

**PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES,
AND CAREER ORIENTATIONS
OF RECRUIT POLICE OFFICERS**

by

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ABSTRACT

Police officers are often considered members of an occupational subculture that share a set of distinct attitudes and perceptions. Previous research indicates that many police officers' attitudes transform and become more homogenous over time; however, few studies have examined initial police recruit perceptions and career expectations from a Canadian context.

This study is a longitudinal analysis of three consecutive Justice Institute of British Columbia Police Academy cohorts (n=90). Questionnaires were administered during the first and final weeks of the eight-month training process. Respondents indicated their perceptions, expectations, and attitudes toward various aspects of police work, and an overall assessment of the Police Academy training curriculum. Findings from this study reveal that most recruits experience attitudinal change to a slight degree over the course of their training. The majority of officers have positive and realistic expectations regarding their careers and the Academy training program. Future research and policy implications are discussed.

DEDICATION

To Lorena, Ryan, and Brett – my inspiration.

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CHAPTER ONE – PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND CAREER ORIENTATIONS

“Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference.”
Winston Churchill

Introduction

Individuals seek careers in policing for many reasons. Often, newly-hired police officers will comment that they want to “make a difference,” “lock up bad guys,” or “give something back to the community.” Others are attracted to policing for more mundane reasons: job security, a good pension, or the amount of weekly time off. While these types of statements offer a glimpse into individual attractions to policing, they provide little personal insight into their occupational attitudes and expectations, the degree of significance attributed to various aspects of the job, or whether these initial perceptions change during an officer’s careers.

The purpose of this study is to explore these issues and determine the primary reasons that recruits identify for choosing this profession, their expectations of training and attitudes toward various aspects of police work, and whether these perceptions, attitudes, and career orientations change over the course of the academy training program¹. To accomplish this, a longitudinal research project was conducted involving police recruits (n=90) from the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police

¹ “Perceptions” refer to acute intuitive cognitions or appreciations of something; whereas, “attitudes” refer to a mental position or emotion toward a fact or state (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary, 2006).

Academy. The hypothesis of this study is that police officer recruits begin their training with a variety of occupational expectations, and experience some degree of attitudinal change during the course of their training.

This first chapter provides: a summary of the recruit training provided at the JIBC; a survey of previous research results in the field of police recruit attitudes, expectations, and police socialization; the development and administration of the study's survey instrument; and a brief discussion of the study's quantitative findings.

Academy Training

This study commences by examining police academy training programs in general, and the training curriculum provided specifically at the JIBC Police Academy. Police academy training programs are often delivered in a paramilitary format that is typically both mentally and physically challenging (Chan, 2003; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Obst & Davey, 2002; Van Maanen, 1973). Recruits are required to maintain high levels of dress and deportment standards, academic grades, and physical fitness. The training is stressful as the performance of recruits is continuously evaluated. Failure to measure up to the fitness and academic standards may result in expulsion from the Police Academy (JIBC Police Academy, 2006a).

At the JIBC Police Academy, recruits receive more than 600 hours of instruction in legal studies, driver training, firearms training, arrest and control, and learning police investigation techniques. The program is delivered in three training blocks. In Block I, recruits receive a combination of theoretical and practical training, and the basic knowledge and skills necessary to work in the field. During Block II, recruits return to

their home departments for a period of up to sixteen weeks to work with qualified Field-Training Officers (FTOs). This on-the-job-training provides FTOs with an opportunity to demonstrate first hand the craft of policing, while continuously evaluating recruit progress. Recruits then return to the Police Academy for advanced training in Block III. Over the next eight weeks, recruits are evaluated through both standard written examinations and a series of competency-based simulation exercises. Upon the completion of Block III, recruits that have met the high expectations of the training program will graduate as “qualified” municipal constables and will return to their home police departments to commence their careers.

Although the JIBC Police Academy is considered a post-secondary academic institution, the curriculum is not delivered exclusively in a classroom setting. Instead, the Academy training experience involves both formal and informal training and socialization processes. Recruits receive formal training from Police Academy instructors. These instructors are police supervisors that administer the course curriculum through lesson plans pre-approved by a training committee composed of officers representing various municipal police agencies. To a lesser extent, recruits also receive formal training from their FTOs, who are required to maintain daily performance logs that reflect the standards of the training curriculum. While the formal training is essential to recruit development, it is the informal training that is of greater significance.

Informal training is provided in a variety of ways. First, instructors, FTOs, and other police officers will often relate “war stories” to recruits. These colourful renditions of successes and failures provide recruits with mental templates of what approaches to policing are successful, and which are less so, and what is or is not appropriate and

expected behaviour. Secondly, informal training and learning also occurs during Block II when recruits witness behaviour and actions of other officers in various patrol situations. On occasion, these informal training experiences may be incongruent with the official training program. During the formal academy training recruits are reminded that they have been instructed in the methods of “best police practices” for patrol work. However, in reality the “best practice” solution is not always the most practical or efficient resolution to an incident.

As well as presenting procedures for formal and informal training, this study also examines the socialization experiences that occur at the Police Academy. Due to the intensity of the academy training program, the transformation of attitudes and perceptions surrounding the nature of police work may begin at the earliest stages of recruit careers. Police academies are both physically and mentally challenging – few individuals are able to “skate through” the numerous physical and academic tasks that are required of recruits. For example, since recruits are required to successfully complete assigned tasks, they learn the importance of teamwork at the earliest stages of training. If one recruit is perceived to not be pulling his or her “weight,” often the entire class is encouraged to apply pressure on those group members who are failing to take sufficient responsibility. Recruits must also complete group assignments and projects, and are encouraged to utilize group study sessions and train together outside of class time. As recruits work through the daily challenges of training, they begin to socialize with each other more frequently (Obst & Davey, 2003) and develop a strong sense of organizational commitment (Beck & Wilson, 1995).

Literature Review

The third chapter of this study is a review of previous research in police socialization and studies relating to transformations of occupational expectations and attitudes among police recruits. Over the past forty years, research of police socialization has evolved and become more sophisticated in attempting to account for the variability observed in the degree to which individual police officers are affected by internal and external factors of socialization.

Traditional studies of police socialization indicated the existence of a monolithic police subculture with values that were so entrenched and prominent that they superseded individual police officer attributes. Characterizations of this subculture have focused on its: strong group solidarity (Skolnick, 1966); tendency towards being a highly secretive social organization (Westley, 1970); officers' collective cynicism of citizens and management (Niederhoffer, 1967); hyper-vigilance (Paoline III, 2004); authoritarian mandate (Colman & Gorman, 1982); political conservatism (Fielding & Fielding, 1989); and its support of the machismo adventurer and promiscuous lifestyle (Reiner, 1992).

One question for researchers has been whether the police subculture exists as a result of police agencies hiring like-minded individuals or if instead there is a socialization process that occurs over the course of policing careers that leads many officers to abandon former attitudes and assume those of the subculture. Several studies (Buckley & Petrunik, 1995; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Paoline III, 2004) indicate that police recruits embark on their new careers possessing a range of expectations and attitudes toward policing. However, over time these initial values begin to change and become more homogenous, reflecting those of the police organization in which they work. For

example, a study of Canadian police officers (Buckley & Petrunik, 1995: 123) found that only a quarter of patrol officers who had originally perceived themselves as helping society in a “social activist role” at the commencement of their careers continued to maintain that view after only two years.

Early studies of the police subculture also indicated that the socialization process occurred over a long period of time as police officers became increasingly “burned out” (Reiser, 1974), succumbed to stresses inherent in the job (Singleton & Teahan, 1978), or were frustrated by the lack of promotional possibilities (Niederhoffer, 1967). However, more recent studies (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Sato, 2003; Obst & Davey, 2003) assert that police enculturation begins as early as the initial stages of training at the police academy. Some studies have found that by the end of academy training, a significant number of officers expressed feeling disenchanted toward police work and had an increasingly cynical view toward the general public (Chan, 2003), were less committed to community policing (Haarr, 2001), or had increased their rate of alcohol consumption and binge drinking (Obst & Davey, 2003).

While research supports the view that attitudes and perceptions of policing evolve during the training process, these changes are not homogenous to all recruits and are mediated against pre-existing values, concepts of policing, individual career expectations, and experiences officers had during their academy training (Chan, 2003). Furthermore, many of these attitudinal changes and perceptions are positive and at variance with the negative stereotypical assumptions of the police subculture (Chan, 2003: 305). For example, the camaraderie and bonding associated with the subculture acts as a support network and ensures that other officers will be available and supportive to protect each

other during critical situations. Haarr (2001: 424) reveals that although attitudinal transformations do begin during police academy training, these changes are actually modest; the more influential determinants of attitudes and career expectations among police recruits are the pre-existing values and personality traits that individuals possess prior to training.

Police officer recruits arrive at police academies with their own well-developed set of attitudes (Buerger, 1998). However, new recruits vary appreciably in the extent to which they have prior experience with, or knowledge of, policing. Some may be previously-experienced officers, recruited from other police services, while other recruits are on a second or third career. Still others are recent graduates of college and university programs. Despite these differences, Chan (2003: 303) asserts that recruits as a whole are not naïve to the challenges that lie ahead and have realistic expectations about policing. Furthermore, while police recruit attitudes and perceptions may become more negative, cynical, and less idealistic over the course of their training, few studies have been able to demonstrate any significant relationship between negative or cynical attitudes and unprofessional police conduct (Engel & Worden, 2003). That is, even though an individual officer may have a cynical view of the public and the criminal justice system, a negative attitude does not appear to translate into reduced professionalism or higher levels of aggression on the street.

While changes in attitudes may not affect an officer's outward behaviour, they may have a profound impact upon his or her career. Fielding and Fielding (1987) and Haarr (2005) indicate that newly-trained police officers may experience "cognitive dissonance" as a result of incongruity between pre-employment perceptions of policing,

the vision of policing put forward in the academy, and their own personal experiences. Haarr (2005: 441) found that the majority of officers who resigned either during training or shortly after graduation from the police academy did so as a result of the “stress and conflict [they experienced] when their beliefs and expectations about police work differed considerably from the actual practices and realities of police work.”

Due to the stresses and conflicts inherent in police officer training, police recruiters invest considerable time and resources into screening prospective employees. Recruiters must arrange for other police personnel to be available to proctor and mark examinations, conduct panel and background interviews with the applicant, run assessment centres, polygraph tests, and conduct background interviews with friends, associates, and previous employers. Haarr (2005: 432) estimates that it costs police agencies nearly \$30,000 US to hire and train a new recruit. Moreover, many recruits are required to pay their own tuition when they attend a police academy. For example, recruits at Prince Edward Island’s Atlantic Police Academy must first pay for and complete six months of residential training, at a current cost of \$24,305 for tuition and accommodation, and only then are they able to seek employment from one of the regional police agencies (Holland College, 2006). Considering this substantial investment, it is in the best interests of both new recruits and police agencies to ensure that recruits complete their training and commence successful careers.

Unfortunately, some recruits fail to complete their training, or leave policing shortly thereafter. Fielding and Fielding (1987) found that within 42 months of entry into the service, 22 percent of police officers left the Derbyshire Training Establishment in England. Similarly, Haarr (2005) reported that 25 percent of new recruits from the

Phoenix Regional Police Basic Training Academy had resigned or were dismissed within 16 months of hire. However, the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy has a far more robust rate of success. In 2005, fewer than five percent of the 171 officers who entered the Police Academy failed to complete training (JIBC Police Academy, 2006b). Although these figures are low, even for the JIBC recruits who either decided to quit or were forced to withdraw from the training program, clearly their policing career expectations were unmet. In addition, research also indicates that other individuals change their perceptions and attitudes toward policing and that these changes occur both during training and over the course of their careers (Chan, 2003; Ellis, 1991; Haarr, 2001; Sato, 2003). What is less apparent is the number of newly hired recruits that possess realistic expectations of their training and police work. Furthermore, if these recruits do have realistic expectations, what is the extent to which their occupational attitudes and career orientations change during the police academy training program?

Research Design

The fourth chapter of the thesis discusses the research method and survey instrument designed to elicit initial police recruit attitudes and perceptions and to assess the degree to which these values change during the Police Academy training program. The focus of this study is to determine whether attitudinal changes occur during training and does not address whether these potential transformations are later manifested in police officer behaviours after graduation from the Academy.

The theoretical framework for this study required a construction capable of accounting for variations in recruit pre-academy perceptions, differences in career orientations, and disparity in the rate of occupational socialization among police recruits.

In contrast to assertions made by early researchers (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966, Van Maanen, 1973), current studies (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001) indicate that changes in attitudes and perceptions do not occur evenly across the recruit population. Some recruits will readily accept the values and opinions of fellow officers, while others will mediate this information against other criteria, and some will not embrace these attitudes at all. Therefore, this study utilizes Chan's (2003) multi-dimensional model of police recruit socialization as a theoretical framework incorporating elements of *learning theory*, *sociodynamic theory*, and *leadership theory* (Schein, 1985, cited in Chan, 2003: 13-16). This model depends on the assertion that no single perspective can account for the variations in perceptions and the degree of recruit occupational socialization. *Learning theory* suggests that recruits acquire appropriate behaviours through group problem solving and "anxiety-avoiding" experiences (*ibid.*). *Sociodynamic theory* asserts that recruits will develop a group mentality as they bond together in order to be included and accepted within a group (*ibid.*). *Leadership theory* contends that those who are perceived as leaders within an organization influence recruits' attitudes and perceptions (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Chan (2003) also maintains that occupational socialization occurs within the social, political, and legal structural field of policing, while simultaneously interacting with an individual's current and preconceived expectations and perceptions of police work.

Changes in attitudes and perceptions of policing are believed to be the product of formal and informal socialization processes that occur during police training. Formal socialization is obtained in the form of official training received from police academy instructors and working with field-trainers. Informal training relates to the collection of

experiences and observations of fellow police officers and instructors in a work environment. However, recruits do not passively obtain new information and attitudes about policing from experienced officers. Instead, they must first reflect upon, critically analyze, and mediate the information they receive and the behaviours they observe.

While some researchers (e.g. Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001) contend that generally police recruits are not naïve to the realities of police work, police recruiters tend to specifically seek out applicants who are more mature and educated because it is perceived that they possess better “life skills” and have more realistic expectations of police work. This study also anticipates that the findings of the current analysis will reveal that the older and better-educated recruits will have more realistic expectations of policing, and thus will not exhibit significant attitudinal shifts between the beginning and end of their training.

In order to test these hypotheses, a longitudinal study was developed involving three consecutive recruit classes (n=90) that commenced their training at the JIBC Police Academy during the spring of 2005. The recruits were surveyed on their first day of training and again eight months later, just prior to their graduation. In the first questionnaire, recruits provided demographical information and were asked to indicate their attitudinal perceptions toward law enforcement and the function of police, levels of cynicism toward the public and the criminal justice system, and their initial career orientations and expectations. In the second survey, recruits were once again asked the same questions found in the original questionnaire, and further asked to provide an overall assessment of the police academy training curriculum and to provide a self-

evaluation of whether their initial attitudes and perceptions of the Academy and the nature of police work had changed.

Research Results

The fifth chapter discusses the findings of the quantitative analysis. The overall results indicate that as a group, recruits had realistic expectations of police work because their views regarding the majority of the 67 attitudinal items measuring expectations of police work, police officers, and police functions did not change significantly during the eight months of training. For example, recruits did not change their opinions on how challenging, dangerous, or personally satisfying police work would be; they continued to see police officers just as honest, loyal, and intelligent as they had initially; and they continued to assign the same level of importance to fourteen various police functions. Therefore, recruits indicated realistic perceptions of policing based on the high level of consistency in their responses even after eight months of police academy training.

Despite the discovery of only minimal changes in attitudes, the study did produce several significant findings. First, the anticipated significance associated with maturity and higher education was not evident. Most of the survey items showed no distinction in responses based upon age of the respondent or level of education. Second, by the end of their training, recruits displayed a slight yet statistically significant trend towards a more cynical view of the criminal justice system. This finding supports previous research (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2003) that indicates police occupational socialization begins as early as police academy training. Third, recruits placed significantly more emphasis on apprehending criminals and less emphasis on improving society at the end of their training than they had initially perceived would be the case for

them. This finding is supported by Buckely and Petrunik (1995) who found that within a few years of service, many police officers no longer viewed themselves in a “helping role”. Finally, although recruits displayed a negative trend in their perceptions of the criminal justice system, most respondents were of the opinion that their attitudes and perceptions had become more positive. For example, many recruits claimed to be more assertive, confident, aware of their surroundings, and indicated an improved perception of the general public.

Discussion

The final chapter discusses the implications of this study’s findings. It advances the contention, based on its discoveries, that it may not be necessary for recruiters to place such a high emphasis on searching for older and higher educated applicants. Regardless of age and level of education, most recruits displayed realistic expectations of training and police work. Secondly, it concludes that further research needs to be done to explore the issue of increased cynicism among police recruits during their training. It is possible that rather than becoming more cynical in their perceptions of the criminal justice system, police recruits are actually abandoning their initial idealistic perceptions in favour of a more realistic view of the courts. Finally, it recognizes that it is important for police recruiters and trainers to identify and address the small percentage of recruits that possess unrealistic expectations of policing. That is, recruits possessing unrealistic expectations are those that are not aware of the challenging nature of police work or the amount of paperwork involved in daily operations. Studies suggest (Fielding & Fielding, 1987; Haarr, 2005) that the disparity between the expectations and realities of policing will cause inner conflict and stress and reduce career satisfaction. Once this occurs, the

recruit will either leave policing, or consistent with another statistic of the police subculture (Niederhoffer, 1967; Van Mannen, 1974), will remain with it, but will become bitter and cynical.

CHAPTER TWO – POLICE ACADEMY TRAINING

Introduction

The purpose of this study, as previously stated, is to examine recruits' perceptions relating to the nature of police work and to assess their views both prior and subsequent to basic police academy training. The expected outcome is that the original perceptions, attitudes, and career orientations of a significant number of recruits will evolve toward a more homogenous view of policing as the academy training program exposes them to both the theoretical constructs and realities of policing.

Police academy training programs are physically challenging, competitive, and mentally stressful (Chan, 2003; Ellis, 1991; Obst & Davey, 2002; Van Maanen, 1973). Competencies are continuously evaluated through written quizzes and examinations, oral evaluations, fitness testing, panel tests, simulation-based assessments, practical exercises, and research projects (LaLonde, 2004: 9; JIBC Police Academy, 2006a). If recruits fail to meet academic or fitness standards, they are subject to formal and informal disciplinary measures ranging from extra physical exertion, designed as punishment (i.e., push ups) to dismissal from the academy (JIBC Police Academy, 2006a).

Previous research (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2002; Van Maanen, 1973) indicates that, as recruits support each other through these challenges, they will develop strong peer bonds and a sense of group identity. Recruits will also socialize

more with their own members as they involve themselves in team projects, study sessions, and physical training. It is through this bonding and informal socialization that attitudes and perceptions of individual recruits may begin to align with the collective police culture.

Coupled with the informal socialization is the formal training provided by police academy instructors. Through standardized lesson plans, police recruits are instructed in “best police practices.” In addition, appropriate operational responses are also re-enforced through the recounting of “war stories.” That is, recruits are provided with operational templates to act as guides during future encounters through the use of real-life examples of success and failure (Ford, 2003).

Exposure to the police environment begins before the first day of academy classes. Prior to selection to an academy, recruits must first endure a lengthy and competitive selection process. Police applicants must compete against hundreds of candidates for a single position with an agency. For example, the RCMP trained 1482 recruits in 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2005), yet each year an average of 8500 individuals write the entrance exam (RCMP, 2006). Prospective officers must complete written entrance exams, pass physical and medical tests, and are subject to one-on-one and panel interviews. The majority of B.C.’s municipal police departments also require applicants to attend the JIBC for a full day Assessment Centre evaluation and submit to polygraph testing (Griffiths, *et al.*, 1999). At the Assessment Centre, applicants are subjected to psychological and memory tests, interviews, leaderless group discussions, and job-related simulation exercises. The theory is that, “These exercises are designed to elicit behaviour relevant to the skills, abilities and personal qualities that are critical to success in that job”

(JIBC Assessment Centre, 2006). Thus, successful Assessment Centre candidates must be able to demonstrate to the police evaluators that they already possess some knowledge of the appropriate behaviour, attitudes, and perceptions of police officers.

Once a police department in British Columbia hires an applicant, he or she is then sent for basic training to the JIBC Police Academy. In Canada, there is no national police training standard prescribing course content curriculum, duration of training, or the nature of the training process itself (see Table 1). Some agencies train recruits partially “in-service” and then send them to a regional training facility, while other departments require all training to be provided at an academy. For example, Vancouver police recruits receive two separate one-week training orientations both prior and subsequent to Block I training at the JIBC Police Academy. In contrast, Halifax Regional police recruits receive all 44 weeks of their training at their police station (Halifax Regional Police, 2006), and the RCMP trains all of their cadets at Depot in Regina (RCMP, 2006).

Table 1: Duration of Police Training (weeks)

Police Service	Police Academy	In Service	Initial Academy	Field-training	Subsequent Academy
Vancouver	JIBC	2	13	10-16	8
Calgary	Chief Crowfoot	0	24	12	0
Toronto	Ont. Police College	7	12	10	0
Halifax	Halifax R.P.S.	44	NA	9	NA
RCMP	RCMP Depot	NA	24	24	0

Sources: Calgary Police Service, 2006; Halifax Regional Police, 2006; RCMP, 2006; Toronto Police Service, 2006; Vancouver Police, 2006.

There is also considerable variation in the training costs that recruits must bear. Vancouver police recruits are required to pay \$9500 tuition (tax deductible) and

commence training at a probationary officer's salary of \$44,000 (Vancouver Police, 2006). Halifax police recruits must pay \$8,000 tuition (not tax deductible) and do not receive any salary throughout the entire training program (Halifax Regional Police, 2006). The RCMP utilize a pre-employment training model in which cadets are hired under temporary contract and are not sworn police officers (Griffiths, *et al.*, 1999: 96). Cadets are also not paid while attending Depot; however, the RCMP cover all costs regarding training, accommodation, and meals expenses. Despite this subsidy, cadets are expected to cover approximately \$4600 in additional miscellaneous expenses (RCMP, 2006).

Not all police recruits in Canada live in residential dormitories during their police academy training, which may have some impact on the attitudes of recruits. Recruits that are from departments within the Lower Mainland attend classes at the JIBC Police Academy from 07:30 to 15:30 hours, Monday to Friday, but are free to return to their homes in the evenings and on weekends. JIBC recruits from outside the Lower Mainland are provided with off-site accommodation by their sponsoring agency for the duration of their training. Calgary police officers and recruits attending the Halifax Regional Police training program are also only on campus during the day. Conversely, RCMP officers are in residence during their 24 weeks of training at Depot, as are Toronto police officers during their 12-week academy training at the Ontario Police College in Aylmer, Ontario.

Residential police academy training may have a greater impact in transforming attitudinal perceptions among recruits than a non-residential environment. This assertion is supported in a recent study of British Army recruits that found positive recruit attitudinal changes and increased organizational commitment had occurred within just

eight weeks of army boot camp training (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002: 432).

Although police recruits are not in “boot camps,” residing in dormitory settings creates an environment in which recruits will naturally socialize more frequently with fellow troop mates, due to the fact that they are isolated from their non-police friends and family members. Furthermore, in this residential environment, they are subject to after-hour drills, inspections, and training.

All police training academies in Canada incorporate a variation of a field-training or field coaching component into their programs. This on-the-job training exposes recruits to the realities of police work under the guidance of a qualified FTO. The purpose of field-training is to: bridge the gap between theory and practice; apply abstract concepts acquired in academy classrooms to the real world; and to learn the fundamental skills of police work under the watchful eye of an experienced officer. FTOs play a critical role in the development of a recruit by fulfilling multiple roles – trainer, evaluator, supervisor, mentor, counsellor, and role model (Novakowski, 2003: 6). During this apprenticeship, recruits learn to model the behaviour of their mentors. FTOs can also monitor recruit performance, document and track individuals’ progress, and provide timely feedback. Field-training allows FTOs to evaluate a recruit’s performance “in the real world with real consequences” (*ibid.*). As recruits progress through their training, FTOs usually allow recruits to work with greater independence, giving them increased responsibility and accountability.

Furthermore, while recruits work with their FTOs and alongside other senior patrol officers within their squads, they are exposed to a variety of work-related behaviours, attitudes, practices, and language that either supports or challenges

knowledge that has been acquired in the academy. While most FTOs display professional behaviour (Chan, 2003; Novakowski, 2003), officers may also witness attitudes and behaviour associated with the negative side of the police subculture. The informal occupational culture experienced in the field is more powerful than the formal academy instruction (Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). The significance of field-training is not lost on recruits. For example, Chan (2003) found that recruits placed a far greater emphasis on their field-training experiences than their academy training.

The duration of police field-training programs also varies from department to department. For instance, in Vancouver, recruits spend between ten to sixteen weeks working in a patrol district with a FTO². In order to maximize the recruits' exposure to a variety of police environments, the training is split between two districts. Because of this situation, each recruit has an opportunity to work with two or more FTOs. This program is in contrast to the RCMP, for example, where recruits who have successfully completed the initial Cadet Training Program are sworn in as peace officers and then assigned to work with a field coach for a 24-week period. These officers are assigned usually to only one field coach and work out of one detachment for the duration of the training period (RCMP, 2006).

For police recruits in many police services, formal training is complete at the end of their field-training. These police officers are then recognized as fully "qualified" and permitted to work without the guidance of a training officer. While these junior officers are not required to complete any further training, they are still on probation for a period that lasts typically eighteen months from the date of hire; however, in British Columbia,

² The JIBC Police Academy is closed during the month of August; therefore, a recruit's Block II training may be extended by up to four weeks dependent upon when the training takes place.

most municipal police officers have not completed their basic training after Block II. They are required to return to the academy for a final block of advanced training.

The JIBC Police Academy

British Columbia's *Police Act* requires that all municipalities in the province with a population of over 5000 must maintain their own police department (s. 15(1)). Most cities elect to have policing services provided by the RCMP, which is the contracted provincial police force and which also provides municipal police services on a contracted basis. As a result, only eleven municipalities in B.C. currently have their own police departments. The JIBC Police Academy is the provincially designated training facility for these eleven departments, and also for the Stl'atl'imx Tribal Police Service and the Greater Vancouver Transit Authority Police Service (GVTAPS).

Created in 1978, the JIBC Police Academy is currently situated at the main campus in New Westminster. The JIBC trains not only police recruits, it also provides an array of services in the field of public safety and justice and the Police Academy is only one of its ten academies and divisions. Other divisions include: Centre for Conflict Resolution; Centre for Leadership and Community Learning; Corrections and Community Justice Division; Courts Academy; Critical Incident Simulation Centre; Emergency Management Division; Fire and Safety Division; Pacific Traffic Education Centre; the Paramedic Academy; and the Police Academy (JIBC, 2006).

The Police Academy's learning environment has been referred to as a "holistic" approach to recruit training because officers are exposed to professionals within the entire criminal justice system (Griffiths, *et al.*, 1999: 90). In reality, although many social

agencies are located within the same physical structure, recruits have limited exposure to other facets of the justice system in their daily training. In fact, the convergence of academies within the structure of a single facility occasionally has a detrimental effect on the learning environment. For example, recruits and faculty from the Police Academy have periodically been admonished by staff from other academies and divisions for interfering with and disrupting other programs during police simulation training events. Despite this, the majority of Police Academy training during Blocks I and II occurs in the classroom setting and is not quite so disruptive.

