrangements will be made to conduct interviews on breaks, or before or after the scheduled training day. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. While there are no obvious direct benefits of your participation in this research, you may find that this process assists you in gaining insight into your career path, by allowing you to explore your understanding of the different dimensions of policing. This will occur as a result of the conversations and interviews that you will have with the researcher. Should you decide to participate in this study, your involvement will ultimately provide insight into police training and may be used to improve training delivery at the Justice Institute.

**You are under no obligation to participate in this study. If you agree to participate and then change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice or negative consequences. Interview data will be identified through use of code names so if consent is revoked the tapes and transcripts for the corresponding code name will be destroyed and will not become part of this study.**

In order to assure myself that you are continuing to give your consent there will be a consent form completed prior to the first interview and verbal consent prior to the remaining three interviews. Participants will be allowed to withdraw at any time.

Your anonymity will be protected as all tapes will be identified only by code numbers; the name of the participant will not appear in any research report, published or unpublished. The tapes *will not* be viewed by any police academy staff or members of your police department. The only compromise to your anonymity will come as a result of the time you spend associated with the researcher while at the Justice Institute. As we assure the confidentiality of your responses, you need fear no consequences of anything you might say. As your participation in this study is not associated in any way the police academy curriculum, there will be no impact on your marks or evaluation at any level. Tapes will be listened to only by the researcher, transcriber and faculty advisor. The content of the discussions will be kept in strict confidence.

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by keeping the interview tapes in a locked cabinet. The tapes will only be listened to by the researcher and transcriber. Tapes and field notes will be destroyed at the end of the study.

The designated date for destruction of all tapes, questionnaires and field notes is: June 30, 2003.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways:  
Thesis, Dissertations and class presentations, presentations at scholarly meetings and journal articles.

In addition to being able to contact the researcher and the supervisor at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria (250-472-4632).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Name of Participant*

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Signature*

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Date*

***A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.***