The Police Academy training program is divided into three blocks. During the initial thirteen weeks of the Block I program, recruits receive training in the core concepts of police sciences. Subsequently, they are sent to their home departments during Block II and then return to the JIBC for their final eight weeks of advanced police training. This three-block model of police training has been held in high regard for its continued integration of theory and practice. Justice Wally Oppal (1994, cited in Novakowski, 2003: 36) stated, “One advantage of a block system of training is that recruits have an opportunity to experience both the theoretical and practical aspects of policing during their early training.” Similarly, Radford (1997, cited in Novakowski, 2003: 36) interviewed a number of police recruits who expressed that Block III allowed them to “reflect and build on the practical experience gained in Block II.” Haarr (2001: 413) also found that once the challenging and frustrating realities of policing were exposed during recruit field-training programs, many recruits had lost the positive attitudinal perceptions that had been embraced during their initial police academy training. Sato (2003) contends that shortly after the expiration of basic training there is a

rapid deterioration of professionalism and ethical values. Sato (2003: 298) argues that recruits should be returned to police academies following their probationary period for some “self-reflection” and “to make them realise how far their attitudes have changed and whether such attitudes are ethically and morally right or wrong.” Sato (2003: 291) does not expand on the precise nature of attitude changes that allegedly occur during training, only suggesting that recruits quickly lose their organizational commitment and professionalism. This study attempts to clarify in what areas these attitude changes may occur.

By returning recruits to the Police Academy, instructors have a second opportunity to re-emphasize key learning objectives established at the outset of their training. These include: “best practices” in criminal investigative techniques; the proper application of use of force skills; and the review of legal procedural guidelines. Furthermore, recruits often return from the field with questions regarding tactics they had witnessed. They will also address policy and procedural issues, and require clarification on legal ambiguities. Police officers are often called upon to make legal, ethical, or procedural decisions addressing a wide range of social issues that are often complex and not definable in absolute terms. The advanced training curriculum gives recruits the opportunity to discuss subjective areas with instructors. Block III also provides instructors with the ability to address shortcomings or concerns that were brought up by FTOs during a recruit’s Block II. Scenarios and simulation-based exercises can then be developed to address specific concerns allowing a recruit’s progress to be further monitored and evaluated.

Training Curriculum

The JIBC Police Academy training program blends classroom lectures with dynamic simulation training; formal lesson plans are validated and given relevancy by instructors sharing informal knowledge and stories. It is expected that after eight months of training, recruit pre-training perceptions and attitudes regarding the nature of police work will either be confirmed or transformed into a new understanding of realities of policing through these socialization processes.

There are nine primary disciplines or subject areas that comprise the Police Academy's recruit training program (see Table 2). Recruits receive seven hours of instruction per day, five days per week. With the exception of firearms and driver training, recruits do not regularly receive more than four hours of training in any one subject per day. With more than 600 hours of instructional training, several subjects are presented each day in order to prevent "information overload" and excessive physical exertion in any particular discipline.

Arrest and Control training is the most physically demanding of all disciplines. Recruits must learn to integrate a range of tactical skills with force options theory – a template for resolving use of force confrontations through a progression of tactics that range from physical presence and dialogue to more elevated levels of physical intervention and ultimately to deadly force. Recruits must acquire the strength and skills necessary to control violent suspects through various physical techniques. These techniques include strikes, punches, throws, arm bars and wrist locks; they also encompass the proper use of intermediate weapons, such as batons, OC spray, and Taser. During this training, most recruits sustain bruising and muscle strains, as well as other

minor injuries. Individuals who have not sustained a high level of physical fitness prior to entering the Police Academy often struggle in this discipline.

Table 2: JIBC Police Academy Recruit Training Hours

Discipline	Block I Hours	Block III Hours	Total Hours
Administration	5	3	8
Arrest & Control	45	41	86
Drill	10	12	22
Driver Training	56	0	56
Firearms	56	14	70
Investigation & Patrol	66	48	114
Legal Studies	70	48	118
Physical Training	11	11	22
Professional Patrol Tactics	60	55	105
Traffic Studies	37	29	66
Total Hours	416	261	667

Source: JIBC Police Academy (2006) Recruit Program Course Content, Version 9

Physical Training is regularly combined with Arrest and Control. During Physical Training recruits must pass the Police Officers Physical Abilities Test (POPAT), partake in running, swimming, and aerobic and strength training and pass a fitness test. Unfortunately, as other disciplines compete for a limited number of hours, the amount of hours devoted to Physical Training in recent years has suffered. As a result of this reduction in allotted time, recruits are expected to maintain their own fitness program during off-duty hours. Therefore, the increased levels of camaraderie and group bonding that typically occur during intense physical training may be less evident at the JIBC Police Academy than in other police academies.

Investigation & Patrol is considered the cornerstone of day-to-day operational police skills. Officers are instructed in criminal investigation techniques, appropriate police responses to various calls for service, evidence collection and processing, radio

and notebook procedures, and report writing. For recruits, this is usually their most enjoyable subject matter as they learn the basic craft of policing.

In the middle of the Block I training program, recruits spend sixteen days split between Firearms and Driver Training. In Firearms, recruits must develop the skills necessary to safely handle their pistols, demonstrate marksmanship and various shooting techniques, and pass a provincial qualification standard. The Driver Training program is contracted to the Pacific Traffic Education Centre (PTEC) and all training is conducted at Boundary Bay, Delta. By the end of the training, officers are qualified in emergency vehicle operation, pursuit driving, and police driving skills.

Police Academy recruits receive a total of twenty-two hours of Drill instruction throughout their training. In contrast, RCMP cadets receive fifty-four hours of drill instruction at Depot (Griffiths, *et al.*, 1999: 96). While the JIBC considers dress and deportment and the paramilitary model of policing of value, its emphasis is to enhance the Academy as a post-secondary educational institution (JIBC, 2004). Since drill and dress and deportment hold little academic merit, minimal hours are devoted to the discipline. The functional objective of the Drill program is to prepare the recruits for their graduation ceremony.

Traffic Studies introduces recruits to motor vehicle legislation, enforcement strategies, collision and impaired driving investigation skills, methods of processing prohibited drivers, an assortment of traffic-related documents, and strategies for conducting safe and effective traffic stops.

The Legal Studies curriculum contains more than 100 hours of instruction in criminal law, relevant provincial legislation, powers of arrest, search and seizure, access

to counsel, criminal procedures, case law, and court procedure. Since recruits must be able to demonstrate a high level of comprehension in this critical area, in order to pass the discipline, a grade of 85 percent must be obtained on written examinations. Furthermore, in all simulation-based scenarios, recruits must justify and articulate the legal authority for their actions.

Professional Patrol Tactics (PPT), also known previously as “Human Relations” and “Professionalism and Communication Skills,” focuses on the social context of policing. Subject areas include police ethics, cultural and sexual diversity, workplace harassment, the dynamics of domestic violence, mental illness, and communication skills. PPT has often been referred to as the “soft skills” or the “touchy feely stuff.” Community professionals, who are not police officers, but considered subject matter experts, administer a large portion of this training. For many years, this training has not been well received by Academy recruits. However, a negative reception to this type of training is not isolated to the JIBC. For example, Chan (2003: 303) notes that the majority of New South Wales police recruits hold a contemptuous view of the “warm and fuzzy stuff;” most found it completely irrelevant to operational police work. Previous research (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001) also indicates that the most dramatic changes in recruit perceptions and attitudes of police work occur in these subject areas. That is, during the academy training, recruits may initially hold positive attitudes about community policing or cultural awareness, but these views dissipate after a short period of operational deployment due to a perceived lack of relevancy.

Recruit Evaluation

The Police Academy embraces an “adult learning” model of instruction (Novakowski, 2003: 62). Adult learning models contend that mature students learn and process information differently than children. Adults need to learn the relevancy in the material and draw upon their own personal experiences to enhance their learning (Knowles, *et al.*, 1998). The majority of training at the Academy follows this model. Recruits are presented with the occupational information, provided with the technical skills, followed by a discussion of how this new material applies in the field. However, recruits are expected to assimilate several hundreds of hours of information in a relatively short period of time. As a result, some material that is relatively straightforward and does not require in-depth analysis is explicitly “spoon-fed” to the recruits; they are advised on what is “nice to know” and what material is “need to know.”

The training curriculum at the Police Academy could more accurately be described as a “competency-based” training program (Griffiths, *et al.*, 1999: 89). The training curriculum focuses on providing recruits with specific knowledge and skills, measuring the level to which this information has been acquired, and then requiring the recruits to demonstrate this knowledge through written and oral quizzes, examinations, exercises, and simulation scenarios.

Simulation-based training is the Academy’s most effective learning method. Recruits more readily and rapidly acquire skills by actively acting out a scenario than they do through simple observation, discussion, or both (LaLonde, 2004). Examples of Academy simulations include domestic disturbances, robberies, mental health calls, sudden death notifications, routine and high-risk traffic stops, active shooting situations,

officer assaults, and impaired driver investigations. On a routine basis, civilian and police actors are brought to the Academy to assist in creating realistic training scenarios. During a simulation exercise, recruits will have to demonstrate knowledge in “law, communication skills, use of force skills, police tactics, investigation skills and report writing” (LaLonde, 2004: 21). An oral debriefing immediately follows all simulations.

Through this reflective process, the recruits involved in the simulation first explain their course of action and the reasons behind the actions. The actors who played the citizens in the simulation then discuss their view of what worked and why, and what did not work and why. This is followed by constructive feedback and observations from classmates who witnessed the simulation. Lastly, the assessor provides constructive feedback and observations (p. 22).

Over the past three years, the Academy faculty have increased the amount of simulation-based training in all aspects of the curriculum. For example, additional police vehicles have been purchased in order to conduct more simulated traffic stops and vehicle searches, and firearms and use of force training has become more dynamic through the acquisition of special firearms that allow officers to conduct simulated live-fire training situations. Later this year, simulation training for recruits should continue to be enhanced with the anticipated opening of the JIBC’s Critical Incident Simulation Centre. Discussions are presently ongoing to determine the extent and content of training that will be available to recruits in this new facility. It is expected that with increased dynamic simulation-based training, the Academy training program will be even more effective in bridging the gap between training and the reality of policing.

Academy Socialization

It is anticipated that the findings of this study will be consistent with research that has been previously conducted in the field of police socialization and will indicate that perceptions and attitudes of police recruits do in fact change during the academy training process (Chan, 2003; Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Haarr, 2001; Hazar & Alvares, 1981; Obst & Davey, 2002; Sato, 2003). These perceptual and attitudinal changes are a result of formal and informal organizational socialization processes and individual training and operational experiences that occur during police academy training. As Ellis, *et al.* (1991: 96) observe, “Police training is quite vigorous and intensive, and is in many respects deliberately designed to have a direct impact on trainee attitudes, beliefs and values – strengthening some, and reshaping others.” While many situations occur during training that could exemplify socialization experiences at any police academy, the following examples highlight a number of activities that are specific to the JIBC Police Academy.

Formal socialization begins on the first day of training. During their first few hours of orientation, recruits are provided with an extensive list of policies and procedures that they must read over and sign, which indicate they consent to abide by the conditions of employment. This includes Dress and Department Guidelines, the provincial *Police Act*'s list of Disciplinary Defaults, the Workplace Harassment Policy, and the JIBC Code of Values. Recruits are forewarned that failure to follow these rules and regulations will usually result in expulsion from the Academy.

The training material delivered by the instructors is another example of formal socialization. The content of the material must meet course training standards and

curriculum objectives that have been agreed to by the Police Academy's Training Officers' Advisory Committee (TOAC). The TOAC is comprised primarily of sergeants and inspectors from the eleven municipal departments and members of the RCMP (Lalonde, 2004: 17). This means that the message being delivered to recruits has been approved by, and is a reflection of, the organizational objectives of the various police agencies. However, more significant than the formal message delivered by instructors is the informal enculturation that begins to develop in these early days at the academy.

For example, group solidarity also starts to develop on the first day of training. After a formal introduction and orientation to the program, recruits are brought to the gymnasium and required to individually pass the POPAT physical test. While one recruit runs the course, the remaining members cheer on and encourage their new classmate. Afterwards, the class immediately commences a long run that takes them to a public park where the recruits form a circle and begin the "Ring of Fire" – a gruelling endurance exercise consisting of a series of push-ups, sit ups, and jumping jacks. The recruits then assemble and run Holmes Hill – a road nearby with a kilometre-long continuous incline. The class is cautioned that if any one recruit stops and walks up the hill, the entire class will be required to endure extra physical training. The recruits quickly learn – through fear of additional physical activity – to support and encourage each other and to keep striving in the face of adversity. It also brings the class together as they quickly learn to see themselves as one unit. As Chan (2003: 16) asserts, "occupational solidarity reduces social anxiety by offering recipes for avoiding trouble and preventing isolation within the police force."

In the same manner, recruits learn to help groom each other before the Friday morning inspections. These evaluations occur to ensure that all uniforms are pressed and lint free, and that the recruits' boots are polished. If one officer fails to meet the standard, once again the entire class faces additional physical training. Group solidarity and teamwork are also promoted through team projects. For example, groups of class members are required to research and meet with community members from diverse cultures and later present their research project to the class.

Exposure to oleoresin capsicum (OC) spray was another significant training tool administered during the first two weeks of Block I training. There were several learning objectives in this exercise: (1) It takes a few seconds before OC spray takes effect – therefore it will not immediately stop a violent assault; (2) OC spray is an air borne aerosol and when officers are administering it to a suspect, they are just as likely to be exposed to its effects; and (3) if an officer is exposed to OC spray, one can fight through the pain and still call for assistance. In addition to these formal objectives, the exercise was also a powerful bonding experience for the classmates. The recruits were always “in it together” – even though participation in this training was voluntary, no one abstained from the exercise. Recruits also had to assist each other in decontamination by pouring copious amounts of water over each other's heads and faces. Classmates saw each other at their worst – eyes burning and watering, soaked to the bone, with massive amounts of mucus running down their faces. These events brought classmates together and were always a favourite for class videos. Although recruits never complained about the experience, its use has recently been suspended pending a review by the Workers Compensation Board of BC.

Through these experiences and others, recruits at the JIBC develop a bond with their fellow classmates that often last a lifetime. Through formal and informal instruction and the Block II exposure to the work environment, recruits learn acceptable and expected occupational behaviours and attitudes. It is anticipated that by the end of their eight months of training, graduates from the JIBC Police Academy will likely have experienced some degree of transformation from their initial attitudes and perceptions of police officers and the nature of police work.

CHAPTER THREE – LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter examined the previous research relating to police recruit attitudes and perceptions, their expectations of training, and career orientations. As previously stated, current research (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2002) indicates that the process of occupational socialization into the police subculture begins even at the earliest stages of police academy training. Therefore, the scope of this study not only reviews the literature relating to the socializing effects of police academy training, but it also examines the larger phenomenon of the police subculture.

Theories of Police Socialization

In the mid-1960s, former New York City police officer Arthur Niederhoffer conducted a survey of the NYPD and determined that these police officers sustained a substantial degree of societal alienation and cynicism toward the general public and their own police department. Niederhoffer (1967: 96) labelled this collective police view “the delinquent occupational culture.” This perspective was derived from Merton’s (1938) theory of anomie. Niederhoffer (1967: 93) believed that unmet expectations within police organizations led to feelings of hate, envy, and a sense of powerlessness against the social stratum. New police recruits were considered to be “naïve” to the social realities of policing and therefore entered their new careers with high levels of

organizational commitment. However, even during their initial training, police recruits began to exhibit behaviour that he described as “pseudo-cynicism” (p. 98). That is, recruits would portray cynical views in order to “fit in,” even though they actually possessed high levels of organizational commitment. However, as “patrolmen” were denied new career opportunities and promotional advancement, they became disillusioned with the organization, and increasingly socially isolated. Therefore, real increases in individual levels of cynicism would take several years to develop. At approximately ten years of service, officers would display the highest levels of cynicism (p. 231). Cynicism was viewed as a developmental antecedent to anomie; however, anomie was not inevitable if patrol officers were promoted or simply accepted their role within the organization and became “dedicated to a philosophy of cynicism” (p. 96). While Niederhoffer (1967) maintained that progressively increasing levels of cynicism were a result of increased exposure to the organizational subculture, he acknowledged the possibility that some officers may possess these cynical traits and attitudes prior to employment within the NYPD (p. 101).

Other early theories of police socialization were also overly simplistic in explaining the processes whereby the attitudes of new recruits were transformed into those of the police subculture. For example, Skolnick (1966) argued that the organizational feature of police solidarity was so dominant that police officers would simply abandon their individual attitudes and values and take on the mindset of the police “working personality.”

Van Maanen (1973) attempted to address these concerns by separating the socialization process into three distinct stages. He claimed that even prior to any

academy training, new recruits experienced “anticipatory socialization.” As newly-hired police officers prepared for taking on their new roles, they began to acquire some of the values that they perceived experienced officers possessed based upon personal observations and perceptions obtained in the news and entertainment media. Several days after commencement of academy training, recruits began to develop a sense of group solidarity as they quickly realized they were all being subjected to the same discipline and harsh physical training (p. 410).

Van Maanen (1973) argued that, after a few years of patrol work, junior police officers experienced organizational “encounter” as unrealistic and unmet expectations of the occupation created inner conflict and stress. Eventually this would lead to the final stage of “metamorphosis,” in which officers experienced a complete attitudinal transformation and adopted the tenets of the police subculture.

In the 1980s social researchers discovered that police organizations were not as stable and homogenous as they had previously assumed. Police agencies were more culturally and ethnically diverse. For example, more women were entering the work force; as well, departments required higher standards of post-secondary education. As policing was diversifying, theories of police socialization were becoming more sophisticated in order to better explain the differential degrees of socialization that had been observed. For instance, Schein (1985) used a multidimensional approach to police organizational socialization and asserted it was the result of a combination of three learning processes: *sociodynamic theory*, *learning theory*, and *leadership theory*.

Sociodynamic theory posits that humans have three basic social needs: the need to be included within the group; the need to have influence and control over one’s

environment; and the need to feel accepted by the group. As newly hired police officers embark on their careers, there is a strong desire to be accepted by their squad-mates and prove themselves worthy of their fellow officers' trust. Group acceptance and membership begins at the police academy when recruits are required to work together during physical training and academic studies.

The process of *learning theory* requires that newly-trained members of the group develop either “problem-solving learning” or “anxiety-avoidance learning” techniques (Chan (2003: 15). Many facets of police culture seem to have developed as anxiety-avoidance mechanisms rather than as innovative problem-solving strategies. For example, police officers are trained to make decisions about use of force within a split-second based upon the clues about the nature of a perceived threat. Police officers develop perceptual stereotypes about the nature of perceived threats as a method of dealing with the “multitude of stimuli impinging on the senses” that occur during critical incidents (Schein, 1985: 179). Chan (2003: 16) contends that occupational solidarity is also a social anxiety-avoidance technique providing police officers with templates for avoiding trouble and preventing isolation within the police force. For example, she claims that by observing an unwritten “code of silence” police officers avoid being ostracized and potentially abandoned by their co-workers if they were to openly discuss questionable police tactics. Within the academy setting, new recruits also learn anxiety-avoiding techniques through strict adherence to training requirements, maintaining academic and physical training standards, and following policies and procedures. Therefore, innovative problem-solving strategies – the second component of *learning theory* – are not encouraged at this stage of their careers.

Leadership theory contends that leaders within a police agency are responsible for embedding the assumptions of an organization. In this view, leadership does not refer necessarily to the structural command of an organization; rather leaders are those individuals that possess attitudes and opinions that are highly valued by those within specific reference groups. At the initial stages of training, police academy instructors and subsequent field-training officers are considered the primary leaders. These trainers have a significant, although not usually a long lasting, effect on police recruit attitudes because their initial impact wanes the longer these junior officers are exposed to the occupational environment (Beck & Wilson, 1995; Chan, 2003; Ellis, 1991; Haarr, 2001). As an officer's career progresses, team supervisors and senior mentors are those who become the leaders that will have an impact on individual officers' attitudes and perceptions. For example, Engel and Worden (2003) found that patrol supervisors can considerably influence a team member's attitudes toward community based policing initiatives.

While traditional theories of police socialization conceptualized the officer as a passive individual within a stable organizational culture, contemporary research views police officers as more reflective and active during the socialization process. Fielding (1988: 54), stated that police recruits do not "pass through training like automatons, but reflect on their experience and evaluate the programme according to practical use on the street. The occupational culture, functioning as a repository for the collective wisdom of police, is an intervening source of evaluation." Fielding and Fielding (1989), stated that aspects of *social representation theory* account for attitudinal variability expressed by some members of the police community. Social representation contends that contradictory attitudes and unresolved tensions among police officers are the factors that

permit the growth and dynamics of belief systems within an organization; furthermore, these structures should be viewed alternatively as “thinking systems” where ideological dilemmas between individuals permit the possibility of thought processes (Billig, *et al.*, 1988). Fielding and Fielding (1989: 40) observed that as new recruits underwent the training process, the information was mediated both formally and informally and a non-linear course of socialization resulted in recruits developing inconsistent themes and “unresolved theoretical tensions” (p. 40). For example, recruits were consistently deeply divided on items of moral focus, such as whether criminals should be objects of hatred (p. 40).

Another concern with traditional theoretical constructions of police socialization has been the failure to consider that as the face of policing becomes more diverse not only have the attitudes of police officers changed, but the structural makeup of policing has also dramatically evolved. This has been particularly true over the past thirty years. There are few areas of comparison between contemporary police organizations and those from Skolnick’s (1966) era. Many modern police agencies have: flattened their rank structure (King, 2003); incorporated community-based policing initiatives such as problem oriented policing and “intelligence-led” policing (Cope, 2004; Greene, 2000); and become required to address political concerns within a community (McDougall, 1992). Contemporary police organizations are far more dynamic than their predecessors.

Chan (2003: 19-28) addresses these complexities of policing with a progressive conceptualization of police socialization. First she suggests that elements of Schein’s (1985) and Sackmann’s (1991) “cognitive perspectives” of socialization account for multiple cultures within the police organization. Second, she also supports Shearing and

Ericson's (1991) contention that police officers play an active and creative role in the transmission and evolution of police culture. Third, Chan (2003) supports Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) position that the process of police socialization can be partially explained through *relational theory*. This perspective focuses on the social and political interaction between cultural dispositions acquired individually through one's own family or through organizational socialization, and structural positions. These structural positions are described as the "social, political, and legal capital available to police – both individual resources such as strength, skills, rank, autonomy, and reputation; and organizational resources such as budget allocation, legal powers, and political independence" (Chan, 2003: 25). Variations of these structural positions can be observed within police organizations at the patrol level. For example, an individual sergeant from one patrol squad might place a high emphasis on "clearing the callboard" so that response times to calls are reduced; however, another sergeant may prefer that team members try to avoid paperwork calls so that they are free to respond to incidents that are in-progress. When police recruits graduate from the academy and are appointed to a new patrol squad they must quickly assess the operational goals of each supervisor and respond accordingly.

Chan (2003: 312) states that cultural dispositions incorporate various dimensions of cultural knowledge, opinions, attitudes, assumptions, shared values, accepted definitions, deportment, and "tried-and-true methods." Newly-hired police officers commence training with pre-existing values and attitudes, will develop new beliefs to varying degrees through formal and informal training processes, and will acquire new opinions based on differential experiences they are exposed to within the organization.

Consequently, neither the structure of policing nor its culture can be viewed as stable or homogenous, and that the attitudes and perceptions that police officers possess are a result of individual dispositions and the influence of organizational, environmental and community-related factors.

Police Subculture

The majority of traditional and contemporary studies of police socialization assert that, as police officers progress through stages of their careers that transform them from “green” police academy recruits to seasoned veteran officers, they gradually begin to assume the personality traits of the police subculture. But one must consider what exactly are the characteristics of the police subculture? At what stage of a career does this enculturation begin? Most importantly, do all police officers eventually become socialized into it in an equal fashion?

For the past forty years, social scientists have attempted to label or identify certain attitudinal traits, values, and personality characteristics that police officers share as a result of the dominant police organizational culture. Skolnick’s (1966) seminal work formally identified a police subculture. Police officers were characterized primarily as highly suspicious, socially isolated, and of a culture that maintained strong peer solidarity. A police officer had “an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity with his occupational milieu” (Skolnick, 1966: 52). Such a “working personality” of police further maintained that this universal and persistent personality of police officers was a function of their occupational dangers (Skolnick, 1993: 49). This assessment was succeeded and expanded by Niederhoffer’s (1967) conclusions regarding the pervasiveness in levels of police officer cynicism toward the public and police

managers and supervisors. Several years later, Westley (1970: 198) also concluded that police work stresses secrecy and a collective cultural character “because of the strong consensual bond developed by the felt hostility of the public.” Van Maanen (1974) summarized that the police are a marginalized group in society that share their own customs, values, language, ideology, standards, and rituals, and that they feel they must always maintain the edge and gain an advantage over the general public.

Since contemporary policing has become more professionalized and educational standards have increased, and more women and members from visible minority groups have entered the occupation, it may be convenient to dismiss these conceptualizations of a negative police culture as something that existed thirty or forty years ago. However, more recent studies continue to support these perceptions. For example, Colman and Gorman (1982) found that individual officers commonly share the “police mind” that is characterized by conservatism, dogmatism, and authoritarianism. Herbert’s (1988: 357) assessment of the LAPD found an integral part of the police subculture heavily emphasized an adventurer and machismo normative order. Reiner (1992) concurs and identifies the police subculture as being action-oriented, cynical, pessimistic, socially isolated, morally and politically conservative yet promotes a promiscuous “machismo” lifestyle. Fielding and Fielding (1989: 39) state that police officers subscribe to a narrow, harsh, and unforgiving view of human nature that is stereotypical of pragmatic attitudes on crime and punishment; “for many, police are the epitome of the ‘law and order’ mentality.”

Even very recent studies (Paoline III, 2004; Terrill, *et al.*, 2003) continue to posit the existence of a pessimistic police subculture shared by police officers as they cope

with the strains of their work environment. The police culture is distinguished by its “we versus they” mentality, a “cover your ass” attitude towards citizens and supervisors, hyper vigilance, distrust and suspiciousness of citizens, and a strong loyalty to the peer group – often portrayed as the “blue wall of silence” (Paoline III, 2004: 207). Very recent observations include the following:

[T]he traditional view of police culture posits that officers should, almost uniformly, hold strongly unfavourable views of both citizens and supervisors, show disdain and resentment toward procedural guidelines, reject all roles except that which involves fighting crime, and value aggressive patrolling tactics and selectivity in performing their law enforcement duties (Terrill, *et al.*, 2003: 1007).

While these studies appear to confirm Skolnick’s (1966) original characterization of a police subculture, not all social scientists have agreed with this monolithic view of the typical police personality. Thirty years ago, Hadar and Snortum’s (1975) survey of police officers from a suburban Los Angeles community found little evidence of a “police personality,” police authoritarianism, or high levels of distrust between the public and police. Furthermore, Worden (1995: 49) concluded that research on police officers’ attitudes “clearly shows” that officers are not a “psychologically homogenous” group. Instead, studies indicate that police officers possess a considerable array of orientations toward their careers (Buckley & Petrunik, 1995; Muir, 1977; Terrill, *et al.*, 2003; Walsh, 1977; Worden, 1995). This implies that occupational expectations and orientations toward police work vary from one individual to the next.

Police Career Orientations

Muir (1977:50) was the first social scientist to formally identify the existence of more than one “type” of police officer. He observed that within a police organization there were both “enforcers” and “reciprocators.” The enforcer embodied the attitudes and behaviour of the police culture – using high levels of coercion – while the reciprocator “failed to exemplify a capacity to integrate coercion into morals.”

Walsh (1977) further noted that police officers were distinguishable based on several styles of policing. Officers were classified as: Street Cops, Middle Class Mobiles and Action Seekers. Street Cops were interested in police work primarily as a source of stability and economic security for their own families; Middle Class Mobiles were concerned primarily in promotions and advancing through the ranks; and Action Seekers focused on crime control and the excitement of police work (cited in Buckley & Petrunik, 1995: 109).

Another analysis (Buckley & Petrunik, 1995: 109), which expanded on Walsh’s (1977) typologies, identified five career orientations. Police officers were classified as either: Self Investors, Careerists, Enforcers, Artisans or Specialists, or Social Activists. The first three orientations were simply more accurate descriptions of Walsh’s (1977) Street Cops, Middle Class Mobiles, and Action Seekers, respectively. Buckley and Petrunik (1995) claimed that Artisans or Specialists embodied some of the characteristics of Careerists; however, they were interested to a lesser degree in personal advancement and more committed to working within a specialized investigative unit or detail that allowed them to acquire and develop unique skills.

In Buckley and Petrunik's (1995: 110) analysis, Social Activists represented officers that sought social change: "They are idealists and visionaries who crusade to change the status quo. Social Activists are more likely to have a broad view of policing including order maintenance and social service." Their research further suggested that identification with various police orientations often changed during a police officer's career as a result of unmet expectations, increased cynicism, or a realization of new occupational and non-job related priorities (*ibid.*). For example, a significant number of officers that had originally identified with a "social activist" orientation when they were police recruits, no longer continued to see themselves in this light after only a few years in patrol (p. 123).

Police Recruit Socialization

Traditional views of police socialization have indicated that it may take up to ten years before acculturation into the police subculture is complete (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1974). However, research has shown that newcomers in the business community rapidly adjust to their new organizational context (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Bauer & Green, 1998). In fact, most socialization occurs early after organizational entry; in fact, the impact of expectations and perceptions is greater at four months than six months later (Ashforth & Saks, 1996). To make a comparison with another career choice, business apprentices want to make sense of their new environment as quickly as possible, ensuring that they adjust to their new role and meet performance expectations (*ibid.*). Since police academy training programs are considered intense and highly demanding, it would be expected that the inculcation of police organizational

attitudes and expectations of new recruits would develop sooner than in the business community.

Cooper-Thomas & Anderson (2002) confirmed the existence of a strong correlation between the intensity of training found in military organizations and the rate of socialization. Their research examined British Army recruits during Phase One of the Army's ten-week basic training course. Attitudinal measures were assessed in relation to the recruits' job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and intention to quit. Surveys were conducted at commencement of Army training and at three subsequent stages. Cooper-Thomas and Anderson (2002: 432) found that a "significant adjustment" in attitudinal perceptions occurred within two months of training. Although police agencies are only paramilitary organizations, and academy training programs lack the rigorous physical regimen and discipline found in the military, they nevertheless promote camaraderie and uniformity, require adherence to disciplinary measures, and are both physically and mentally challenging. However, not all social scientists view the paramilitary structure of policing in a positive light. For example, Birzer (2003: 29-30) argues that the paramilitary model of policing is detrimental for training and the organizational culture of policing because it creates a warrior-like mentality, extreme solidarity, as well as hate and fear of the "enemy." Despite this, the paramilitary structure of policing is expected to have a socializational effect shortly after organizational entry.

Organizational socialization is viewed by researchers (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Chan, 2003; Ford, 2002; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2002) primarily as a combination of informal and formal processes. Some studies suggest that attitudinal transformations

occur more substantially through informal socialization processes than through the formal police training curriculum. Ford (2003: 87) incorporates Matza's (1964) *theory of neutralization of societal values*, into police training and contends that police recruits' pre-existing attitudes are neutralized at the earliest stages through informal police socialization. Ford (2003) contends that one of the primary informal methods of cultural socialization is through the telling of "war stories." War stories are an important pedagogical tool in that they provide concrete meaning to a particular incident or circumstance. As mentioned above, recruits acquire appropriate situational behaviours based on an accounting of lessons learned from experienced officers. In a cross-sectional survey of officers from a south-eastern U.S. state, 89 police officers were interviewed and recounted a total of 269 war stories that had either been related to them during their academy training or by their field-training officer.

Content analysis indicated that 83 percent of the stories supported a message of the police subculture (p. 100). That is, the majority of these stories involved teaching street skills to address the uncertainty and inherent dangers of policing (p.105), and more than a third contained opinions that showed support for unethical attitudes or behavioural references (p. 100). However, in contrast to the majority of literature on the police subculture, the researchers were surprised to find a near absence of stories that were specifically anti-organizational, or promoted police cynicism (p. 102). Results of the study indicated that these war stories had a significant impact on the socialization of police officers during their first year of training. Only two of all the officers interviewed felt that they were not impacted in important ways by the stories that they had heard (p. 101).

The study also provided a negative assessment of the academy's instructional staff. According to the research, instructors repeatedly provided war stories that brought their "profession-born cynicism" to the classroom and challenged the high ideals and positive ethical standards presented in the formal professional training curriculum (p. 88). The study was also of the view that the instructors spent too much time focused on "rarely used" technical skills such as firearms and pursuit driver training, and too little attention was given to providing communication and interpersonal relations skills (*ibid.*). Academics from outside the academy were brought in to teach what could be perceived as these softer subjects, and afterwards the instructors would often caution the recruits that they would have to "learn it all over again on the street" (p. 88). While these instructors' informal methods were subtle enough so as to not jeopardize their employment positions, they were viewed as being effective in planting the seeds of attitudes and values that were in support of the pervasive subculture.

Researchers who study the police recruit socialization process have utilized either one-time cross-sectional analyses of police officers' attitudes or have undertaken longitudinal studies. Both types of examinations have their advantages and deficiencies. The positive aspects of cross-sectional studies are that they provide current "snapshots" of police attitudes at various stages of their careers without requiring follow-up surveys with the same recruits. This saves time and resources for researchers, while minimizing potential inconveniences for recruits. The risk inherent with these studies is that since researchers have not followed these officers, attitudinal variations may be the result of other unknown factors and not solely attributable to organizational socialization. Longitudinal studies, conversely, do allow investigators to follow the changes that occur

over time in individual police officer attitudes. Unfortunately, longitudinal studies also provide researchers with a number of challenges. First, it is difficult to maintain anonymity while tracking an individual's responses during a prolonged study (see Chan, 2003: 56). Second, officers may be reluctant to volunteer for repeated surveys and may experience a "burn out" factor (e.g. Gould, 2000). Third, it may take researchers years to gather the data before any evaluation can be conducted. In light of these challenges, there have only been a few studies that have assessed the police socialization process longitudinally.

One of the first longitudinal studies of police socialization examined the attitudinal changes in "patrolmen" from a metropolitan city in the Midwestern United States (Hazar & Alvares, 1981). The researchers assessed two successive recruit classes at three stages during their first year of training. The police officers' work values were evaluated using a 54-item scale consisting of six subscales that measured: pride in work; activity preference; job involvement; attitude toward earnings; social status of the job; and upward striving (p. 13). The study found that "assimilation into a police organization is a powerful process" and that within the first year the recruits displayed "organizational maturation" and exhibited significant shifts in their work values (p. 16). The study's findings provided a validation of previous assumptions that attitudinal changes begin early in a policing career.

In 2001, a more extensive longitudinal study involved analyses of more than 400 police recruits from successive academy classes at the Phoenix Regional Police Training Academy. At four stages over a sixteen-month training period, recruits' attitudes were assessed relating to their opinions of traditional policing, community policing, and

problem orientated policing strategies (Haarr, 2001). The study indicated that the initial training had a positive impact on recruit attitudes relating to problem solving and community policing. Although this preliminary impact of training was significant, the actual attitudinal change was small (p. 424). Furthermore, the research indicated that, while police officers tended to increase their support for non-traditional policing models during their classroom training, these gains were negated by the end of the field-training period. Additionally, as recruit officers were exposed to the work environment and the occupational culture, their attitudes shifted toward traditional policing values (p. 427).

Another U.S. based longitudinal study surveyed more than three hundred police officers over a three and a half year period (Gould, 2000). Officers were tested during the first week of training, at six months, 18 months, 30 months, and at 42 months. The focus of the study was to examine changes in police personality and attitudes. Police officers were subjected to the MMPI-2 personality tests, questions concerning use and frequency of alcohol and tobacco consumption, and levels of cynicism were assessed using Niederhoffer's (1967) cynicism scale (Gould, 2000: 41). The study concluded that there was "clear evidence" that the personality characteristics of the officers started to change shortly after their induction into the policing environment. It stated: "With rare exceptions, officers tended to become more cynical, more paranoid, more depressed, angrier, more dominant, and more hostile the longer they were in the policing environment" (p. 41).

An increased level of alcohol consumption has often been associated with the police occupational subculture (Gould, 2000; Martin, 1999 cited in Chan, 2003). In an Australian survey of sixteen occupations, police officers were ranked third highest in

average consumption levels of alcohol (Occupational Health and Safety Commission, 1992). Obst and Davey (2002) examined whether this increased consumption began during the academy training, and whether there was an association between recruit group camaraderie and solidarity, and levels of alcohol consumption. The longitudinal study monitored 177 Australian police recruits at entry into the academy, after six months, and at the one-year mark. In a series of open-ended questions, recruits were asked what they enjoyed most about the police academy. Sixty-five percent of the respondents stated it was the camaraderie, bonding, or “mateship,” compared to only three percent who claimed that they enjoyed the learning experience the most (p. 36).

In terms of cultural solidarity, almost half of the recruits expressed that they felt some pressure to drink with fellow recruits in order to fit in with the crowd (p. 31). The study showed a significant increase in drinking frequency at six months and twelve months compared to their pre-academy levels (p.35). Furthermore, drinking with work or police colleagues increased over time while drinking with non-work friends and family decreased. The top three reasons for drinking at the academy during their training were: (1) to celebrate finishing exams; (2) part of fundraising nights; and (3) to socialize with other recruits (p. 36). The researchers concluded that both the frequency of drinking and the quantity of alcohol consumption increased during the first six months of training. This was especially true in relation to the frequency of binge drinking. After the six-month mark, the levels of alcohol consumption reached a plateau but remained significantly higher than pre-academy levels (p. 37).

Some studies have attempted to evaluate whether variations in police attitudes and career orientations are a result of demographical differences that exist among the

members. For example, Britz (1997) set out to determine whether race, gender, age, length of service, military experience, and educational attainment affected levels of socialization and occupational identification among police officers from small and medium-sized U.S. police departments. The cross-sectional study surveyed 131 recruits at various stages of their academy training. While the differences in attitudinal orientations were not very large, the study produced a number of key findings in relation to gender and race. Contrary to the previous literature (Lord, 1986; Vega & Silverman, 1982) that contends minorities, especially women, are socially isolated within police organizations, Britz (1997: 143) found that females and non-Caucasians created social networks among their departmental peers that were as extensive as other groups. In other words, the data revealed only small levels of demographical differences between police recruits' attitudes; race and gender were secondary to occupational culture (p. 144).

Chan's (2003) recent study of Australia's New South Wales police officers is perhaps the most comprehensive longitudinal analysis of police recruit socialization. Over a two-year period, the project surveyed 150 police recruits at regular intervals. The research methodology included face-to-face interviews, questionnaires, direct observation, and content analysis of police reports. The recruits were surveyed during their first week at the police academy, at the end of six months of training, at eighteen months after entry, and at the two-year mark. The study posed four primary questions: how do police recruits learn the craft of policing; how do their conceptualizations of professionalism develop and change during training; how does 'police culture' manifest itself during the first two years; and to what extent do police officers embrace or reject the influences of "good" and "bad" models of police conduct (p. 41)?

The study found that, at the outset of their training, police officers tend to embrace the professional and community oriented objectives taught at the police academy. However, as they transitioned from new recruits to probationary officers, there was a significant shift in their attitudes and values. In support of previous findings, many of the recruits' attitudes had become increasingly cynical toward the public and their own police organizations. For example, 60 percent of respondents felt that their views regarding the nature of police work had changed for the worse, while only 6 percent expressed more positive views (p. 206). When the recruits were asked to assess their own perceptions, 55 percent of probationary officers thought that they had become more aware of the negative aspects of social life; 19 percent were more likely to stereotype people; and only 5 percent felt that they were more tolerant of others since their training commenced (p. 212). As time passed, an increasingly negative homogenization of attitudes occurred that was irrespective of age, gender, and other demographical differences (p. 202).

The job's heavy bureaucratic and accountability requirements also disillusioned recruits. They were expecting to spend more time arresting criminals and giving out speeding tickets and less time taking reports and completing paperwork. Probationers were disheartened to find that the majority of police work is monotonous and routine rather than diverse and exciting (p. 209). The most common complaint was about the amount of paperwork (p.206). Recruits likewise expressed an increasingly negative view of the criminal justice system and were more likely to believe that management was self-serving and "out of touch" with the realities of policing (p. 231).

Not all of the attitudinal transformations, however, were classified as negative. For example, of the three-quarters of probationary constables who believed that their attitudes had changed during their training, 49 percent thought that the changes were positive and an additional 17 percent felt that they experienced a combination of positive and negative changes (p. 202). Many recruits admitted to being increasingly cynical and suspicious of others; however, they did not see this as a negative trait (p. 203). That is to say, they believed they now had more realistic – and less idealistic – expectations of policing and the criminal justice system (p. 305). A large number of officers also expressed that they had become more mature, more confident, less naïve, more observant, and possessed a higher level of situational awareness (p. 305).

The most dramatic attitudinal changes occurred between the end of the six-month residential training program and the end of the yearlong, field-training program. A significant number of recruits felt that they had left the academy “ill-prepared” and that there was a “reality gap” between the skills and knowledge they had acquired at the academy and what they experienced in the “real world” (p. 304). Many recruits also resented the academy training they received in relation to the social context of policing: diversity, harassment, and ethics training. Often contemptuously referred to as the “warm and fuzzy stuff,” they felt it was irrelevant to operational police work (p. 306). The study found of the recruits that, “In their view, real life was too ambiguous and complex, and people were too uncooperative and dishonest, for theory to be relevant to practice” (p. 209).

Chan’s (2003) research highlights the enormous impact that Field-Training Officers (FTOs) have on perceptions and attitudes of recruits. As mentioned above, the

most dramatic transformations in recruit attitudes occurred during the year-long FTO program. The organizational socialization effects of FTO programs are well-documented (Harvey, 1999; Novakowski, 2003; Sackmann 1991; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). For example, Cancino (2001: 154) found that the vast majority of officers learned the appropriate times and methods to use physical force on suspects by watching and learning from their peers, while only three percent stated that this knowledge was based on their academy instructional training.

While recruits actively learned the craft of policing and often modelled the behaviour of their mentors, they were also cognizant of the fact that they had been exposed to both “good” and “bad” models of police attitudes and behaviours and claimed to not have been passively shaped by these negative role models (Chan, 2003: 307). Furthermore, Chan’s (2003: 308) findings dismiss assumptions that FTOs display the stereotypical negative traits of the police subculture; rather many were motivated by a desire to convey a professional approach to policing.

Most longitudinal studies of police socialization have originated from either the United States or Australia and there have been few studies of this type in Canada. Ellis, *et al.* (1991) conducted one of the first comprehensive Canadian studies to assess police officer attitudes. Nearly 600 police officers from the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) and several Alberta municipal police departments participated in the study. The survey instrument was a paper and pencil questionnaire modelled upon attitudinal scales developed by Brown (1988) and McGinnis (1989). The questionnaires were designed to measure six attributes: general attitudes and beliefs; attitudes toward enforcement; attitudes toward maintaining order; attitudes toward law enforcement; policing style

orientation; and general career planning (Ellis, *et al.*, 1991: 98). The police respondents were then categorized into three groups: new recruits – who were administered the survey within three days of being sworn into their police force; trained recruits – officers who had received between 10-12 weeks of formal academy instruction; and experienced constables – those who had between 18-24 months of policing experience.

The study's findings were similar to the early research from which Ellis, *et al.* (1991) launched their study, concluding that many Canadian police officers' attitudes had changed significantly during the first two years of their careers. Of the 57 items measuring police officer attitudes, 32 yielded statistically significant differences between at least two of the three groups (p. 101). One of the concerns noted was an apparent attitudinal shift away from a "service oriented" to a more aggressive police orientation. For example, while only 21 percent of new recruits agreed with the following statement: "Police often find that they have to break an order, regulation or policy to do their job effectively," however 37 percent of experienced officers believed that this was acceptable behaviour. Moreover, 25 percent of new recruits agreed that: "In order to prevent crimes and apprehend felons, the police are sometimes required to violate procedural safeguards." Regrettably, the number of "experienced constables" officers that agreed with this statement had more than doubled; increasing to 60 percent (p. 103).

In another example of attitudinal shifts away from a public service orientation, Ellis, *et al.* (1991: 101) had used the following statement: "A police force has to be responsive to political forces in the community, e.g. City Council." The differences in attitudes regarding this allegation between new recruits and experienced officers were dramatic. More than twice as many experienced officers disagreed with the statement

than new recruits (p. 101). Unfortunately, the use of this statement as an indication of public service orientation might not reveal a police officer's true attitudes toward public service. Vollmer (1971:237), for example, argues that a professional police organization is one that maintains independence from political influences. Therefore, a police officer might perceive that "being responsive to political forces" is indicative of permitting political interference and therefore represents unprofessional conduct. Furthermore, police officers who participated in the survey from the OPP would be less inclined to agree with the statement once they finished their training, as they would realize that municipalities contract policing to the OPP and do not, as they do in municipal departments, have police boards comprised of city councillors. Therefore, OPP members are not as obligated to be sensitive to local political interests.

Regardless, the study found a definite and dramatic difference in attitudes between the new police recruits and those officers who had less than two years of service. Ellis, *et al.* (1991: 101) summarized their findings with the statement: "It seems that with greater training and experience, police officers acquire an increasingly strong belief that they are hampered by public attitudes, restrictive regulations, red tape and the complaints of 'liberal do-gooders', and that departing from regulations is necessary and/or justifiable."

In another Canadian study, Buckley and Petrunik (1995) surveyed 156 police officers from two mid-sized regional police forces to examine their past and present career orientations. The researchers asserted that by the time newly recruited police officers are hired they already possess attitudes, values, and expectations about their new careers that are derived from current and former reference groups. These reference

groups include educational experiences, the influence of family, friends, peers, teachers, and the media, and prior experiences with the police (p.111). They hypothesized that initial perceptions and career orientations would evolve as recruits progressed through their training and began working in the occupational field. Their study speculated that the academy serves as an instrument of attitudinal control: “Training, in fact, may serve to alter one’s perspective in order to bring it into line with that shared by the same group” (p. 112).

As indicated above, Buckley and Petrunik (1995) classified officers based on five career orientations. Self Investors were motivated by financial security and “off the job” interests; Careerists sought prestige and advancement through the ranks; Specialists looked for a career where they could develop technical and specialized skills; Enforcers were oriented toward crime fighting and the excitement of policing; and Social Activists saw themselves in a strong public assistance role, wherein they could improve the overall well being of the community (p. 143-144). At the time of joining the academy, 32 percent of officers saw themselves as Social Activists, 25 percent as Enforcers; 21 percent as Specialists; 12 percent were Self Investors; and only 7 percent would describe themselves as Careerists (p. 118). However, by the time these officers had several years of experience, their perceptions and career orientations had transitioned significantly.

Less than a quarter of the officers who identified originally with the Social Activist role continued to support this orientation; less than ten percent of officers who began their careers believing that they would be Enforcers – out “chasing bad guys” – continued to see this as their orientation; half of the Enforcers decided to instead look after their own well-being as Self Investors; and only a third of the original careerists

continued to seek promotion (p.123). The researchers concluded that when expectations were not realized, or when officers found their initial perceptions were too idealistic, these individuals may have become disillusioned or exhausted, and decided to adjust their career attitudes, values, and beliefs (p. 135).

One of the limitations of Buckley and Petrunik's (1995) study was that it was a cross-sectional survey and respondents were asked to identify their initial career orientations retrospectively. The researchers acknowledge that the respondents may not have accurately recalled what their goals and expectations were of policing originally, or that they may have altered their own view of previous aspirations in order to more reflectively fit with how they currently perceived themselves. It is also not known at what stage of their careers that these attitudes and perceptions began to change. Despite this, the study suggests that through exposure to the socializational effects of the occupational environment, police officers often change their initial career orientations.

Police Perceptions and Job Satisfaction

Changes in police recruit perceptions and career orientations may have a profound impact upon his or her career. If initial expectations and attitudes toward policing are significantly different from what a recruit actually experiences either in the police academy or out on the street, then the individual might begin to experience psychological anxiety or "cognitive dissonance" (Fielding & Fielding, 1987; Haarr, 2005). This creates inner turmoil and tension that may result in a loss of occupational satisfaction. Haarr (2005: 441) found that the majority of officers who resigned either during or shortly after completing their training did so as a result of the "stress and conflict [that they experienced] when their beliefs and expectations about police work differed considerably

from the actual practices and realities of police work.” Recruits and other junior officers who leave policing within a short period of time are a financial and resource burden for many police agencies – costing more than \$30,000 per recruit. In some police organizations, up to 20 percent of the members quit within the first few years (Haarr, 2005). Recruits deserve to know at the earliest opportunity if they have chosen a profession that clearly is inappropriate. Chao, *et al.* (1994: 42) observed that high levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment are correlated directly to the content of information provided by trainers. If police trainers and recruiters provide positive and realistic messages regarding the nature of police work, and concurrently ensure that recruits also possess realistic perceptions and attitudes, then the number of disgruntled officers who leave policing shortly after starting their careers should be reduced.

Police agencies are under intense pressure to find the best officer and right person for the job. Ideally, police recruiters try to find individuals who possess ample common sense. Unfortunately, “common sense” is neither easy to quantify nor necessarily all that common. As an alternative, then, police agencies have been hiring recruits that are older and better educated in the belief that they will make respectable officers (Decker & Huckabee, 2002). However, research has been inconclusive as to whether these demographical differences actually create officers who have higher levels of occupational satisfaction. For example, Muir (1977) suggested that a “good police officer” had a mature concept of human nature. On the other hand, Decker and Huckabee (2002: 795) contend that the assumption that mature applicants make better police officers is based only on “intuitive notion” and not grounded in research.

In terms of educational achievement, Tyre and Braunstein (1992: 10) found that a positive correlation existed between a college education, better police performance, and ethical behaviour. However, Dantzker (1992: 106) found the reverse to be true. College-educated officers displayed lower levels of job satisfaction the longer they were assigned to patrol. Alternatively, Worden (1995: 588) found no significant correlation between police officer attitudes and level of education.

Part of this study is to address these inconsistent findings, further examining whether these and other differences that exist between recruits affect their initial attitudes and perceptions of policing, and whether these differences account for variance in levels of socialization occurring during training.

CHAPTER FOUR – METHODOLOGY

In order to test whether the training process affects attitudes and perceptions of police recruits, a longitudinal study was conducted by the author between March and December 2005, involving police recruits (n=90) from the Justice Institute of BC Police Academy. A six-part survey questionnaire was designed to assess recruit perceptions of other police officers and police work, occupational cynicism, career orientations, and their perceptions of the Police Academy training curriculum. Surveys were administered on the first day of training, and again during the recruits' final week before graduation.

Research Questions

Several research questions guided the design of this study:

1. What are the occupational attitudes, perceptions, and career orientations of newly hired police recruits?
2. Do these attitudes and perceptions change over the course of their training?
3. Does cynicism toward the public and criminal justice system increase during the training regimen?
4. Do demographical differences, such as age, education, and previous life experiences affect career expectations?

5. What are police officer perceptions and expectations of the JIBC Police Academy recruit training program?

Theoretical Framework

The premise of this study is drawn from recent research (Chan, 2003; Ellis, 1991; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2002) by contending that changes in attitudes and perceptions among recruits toward aspects of policing will generally occur over the course of their training and that these changes are a result of formal and informal occupational socialization processes. However, it is also believed that recruits do not acquire a homogenous set of attitudes and career orientations in the manner presented by traditional views of the police subculture (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1973). The traditional perspectives presented a “monolithic” police subculture where organizational socialization was so salient that its values permeated the entire police culture and transcended individual police officer differences. Alternatively, the position of this study is that attitudinal transformations of recruits occur at a more individualized level and are a result of interactions between pre-academy perceptions of policing and the nature of experiences that occur during academy training.

The current organizational structure of policing is not the stagnant and rigid culture that was once found in earlier research (Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1970). Contemporary police organizations are steadily transforming as they attempt to keep pace with new challenges (Chan, 2003: 38). This study supports Ford’s (2003) assessment that the current structure of police organizations evolves dynamically through “group problem solving.” As the problems police confront change, the culture alters correspondingly. This is an image of police culture in which beliefs and

perceptions are negotiated daily, reflecting the changing needs of a shifting legal, political, and technological landscape (p. 107).

Therefore, the socially-constructed reality of policing is moulded continuously as police departments face new priorities, an ever-changing legal environment, and greater personal and organizational accountability. Recruits spend ten or more weeks of field-training assigned to a variety of police departments and working within a range of patrol environments. Accordingly, it is expected that the recruits will return to the JIBC having encountered an array of experiences in the organizational and occupational environments.

Early research (Niederhoffer, 1967, Skolnick, 1966, Van Maanen, 1974) indicates that police officers were a demographically-homogenous group. However, police officers hired contemporaneously are very different from recruits of previous generations. Increasing numbers of women and visible minorities continue to join police forces (Decker & Huckabee, 2002) and recruits are generally older and are better educated than their predecessors (Morris, 2004). Consequently, it is also expected that demographical differences will affect the nature of changes in attitudes and perceptions because current recruit populations are no longer as homogenous in terms of gender, race, age, and educational composition.

This study asserts that socialization of recruits is not passive or linear; rather “recruits are active and reflective participants in the socialization process” (Chan, 2003: 19). Police officers do not arrive at the police academy as empty vessels waiting enculturation; instead they begin their training with well-developed attitudes about police work (Buerger, 1998; Chan, 2003). Moreover, they do not pass through training like

“automatons” (Fielding, 1988), but reflect and develop new attitudes based on the program and their experiences. Therefore, a theoretical conceptualization of police recruit socialization must account for pre-academy experiences and perceptions of policing, and the variety of formal and informal knowledge and experiences that are acquired during the Police Academy and field-training components.

The theoretical framework for this study is based on Chan’s (2003: 21-38) comprehensive approach to recruit occupational socialization. Police recruits acquire knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions about their new roles through the interaction and mediation of several learning and socialization processes. First, as Schein (1985) and Sackmann (1991) contend, theories of police socialization must account for multiple cultures within a police community and that organizational socialization is the result of three processes: (1) *sociodynamic theory* – people need to be included within a group, have influence and control over one’s environment, and need to feel accepted by the group; (2) *learning theory* – the process of absorbing overt behaviour and more subtle cognitions and emotion through “group problem solving learning” or “anxiety-avoidance learning;” and (3) *leadership theory* – the significant impact that organizational leaders have in teaching recruits assumptions about policing (Schein, 1985, cited in Chan, 2003: 13-16). All three of these theoretical models are readily observable during training. Police Academy training supports both group solidarity and group problem solving, and recruits quickly adopt “anxiety” and pain avoiding behaviour by working together and conforming to expected behaviour. Likewise, FTOs, senior officers, and instructors play an active role in embedding assumptions about police organizations.

Further, conceptualizations of recruit socialization must account for the dynamic role that other officers play in the transmission and evolution of police culture through the sharing of stories (Ford, 2003; Shearing & Ericson, 1991). Again, FTOs and Police Academy instructors are the most frequent providers of stories and anecdotal illustrations of appropriate police behaviour. That is, “cultural knowledge in the form of police stories presents officers with ready-made schemas and scripts” (Chan, 2003: 23).

Finally, the acceptance of new attitudes and perceptions of policing are the result of an interactive process between an individual’s cultural disposition of policing and the dynamic structure of police organizations. Chan (2003: 24-27) refers to Bourdieu and Wacquant’s (1992) *relational theory* to explain this interaction between the cultural attitudes and perceptions about policing acquired individually or through organizational socialization, and the social, political, and legal structural dispositions of police organizations. That is, police recruit socialization is the product of the combined interaction between new and previously acquired perceptions of policing and the structural environment of various police organizations in which socialization takes place.

Therefore, it is anticipated that the acquisition of new values and perceptions of policing, and the acceptance of attitudes associated with the police culture will not be linear or based broadly across the recruit population

Data Collection Instrument

A quantitative longitudinal method was designed by the researcher to evaluate changes in attitudes and perceptions. Longitudinal approaches for studying police recruit socialization are not only “very revealing” – providing the ability to follow the same

group of respondents throughout their academy training (Ellis, *et al.*, 1991: 96) – but they also allow researchers to capture individual changes among the group’s respondents (Chan, 2003: 56). In contrast, a one-time cross sectional analysis of recruit perceptions obtained at various stages of their training would not allow potential changes to be tracked over time. For example, if differences in perceptions were identified between new recruits and those completing their training, these changes may be attributable to extraneous variables other than socializational influences (*cf.* Buckley & Petrunik, 1995; Chan, 2003; Ellis, 1991; Haarr, 2001). In the current study, recruit perceptions were tracked by surveying the same recruits prior to the commencement of the training program and again at the conclusion of their training.

The initial surveys (Appendix A) were conducted during orientation periods on the first day of Police Academy training. The second questionnaires (Appendix B) were administered eight months later during the final week of training. Both surveys were administered anonymously in an attempt to ensure that recruit responses were answered accurately and honestly. The initial questionnaires began by asking the respondents to provide personal demographical information. This was followed by a series of questions designed to identify responses relating to their current level of life satisfaction; indications of occupational cynicism; their perceptions of other police officers; their ranking of police functions; and indications of career orientations and expectations. The second survey repeated the questions from the first survey and also requested additional information regarding their perceptions of the Police Academy course curriculum and whether their expectations of training were being fulfilled.

The surveys' demographical questions asked recruits to provide general information about their age, gender, racial origin, marital status, and education. These questions were asked because it is expected that previous occupational and family experiences will affect recruit perceptions. Therefore, recruits were also asked to provide information regarding previous military or police experience, and whether an immediate family member is, or had been, a police officer.

The questionnaire statements that related to police officer perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of the nature of police work were based on several previous policing studies (Brown, 1988; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Higgins, 1975; Lee, 1970). A five-point Likert-type scale asked respondents to indicate the extent that they agree with 26 items relating to various aspects of law enforcement work and police officers. The *Law Enforcement Perceptions Questionnaire* (LEPQ) developed by Lee (1970), and later modified by Higgins (1975), accounted for half of the items in this section of the survey. The LEPQ was designed to test an individual's attitudes toward law enforcement as an occupation; the perceived value of law enforcement; and the respondent's perception of characteristics of people in law enforcement (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983: 56). The test presented an "easily understood" set of items for use in determining perceptions of law enforcement work.

While the test may have been straight forward and effective, Brodsky and Smitherman (1983: 56) found the original scales had an "unnecessarily complicated" scoring system and low test-retest reliability scores among various groups. Therefore, the LEPQ was not utilized in the current study for the purpose of comparative analyses between the findings of this research and the original studies of Lee (1970) or Higgins

(1975). Instead, these items were used as a method of obtaining recruits' opinions about the characteristics of police officers and the nature of police work. That is, some of the items explored officer personality characteristics such as loyalty, intelligence, levels of racial prejudice, and honesty, while the remainder of the questions delved into their perceptions of the nature of police work.

Recent studies (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001) indicate that recruits begin to exhibit cynical attitudes toward the criminal justice system, the community, and models of police work by the end of an academy training program. What would rationally follow is that JIBC Police Academy recruits would also indicate a negative trend in their feelings toward the criminal justice system and the community in general. Niederhoffer (1967) developed the first police cynicism scales, and although the original study claimed to be multidimensional, repeated factor analyses failed to replicate the structure across research settings (Regoli, *et al.*, 1990: 396). As a result, Regoli, *et al.* (1990: 400) developed a 16-item scale that was more reliable and was designed to examine four dimensions of police cynicism: (1) cynicism toward police supervisors; (2) cynicism toward departmental rules and regulations; (3) cynicism toward the legal system; and (4) police officers' perceptions of the respect that they receive from citizens. Since Police Academy recruits will have had limited exposure to operational supervisors and departmental procedures during their training, the first two dimensions were excluded from the present survey.

The questionnaires also asked recruits to indicate the level of importance that they would assign to fourteen functions commonly associated with policing. These functions are based on a combination of the author's personal police experiences and Chan's (2003:

74) list of “Policing Tasks.” The respondents rated each function using a five-point Likert-type scale rating responses from “not important” to “extremely important.”

The subsequent section of the questionnaire focused on career orientations and expectations derived from Buckley and Petrunik’s (1995: 143-4) *Questionnaire Career Orientation Descriptions*. However, problems were identified relating to the process of ranking detailed descriptions of police orientations that was discovered during a pilot study for this project. Therefore, these descriptions of police officer orientations were extracted from Buckley and Petrunik’s (1995) police officer typologies and then listed individually. Recruits were asked to rate the degree of importance they would associate with each of the twenty listed attributes. The respondents were also given the opportunity to identify other factors that were not listed that they perceived as important reasons for joining policing. Furthermore, Buckley and Petrunik’s (1995) list of five police officer typologies was not used for this study because it is believed that recruits do not possess well-defined career orientations at this stage of their careers and would experience difficulties attempting to rank police officer typologies with which they are not familiar.

In the second survey, recruits were also asked to indicate their opinions of the entire Police Academy curriculum. The respondents indicated their preference regarding the amount of time and attention devoted to each of the Academy’s 195 components of training. Recruits were asked to indicate whether they feel that less time, the same amount of time, or more time and attention should be given to each subject area, or whether the training item should be removed from the program.

The final section of the second questionnaire was composed of sixteen open-ended questions providing recruits with an opportunity to detail their personal views of the training program. For each of the nine disciplines, recruits were asked to identify any topic they felt failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded their personal expectations of the Academy program. This was followed by several questions seeking their opinions of fellow police officers, the criminal justice system, citizens they had come into contact with, as well as an opportunity for self-reflection regarding changes in their own personal views.

Pilot Study

During the development of the current survey instrument a pilot study questionnaire was administered to a class of twenty-eight recruits that were in the middle of their third block of training. The purpose of the pilot study was to identify issues with the questionnaire that required clarification or alteration and to determine the length of the test. The pilot study revealed that recruits took less than twenty minutes to complete the questionnaire, an acceptable length of time for workplace surveys (Morrel-Samuels, 2002).

The pilot study brought two methodological issues to light. First, some of the language used in the original LEPQ was archaic. For example, a number of recruits did not know what the following statement implied: "Police officers tend to loaf on the job more than the average person." As a result, several statements from the LEPQ were modified to give them a more contemporary context.

Second, as previously mentioned, the identification of career orientations was based on Buckley and Petrunik's (1995: 143-4) *Questionnaire Career Orientation Descriptions* developed to assess Canadian police officer career orientations and aspirations. In their study, police respondents were asked to rank five career orientations that were based on a list of descriptive attributes associated with each orientation. These descriptions were associated with one of the five typologies of police officers that the researchers had identified: Self Investor, Careerist, Specialist, Enforcer, and Social Activist.

In the current pilot study, recruits were asked to perform the same task. Unfortunately, numerous errors were reported. Some recruits gave more than one orientation the same ranking; others attempted to split orientations by taking some attributes from one career typology and mixing them with another. Regrettably, neither Buckley and Petrunik (1995) nor an earlier study by Buckley (1989) that relied on the same data, mentioned related methodological concerns, or the manner in which instructions were provided. Thus, in order to prevent a significant number of invalid questionnaires, and to allow recruits the ability to consider all of the attributes individually, the list of career orientations was itemized separately.

Methodological Issues

A number of methodological issues arose during the research project that may impact the reliability and validity of the findings. First, each respondent was asked to complete the first questionnaire during the first few hours of the Police Academy orientation session. Attached to the surveys was an *Information Sheet for Participants* indicating clearly that participation in the study was voluntary. It stated, "Your

participation in this questionnaire is completely voluntary and you may stop at any time. If you decide to decline participation in this research, it will in no way negatively affect your performance evaluations at the Police Academy” (see Appendix A). On the second page of the questionnaire was a consent form titled: *Informed Consent Form for Participation*. Recruits were asked to read over the form, acknowledge their voluntary participation by signing it and forwarding the document to the facilitator (see Appendix A). In addition, other Simon Fraser University graduate students participated in the project and facilitated the delivery and collection of the initial questionnaires to each class of recruits. Nevertheless, recruits were still aware that the principle researcher was also one of their immediate supervisors. In the first survey, each recruit from all three classes completed the first questionnaire. However, only 67 of the original 90 recruits completed the second survey. There is a possibility that some of the recruits completing the first survey participated reluctantly, fearing that they may be ostracized for not going along with the rest of the class.

The decline in the number of surveys completed in the second round, however, is more likely attributable to the first cohort being permitted to complete the questionnaires at home. Regrettably, eight recruits from this class failed to turn in the second survey. The final week of training is a very eventful and exciting time for the recruits. Because of this, completing a survey at home would take a low level of priority for many individuals. This failure to complete the second surveys was addressed for the two subsequent cohorts by ensuring that classroom time was made available for them to complete the surveys during their final days of training.

Another potential reason for the decline in completed surveys was that the second survey was too long. With over 195 items relating to the police training curriculum, plus an additional 16 open ended and short-answer questions, these surveys now took approximately 40 minutes to complete as opposed to 20 minutes for the first questionnaire. Perhaps some recruits could not be bothered to spend the additional time to complete another survey.

A second area that created problems was ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of the survey. One of the difficult tasks in any longitudinal study is tracking individual respondents over the course of the study, while at the same time keeping the responses anonymous. To address this issue a scheme was devised using Random Tracking Numbers (RTN) to identify each respondent. On the first page of the initial questionnaire, each survey was assigned a random two-digit number. There were actually three numbers on the survey; however, the first number identified the class number of each recruit. For example, if one of the cohorts was Class #1507 then each RTN for that class would begin with a "7" followed by a random two-digit number. The recruits were advised to write down their RTN and keep it in a safe place (i.e. – locker, wallet, police notebook). Unfortunately, eight months later, when they were asked to complete the second questionnaire, a significant percentage of recruits could not locate or recall this number. Lamentably, it was discovered too late that Chan (2003) had also experienced this issue during her longitudinal study of police recruits: "Unfortunately, through either carelessness or fear of being identified, many respondents did not keep their ID numbers for later surveys" (p. 56). For Chan (2003), it resulted in the inability to track individual changes. Fortunately, this was not the case in the current study. Recruits

who could not recall or locate their RTN were asked to re-complete the demographical information in the second survey, which provided a sufficient number of variables to pair all of the second surveys with the initial questionnaires.

While the respondents were not required to identify themselves, anonymity could not be guaranteed completely. The surveys requested demographic information about each recruit, but some of the smaller departments were represented by only one or two recruits. Therefore, identifying some of the respondents would have been a simple task. Although there were no breaches of confidentiality during the project, it is possible that some of the recruits were reluctant to provide forthright answers to survey questions, as they may have feared that their identities would be exposed.

Another issue with the present study is that it is primarily a quantitative analysis of pencil and paper Likert-scaled questions. No in-depth interviews of police recruits were conducted and the only qualitative data involved a series of open-ended questions at the end of the second survey, requesting recruits provide their opinions on the training program and whether their perceptions had changed. Ideally, the methodology should have been multi-faceted, gaining insights into recruit perceptions through face-to-face interviews and other analytical procedures. However, due to the power imbalance between recruit and the researcher-supervisor, there is little likelihood that any degree of reliability could be given to the information gained. The hiring and training of additional research assistants to facilitate this function was cost-prohibitive. Furthermore, interviews and other qualitative analyses were not used as some researchers (Chan, 2003: 56-57; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991: 96) have indicated limitations in relation to inter-observer and interviewer reliability in these types of analyses of police officers.

A final methodological concern is that, although there are three blocks of training at the Police Academy, surveys were conducted at only two stages. Therefore, if observable changes in attitudes of police recruits do occur, the extent to which this occurs by the end of Block I, Block II, or Block III will not be known. In addition, a number of studies claim that it is the external field-training experience, and not the classroom setting, that has the greatest impact on police socialization (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Mastrofski & Ritti, 1996). Therefore, some might argue that there would have been greater utility in conducting an assessment prior to Block II and again immediately subsequent to Block II. However, incorporating a separate field-training assessment is beyond the scope of this study and would require extensive analysis of the recruit field-training experience. Furthermore, although the field-training component takes place external to the structural facility, it is considered one of the three blocks of the Police Academy training program. It is not the various stages of training that are being measured, but the overall effect of the program on police recruits' attitudes and expectations.

In addition, multiple questionnaires at more stages of training could also adversely impact the study. A legitimate concern is that recruits will lose interest in participating further if too many surveys are conducted with the same group of subjects (Gould, 2000; Novakowski, 2003). Furthermore, if respondents are exposed repeatedly to the same survey instruments, there is a possibility of "panel conditioning." This means that respondents would become increasingly interested in the research objectives; this would distort the findings because they may attempt to answer in accordance with what they think the researcher is looking for (Sarantakos, 1993, cited in Chan, 2003: 59). For

these reasons, it was decided to assess recruits only prior to training and at the end of the entire program.

Population

The JIBC Police Academy was chosen as the focus of this analysis for several reasons. First, the author of this study is an instructor at the Police Academy. Observing previous attitudinal transformations in a number of recruits during their training became the impetus for this study. Second, as a member of the Academy staff, these recruits were a readily accessible pool of subjects for two of their three blocks of training. Third, the JIBC Police Academy is the training facility for eleven municipal police departments, the GVTAPS transit police, and the Stl'atl'imx Tribal Police Service. Thus, the potential pool of respondents is inclusive of police officers from small and rural police agencies that range from fewer than one hundred officers, to a large urban department with more than one thousand officers. The sample for this analysis consisted of three successive police academy training classes that began their training in early 2005.

Ninety recruits began their training during the period of the study. Nine of the eleven municipal departments were represented, as well as the GVTAPS transit police. As Table 3 indicates, nearly two-thirds of the recruit population were from the Vancouver Police Department, a significant portion of the sample worked in a variety of organizational, operational, and community contexts, which, it can be anticipated affected their attitudes and behaviours.

Table 3: Recruit Police Agency

Police Agency	Frequency	Percent
Abbotsford	2	2.2
Central Saanich	1	1.1
Delta	5	5.6
GVTAPS	1	1.1
Nelson	1	1.1
New Westminster	6	6.7
Saanich	7	7.8
Vancouver	59	65.6
Victoria	3	3.3
West Vancouver	5	5.6
Total	90	100.0

All of the recruits from each of the three cohorts (n= 90) participated in the initial survey. The number of respondents completing the post-training survey (n=67) was significantly lower than the initial survey for a number of reasons: (1) failure of some recruits to turn in the second survey; (2) several recruits were exempt from returning to the Police Academy for Block III training; and (3) a number of recruits failed to complete the three training blocks due to injury, resignation, or dismissal (see Table 4).

In general, the respondents in the sample reflected the demographics of Canadian police officers. The survey asked recruits to indicate their age by five-year increments (see Table 5). The majority (63.3%) of officers were between the ages of 25-34 years, while significantly less (16.7%) were under the age of 25 years. The population sample appears to reflect the growing trend among many police agencies to hire more mature officers. For example, the RCMP report that for the past five years the average age of recruits has been 27 years (RCMP, 2006). A profile of Ontario Police College recruits

trained between 1998 and 2003, indicated the mean age of recruits was 27.5 years; increasing by nearly a year over the five year period (Morris, 2004).

Table 4: Number of Respondents Completing Surveys

	Cohort A	Cohort B	Cohort C	Totals
Block I Pre-Training Survey	32	23	35	90
Block III Post-Training Survey	19	21	27	67
Failed to Complete Block III Survey; Completed Training	8	0	2	10
Failed to Complete Training (Exempt) ³	3	1	1	5
Failed to Complete Training (Injury)	0	0	3	3
Failed to Complete Training (Resignation / Dismissal)	2	1	2	5

While males continue to dominate police organizations, the percentage of females hired in British Columbia is much higher than elsewhere in Canada or the United States. In the current study, 20% of recruit respondents were female. This is a reflection of the rest of the province, which is also 21% (Statistics Canada, 2005). During the remainder of 2005, a higher ratio of females began their training at the Police Academy, which effectively increased the annual ratio to 25.1% (Police Academy, 2006b). Across the country, the national average is slightly lower; the current composition of women in policing is 17% (Statistic Canada, 2005). However, the gender imbalance in policing in the United States is even more significant, where females account for only 10% of all police officers (Reaves & Goldberg, 2000).

³ Recruits with previous police experience that demonstrated competent skills during Block II training, were not required to re-attend the Police Academy for Block III.

Table 5: Demographics of Recruit Respondents

<i>Respondents</i>	Frequency	Percent
Age		
19-24	15	16.7
25-29	35	38.9
30-34	22	24.4
35+	18	20.0
Gender		
Female	18	20.0
Male	72	80.0
Racial Origin		
Asian	5	5.6
Caucasian	77	85.6
Hispanic	1	1.1
Indo Canadian	7	7.8
Other	0	0.0
Marital Status		
Single	36	40.0
Common Law – Long Term Partner	14	15.6
Separated / Divorced	3	3.3
Married	37	41.1
Completed Level of Educational		
High School / GED	9	10.0
Certificate / Diploma	44	48.9
University Graduation	33	36.7
Post Graduate Degree	4	4.4
Previous Military Experience		
Yes	10	11.1
No	80	88.9
Previous Police Experience		
Yes	9	10.0
No	81	90.0
Police in the Family		
Yes	19	21.1
No	71	78.9

Caucasian officers continue to dominate the police landscape despite efforts of police agencies across the country to hire more recruits that reflect the ethnic composition of their communities. In the current study, 85.6% of the recruits were Caucasian, while

all other visible minority groups were under represented; most notably none of the recruits during the study indicated they were Aboriginal or of African racial origin.

Unfortunately, statistics indicating the racial composition of Canadian police officers are difficult to locate. For example, the Morris (2004) profile of Ontario police recruits only differentiated between Visible Minorities (9.0%), First Nation / Aboriginal (1.3%), and Neither (89.3%). Using the Ontario study as a means of comparison, the ratio of visible minorities involved in the current study may actually be over-representative of the national average of Canadian police officers from visible minority groups.

As local police agencies continue to hire more mature recruits, they are also hiring a greater percentage involved in long-term relationships. In the present study, the majority of recruits reported being married, common law, or involved in a long term relationship (56.7%) and 40% stated that they were single. However, in the Ontario sample, the numbers were reversed. The majority indicated that they were single (55.1%) and only 41.2% stated that they were married or cohabitating. Since these types of data are not readily available, it is unknown whether the current sample is representative of British Columbia's police officer population and, as importantly, what impact this may have on attitudes and behaviours.

Several U.S. studies indicate that since the turn of the century attempts have been made to "professionalize" the policing occupation by hiring more officers that have acquired higher levels of education (Decker & Huckabee, 2002; Worden, 1990). This study shows that very few recruits (10%) have obtained only a high school diploma or its equivalent, while more than one-third (36.7%) have completed a university degree.

These numbers are similar to Ontario that reported 32.7% of the recruits had completed a BA or BSc (Morris, 2004).

One of the hypotheses of this study is that recruits possessing background factors such as previous military and police experience, or having police officers within their immediate family will have different initial perceptions of policing than those who do not. The data from the first series of surveys indicated that approximately 10 percent of the respondents reported having previous police or military experience. While these two occupations are quite different, some of the organizational socialization elements found in the military are directly related to policing; for example, camaraderie, physical training, and dress and deportment (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002). During the study, five of the recruits were exempt from completing Block III training because of their previous police experience. It is assumed that the remaining four recruits who indicated previous police experience were once involved in a municipal or RCMP “police reserve” program and therefore were still required to complete all three blocks of training.

With 21.1% of the respondents indicating that an immediate family member is or was a serving police officer, nepotism appears to thrive in police organizations. Obviously, this statistic far exceeds that of the general population. It is unknown what percentage of other police agencies hire officers with policing in the family, however, it is safe to assume that the numbers are probably similar. Police recruiters may prefer to hire recruits with family members already in policing because these individuals should possess realistic expectations about the nature of work that they want to dedicate themselves to. As previously mentioned, research indicates that if career expectations are

realistic, then there is a higher probability that this person will make a successful transition into the new occupation (Haarr, 2005).

This chapter has listed the research questions that guided the development of the research design in exploring the attitudes, perceptions, and career orientations of police recruits. Ninety JIBC Police Academy recruits from three consecutive cohorts were administered surveys during their first and final week of training. The six-part questionnaires were designed to identify recruit perceptions of police officers and police work, levels of life satisfaction, career orientations, and their overall assessment of the police training curriculum. The recruits provided demographical information about themselves that was then compared to other police populations across Canada and the United States. It appears that the composition of recruits in this study is representative of many of the municipal police agencies in British Columbia, and that, in general, their age, gender, race, and level of education are similar to the demographic makeup of Canadian police officers.

CHAPTER FIVE – FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the analysis with respect to the perceptions, attitudes, and career orientations of JIBC Police Academy police recruits. The findings were obtained from a quantitative statistical analysis of the data from pre-training and post-training surveys and qualitative examination of the self-evaluative comments of the recruits and are organized into four primary categories: (1) Pre-training perceptions and career orientations; (2) post-training changes in perceptions and career orientations; (3) self-evaluation of changes in perceptions; and (4) perceptions of Academy training.

A quantitative analysis of the survey data was conducted using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software. Results were considered “statistically significant” when differences in population means indicated *p*-values of less than .05, which is the social science standard for acceptable probability (Palys, 2003: 275). Furthermore, participant responses remained anonymous and were tracked via the Random Tracking Number (RTN) assigned to each recruit. In addition, conclusions are generalized among population groups, and where individual responses of participants are indicated, they are identified by RTN only.

Statistical analysis is composed of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing, paired-sample t-tests, and multivariate regression analysis techniques. ANOVA tests involve “analyzing the variance produced in multiple mean comparisons to determine whether genuine differences exist” (Coolidge, 2006: 242). ANOVA tests

determined if demographical variance in occupational perceptions existed among the recruit population. Statistical analysis of the data involved testing more than sixty dependent variables designed to indicate various attitudes and perceptions of policing. ANOVA tests are preferable to other statistical techniques when conducting multiple dependent variable analyses because they reduce the possibility of Type I errors by minimizing a within-subject variance; they also reduce the possibility of Type II errors because they are not as conservative as other tests such as the Bonferroni technique⁴ (*ibid*).

Paired-samples *t*-tests compare the population means of two dependent variable items, compute the differences, and provide a two-tailed level of significance for each item. In this study, the dependent variables are pre-training and post-training measures of recruit attitudes and perceptions toward various aspects of policing. This type of analysis requires measuring the same population for both tests; therefore, the number of valid respondents was reduced from the original 90 participants to 67. Although it is unfortunate that this type of test reduces the sample size, dependent *t*-tests are considered statistically robust because the pairing of subject responses reduces the probability of a within-subject variance (p. 222). That is, there is a greater probability that the observed changes in recruit perceptions between the first and second surveys are attributable to the effects of the training program and not to extraneous variables.

Multivariate regression analysis techniques allow researchers to conduct a repeated measure analysis of dependent variables, as well as the interactive effects of

⁴ The Bonferroni technique “involves splitting the adopted probability required for significance across the entire range of comparisons to be made” (Palys, 2003: 373). With 67 comparisons made, this would require $p < .0007$ before differences could be considered statistically significant.

individual factors within a population (p. 363-368). In other words, this procedure examines changes in perceptions of the recruit population during training and then identifies whether demographical difference among recruits has an interactive influence on these changes.

Analysis of the data revealed an unexpected consensus in the attitudes of police recruits prior to the academy training. Although there were some exceptions, the recruits' initial expectations and perceptions of police officers, the nature of police work, and priorities of police functions were generally homogenous. In addition, recruits also indicated only a small degree of variation demographically in the level of importance they assigned to career orientation attributes. It was anticipated that recruits' initial expectations would produce a significantly higher level of variation in expectations and perceptions due to the diverse backgrounds of the recruit population. Not surprisingly, the small group of recruits with previous police experience were the only officers providing routinely different perceptions of policing than the rest of the respondents.

More significant than initial recruit perceptions was the level of consistency in the perceptions of police work and police functions maintained after eight months of Police Academy training. Although the majority of recruits indicated only a slight attitudinal variation during training, there were, regardless, a few significant findings. For example, during training, perceptions that police officers were racially prejudiced increased significantly across the recruit population, but decreased significantly for recruits representing visible minority groups. A number of recruit perceptions regarding career orientations also changed significantly. At the end of training, the recruit population believed apprehending criminals and developing special police skills became more

important, while improving society became less important. Although statistical analysis did indicate occasional – but statistically significant – variation in perceptions based on factors such as age, gender, race and education, these occurrences were uncommon in relation to the high number of dependent variables being evaluated. Specific findings of the research are described in greater detail below.

Pre-Training Perceptions of Law Enforcement

On the first day of training, recruits completed questionnaires that endeavoured to discover their initial occupational attitudes and perceptions of police officers and the nature of police work. As described above, recruits indicated the extent to which they agreed with a series of statements derived from previous studies of police recruit perceptions and police cynicism (Brown, 1988; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Lee, 1970; Regoli, *et al.*, 1990). A five-point Likert-type scale was used for each of the attitudinal statements – the higher the number, the more the respondent agreed with the statement.

Table 6 exhibits the total population mean scores for many of the attitudinal items relating to law enforcement perceptions. Recruits agreed most strongly with the following statements: (1) “Police work is more challenging than other jobs” ($\mu=4.49$); (2) “The primary function of policing is to serve the public” ($\mu=4.39$); and (3) “Police work is more dangerous than other types of work” ($\mu=4.23$). Conversely, statements that recruits disagreed most strongly with were: (1) “Police officers tend to be more racially prejudiced than the average person” ($\mu=2.19$); (2) “Any average person, given the proper training, can become a good police officer” ($\mu=2.21$); and (3) “Police officers often find they have to break an order, policy, or regulation to do their job effectively” ($\mu=2.54$).

Table 6: Initial Perceptions of Law Enforcement & Previous Police Experience

Law Enforcement Perceptions ⁵	Total Population (n=90)	No Previous Police Experience (n=81)	Previous Police Experience (n=9)
	μ	\bar{x}	\bar{x}
Perceptions of Police Work			
Police work is more challenging than other jobs	4.49	4.54	4.00*
The primary function of policing is to serve the public	4.39	4.41	4.22
Police work is more dangerous than other types of work	4.23	4.28	3.78
The media is far too critical of the police	4.09	4.15	3.56*
Police work is more personally satisfying than other jobs	4.07	4.10	3.78
Police work is well-paid compared to other jobs	3.74	3.80	3.22*
A police department has to be responsive to political forces in the community	3.26	3.35	2.44*
Perceptions of Police Officers			
Police officers tend to be more loyal to each other than persons in other professions	4.20	4.22	4.00
In general, the public believes that police officers are trustworthy	3.91	3.93	3.78
Police officers are more honest than the average person	3.84	3.89	3.44
In general, society gives police officers the respect they deserve	3.16	3.14	3.33
Police officers often find they have to break an order, policy, or regulation to do their job effectively.	2.54	2.59	2.11
Any average person, given the proper training, can become a good police officer	2.21	2.19	2.44
Police officers tend to be more racially prejudiced than the average person	2.19	2.22	1.89

* $p < .05$

It was expected that, due to recruit differences in age, education, and previous life experiences, pre-training ANOVA analysis would produce significant variation in initial perceptions of policing. Generally, this did not occur. The analysis indicates almost no

⁵ For each statement, a Likert scale from 1-5 was used: 1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree.

statistically significant differences in the demographical makeup of recruit responses for the majority of items. This is surprising considering that police recruiters often emphasize their tendency to hire employees who either have higher educational achievement or are more mature, or both (Decker & Huckabee, 2002; Tyre & Braunstein, 1992). This study found no significant differences in recruit officers' initial perceptions of police work based on age or level of education.

One group of recruits did provide significantly different responses than the majority. Nine of the original 90 respondents indicated that they had prior police experience. Most of these individuals had worked for several years as police officers in the United Kingdom. Not surprisingly, the perceptions of these officers were dissimilar to rest of the participants. For example, recruits with previous police experience did not think that the job paid as well as other types of work; further, they did not perceive the job to be as challenging compared to the recruits without previous police experience, and they did not think that police should be as responsive to political forces in the community as other recruits did (see Table 6). However, these perceptual differences may be attributable to factors other than previous police experience. Social, economic, cultural, political, and occupational variations between Canada and the United Kingdom may also account for these variations. Furthermore, while these two groups indicated different perceptions of police work, there was no significant difference in their perceptions of police officer attributes.

Initial perceptions of male and female recruits were also similar. In fact, the only gender-specific significant difference was their perceptions of public trust. Male

respondents were more of the opinion that the public believes police officers are trustworthy than were female respondents ($F(1,88) = 7.05, p < .01$).

This study expected that recruits with immediate family members in policing would possess occupational attitudes and perceptions closely aligned with the expectations of recruits previously employed in policing. However, this was not the case. The only difference between these two groups was that recruits with police family members viewed the level of pay of police officers as slightly better than those recruits with no family connections to policing.

Among other things, the analysis examined pre-training racial differences in attitudinal perceptions. In the first survey, 77 of the 90 respondents indicated they were Caucasian, while the remainder identified themselves as Asian, Hispanic, or Indo Canadian. To facilitate meaningful comparative analysis between groups, respondents from all visible minority groups were re-classified as “non-Caucasian.” ANOVA testing indicates there are significant differences between Caucasian and non-Caucasian recruits in their perceptions of two of the dependent variables: police loyalty and racial prejudice. Caucasian respondents ($\bar{x}=4.27$) perceived more strongly than non-Caucasian recruits ($\bar{x} = 3.77$) that police officers were more loyal to each other than persons in other professions were ($F(1,88) = 5.22, p < .05$). On the other hand, non-Caucasian respondents ($\bar{x}=2.85$) were more likely than Caucasian recruits ($\bar{x}=2.08$) to agree that police officers tend to be more racially prejudiced than the average person is ($F(1,88) = 12.23, p < .005$). Non-Caucasian concerns over racial prejudice and a lower level of police loyalty may be associated with them fearing a lack of acceptance into a profession that is historically dominated by Caucasian officers.

Pre-Training Perceptions of Police Function

This study also examined the recruits' pre-training perceptions of the function of police. The recruits were asked to indicate the level of importance they would assign to fourteen functions or tasks commonly associated with policing. The respondents rated each function using a five-point Likert-type scale rating responses from "not important" to "extremely important." The highest mean scores ranked each function. At the pre-training stage, the top five police functions as indicated by recruits, were: (1) apprehend criminals; (2) respond to life-threatening situations; (3) enforce criminal and other federal laws; (4) maintain order; and, (5) keep the peace.

ANOVA testing determined whether differences in the recruit population existed in the levels of importance that were associated with police functions. Analysis of the data indicated no significant differences in the perceptions of the police function based on age, race, marital status, or previous police experience. There were also no gender differences in perceptions for the majority of the police functions. However, one considerable difference that did emerge from the analysis was that all 18 of the female participants viewed "responding to life threatening situations" as "extremely important," whereas the male respondents' level of agreement with this factor was significantly less ($F(1,86) = 8.35, p < .01$).

Recruits with policing in their family backgrounds also provided similar expectations of policing tasks compared with other recruits. One significant difference was that officers with police in their families placed a greater emphasis on assisting victims than the remainder of the recruit sample ($F(1,87) = 8.62, p < .005$).

Finally, recruits that possessed a university degree or higher placed greater priority on enforcing criminal and other federal laws ($F(1,87) = 4.43, p < .05$), and enforcing provincial legislation ($F(1,87) = 6.12, p < .05$) than recruits who possessed less than a university degree. Perhaps recruits with higher levels of education placed more emphasis on enforcement of legislation because of their potentially increased exposure to law and legal classes at university. Alternatively, one might expect that college and university graduates would possess a more expansive outlook – focusing on a more holistic approach to policing; this finding raises some questions about the value, and impact of a college and university education. Possibly those with higher levels of education had limited work experience and were therefore somewhat isolated from the “real world” of police work. With the exception of these slight demographical variations, recruits provided consistent opinions regarding the priorities of police functions.

Pre-Training Police Cynicism

Recent studies (Haarr, 2001; Chan, 2003) indicate that recruits begin to exhibit cynical attitudes toward the criminal justice system, the community, and models of police work by the end of academy training programs. This present study established baseline levels of police cynicism in the first questionnaire to assess whether the levels of cynicism increased among JIBC Police Academy recruits during their training. It was anticipated that a range of levels in cynicism would be evident due to the variety of backgrounds that the recruits possessed.

An eight-item scale to measure levels of police cynicism was developed for this study based primarily on a police cynicism scale created by Regoli, *et al.* (1990). To consider a scale reliable, Cronbach’s alpha scores must exceed .600 (Zeller & Carmines,

1980). This means that the responses provided to various scale items must indicate a consistent internal tendency. The Cronbach's alpha score for the first questionnaire indicated an acceptable level of internal consistency ($\alpha = .693$).

This study expected to find that there would be some significant differences between various groups of recruits. ANOVA data analysis revealed that the pre-training levels of cynicism displayed by recruits were not significantly different based on age, gender, education, race, previous police and military experience, or having police in the family.

Pre-Training Career Orientations

Recruits were asked to indicate what they personally perceived to be the most important reasons contributing to their decision to become a police officer. Response options ranged from "not important" to "extremely important" using a five-point Likert-type scale. Buckely and Petrunik's (1995) five police career typologies provided the basis for the current list of twenty police orientation attributes. The survey also provided respondents the opportunity to identify personal reasons for becoming police officers that were not on the list. The highest mean scores were used to rank career orientations.

The top five reasons for joining the police, based on the questionnaire list of twenty career orientations were: (1) apprehending criminals; (2) having an opportunity to help others; (3) an attraction to the excitement of the job; (4) policing is a professional career; and (5) an opportunity to improve society.

These results are similar to previous research that asked recruits to indicate their reasons for joining policing. A Canadian study of police recruits (Ellis, *et al.*, 1991:110)

stated that individuals joined policing for the following reasons: (1) job security; (2) opportunity to be of service to the community; (3) opportunity for interesting and satisfying work; (4) challenge and excitement; and (5) good pay and benefits. Likewise, Australian police recruits provide similar reasons for becoming police officers: (1) an interest in police work; (2) to work with people; (3) to serve the community; (4) to have a professional career; and (5) the varied and non-routine nature of police work (Chan, 2003: 66). Although JIBC police recruits provided similar reasons for becoming police officers as previous research, this study identified several specific factors that contributed to differences in the perceptions of the recruit population.

First, recruits with previous police experience placed significantly less importance on half of the listed career orientations attributes (see Table 7). For example, they were far less interested in having a professional career or demonstrating leadership than the rest of the recruits.

Second, few differences in initial career orientations were due to the gender of the police recruit. The only statistically significant difference was that male recruits were attracted more to the perceived reputation of the police than females were ($F(1,88) = 5.24, p < .05$). Although the findings were not statistically significant, female recruits ($\bar{x} = 4.44$) were also more attracted to the excitement of policing than males ($\bar{x} = 4.11$), however females ($\bar{x} = 2.44$) attached a lower level of importance to an attraction to the dangerousness of the job than their male ($\bar{x} = 2.82$) counterparts.

Table 7: Career Orientations - Recruits & Experienced Officers

Career Orientation	Previous Police Experience	No Previous Experience
	\bar{x}	\bar{x}
Opportunity to Help Others	4.00	4.41*
Opportunity for Promotion / Advancement	3.38	3.98*
Opportunity to Demonstrate Leadership	3.33	4.09*
Opportunity to Improve Society	3.67	4.27*
Attracted to Excitement of Job	2.78	4.33*
Attracted to Dangerousness of Job	2.00	2.83*
Professional Career	3.44	4.35*
Opportunity to Wear a Uniform	1.33	2.57*
Opportunity to Carry a Firearm	1.22	1.99*
Influence of Family and Friends	1.33	2.20*

* $p < .05$

Third, older recruits also appear to have different career expectations than younger recruits. Recruits who were 35 years of age and older ($n=18$) were significantly less attracted to the excitement of the job ($F(3,86) = 4.42, p < .01$) and less attracted to the dangerousness of the job ($F(3,86) = 2.95, p < .05$) than the entire recruit population. In addition, recruits who were younger than 25 years of age were less attracted to the importance of a professional career than those who were 25 years and older ($F(1,88) = 4.88, p < .05$).

Fourth, there were almost no significant differences between level of education and career orientations. One notable exception was the relative importance of financial security. The four recruits indicating having acquired more than a baccalaureate degree were far less attracted ($\bar{x}=2.75$) to policing for reasons of financial security than the entire recruit population ($\mu=3.82$).

Finally, differences in career orientations based on race, marital status, previous military experience, and having police in the family background were statistically insignificant.

Changes in Perceptions of Law Enforcement

With the exception of the group of recruits possessing previous police experience, the findings from the pre-training questionnaire revealed only a small degree of variation in the perceptions of the nature of police work and police officers. However, even after eight months of training, variations within these perceptions continued to remain relatively stable. Table 8 lists many of the initial questionnaire items relating to law enforcement perception.

The first column indicates the mean difference in scores of the paired samples t-tests. Since differences in gender, age, and level of education are often the focus of research into policing (Decker & Huckabee, 2002; Tyre & Braunstein, 1992; Worden, 1990), this study conducted a multivariate regression analysis of these factors using repeated measures testing techniques. Demographic factors were classified dichotomously so that the strength of statistical testing could be enhanced. For example, since some studies perceive that mature students make better police officers than young recruits (Decker & Huckabee, 2002: 796), the age of respondent was classified as either younger than 25 years, or 25 years of age or older. Level of education is also divided between recruits possessing less than a university degree and recruits achieving a university degree or higher. Positive numbers indicate increases in the mean scores between the first and second surveys; negative numbers indicate mean scores of the second survey were less than the first.

Table 8: Mean Perception Change During Academy Training

Law Enforcement Perceptions	Paired t-test	Male	Female	<25 yrs	≥25 yrs	< U.D. ⁶	≥ U.D.
"challenging"	-.08	-.04	-.23	.18	-.12	-.22**	.10**
"education not required"	-.01	-.01	.00	.09	-.04	.06	-.10
"dangerous"	-.07	-.06	-.15	-.36	-.02	-.08	-.07
"career advancement"	-.16	-.07**	-.54**	-.18	-.16	-.19	-.13
"personally satisfying"	.04	-.02	.31	-.20	.09	-.11	.23
"respect"	.37*	.37	.47	.82	.29	.38	.37
"honest"	-.09	-.02	-.39	-.09	-.09	.00	-.20
"intelligent"	.13	.11	.23	.00	.15	.08	.20
"loyal"	-.18	-.15	-.31	-.36	-.15	-.14	-.23
"racially prejudiced"	.36*	.33	.46	.09	.45	.60**	.07**
"politically responsive"	-.07	.07	-.11	-.01	-.07	.00	-.16
"have to break a policy"	-.21	-.26	.00	-.63	-.12	-.16	-.30
"police are trustworthy"	.07	.02	.31	.00	.09	.14	.00
"media is too critical"	.12	.17	-.08	.18	.11	.06	.20
"serve the public"	-.42*	-.35	-.69	-.54	-.39	-.41	-.43

* $p < .05$ Paired t -test (two-tailed)

** $p \leq .05$ Pillai's Trace & Wilks' Lambda.

Paired-samples t -tests indicate that only three of eighteen items relating to recruit perceptions of law enforcement changed significantly over the three blocks of recruit training. First, regardless of gender, education, or age, recruits more strongly agreed that society gives police officers "the respect they deserve." This change in attitude indicates that all groups of recruits experienced more positive interactions with the general public than had been initially anticipated. Second, recruits agreed to a lesser extent that the primary function of policing is to serve the public. As the three blocks of training exposed respondents to an array of police priorities and commitments, recruits probably realized there is much more to policing than simply serving the public. Third, perceptions of police officer racial prejudice increased over the course of training.

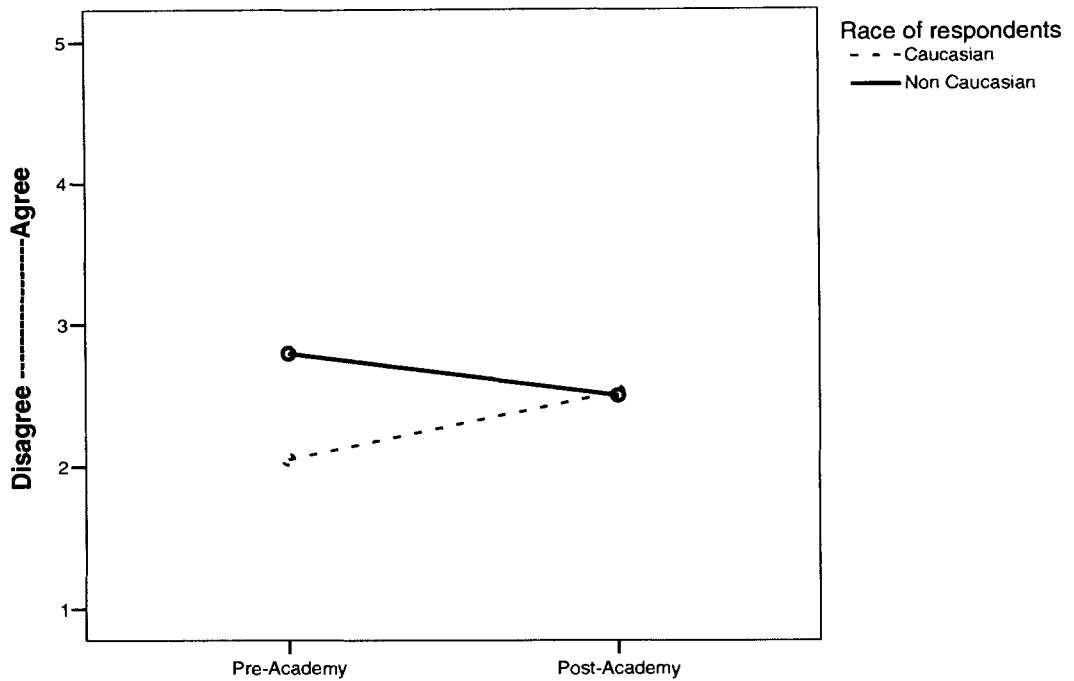
⁶ U.D. = University Degree

Although the majority of recruits disagreed with this statement initially ($\mu=2.16$) the total increase in the population mean is significant ($\mu=2.52$, $t=3.04$, $p=.003$).

While the overall perception of racial prejudice did increase among recruits over the training period, these attitudinal changes did not occur uniformly among the recruits. Multivariate regression analysis provides a clearer picture of where these transformations occurred. Figure 1 indicates the mediating effect of the Police Academy training program on the perceptions of recruits. After eight months of training, perceptions of racial prejudice increased among Caucasian recruits, and concurrently decreased among the non-Caucasian population. The perceptions of both groups were about the same by graduation. In other words, Caucasian respondents indicated police officers are a little more racially prejudiced than they thought at first, and non-Caucasian respondents indicated police officers are not quite as racially prejudiced as they perceived originally.

Multivariate analysis show there are also significant within-subject effects regarding perceptions of racial prejudice and level of education ($F=5.29$, $p<.05$). Recruits possessing less than a university degree indicate initially that they “disagree” ($\mu=2.00$) with the statement that police are racially prejudice. However, at the end of training, their opinions are more mixed ($\mu=2.60$). Alternatively, recruits with a university degree or more commenced their training with higher perceptions of police racial prejudice ($\mu=2.37$), but their opinions remained stable, maintaining those levels at the end of training ($\mu=2.43$).

Figure 1: Police Academy Training & Perceptions of Racial Prejudice

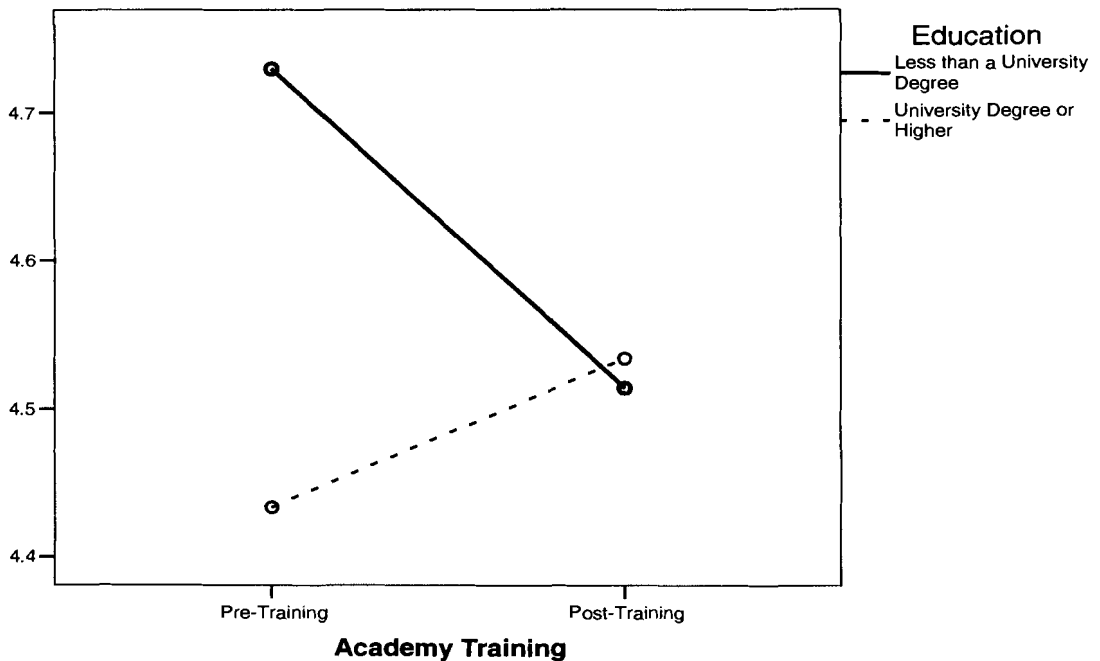


The recruits' level of education also plays a role in perceptual variations of occupational challenges. Once again, the Academy training program appears to have a moderating effect on recruit perceptions. Figure 2 indicates that recruits with less than a university degree originally anticipated that their new careers would be very challenging. Alternatively, recruits possessing higher levels of education did not initially consider policing as challenging an occupation as those with lower levels. By the end of the academy training, however, the opinions of both groups had migrated toward a more balanced view.

Previous research has drawn a variety of conflicting conclusions as to whether level of education affects police job satisfaction. For example, Dantzker (1992: 106) argued that college-educated officers become less satisfied the longer they remain in patrol functions. However, Tyre and Braunstein (1992: 10) claim a positive correlation

between higher levels of education and police performance. Worden (1990: 588) holds that attitudes of police officers with college degrees do not differ substantially from those who are less educated. The findings of the present study indicate that education does not significantly affect job satisfaction; however, there is some evidence that police recruits possessing university degrees exhibit increased levels of job satisfaction at the conclusion of their academy training, while the levels of job satisfaction decreased among those less educated (see Table 8).

Figure 2: Perceptions of Occupational Challenges & Recruit Education



The analysis also revealed that police recruits who are less than 25 years of age find the profession to be more challenging than they had originally anticipated, while older recruits find the reverse to be true. In addition, compared with male recruits, female officers viewed policing as less challenging than they originally perceived it to be.

In general, police recruits discovered that there are potentially fewer opportunities for promotional advancement in policing than they had originally anticipated. This change in attitudes is most profound for females who probably encountered few female supervisors during the Block II field-training program and may have become disillusioned with the possibility of future promotional opportunities.

One of the law enforcement perception items on the surveys stated: "Police officers often find they have to break an order, policy, or regulation to do their job effectively." In a previous study, (Ellis, *et al.*, 1991) this statement was put before new and recently graduated police recruits and it was found that agreement with the statement increased with the length of time the recruit had been in training. This led Ellis, *et al.* (1991: 101) to conclude: "It seems that with greater training and experience, police officers acquire an increasingly strong belief that they are hampered by public attitudes, restrictive regulations, red tape and the complaints of 'liberal do-gooders', and that departing from regulations is necessary and/or justifiable." Not only does the current study not support these conclusions, but argues that there are indications that the reverse is true. Its findings would suggest that recruits disagreed even more strongly with this statement after training than they did prior to beginning the program.

Changes in Perceptions of Police Function

During the Academy training program, recruit perceptions of police function priorities remained stable. Table 9 shows that the level of importance attributed to each of the fourteen police functions remained virtually unchanged. Paired samples *t*-tests indicate that only two statistically significant changes in the mean scores, having almost no effect on their ranking. Furthermore, multivariate analysis identified no significant

variations in perceptions of police function among the recruit sample over the eight months of training. These findings suggest that police recruits possess realistic perceptions of the nature and priorities of police work prior to their first day of training and that these perceptions were confirmed by the Academy training experience.

Table 9: Perceptions of Police Function

Police Function	Pre-Training Rank	Pre-Training Mean	Post-Training Rank	Post-Training Mean
Apprehend Criminals	1	4.86	1	4.89
Respond to Life Threatening Situations	2	4.73	2	4.79
Enforce Criminal & Other Federal Laws	2	4.73	3	4.74
Maintain Order	4	4.67	6	4.55
Keep the Peace	5	4.65	5	4.59
Prevent Crime	6	4.62	4	4.67
Enforce Provincial Legislation	7	4.26	7	4.30
Protect Individual Rights & Freedoms	8	4.23	8	4.06
Provide Assistance to Victims	9	4.03	10	3.80 *
Assist Emergency Social Services	10	3.74	9	3.95
Resolve Neighbourhood Disputes	11	3.68	11	3.48
Ensure the Safe Flow of Traffic	12	3.55	12	3.38
Enforce Municipal Bylaws	13	3.32	13	3.24
Issue Licences & Permits	14	2.47	14	2.09*

* $p < .05$

Changes in Police Cynicism

Previous longitudinal studies of police recruit socialization (Chan, 2003; Haarr, 2001) have suggested that, by the end of the formal training process, police officers often begin to exhibit cynical attitudes toward police work and other aspects of the criminal justice system. During the final week of training, recruits completed the same cynicism scale that had been found in the first survey. A second test for internal consistency of the eight-item scale produced a strong Cronbach's alpha score ($\alpha = .711$). A paired-sample *t*-test of the pre-training and post-training scale mean scores indicates a modest, yet

significant, increase in the levels of cynicism found among the police recruit population.

Table 10 indicates the pre-training and post-training mean scale scores and Table 11 shows the statistical significance of this attitudinal change.

Table 10: Pre & Post Training Cynicism Scale Means

	Cynicism Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pre-Training	26.31	67	3.295	.403
Post-Training	27.40	67	3.885	.475

Table 11: Pre & Post Training Cynicism Scales Paired Samples Test

Paired Differences							
Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
			Lower	Upper			
-1.090	3.988	.487	-2.062	-.117	-2.237	66	.029

The cynicism scale consists of eight attitudinal items relating to perceptions of the criminal justice system and the general public. Separate paired *t*-tests conducted on each item revealed that opinions changed significantly for only three of the items: (1) new reforms” are weakening the traditional authority of the police; (2) police officers should be able to determine if arrested persons should be held in jail; and (3) when testifying in court, the police are often treated as criminals (see Table 12). In addition, recruit perceptions actually improved over the course of the training for two of the three

items relating to police perceptions of the public; however, these changes were not statistically significant.

Table 12: Cynicism Scale Items

Cynicism Item	Pre-Academy Paired t-test (n=67)	Post-Academy Paired t-test (n=67)
New reforms are weakening the traditional authority of the police officer.	3.13	3.58*
Offenders now have so many rights that it is almost impossible to maintain law and order.	2.91	2.99
If the police believe it is necessary, arrested persons should be held in jail until their trial.	3.76	4.04*
The Charter of Rights is so constraining that many criminals get off on a technicality.	3.58	3.75
Many citizens have a bad attitude toward police officers.	3.09	2.91
In the past few years, the respect shown officers by citizens has decreased.	3.48	3.39
Citizens in recent years seem to have more defiant attitudes than ever before.	3.52	3.57
When testifying in court, the police officer is often treated as a criminal.	2.84	3.18*
Cynicism Scale total Mean	26.31	27.40*

* $p < .05$

Two of the cynicism scale statements – “new reforms are weakening the traditional authority of the police” and “police are often treated as criminals when testifying” – are indicators of cynical views toward the criminal justice system. However, police recruits have no first-hand experience of the opinions presented in the two statements. First, recruits from this study have not entered into the occupation at a time when police practices are currently undergoing substantial revision as a result of any legislative reform. Recruits with college or university educations may possess

knowledge of former dramatic changes in police practices that occurred as a result of the enactment of *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), or more recently, minor amendments that relate to new enforcement requirements under the *Youth and Criminal Justice Act* (2002); however, their perceptions and attitudes toward whether these “new reforms have weakened the traditional authority of police” would have been reflected in their pre-training questionnaire responses.

Second, most criminal cases take more than a year to complete the process from arrest to trial; however, none of the officers in the paired-sample tests had previous experience testifying in court as a police officer. The recruits may have possessed somewhat cynical views of the criminal justice system, in terms of legislative reform and the treatment of police officers on the witness stand, that were based on knowledge and perceptions acquired before training commenced; however, increasingly cynical views that occurred during training cannot be based on first-hand experiences. Therefore, these indicated changes in attitudes toward the criminal justice system are attributable primarily to instructors, FTOs, and other experienced officers relating “war stories” of past courtroom experiences and the nature of police work during the “good old days.” These findings raise again the impact of FTOs and other “leaders” in the process of informal socialization.

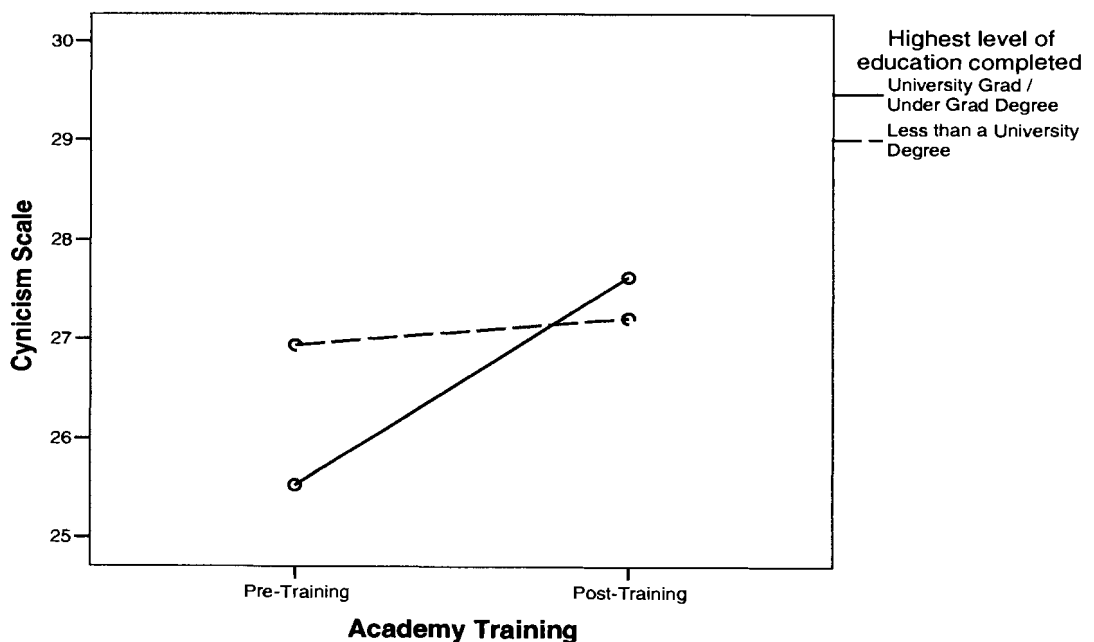
A multivariate regression analysis examined the within-subject effects and interactions of recruit demographic variables and Academy training on levels of police cynicism. Table 13 indicates the result of demographical interactions with the training program, and levels of cynicism. While interactions between training and level of post-secondary education were not statistically significant, the results were unexpected

because it was anticipated that recruits possessing a university degree or higher would indicate consistently lower levels of occupational cynicism. While this occurred initially, the group possessing higher educational achievement became increasingly cynical by the end of training, and the opinions of recruits with less education remained relatively stable (see Figure 3). Perhaps, this again reveals an unrealistic view of policing because of limited exposure to the “real world” while in post-secondary institutions.

Table 13: Cynicism & Training – Tests of Within-Subject Contrasts

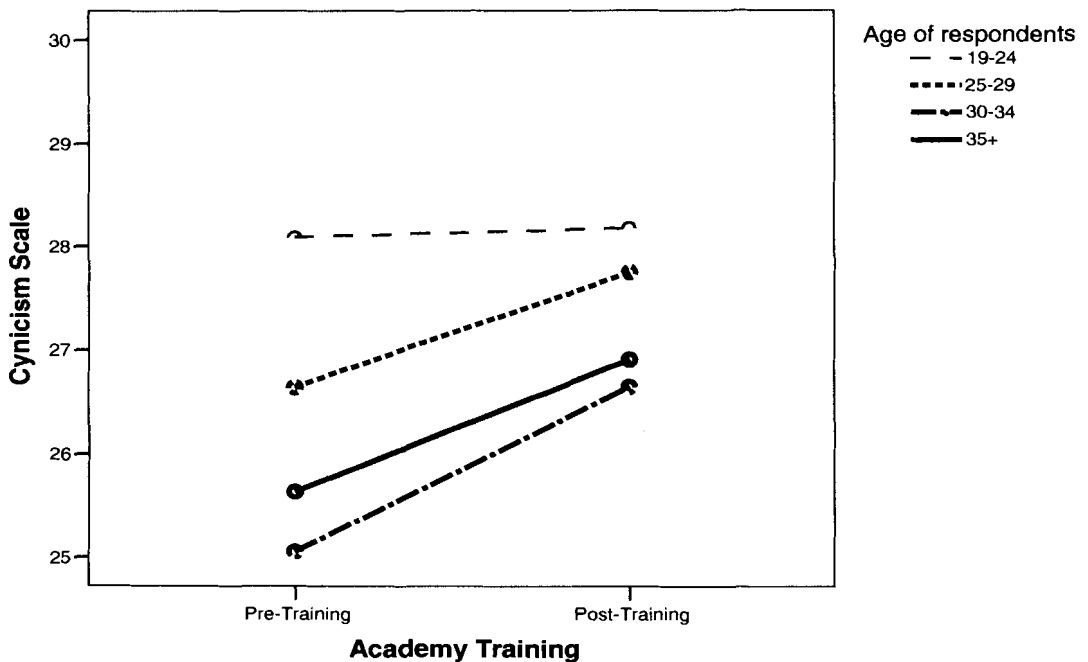
Factors	Type III Sum of Squares	df	F	Sig.
Gender	1.63	1	.202	.655
Race	2.96	1	.370	.545
Age	7.79	3	2.596	.813
Education	27.73	1	3.627	.061

Figure 3: Cynicism & Level of Education



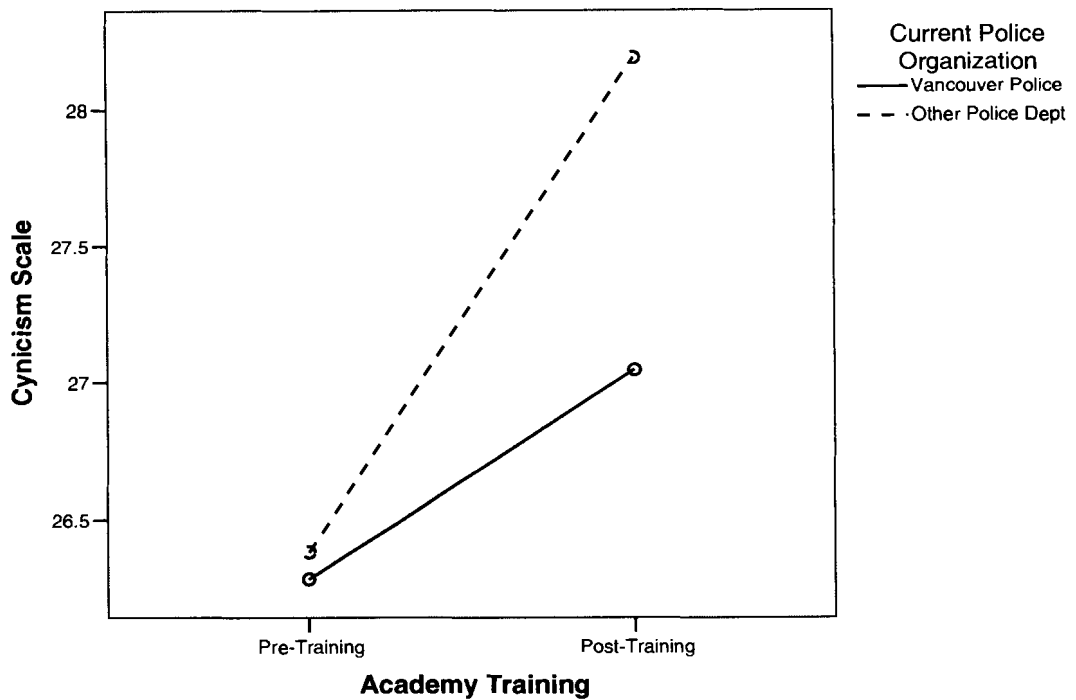
Although age had no significant interactive effect on cynical opinions over the course of Academy training, Figure 4 shows that recruits who were under the age of 25 initially indicated a considerably higher degree of cynicism than all other age groups, and maintained that position at the end of training. Conversely, recruits from 30-34 years of age consistently displayed the lowest levels of cynicism. Perhaps these younger recruits were providing initial responses that they believed were socially desirable. Niederhoffer (1967) described this phenomenon as “pseudo-cynicism” and Van Maanen (1973) stated that some recruits display “anticipatory socialization” when they indicate cynical views at the commencement of their careers because they believe that this is the attitude that police officers are expected to portray.

Figure 4: Cynicism & Age



Finally, up until this point, data analysis has not revealed significant differences in organizational socialization effects that are specific to individual police departments. However, there was a significant and unexpected correlation between increases in levels of cynicism and recruit police department. Three-quarters of the recruits in the study were from the Vancouver Police Department, a large metropolitan police force where recruits were exposed to more incidents of violent crime, drug activity, and social disorder than recruits from other jurisdictions. For example, the criminal and social problems plaguing the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver are frequently portrayed in the media. In addition, court decisions from the Vancouver Provincial and Supreme Courts are broadcast in the major media on a more frequent basis than from other jurisdictions. Therefore, as a result of this increased exposure to street level crime, social disorder, and high profile court decisions, it was anticipated that the Vancouver recruits would indicate higher levels of cynicism at the end of their training. However, the findings reveal that collectively, recruits from the smaller municipalities experienced an increase in cynicism scale scores that were significantly greater ($F(1,65) = 5.99, p < .05$) than the Vancouver police recruits (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Cynicism & Police Department



Changes in Career Orientations

The recruits' perceptions of career orientations also remained relatively stable over the eight months of training. However, several transformations in the level of importance associated with these orientations did occur. First, paired-samples *t*-tests indicate significant changes in perceptions in five of the twenty orientation items. At the end of training, recruits indicated an even stronger desire to apprehend criminals and utilize or develop special skills; however, the importance associated with improving society, the reputation and respect for policing, and the desire to demonstrate leadership diminished significantly. Second, the rank of seven of the initial ten highest orientations changed after the training program. However, an additional seven items that had been considered the least important remained stable throughout training – the population mean

scores did not change significantly and their rank order remained the same (see Table 14).

Table 14: Career Orientations

Reasons for Becoming A Police Officer	Pre-Training Rank	Pre-Training Mean	Post-Training Rank	Post-Training Mean
Apprehend Criminals	1	4.46	1	4.72 *
Opportunity to Help Others	2	4.40	2	4.45
Attracted to Excitement of Job	3	4.31	3	4.22
Professional Career	4	4.28	6	4.15
Opportunity to Improve Society	5	4.25	9	3.96 *
Enforce Laws / Regulations	6	4.16	4	4.21
Opportunity to Demonstrate Leadership	7	4.12	10	3.79 *
Utilize or Develop Special Skills	8	3.96	5	4.19 *
Opportunity for Promotion / Advancement	9	3.92	11	3.74
Financial Security / Salary	10	3.87	7	4.04
Ability to Maintain a Personal Life Outside of Work	11	3.84	8	3.99
Reputation of Police / Respect	11	3.84	13	3.54 *
Opportunity for Social Interaction	13	3.78	12	3.67
Amount of Time Off	14	2.91	14	3.19
Attracted to Dangerousness of Job	15	2.78	15	3.04
Recognition	16	2.73	16	2.73
Opportunity to Wear a Uniform	17	2.51	17	2.49
Influence of Family and Friends	18	2.13	18	2.24
Opportunity to Carry a Firearm	19	1.97	19	2.16
Influence of Media / Movies	20	1.54	20	1.58

* $p < .05$

The findings provide partial support for previous research, which has found that the role and orientation of police officers may change as a direct result of the academy training experience. For example, Buckley and Petrunik (1995: 123) found that only one quarter of officers who originally identified with a “Social Activist” role maintained the same view within a few years of policing. Although the current study did not classify recruits with general career orientation typologies, the survey’s findings indicate the level of importance that recruits attributed to improving society decreased significantly over training.

In addition, other career orientation transformations did not occur in the expected direction. Buckley and Petrunik (1995) found many police officers transformed their perspectives from a “law enforcement” mentality to one of looking after self-interests. However, the present findings indicate recruit perceptions relating to time off and maintaining a personal life remained unchanged, and that recruits continued to be as attracted to the excitement of the job and apprehending criminals as they were on the first day of training.

Age, gender, level of education, and having immediate family members with policing experience are demographic variables that were believed to contribute to differences in recruit perceptions. The multivariate analysis in the present study confirms that the training experience differentially affected the perceptions of recruits within some of these groups. Table 15 lists the career orientations that recruits perceived were most important. The data represent the difference in mean scores between the pre-training and post-training surveys for each of these groups.

Table 15: Mean Career Orientation Change During Academy Training

Career Orientation	Gender		Age		Education		Police in Family	
	Male	Female	<25	≥ 25	< U.D. ⁷	≥U.D.	No	Yes
Apprehend Criminals	.24	.31	.27	.25	.24	.27	.29	.12
Opportunity to Help Others	.00	.23	.09	.04	.13	-.07	.00	.19
Attracted to Excitement of Job	-.10	-.07	.27	-.16	-.32*	.20*	-.15	.19
Professional Career	-.07	-.39	.55*	-.27*	-.26	-.02	-.18	.00
Opportunity to Improve Society	-.35	-.08	-.27	-.30	-.22	-.40	-.29	-.31
Enforce Laws / Regulations	-.04	.39	.27	.00	.14	-.07	.08	-.06
Opportunity to Demonstrate Leadership	-.28	-.54	-.36	-.32	-.33	-.34	-.35	-.25
Utilize of Develop Special Skills	.24	.23	.09	.27	.40	.03	.14	.56
Opportunity for Promotion / Advancement	-.17	-.23	-.09	-.20	-.22	-.13	-.20	-.13
Financial Security / Salary	.09	.53	.27	.16	.05	.33	.18	.18

* $p \leq .05$ (Pillai's Trace & Wilks' Lambda).

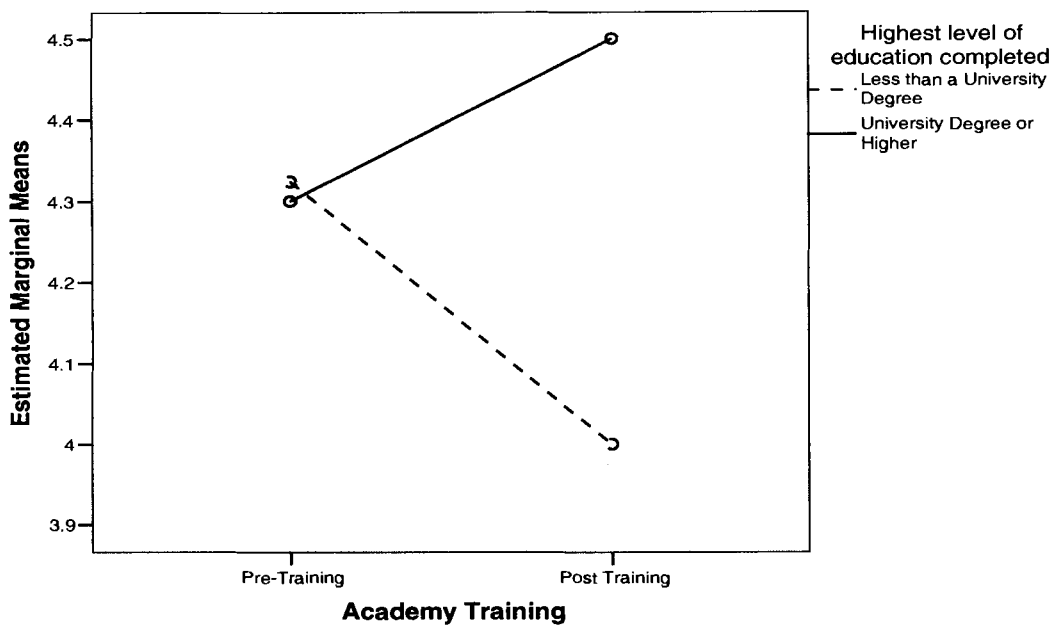
Significant demographical variations are evident within a number of these groups. First, level of education made a difference in recruit perceptions relating to their continued attraction to the potential excitement of policing. Recruits holding less than a university degree perceived this to be less of an attraction, while recruits holding university degrees or higher became more attracted to this attribute (see Figure 6).

Although it was not statistically significant, age showed a tendency to have an interactive effect in contributing to changes in these perceptions as well. Recruits who were less than 25 years of age placed greater importance in being attracted to the excitement of policing than they were initially, and older recruits now viewed this as being less important.

⁷ U.D. = University Degree

Second, prior to training, the importance of a professional career was significantly lower for recruits younger than 25 years of age than it was for older recruits. However, by the end of training, the importance of professionalism had decreased for older recruits, while increasing significantly for younger officers. At the conclusion of training, the two groups now perceived this attribute to have approximately the same level of importance (see Figure 7).

Figure 6: Attraction to Excitement of Job & Education

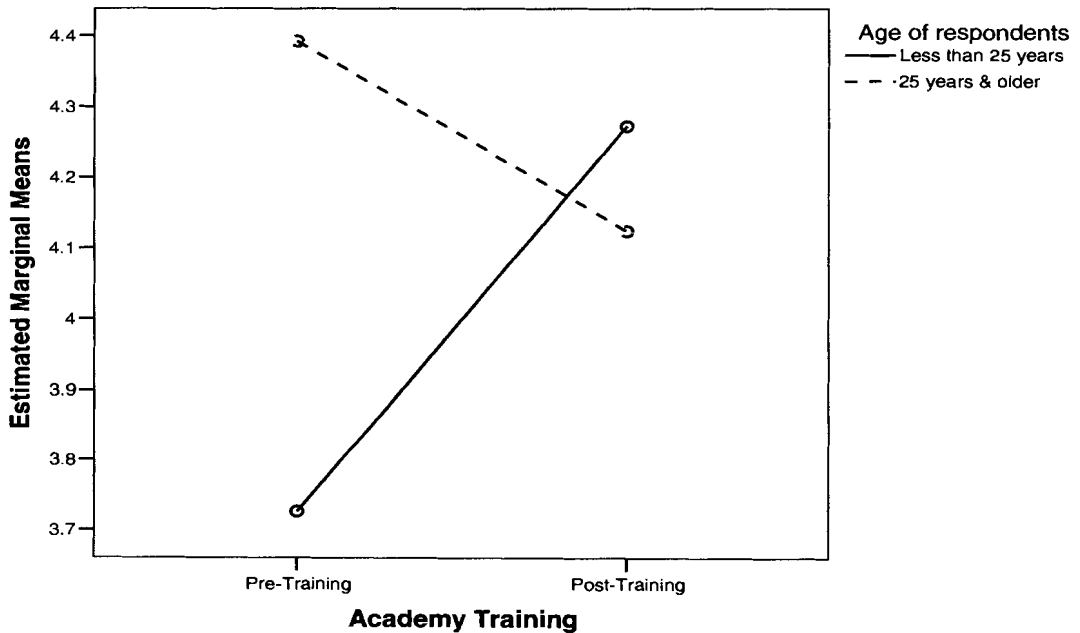


Third, it was anticipated that female and male recruits would have dissimilar experiences during their eight months of training. However, there were no significant differences in changes in career orientations between males and females.

Fourth, the study expected to discover that recruits who had immediate family members with policing experience would possess more knowledge and a better understanding of the realities of policing than those without. Therefore, it was

anticipated that, over the course of training, this group would indicate lower levels of variance in their perceptions of policing and career orientations than the other recruits. However, the analysis failed to find any significant decrease in the variance within this group; fluctuations in career orientation perceptions are no less than the variance that was found with other groups of recruits. Thus, the effect of the Police Academy training program on career orientation perspectives strengthened some of their views, and weakened others.

Figure 7: Attraction to Professional Career & Age



Finally, the findings did not reveal changes in recruit career orientations that were attributable to the unique organizational structure and culture of the police organizations represented in the study. Specifically, changes in career orientations experienced by

recruits from the Vancouver Police Department were not significantly different than the changes in perceptions of recruits from the remaining police departments.

Self Evaluation

This study has focused on statistical analysis of quantitative measurement items and scales completed by recruits at the beginning and end of the Police Academy training program. Statistical analysis provides concise measurable differences in attitudinal perceptions, but does not allow for personal expression. The second questionnaire attempted to balance quantitative techniques with qualitative measures by providing recruits with an opportunity for self-reflection and to write their personal views relating to perceptions and expectations of their new careers.

Recruits were asked if their own career expectations had changed from the time they were first hired. One-third of the respondents indicated their expectations of policing had not changed. For example, recruit RTN 508 stated, "It's everything I thought it would be. I am now more excited about hitting the street." Similarly, another officer wrote, "Hasn't changed, just solidified my choice as a good one" (RTN 633). For reasons unknown, another one-third of the officers did not respond to the question. The final one-third of the recruits felt that their views had changed in some way. Many police officers join the profession because they want to "make a difference" – often in a helping role. However, several of the respondents realized that achieving this goal might prove to be difficult. One recruit commented, "I now expect to make less of a large difference and more of a person-to-person difference. I see some aspects, such as drugs and prostitution as an endless struggle" (RTN 690). Moreover, another officer stated, "I have a more realistic appreciation – that it's up to me to make what I want of the job" (RTN 581).

Other recruits also realized that police work involves more paperwork than they originally anticipated. For example, when asked if expectations had changed, one recruit replied, “Yes, the allotment of time taking calls to doing paperwork has shifted. I know I’ll be spending more time inside writing than I initially thought” (RTN 668). This complaint appears to be common for many newly-hired police officers. Chan (2003: 305) also notes that the amount of paperwork required is the most frequent complaint reported by recently-graduated police officers.

The questionnaire asked recruits if their opinions of other police officers had changed from when they were first hired. The opinions of recruits were divided equally between those who indicated that their perceptions of other officers had changed, and those who thought their perceptions had remained the same. The opinions of some recruits toward other police officers had become more negative. For example, in citing an observed lack of work ethic among officers, RTN 537 stated, “I’ve seen many officers who do not put in one hundred percent to help people. They do as much as necessary; sometimes just enough to CYA.” Another officer had not expected the level of gossip and negative innuendo in the work environment: “No, I believed there would be a mix of quality when I began. Block II reinforced that view with real examples. Actually, yes. My opinion is that we are brutal towards each other in terms of second guessing and rumours” (RTN 669).

Recruits also consciously evaluated observed behaviour that was at odds with their own expectations. Recruit RTN 546 wrote, “On the road I saw officers I would emulate and officers I would not emulate. I want to ensure I am always striving to be the officer I know I can be – and not to fall into the trap of being jaded.” However, for other

recruits, their opinions of other officers increased after exposure to some of the frustrations of police work. Recruit RTN 627 stated succinctly, “Yes, they’re extremely patient!”

Previous research (Chan, 2003; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Haarr, 2001) suggests that, by the end of police academy training, police officers begin to exhibit increasingly hostile and cynical attitudes toward the public. The analysis in the present study found a slight, yet significant cynical progression; however, examination of the individual scale items reveals these opinions are toward the criminal justice system and not citizens. Recruits made both positive and negative comments about the general public. Some recruits indicated that they are now more suspicious of others. For example, RTN 553 stated, “It has changed from thinking that everyone is a good person, to ‘what’s their real motive.’” Other officers expressed more empathy toward those suffering from drug addictions than they had felt previously: “Yes, I feel more for those who suffer from addiction. I don’t excuse it, but I empathize and sympathize with addicts more” (RTN 607). However, a few officers indicated a cynical attitude towards the public. One recruit stated, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, but still with a telling attitude, “I swear everyone is a ‘toad’” (RTN 619).

The majority of recruits indicated that their opinions of the criminal justice system had become increasingly negative since the beginning of the academy training. Thirteen of the respondents stated that their views had not changed, while thirty-two officers admitted that their opinions of the criminal justice system had changed for the worse. Some of their statements are as follows: “The system seems to be too lenient” (RTN 555); “In my limited experience, my opinion of the justice system is that it is weaker than

I initially thought” (RTN 604); “Yes, I believe it’s more lenient than I used to. I always thought it was lenient to a point, but I feel it’s worse than I used to believe” (RTN 668); “Police are doing their best to fight crime. The CJS does nothing to help them do this. I have no faith in the CJS” (RTN 697).

However, the views of some officers had become more pragmatic. Recruit RTN 612 wrote, “Just the observation to keep doing the best job you can do. CJS decisions are independent of that in a lot of cases, this should not dissuade you from doing the best investigative job possible”

Finally, and a core element of the study, the recruits were asked if they had “changed since first hired as a police officer?” Most of the officers felt that their attitudes and perceptions had changed. Only seven of the sixty-seven respondents stated that they had not changed during Police Academy training. The majority of recruits had experienced positive changes within themselves. For example, recruit RTN 586 wrote, “Yes, far more confident, more personable, grown as a person. [I have a] stronger desire to better myself for the job, my family, and life.” Another simply stated, “Yes, more confident by far!” (RTN 581). Other officers contend they were now more assertive, aware of their surroundings, and physically stronger. Recruit RTN 606 stated, “I am physically stronger and I am more appreciative of the things I have. A police career is the smartest thing I’ve ever done.” Other officers perceived that they were now more patient and understanding. Recruit RTN 508 noted, “I have gained more of an open mind when dealing with people. I have also become more patient.” Several recruits observed both positive and negative changes in their attitudes. One recruit noted a variety of personal changes, “Harder and tougher, yet more understanding. Less patient for

shenanigans. More frustrated – yet also more determined” (RTN 690). Another respondent had not personally observed any changes, but his spouse had: “Although I haven’t seen a change, my wife states that I have become more ignorant and belligerent” (RTN 641). However, the majority of the recruits perceived that the Police Academy experience resulted in positive personal attitudinal, perceptual, and physical changes.

Perceptions of Police Academy Training

During the final week of training, each cohort recruit class spent two hours with the Police Academy Program Manager providing feedback and evaluating the training program. During this study, recruits completed the questionnaire prior to this administration debrief so that the views of their colleagues did not contaminate the opinions expressed on the survey.

The Police Academy training curriculum is divided into nine subject areas and 195 separate training items, covering more than 600 hours of instruction. During these debriefing sessions, recruits vocalized the amount of time they would have preferred to have devoted to training in any subject area. However, it was difficult to ascertain if these opinions were the views of a vocal minority, or reflected the majority of the recruit class. Furthermore, it was almost impossible for recruits to recall all of their training experiences and comment on them during a general discussion period. That is, training items that were considered important at the beginning of Block I may be forgotten eight months later. This study attempted to address these issues by having recruits assess each training item individually and anonymously. For each training component, recruits indicated whether less time, the same amount of time, or more time should be devoted to the subject, or if they believed the training item should be removed from the curriculum.

Since it is highly unlikely that all respondents would agree unanimously as to the amount of training required for any subject item, consensus was set at a 75% level of agreement. According to this standard, recruits indicated that 130 of the 195 training points (67%) should remain unchanged. Changes to the program were desired primarily in the areas of dynamic training exercises such as simulations and Arrest & Control. Table 16 lists the top ten subject areas where recruits desired to see an increase in training. Recruits suggested that for only 10 of the 195 topics (5%), less time should be devoted to a training item, or it should be removed from the program. Areas of concern pertained to a lecture on the history of policing, diversity training, Block II diversity projects, a hazardous materials lecture, and specific aspects of driver training. However, even in these training areas, changes were desired collectively by only one-third of the recruit population.

Table 16: Top Ten Subjects - Increased Training Requested

Training Item	Percentage of Respondents
Handcuffing & Searching	75%
Tactical Outdoor Training	74%
Active Shooter	68%
Close Quarter Confrontations	65%
Firearms Sims (FATS)	65%
Edged Weapon Attacks	57%
Multiple Assailants	56%
Pursuit Driving	55%
Investigation & Patrol Simulation Exercises	51%
Take Downs & Throws	49%

Qualitative analysis of the Police Academy training program is based on written feedback provide by approximately half of the recruit participants. Respondents described aspects of the training program they felt failed to meet, were significantly different from, or exceeded personal expectations. Evaluations of the overall training program were generally positive; however, opinions are more divergent within each of the nine primary areas of the training curriculum.

Most recruits have positive evaluations of Arrest & Control, stating that the course exceeded their original expectations. For example, recruit RTN 508 stated, “I thought that A&C was perfect. I believe it has prepared me to go on the street and be safe.” Another recruit wrote, “Arrest and Control exceeded my personal expectations as I found myself developing a side of me I never thought I had” (RTN 606). Recruit RTN 430 summarized a common theme in recruit feedback, “A&C exceeded my expectations greatly, I think it should be a greater part of the training.”

Despite these positive responses, some recruits underestimated the strenuous nature of this training. For example, one recruit complained, “More bruises than I ever expected” (RTN 587). Another officer stated that Arrest & Control was, “More stressful than anticipated” (RTN 546). The most frequent complaint in this discipline was a deficiency in the amount of time spent handcuffing and searching human subjects. For example, RTN 669 wanted to be involved in, “More searches, non compliant, standing handcuffing. More SIM scenarios.”

Recruits provided a mixed response to the Physical Training program. Almost half of the respondents indicated more time should be devoted to physical training – especially strength training. Recruit RTN 483 wanted, “More opportunity to increase

strength. Leave more cardio for individuals.” Respondent RTN 661 stated the training was, “Significantly different [from expectations] – I thought there would be more of an assortment of physical training programs, with flexibility, strength training, etc., in addition to running.” Recruit RTN 424 provided the harshest criticism of the program. “[Physical Training] failed to meet expectations. Stop catering to whiners, we’re cops, suck it up already.”

Drill classes also received mixed reviews. Those stating that it failed to meet expectations wanted more time devoted to drill, and believed it should be run in a stricter military fashion. Other recruits found that the classes exceeded expectations in relation to the camaraderie they created. For example, recruit RTN 606 stated, “Drill class exceeded my personal expectations as it was a class which really helped develop our class unity.”

Firearms’ training was generally well received; most of the recruits stated that it had met their expectations. However, a number of recruits wanted more time to shoot their service pistols; they especially desired increased free practice time. Other issues pertained to complaints about the static nature of firing ranges. Recruit RTN 543 was concerned with, “Lack of training in shooting in a dynamic situation, i.e. moving targets, etc.”

Most of the comments regarding Investigation & Patrol indicated personal expectations were met or exceeded. However, there were a number of recruits who stated that more practical training with police radios should have occurred in Block I, and felt ill- prepared to use the radio when they began their Block II field-training. Respondents also felt it necessary to have more simulation exercises and practical scenarios. Recruit

RTN 430 reflected this view: “Met expectations, however would like to see less theory and more practical application.”

Recruits felt that the Legal Studies training exceeded, and even far exceeded, most of their expectations. Many expected the material and instruction to be dry and boring and were pleasantly surprised when neither transpired. RTN 509 wrote, “Legal studies was far more fascinating than I ever thought they would be.” The recruits were most impressed with the two Legal instructors. Recruit RTN 418 stated, “Personal investment of instructors in program exceeded expectations.” Another recruit wrote, “The instructors made class fun. They were easy to approach with questions you had and were very patient. Awesome learning environment” (RTN 696). This suggests that the academy experience, and, perhaps, the extent to which academy instruction “imprints” on the police recruits, may be a function of the specific instructors in the academy; this is an area that should be explored by future research.

In contrast to the other disciplines, only eight recruits commented that Professional Patrol Tactics (PPT) met their expectations. None stated that it had exceeded their expectations, and the remaining either did not comment or stated that it failed to meet their expectations. Most of the complaints were directed toward diversity training. For example, recruit RTN 421 wrote, “Diversity could be shortened. [Allowing] more time for interviews and more practical scenarios.” Recruit RTN 430 also argued, “PPT failed to meet expectations. The majority of the material was impractical and useless. Most of the time wasted in PPT could be used to teach lessons of value in other subjects.” One officer went so far as to state that, “Diversity and Harassment is a complete waste of time” (RTN 439).

External subject matter experts provide most of the material covered in PPT training during Block III. Some of the recruits questioned their purpose. For example, recruit RTN 581 stated, “Guest speakers tended to grandstand; did they come to teach us or stroke their own egos?” Previous studies of police training have also found that recruits hold negative opinions of certain types of instruction and instructors. For example, Chan (2003: 306) and Ford (2003: 88) found that police recruits often expressed contemptuous attitudes toward external non-police instructors and diversity and harassment training; often believing the material is irrelevant to police work.

The majority of the respondents indicated that Traffic Studies training met their expectations, with few indicating it either exceeded or failed to meet expectations. Most recruits viewed Traffic Studies as straightforward and useful material. For example, recruit RTN 430 wrote, “Traffic studies met my expectations. The instruction was excellent and the material was incredibly valuable. It took some time on the road in Block II for me to see that.”

While Traffic Studies seemed to meet recruit expectations, a significant number of recruits were disappointed with the Driver Training program. Many wanted increased driving practice, especially in an off-track environment. The statement by recruit RTN 418 was typical: “Lack of police vehicles and limited Code 3 driving did not meet my expectations, not enough multi-tasking, unrealistic facility.”

The Police Academy training program is oriented toward a post-secondary educational model emphasizing competency-based training through a combination of written and simulation-based assessments. Consequently, dress and deportment are given lower priority than in some other Canadian police academies. For example, at the

Atlantic Police Academy, recruits are required to walk in formation between classes and adhere to higher department standards. Some recruits indicated that they had expected higher standards of dress and deportment. Other recruits commented that scheduling issues had failed to meet their expectations. For example, a significant number of hours dedicated to Arrest & Control training were scheduled during a one-week period. This type of training is physically demanding; recruits complained that by the end of that week, they had sustained soreness and injury. However, most recruits felt positive about the training. For instance, recruit RTN 546 wrote, “The overall training program exceeded my expectations, although there are places for improvement. I feel well trained and ready for the road.” Another recruit’s comments summarized their opinions collectively, “I believe Block I and III covered everything that I need to know to start my career” (RTN 697).

Summary of Findings

This chapter has presented the findings from the quantitative and qualitative analyses conducted for the study. The amount of data collected is considerable: each recruit completed two questionnaires and responded to a total of more than 350 statement items and questions relating to their attitudes and perceptions of police officers, police work, and training. SPSS analytical techniques identified several differences in pre-training perceptions, and, as well, a number of statistically significant changes in the perceptions and expectations of police recruits during the academy training. However, the changes that did occur were nearly always in the same direction across the entire recruit population. A summary of the findings is presented below and the implications of the findings are discussed in Chapter Six.

First, although the police recruit population in this study was more diverse in terms of gender, education, and race than that which was found in early studies of police socialization (i.e. Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1973), the majority of recruits in this study began their careers with similar perceptions and expectations about the nature and functions of police work, perceptions of police officers, and career orientations. There were no statistically significant differences in pre-training perceptions of policing based on the age, education, marital status, or previous military experience and few differences in perceptions were attributable to gender, race, or having family members in policing.

Second, prior to training, non-Caucasian recruits perceived police officers to be more racially prejudiced than did the Caucasian recruits. However at the end of training, Caucasian recruits perceived police officers to be more racially prejudiced than they had initially, and non-Caucasian recruits perceived police officers to be less racially prejudiced than they had initially.

Third, police cynicism scale scores increased significantly during the study. Recruits expressed increasingly negative views of the criminal justice system; however, their perceptions of the public became more positive. Recruits also disagreed more strongly that they have to break the rules to do their jobs effectively.

Fourth, over the period of training, a number of items related to police perceptions and career orientations changed significantly. Recruits assigned a higher level of importance to apprehending criminals and utilizing and developing special skills than they had initially, but felt it was less important to improve society or to be concerned with the police reputation and the public's respect of policing. Female recruits also perceived that there were fewer opportunities for career advancement. In addition, the

recruit population's perception that the primary function of policing is to serve the public decreased significantly.

Fifth, the majority of respondents indicated they had changed personally in some way as a result of the Police Academy training experience. Many indicated positive changes such as increased confidence, assertiveness, strength, open-mindedness, and awareness of their surroundings. However, a few recruits viewed themselves as having become less patient, and as being less able to "make a difference."

Finally, most recruits indicated that the Police Academy training program had met their initial expectations. Recruits wanted more dynamic training in a number of specific areas, but expressed a high overall level of satisfaction with the training curriculum.

CHAPTER SIX – DISCUSSION

The present study was designed to assess the impact of the Police Academy training experience on the perceptions, attitudes, and career orientations of recruit police officers in British Columbia. To accomplish this, three recruit classes from the JIBC Police Academy participated in a two-part longitudinal study. In general, the findings indicate police recruit attitudes and perceptions of policing were homogenous prior to training. More importantly, after eight months of training these attitudes and perceptions continued to remain relatively stable. In those instances in which recruits' attitudes did change, these changes were generally in a uniform direction.

This chapter begins by examining these findings in relation to this study's theoretical framework of police recruit socialization described in Chapter Four. First, the findings support Chan's (2003, 21-38) assertion that recruit socialization occurs as recruits develop and acquire knowledge and perspective as posited by the sociodynamic, *learning*, and *leadership* theories. Aspects of all three theories were evident during the study. One of the elements of *sociodynamic theory* is the need to be included and accepted by the group. This perspective was apparent when all 90 recruits "volunteered" to being subjected to the painful experience of exposure to OC spray⁸. Components of *learning theory* include "anxiety avoidance" and "group problem solving" learning. The

⁸ The OC spray training has since been suspended pending an investigation by the Workers' Compensation Board. However, none of the respondents completing the surveys complained of its use or indicated it should be decreased or removed from the training curriculum.

ritual Friday morning inspections provided clear examples of this. Recruits quickly learned to avoid collective physical disciplinary measures by ensuring that not only were their own boots polished and uniforms cleaned and pressed, but also those of their fellow classmates.

Some of the changes in recruit perceptions provided indications that *leadership theory* played a significant role in the acquisition of information and attitudes. For example, recruits developed increasingly negative perceptions of the court process, even though it is believed none had the opportunity to testify in court prior to completion of training. Therefore, senior officers, FTOs, and instructors – through the telling of “war stories” – embedded this perception in the minds of recruits.

Second, the findings support the assertion of Ford (2003), and Shearing and Ericson (1991) that socialization occurs by learning ready-made scripts of how to act in certain situations. At the end of the academy training, the recruits in the sample stated that they felt “prepared” to work in the streets and that simulation-based training was the best tool for learning. In fact, the recruits expressed the view that even more academy time be devoted to dynamic simulation training.

Finally, the results of the research provided only partial support the hypothesis that non-linear socialization of recruits can be understood through Bourdieu and Wacquant’s (1992) *relational theory*. According to this perspective, recruit socialization is the interaction of previously held attitudes and dispositions about the nature of policing with the social and structural field of a police organization. That is, since recruit cohorts possessed various occupational backgrounds, life experiences, and were more demographically diverse than historical recruit populations, it was expected that these

differences would create a wide range of opinions on the first day of training. It was believed further that these opinions would then be moulded within the context of the organizational structure of training. Moreover, since recruits received their field-training with their home department, while working in a variety of areas and with different FTOs, it was anticipated that changes in perceptions would occur on an individual level and not be broadly based. However, the majority of the findings in the present study do not support this theoretical position. First, although the recruits in the sample came from a variety of backgrounds and were diverse in terms of age, education, and gender, the recruits responded – with the exception of participants possessing previous police experience – in the same way to many of the attitudinal assessments. Second, although the recruits had previously worked in a variety of occupational settings and had unique experiences during Block II, the perceptions of the population changed significantly in only 12 of the 67 attitudinal items and there were no significant changes in recruit perceptions that were attributable to assigned police department.

However, some of the individual changes in perceptions did support elements of the *relational theory* perspective. For example, female recruits saw fewer opportunities for promotion than originally perceived, and recruits with less than a university degree found policing to be not as challenging as they had once thought, while recruits possessing a degree or higher found policing to be more challenging. However, these findings were the exception, and when recruits did change their attitudes and perceptions, these changes were usually of a collective nature.

The Findings and the Research Literature

The results of this study both support and challenge previous research surrounding police recruit socialization. First, the similarity of opinions and attitudes expressed initially by JIBC Police Academy recruits supports the position of Buerger (1998) and Haarr (2001: 427) that police recruits possess well-developed attitudes and perceptions about policing by the time they arrive at the police academy to begin training. In addition, the fact that these perceptions changed only to a slight degree after eight months of training supports Chan's (2003: 303) assertion that most police officers are not naïve about the nature of police work and have from the beginning fairly realistic perceptions of the occupation.

Second, although the statistical analysis indicated few significant attitudinal changes occurred, by their own admission, most recruits acknowledged that several of their perceptions of policing and career orientations had transformed as a result of the Police Academy training experience. This supports the findings of previous research (Chan, 2003; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Ford, 2003; Haarr, 2001; Obst & Davey, 2002; Sato, 2003) that the attitudes police officers hold towards various facets of policing change during academy training as a result of occupational socialization. The findings also support the assertion that newcomers to any organization attempt to conform as early as possible by adjusting their views and behaviours in order to meet new expectations (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Bauer & Green, 1998; Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002). Furthermore, the findings are supportive of the assertion by Cooper-Thomas and Anderson (2002: 431) that academy training plays a mediating role in affecting socialization outcomes. For example, whereas there were differences among the recruits

with respect to their perceptions of police racism and occupational challenges at the outset of training, after eight months of training these differences reversed, to the point where various groups now shared the same views. This finding supports Buckley and Petrunik's (1995: 112) assessment that training, "may serve to alter one's perspective in order to bring it into line with that shared by the same group."

Third, the findings also support Buckley and Petrunik's (1995) conclusion that, upon completion of training, the support recruits initially demonstrate for a career directed toward improving society begins to wane. Several recruits admitted that, after training, they realized they would not be able to "make a difference" to the extent they thought originally. Alternatively, the findings do not support Buckley and Petrunik's (1995) conclusion that new career orientations will transform from a law enforcement mentality to one concerned with maintaining self-interest. In this study, the recruits placed an even higher level of importance on apprehending criminals than they had initially. However, Buckley and Petrunik (1995) did not explore when these changes in perceptions occurred, only acknowledging that they had changed from their original views.

Fourth, the findings of the study did not support Ellis, *et al.* (1991) with respect to the socialization factors of Canadian police recruits. Their research had found recruit's opinions, progressively, did not support the belief that the police should be responsive to political forces in the community. The current findings indicate that no significant differences in recruit responses to this view occur during training. Furthermore, this study reached the opposite conclusion of Ellis, *et al.* (1991) who found that after training, police recruits more strongly agreed with the statement that sometimes police have to

break a policy in order to do their jobs effectively. In other words, in the current study, the police recruits maintained a stronger ethical position than they had taken initially.

Finally, the findings of this study were mixed when compared with Chan's (2003) analysis of Australian police officers. For example, both studies found through recruit self-evaluation that approximately half of the respondents noticed positive personal changes in their attitudes and increased confidence upon completion of training (p. 202). Recruits from both studies indicated they were also unprepared for the large amount of paperwork that was required of them, and they resented diversity training (p. 306). However, Chan's (2003: 206) conclusions that recruits held increasingly negative views toward both their jobs and citizens were not evident in the current analysis. Instead, this study found recruits perceive a significant increase in the amount of respect citizens give police and indicated a high level of job satisfaction. Furthermore, this research did not find that recruits believed they were leaving the academy "ill-prepared" for the realities of policing (p. 303). Again, the consensus from recruits in this study was that they were well prepared and demonstrated a desire to see only a few changes in the training curriculum. Differences in these perceptions might be attributable to the specific nature of training that occurs between academies.

Implications for Recruiting & Training

Police agencies spend considerable resources recruiting, screening, and training police officers with the objective that the individuals they hire will become valuable employees, committed to the goals of the organization. However, predicting future behaviour is a difficult task. Recruiters often turn to personality attributes to assist in their predictions. Generally, police agencies prefer candidates who can demonstrate they

are reliable, honest, patient, and emotionally stable (Hogue, *et al.*, 1994). However, even the successful identification of these basic characteristics does not necessarily indicate an individual's future performance. As a result, recruiters have looked to other gauges of reliability, such as age and education.

Research into police recruiting practices shows a trend by police agencies to seek prospective employees that are more mature and possess higher levels of post-secondary education (Decker & Huckabee, 2002). Furthermore, there appears to be a desire to hire employees with previous police experience or those with policing backgrounds in their immediate families. The demographical composition of recruits in the current analysis appears to support these assertions: 44% were 30 years of age or older; 83% were 25 years or older; 41% of recruits had completed a four-year university degree or higher; 10% had previous police experience; and 21% had family members who were police officers.

The conventional wisdom behind hiring older recruits is the belief that, with age, comes maturity and life experience, thus making for better police officers. For example, Ellis, *et al.* (1991: 112) found that senior officers and FTOs believed that recruits possessing the most "life experience" would make successful transitions from recruit to competent street-level police officers. However these opinions were without empirical validation, and as Decker and Huckabee (2002: 795) concluded, the common assumption that older recruits make better police officers has been based primarily on "intuition" and not grounded in research.

Similarly, research results relating to whether recruits who possess higher levels of education make better police officers are varied. Some research indicates that officers

who are highly educated become less satisfied with their careers the longer they remain in patrol functions (Dantzker, 1992), while other studies suggest that recruits having college degrees demonstrated better work performance and ethical behaviour than those who are less educated (Tyre & Braunstein, 1992).

The belief that having police members in the family background creates a higher probability of recruit success is another perception that appears to be based more on “common sense” than quantitative data. For instance, Chan (2003: 206) discovered no statistical difference in recruits’ increasingly negative occupational views irrespective of age, gender, ethnicity, or having family members in policing.

The findings of this study are not intended to show whether recruits that are older, better educated, or have family members in policing make better police officers. Rather, the purpose was to determine whether significant differences in perceptions between these groups and the entire recruit population existed, and whether changes in perceptions among these groups are significant. It is believed that substantial differences or changes in perceptions during training serve as a “red flag,” indicating that a recruit’s initial occupational perceptions were not realistic. Haarr (2005) found that one of the key reasons recruits and junior officers “drop out” of policing is because of unmet or unrealistic career perceptions and expectations. Furthermore, theories relating to police cynicism and a negative police culture also focus on unmet career expectations (Niederhoffer, 1967; Van Maanen, 1973). However, the current analysis revealed only slight differences in initial perceptions of policing and few changes in perceptions between groups. The only noteworthy differences that were consistently demonstrated were from police recruits with previous police experience. In other words, the interactive

effects upon recruit attitudes, perceptions, and expectations, of age, education, or having police in the family are negligible. Therefore, since the majority of recruits displayed realistic expectations of training and police work regardless of demographic differences, the implications of this research are that it may not be necessary for recruiters to place such a heavy emphasis on searching for prospective employees possessing these background attributes.

The relative homogeneity of initial recruit perceptions and the fact that these views change very little during training reveals that recruits possess realistic career expectations prior to arrival at the Police Academy. This demonstrates that recruiting officers are ensuring that successful applicants have a very good understanding of the nature of police work. If recruiting staff did not enforce this aspect in their rigid selection criteria then the Police Academy would undoubtedly see higher rates of recruits “dropping out.”

Regardless of the recruiting staff’s level of commitment, the study does reveal a few areas where recruiters and trainers could do more to ensure that some of the realities of policing are better known. For example, more females might be interested in pursuing a career in policing if they were made aware that most female police officers do not view the job to be as challenging as they initially feared. Police agencies also need to explore further the reasons why female recruits do not believe there will be as many opportunities for career advancement as they originally thought. In addition, although many applicants state that they would like to enter a career in policing because they “want to make a difference,” they should be aware that this is not a goal that is easily accomplished. This

was perhaps the single biggest attitudinal change that occurred during training; fortunately, this change in expectations did not manifest itself in high drop out rates.

The findings also reveal recruiting and training discrepancies between the JIBC Police Academy and other police training centres. It should be of great interest to trainers from other jurisdictions that only five percent of the JIBC recruits fail to complete training, whereas other police agencies have up to 20% of their recruits and new officers leave policing within the first year (Haarr, 2005). Moreover, negative comments commonly associated with other police academy programs were generally not present at the JIBC. Chan (2003: 304) stated recruits left the academy in Australia feeling ill-prepared, complaining there was a “reality gap between the real world of policing and the knowledge and skills they acquired at the police academy.” Conversely, JIBC recruits indicated they were well-prepared to meet the challenges ahead. Although a comparative analysis of various police academies’ training curricula is beyond the scope of this study, the prominent emphasis on simulation and competency-based training at the JIBC may account for higher levels of satisfaction with the training program. Cooper-Thomas and Anderson (2002: 434) corroborate this claim by suggesting there is a direct correlation between positive attitudes and intense reality-based training: “We would suggest that it is the explicit focus on teaching recruits the necessary skills, and providing rapid feedback on both good and poor performance, that leads to more rapid attainment of positive attitudinal outcomes.”

One of the criticisms of the training program offered by the recruits in the present study was the instruction they received in harassment and diversity training. Chan (2003) and Ford (2003) have found that recruits from other academies have a dislike for this

training, and similar to the JIBC, non-police experts in the community facilitated this training as well. It appears to be more than a coincidence that the type of training that is negatively received by police officers, is also the material facilitated by non-police personnel. Police recruits must find training material to be both credible and relevant before it is accepted. When civilians are responsible for delivery of training, recruits often see it as irrelevant because there is no experienced police authority bridging the gap between concept and reality; demonstrating its relevancy in day-to-day police operations through “real life” examples.

Part of the problem associated with this training is the fact it is highly politicized. The community wants assurance that police officers receive proper training in diversity relations, and be satisfied that police officers will be sensitive to the needs of diverse cultures and groups within the community. Likewise, employers want to be confident that recruits have received proper training in workplace harassment in order to ensure that all employees feel that they work in a safe and harassment-free environment. Therefore, there are organizational and community stakeholders that view the delivery of this material as essential. It is the assertion of this researcher that recruits will only have a greater acceptance of this training if it is co-facilitated by a community expert (for credibility) and a trained police instructor (for relevancy). Otherwise, recruits will continue to dismiss the training the moment the “community expert” walks into the classroom, and the police instructor walks out the door.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study supports the conclusions of previous research (Chan, 2003; Ellis, *et al.*, 1991; Haarr, 2001) that police recruits indicated a slightly, but statistically significant, higher level of cynicism post-training than they had at their point of entry into the academy. However, the definition of police cynicism is not always clear. For this study, the design of the cynicism scale was based upon a previous scale by Regoli, *et al.* (1990) and tested successfully for a positive correlation. These eight items are listed individually in Table 12 in Chapter Five. Three of the items assess perceptions of criminal legislation, three gauge perceptions of the public, one evaluates perceptions of administrative court processes, and one item relates to police courtroom testimony. Findings of this study demonstrate that in two of the three items relating to police officer views of the public, recruits' perceptions actually improved slightly, and perceptions remained virtually unchanged for the third item. Two of the scale items relating to criminal legislation also did not change significantly. Therefore, while the findings suggest an overall increase in levels of police cynicism, the actual increases in negative perceptions were in relation to the criminal justice system only. If the scale items were not evaluated individually, erroneous generalizations would have been made of recruit perceptions.

Furthermore, some of the cynicism scale items may not actually measure cynicism. For example, one of the original scale items states, "If the police believe it necessary, arrested persons should be held in jail until their trial." When police arrest a person suspected of a criminal offence, police officers are provided with an opportunity to request or recommend that "bail" be denied if they believe that "public interest" is not

satisfied. That is, if the identity of the suspect is not established, or police have concerns regarding the possible destruction of evidence, continuation of the offence, or failure to appear in court, police may request that Crown counsel seek a detention order. It is unlikely that prior to training many of the police recruits would have known of this obligation and therefore respondents would be more likely to agree with the statement in a post-training survey.

Similarly, the term “cynical” may not accurately describe the changes in perceptions indicated by recruits. Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary (2006) describes a cynical person as, “contemptuously distrustful of human nature and motives.” Although many recruits indicated an increasingly negative view of the criminal justice system at the end of training, they also claimed to possess a more realistic view of the system. That is, rather than becoming more cynical, perhaps recruits simply abandoned their initial idealistic perceptions in favour of a more realistic view of the criminal justice system. Fielding and Fielding (1989: 42) support this position, finding that “recruits saw their police career as a movement towards a more realistic appreciation of criminal justice. They saw themselves moving towards a sophisticated understanding that was denied the general public.” While this study does appear to support previous research that recruit perceptions become more cynical during training, future research needs to ensure that police cynicism scales actually measure the implied attitudinal items. They also need to make certain that over-generalizations do not occur.

A review of research on police socialization reveals other areas where assumptions have been made about the nature of police perceptions. These have been based on problematic questions found in survey questionnaires. For example, Ellis, *et al.*

(1991: 101) concluded that trained police recruits indicated a dramatic shift away from a community service orientation because they felt less strongly than at the commencement of their careers that the police should be responsive to political forces in the community. However, as indicated earlier, being swayed by political influence may actually be interpreted as unethical and demonstrative of a lack of police professionalism (Vollmer, 1971).

In another example, Paoline III (2004: 233) also concluded that trained police officers are less interested in “community policing” than junior officers. The attitudinal scale indicating support of community policing was based on the following three questions:

(1) How often do you think that patrol officers should be expected to do something about nuisance businesses? (2) How often do you think that patrol officers should be expected to do something about parents who don't control their kids? (3) How often do you think that patrol officers should be expected to do something about litter and trash? (p. 233).

However, community policing is often defined as focusing on, “crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem-solving, community engagement, and partnerships” (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2006). Using this definition, it is highly questionable whether the statements of Paoline III (2004) address police perceptions of community policing because few police officers would connect the second and third statements to community policing. First, police officers do not possess the legal authority to enforce a change in the behaviour of negligent or irresponsible parents, as much as they might like to. Second, “litter and trash” are not common associations with social disorder policing (public drunkenness, aggressive panhandling, highly visible illicit drug

activity, and graffiti are). Uncaring parents and litter are, at best, tenuous connections to community policing. Therefore, it is not surprising that trained police officers would indicate a low score for these attitudinal items. While some police officers do possess negative attitudes towards aspects of the criminal justice system and perhaps models of policing, it appears that on occasion conclusions are made without properly assessing the precise nature of the survey questions being asked.

Finally, it is recommended that future follow-up surveys be conducted involving these same recruits. At the conclusion of this study, recruits had limited exposure to the organizational environment of their police agencies. It is expected that as these new officers become settled in their careers, attitudes, perceptions and orientations will continue to evolve and change direction. From a research perspective, it is important to determine the nature of those influences, when they occur, and whether they will affect police behaviour.

Police Academy Curriculum Changes

As a direct result of the feedback provided by recruits in their evaluations of the Police Academy training program, several new training initiatives have commenced:

1. More searches of suspects and vehicles have been implemented in Arrest & Control, Investigation & Patrol and the Driver Training programs;
2. More police radio exposure and usage occurs during Block I training;
3. Block III firearms training has been amended to move from a static environment to more dynamic training situations; and

4. The training syllabus has been changed, in an attempt to reduce recruit complaints of muscle fatigue and injury, by distributing the rigorous physical training periods over the entire training program.

Conclusion

Four questions guided the design of this study: (1) What are the occupational attitudes, perceptions, and career orientations of newly hired police recruits? (2) Do these attitudes and perceptions change over the course of their training? (3) Does cynicism toward the public and criminal justice system increase as recruits complete the training regimen? (4) Do demographical differences, such as age, education, and previous life experiences affect career expectations?

This longitudinal study involving police recruits from the JIBC Police Academy has attempted to address these questions. Prior to training, recruits indicated their perceptions of the nature of police work and police officers, their perceived priorities of police functions, and the attributes associated with career orientations that they view as most important. Eight months later, recruits once again answered the same questions. Statistical analysis revealed that prior to training, recruits possessed surprisingly similar views of the various aspects of police work. Recruits perceived policing to be a challenging and dangerous job, with their primary function to serve the public. They believed that police officers are loyal to each other, trustworthy, and honest. Recruits stated the most important police functions are apprehending criminals, responding to life threatening situations, and enforcing criminal and other federal laws. Recruits indicated that the most important attractions to a policing career were apprehending criminals, helping others, and an attraction to the excitement of the job.

The most significant finding of this study was that recruit perceptions had changed by only a slight margin after eight months of training. Recruits demonstrated they possess realistic expectations of policing and are aware of the opportunities and challenges that lay ahead. The one notable exception was that post-training, recruits placed less emphasis on improving society, realizing that they were probably less able to “make a difference” than initially believed. This is quite significant, given that the recruits are all trained in one place, but go to different organizational environments and cultures during Block II.

The findings only partially support the prior research on police cynicism. The results of the study confirmed that recruits possess a progressively negative view of the criminal justice system; however, it may be argued that rather than being cynical, this change in perceptions is a transformation from an idealistic to realistic view. Furthermore, the study did not support other research that indicates recruit perceptions of the public become increasingly negative.

Finally, there were few differences in the initial perceptions of recruits based on age, gender, race, education, or previous life experiences, and few areas where these demographic variables influenced changes in attitudes and perceptions during training. Recruits graduated from the JIBC Police Academy with positive evaluations of training, indicating they felt well-prepared to start their new careers. Opportunities for future research involve more detailed comparative analysis of other police academy training programs so that police trainers can be provided with the knowledge required to deliver the most professional, comprehensive, and realistic training, ensuring that recruits are best prepared to face the challenges of their new career.

Appendix: A

Pre-Training Questionnaire

Simon Fraser University Information Sheet for Participants

This survey is a component of a Simon Fraser University School of Criminology graduate research project. We are seeking your participation in this survey for two reasons. First, to examine potential shifts in your perceptions, attitudes, and career orientations that may occur during the nine-month training program at the JIBC Police Academy. Second, to obtain your opinions regarding various components of the entire recruit-training program. In order to accomplish this, we are asking that you complete a survey at the beginning of your Block I training and a second at the completion of Block III.

The first survey will gather demographic information about you, followed by various questions pertaining to your current views about law enforcement, life satisfaction, career orientations and your expectations. The second survey will ask similar questions and will also ask for your opinion of the entire Block I-III training program. Your input will then be compared with the provided demographic information and evaluated against previous research in the field. The goal is to use the knowledge gained from this research to further improve police recruiting and training standards.

Your participation in this questionnaire is completely voluntary and you may stop at any time. If you decide to decline participation in this research, it will in no way negatively affect your performance evaluations at the Police Academy. Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Materials will be maintained in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the study. The research is interested in aggregate responses; individual data will not be identifiable in any published findings.

Each survey has been assigned a Random Tracking Number. The purpose of this number is to track individual responses between the first and second survey, without revealing your identity. Please detach this sheet and keep this number confidential and in a secure location, so that you can write it down later on the second survey.

Your Random Tracking Number is:

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Please advise the person administering the questionnaire for clarification of any questions that you do not understand.

The questionnaire should take approximately 25 minutes to complete.

Thank you for your participation.

Simon Fraser University

Informed Consent Form for Participation

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND CAREER ORIENTATIONS OF RECRUIT POLICE OFFICERS

Simon Fraser University and those conducting this survey subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort and safety of participants. The *Information Sheet for Participants* together with this form and the information they contain are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures, risks and benefits of the research. Your signature on this form will indicate that you have received the *Information Sheet for Participants*, that you have had an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the research project.

Having been asked by the principal researcher or designate from the School of Criminology of Simon Fraser University to participate in their research, I have read the procedures specified in the *Information Sheet for Participants*.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I may withdraw my participation in this research at any time. If I decide to decline participation in this research, it will in no way negatively affect my performance evaluations at the Police Academy.

I have been informed that the research material will be held in confidence by the principal researcher and will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study.

Do you have any questions?

Can you please sign this form to indicate your agreement to participate?

I agree to participate in this research project.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

**PLEASE DETACH THIS FORM ONCE
IT IS SIGNED**

Random Tracking Number

Police Recruit Survey

DEMOGRAPHICS

In order to make statistical comparisons among the various groups of individuals completing this survey, we would like to ask you some general questions about yourself. This data will not be used to identify you.

1. How old are you?

19-24	<input type="checkbox"/>
25-29	<input type="checkbox"/>
30-34	<input type="checkbox"/>
35-39	<input type="checkbox"/>
40 +	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. What is your gender?

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. What is your racial origin?

Asian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black	<input type="checkbox"/>
Caucasian	<input type="checkbox"/>
First Nations	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indo-Canadian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle Eastern	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. What is your marital status?

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>
Common law / long-term partner	<input type="checkbox"/>
Separated /divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married	<input type="checkbox"/>
Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

High school / GED	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate / diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>
University graduation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Post-graduate degree	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Have you previously been employed by any government military?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Have you previously been employed as a police officer?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Do you have an immediate family member who is, or was, a police officer?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Current Police Organization.

Abbotsford PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central Saanich PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Delta PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Greater Vancouver Transit Police	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nelson PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Westminister PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oak Bay PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Port Moody PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saanich PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tribal Police	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vancouver PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Victoria PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
West Vancouver PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (Specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

Life Satisfaction

We are interested in your current level of life-satisfaction. Please circle the number that best reflects your feelings about each question.

	Delighted	Pleased	Mixed	Unhappy	Terrible
10. How do you feel about the amount of fun and enjoyment you have?	1	2	3	4	5
11. How do you feel about your own overall health?	1	2	3	4	5
12. How do you feel about relations with your family?	1	2	3	4	5
13. How do you feel about your personal life?	1	2	3	4	5
14. In general, how do you feel about your quality of life?	1	2	3	4	5

Law Enforcement Perceptions

We would like you to describe your current perceptions of law enforcement as an occupation. Please circle the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
15. Police work is well paid compared to other jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Police work is more challenging than other jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Police work, in general, does not require a great deal of post-secondary education.	1	2	3	4	5
18. In general, police work is more dangerous than other types of work.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Police work offers more opportunity for advancement than other types of work.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Police work is more personally satisfying than other kinds of jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
21. In general, society gives police officers the respect they deserve.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
22. Any average person, given the proper training, can become a good police officer.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I would be pleased for my child to go into law enforcement as a lifetime career.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Police officers are more honest than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Police officers tend to be more intelligent than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
26. Police officers tend to be more loyal to each other than persons in other professions.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Police officers tend to be more racially prejudiced than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
28. New reforms are weakening the traditional authority of the police officer.	1	2	3	4	5
29. Offenders now have so many rights that it is almost impossible to maintain law and order.	1	2	3	4	5
30. If the police believe it is necessary, arrested persons should be held in jail until their trial.	1	2	3	4	5
31. The Charter of Rights is so constraining that many criminals get off on a technicality.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Many citizens have a bad attitude toward police officers.	1	2	3	4	5
33. In the past few years, the respect shown officers by citizens has decreased.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Citizens in recent years seem to have more defiant attitudes than ever before.	1	2	3	4	5
35. When testifying in court, the police officer is often treated as a criminal.	1	2	3	4	5
36. A police department has to be responsive to political forces in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Police officers often find they have to break an order, policy, or regulation to do their job effectively.	1	2	3	4	5
38. In general, the public believes that police officers are trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5
39. The media is far too critical of the police	1	2	3	4	5
40. The primary function of policing is to serve the public	1	2	3	4	5

Police Function

We would like you to describe the level of importance that you would currently assign to each of the following police functions. Please indicate how strongly you feel the level of importance is for each function. Circle from 1 (Not Important) to 5 (Extremely Important) for each function.

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
41. Enforce Criminal and other Federal Laws.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Enforce Provincial Legislation (e.g. Liquor & Motor Vehicle Acts)	1	2	3	4	5
43. Enforce Municipal Bylaws	1	2	3	4	5
44. Prevent Crime	1	2	3	4	5
45. Respond to Life-Threatening Situations (e.g. fires & accidents)	1	2	3	4	5
46. Protect Individual Rights and Freedoms	1	2	3	4	5
47. Assist Emergency Social Services	1	2	3	4	5
48. Maintain Order	1	2	3	4	5
49. Keep the Peace	1	2	3	4	5
50. Issue Licences and Permits (e.g. Firearms Licenses)	1	2	3	4	5
51. Resolve Neighbourhood and Family Disputes and Conflicts	1	2	3	4	5
52. Provide Assistance to Victims	1	2	3	4	5
53. Apprehend Criminals	1	2	3	4	5
54. Ensure the Safe Flow of Traffic	1	2	3	4	5
55. Other (Please Specify)	1	2	3	4	5

Career Orientations and Expectations

In the final series of questions, we would like to know what your reasons were for becoming a police officer. Please indicate how strongly you feel the level of importance is for each reason. Circle from 1 (Not Important) to 5 (Extremely Important) for each statement

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
56. Opportunity to Help Others	1	2	3	4	5
57. Apprehend Criminals	1	2	3	4	5
58. Enforce Laws / Regulations	1	2	3	4	5
59. Utilize or Develop Special Skills	1	2	3	4	5
60. Financial Security / Salary	1	2	3	4	5
61. Opportunity for Promotion / Advancement	1	2	3	4	5
62. Opportunity to Demonstrate Leadership	1	2	3	4	5
63. Opportunity for Social Interaction	1	2	3	4	5
64. Recognition	1	2	3	4	5
65. Opportunity to Improve Society	1	2	3	4	5
66. Reputation of Police / Respect	1	2	3	4	5
67. Attracted to Excitement of Job	1	2	3	4	5
68. Attracted to Dangerousness of Job	1	2	3	4	5
69. Amount of Time Off	1	2	3	4	5
70. Ability to Maintain a Personal Life Outside of Work	1	2	3	4	5
71. Professional Career	1	2	3	4	5
72. Opportunity to Wear a Uniform	1	2	3	4	5
73. Opportunity to Carry a Firearm	1	2	3	4	5
74. Influence of Family & Friends	1	2	3	4	5
75. Influence of Media / Movies	1	2	3	4	5
76. Events that Occurred in My Life (Please Explain)	1	2	3	4	5
<hr/>					
77. Other (Please Explain)	1	2	3	4	5

You have now reached the end of the questionnaire. Please write any final comments that you would like to add regarding any aspect of this survey.

Thank you very much for your participation on this questionnaire

If you have any concerns regarding this research study or the procedures followed, please detach these last two pages of this questionnaire and complete at your earliest convenience.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University by email at hweinber@sfu.ca, or phone at 604-268-6593.

If you have any further comments or would like to be informed as to the results of this study, please contact the Principal Investigator

Participant Feedback

Completion of the following form is OPTIONAL, and is not a requirement of participation in the study. However, if you have served as a participant in a project and would care to comment on the procedures involved, you may complete the following form and send it to the Director, Office of Research Ethics, Strand Hall, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C., V5A 1S6, Canada. All information received will be strictly anonymous, unless you wish your name to be made known to the researcher, as shown below

Completion of the Information Below is Optional

Participant Last Name

First Name

Participant Contact Information/Address

Home telephone

Work telephone

Email

Do you wish your feedback to be anonymous?

Yes

No

APPENDIX: B

Post Training Questionnaire

Simon Fraser University

Information Sheet for Participants

This follow-up survey is the second component of a Simon Fraser University School of Criminology graduate research project that examines your perceptions, attitudes, and career expectations toward policing.

In this questionnaire we will compare your current responses to those that you provided at the beginning of your training. In order to accomplish this, please indicate in the top right-hand corner of the following page the Random Tracking Number that was provided to you on the initial survey. If you cannot locate or recall this number, please leave it blank and complete Section A: Demographics. Attempts will be made to link the two surveys based on your demographical information.

Furthermore, if any of your demographical information has changed during your training, for example, marital status, please also complete Section A: Demographics.

This survey also asks for your opinion and evaluation of the Block I & III recruit-training program. Please provide as much detail as you can of your assessment of the Police Academy training program.

The information that you provide will be kept anonymous and confidential. The results will be used to gain an understanding of police recruit officer perceptions and attitudes towards their new careers and to further improve police recruiting and training standards.

Please advise the person administering the questionnaire for clarification of any questions that you do not understand.

The questionnaire should take approximately 40 minutes to complete.

Thank you for your continued participation in this research project.

Random Tracking Number

Police Recruit Survey: Part II

Section A: Demographics

If you cannot locate or do not recall your Random Tracking Number please complete this section. If any of your demographical information has changed over the course of your training, please complete this section. Otherwise, please start at Section B: Life Satisfaction

1. How old are you?

19-24	<input type="checkbox"/>
25-29	<input type="checkbox"/>
30-34	<input type="checkbox"/>
35-39	<input type="checkbox"/>
40 +	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. What is your gender?

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. What is your racial origin?

Asian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black	<input type="checkbox"/>
Caucasian	<input type="checkbox"/>
First Nations	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indo-Canadian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle Eastern	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. What is your marital status?

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>
Common law / long-term partner	<input type="checkbox"/>
Separated /divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married	<input type="checkbox"/>
Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

High school / GED	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certificate / diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>
University graduation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Post-graduate degree	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Have you previously been employed by any government military?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Have you previously been employed as a police officer?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Do you have an immediate family member who is, or was, a police officer?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Current Police Organization.

Abbotsford PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central Saanich PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Delta PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Greater Vancouver Transit Police	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nelson PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Westminster PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oak Bay PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Port Moody PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saanich PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tribal Police	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vancouver PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Victoria PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
West Vancouver PD	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (Specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section B: Life Satisfaction

We are interested in your current level of life-satisfaction. Please circle the number that best reflects your feelings about each question.

	Delighted	Pleased	Mixed	Unhappy	Terrible
10. How do you feel about the amount of fun and enjoyment you have?	1	2	3	4	5
11. How do you feel about your own overall health?	1	2	3	4	5
14. How do you feel about relations with your family?	1	2	3	4	5
15. How do you feel about your personal life?	1	2	3	4	5
14. In general, how do you feel about your quality of life?	1	2	3	4	5

Section C: Law Enforcement Perceptions

We would like you to describe your current perceptions of law enforcement as an occupation. Please circle the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
15. Police work is well paid compared to other jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Police work is more challenging than other jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Police work, in general, does not require a great deal of post-secondary education.	1	2	3	4	5
18. In general, police work is more dangerous than other types of work	1	2	3	4	5
19. Police work offers more opportunity for advancement than other types of work.	1	2	3	4	5
20. This work is personally satisfying	1	2	3	4	5
21. In general, society gives police officers the respect they deserve.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
22. Any average person, given the proper training, can become a good police officer.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I would be pleased for my child to go into law enforcement as a lifetime career.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Police officers are more honest than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Police officers tend to be more intelligent than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
26. Police officers tend to be more loyal to each other than persons in other professions.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Police officers tend to be more racially prejudiced than the average person.	1	2	3	4	5
28. New reforms are weakening the traditional authority of the police officer.	1	2	3	4	5
29. Offenders now have so many rights that it is almost impossible to maintain law and order.	1	2	3	4	5
30. If the police believe it is necessary, arrested persons should be held in jail until their trial.	1	2	3	4	5
31. The Charter of Rights is so constraining that many criminals get off on a technicality.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Many citizens have a bad attitude toward police officers.	1	2	3	4	5
33. In the past few years, the respect shown officers by citizens has decreased.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Citizens in recent years seem to have more defiant attitudes than ever before.	1	2	3	4	5
35. When testifying in court, the police officer is often treated as a criminal.	1	2	3	4	5
36. A police department has to be responsive to political forces in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Police officers often find they have to break an order, policy, or regulation to do their job effectively.	1	2	3	4	5
38. In general, the public believes that police officers are trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5
39. The media is far too critical of the police	1	2	3	4	5
40. The primary function of policing is to serve the public	1	2	3	4	5

Section D: Police Function

We would like you to describe the level of importance that you would currently assign to each of the following police functions. Please indicate how strongly you feel the level of importance is for each function. Circle from 1 (Not Important) to 5 (Extremely Important) for each function.

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
41. Enforce Criminal and other Federal Laws.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Enforce Provincial Legislation (e.g. Liquor & Motor Vehicle Acts)	1	2	3	4	5
43. Enforce Municipal Bylaws	1	2	3	4	5
44. Prevent Crime	1	2	3	4	5
45. Respond to Life-Threatening Situations (e.g. fires & accidents)	1	2	3	4	5
46. Protect Individual Rights and Freedoms	1	2	3	4	5
47. Assist Emergency Social Services	1	2	3	4	5
48. Maintain Order	1	2	3	4	5
49. Keep the Peace	1	2	3	4	5
50. Issue Licences and Permits (e.g. Firearms Licenses)	1	2	3	4	5
51. Resolve Neighbourhood and Family Disputes and Conflicts	1	2	3	4	5
52. Provide Assistance to Victims	1	2	3	4	5
53. Apprehend Criminals	1	2	3	4	5
54. Ensure the Safe Flow of Traffic	1	2	3	4	5
55. Other (Please Specify)	1	2	3	4	5

Section E: Career Orientations and Expectations

In this series of questions, we would like to know what your reasons are for remaining a police officer today. Please indicate how strongly you feel the level of importance is for each reason. Circle from 1 (Not Important) to 5 (Extremely Important) for each statement.

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
56. Opportunity to Help Others	1	2	3	4	5
57. Apprehend Criminals	1	2	3	4	5
58. Enforce Laws / Regulations	1	2	3	4	5
59. Utilize or Develop Special Skills	1	2	3	4	5
60. Financial Security / Salary	1	2	3	4	5
61. Opportunity for Promotion / Advancement	1	2	3	4	5
62. Opportunity to Demonstrate Leadership	1	2	3	4	5
63. Opportunity for Social Interaction	1	2	3	4	5
64. Recognition	1	2	3	4	5
65. Opportunity to Improve Society	1	2	3	4	5
66. Reputation of Police / Respect	1	2	3	4	5
67. Attracted to Excitement of Job	1	2	3	4	5
68. Attracted to Dangerousness of Job	1	2	3	4	5
69. Amount of Time Off	1	2	3	4	5
70. Ability to Maintain a Personal Life Outside of Work	1	2	3	4	5
71. Professional Career	1	2	3	4	5
72. Opportunity to Wear a Uniform	1	2	3	4	5
73. Opportunity to Carry a Firearm	1	2	3	4	5
74. Influence of Family & Friends	1	2	3	4	5
75. Influence of Media / Movies	1	2	3	4	5
76. Events that Occurred in My Life	1	2	3	4	5
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77. Other (Please Explain)	1	2	3	4	5

Section F: Police Academy Curriculum

This section lists the entire Police Academy recruit training curriculum for Blocks I and III. Please indicate your preference regarding the amount of time and attention that you feel should have been devoted to each subject. Circle **L** for less time; **S** for it to be left the same; **M** for more time needs to be devoted; or **R** if you think it should be removed from the training curriculum.

Administration: Block I

78. General Administration	L	S	M	R
79. Policies and Procedures	L	S	M	R
80. Dress and Deportment	L	S	M	R
81. Discipline	L	S	M	R
82. Total Program Hours: 5	L	S	M	R

Administration: Block III

83. Block II Debrief	L	S	M	R
84. Pre-Grad Debrief	L	S	M	R
85. Graduation Ceremony	L	S	M	R
86. Total Program Hours: 10	L	S	M	R

Arrest and Control: Block I

87. Safety Rules	L	S	M	R
88. Force Options Theory	L	S	M	R
89. Balance and Stance	L	S	M	R
90. Arm Levers	L	S	M	R
91. Handcuff and Search	L	S	M	R
92. Wrists and Hands	L	S	M	R
93. Pressure Points	L	S	M	R
94. Close Quarter Confrontations	L	S	M	R
95. Stunning Techniques	L	S	M	R
96. Arm Lever Takedowns	L	S	M	R
97. Ground Fighting	L	S	M	R
98. OC Spray	L	S	M	R
99. Batons	L	S	M	R
100. Lateral Neck Restraint	L	S	M	R
101. Edged Weapons	L	S	M	R
102. Handgun Retention	L	S	M	R
103. Positional Asphyxia	L	S	M	R
104. Arrest & Control Simulation Day	L	S	M	R
105. Control Tactics Panel Test	L	S	M	R
106. Total Program Hours: 45	L	S	M	R

Arrest and Control: Block III

107. Lateral Neck Restraint	L	S	M	R
108. OC Spray	L	S	M	R
109. Edged Weapons	L	S	M	R
110. Handgun Retention	L	S	M	R
111. Multiple Assailants	L	S	M	R
112. Pressure Points	L	S	M	R
113. Handcuffing	L	S	M	R
114. Baton	L	S	M	R
115. Ground Fighting	L	S	M	R
116. Takedowns and throws	L	S	M	R
117. One officer Patrol Tactics	L	S	M	R
118. TASER	L	S	M	R
119. FATS Simulations	L	S	M	R
120. A & C Simulations	L	S	M	R
121. Total Program Hours: 41	L	S	M	R

Physical Training: Block I

122. POPAT	L	S	M	R
123. Sports Medicine	L	S	M	R
124. Safety Rules	L	S	M	R
125. Swim Assessment	L	S	M	R
126. Fitness Testing	L	S	M	R
127. PTAC Sessions (inc. Holmes Hill)	L	S	M	R
128. Total Program Hours: Approx. 25	L	S	M	R

Physical Training: Block III

129. POPAT	L	S	M	R
130. Fitness Testing	L	S	M	R
131. Swim Assessment	L	S	M	R
132. POPAT in uniform	L	S	M	R
133. PTAC Sessions (inc. Holmes Hill)	L	S	M	R
134. Total Program Hours: Approx. 20	L	S	M	R

Drill: Block I

135. Total Program Hours: 10	L	S	M	R
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Drill: Block III

136. Total Program Hours: 12	L	S	M	R
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Firearms: Block I

137. Firearm Safety	L	S	M	R
138. Handgun Ammunition	L	S	M	R
139. Nomenclature & Function Testing	L	S	M	R
140. Administrative Load and Unload	L	S	M	R
141. Marksmanship	L	S	M	R
142. Practical Aspects of Lethal Force	L	S	M	R
143. Conditions of Carry	L	S	M	R
144. Speed and Tactical Reloading	L	S	M	R
145. Cleaning and Maintenance	L	S	M	R
146. Pistol Malfunctions	L	S	M	R
147. Mental/Physical Conditioning	L	S	M	R
148. Disabled Shooting Techniques	L	S	M	R
149. Flashlight / Low Light Shooting	L	S	M	R
150. Practical Firearm Drills	L	S	M	R
151. Total Program Hours: 56	L	S	M	R

Firearms: Block III

152. Low Light / Flashlight	L	S	M	R
153. Firearm Familiarization	L	S	M	R
154. Tactical Outdoor Day	L	S	M	R
155. Total Program Hours: 14	L	S	M	R

Investigation & Patrol: Blk I

156. Police Notebooks	L	S	M	R
157. Contact / Cover	L	S	M	R
158. Field Interviews	L	S	M	R
159. Photo Line-Ups	L	S	M	R
160. Prisoner Transport	L	S	M	R
161. Unknown Risk Vehicle Stops	L	S	M	R
162. Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs	L	S	M	R
163. Stolen Autos	L	S	M	R
164. Drug Identification	L	S	M	R
165. Sudden Death Investigations	L	S	M	R
166. Police Dogs	L	S	M	R
167. Crime Scene Protection	L	S	M	R
168. Code V Lecture	L	S	M	R
169. Code V Day Simulations	L	S	M	R
170. Robbery / Home Invasions	L	S	M	R

171. Building Containment	L	S	M	R
172. Prostitution / DISC	L	S	M	R
173. Communicable Diseases	L	S	M	R
174. Cell Phone Investigations	L	S	M	R
175. Police Radio Communications	L	S	M	R
176. Basic Criminal Investigations	L	S	M	R
177. Police Simulation Days	L	S	M	R
178. Total Program Hours: 66	L	S	M	R

Investigation & Patrol: Blk III

179. Drug Investigations	L	S	M	R
180. Active Shooter	L	S	M	R
181. Bomb Calls	L	S	M	R
182. Forensic Identification	L	S	M	R
183. Code V Training	L	S	M	R
184. Police Simulation Days	L	S	M	R
185. Simulation Debriefing	L	S	M	R
186. Total Program Hours: 48	L	S	M	R

Legal Studies: Block I

187. Introduction to Law	L	S	M	R
188. Introduction to Policing	L	S	M	R
189. Reasonable Grounds	L	S	M	R
190. Powers of Arrest	L	S	M	R
191. Compelling Court Appearance	L	S	M	R
192. Printing and Photographing	L	S	M	R
193. Search and Seizure	L	S	M	R
194. Right to Counsel and Statements	L	S	M	R
195. Use of Force	L	S	M	R
196. Criminal Procedures	L	S	M	R
197. Offences Against Persons	L	S	M	R
198. Domestic Violence	L	S	M	R
199. Offences Against Property	L	S	M	R
200. Controlled Drug & Substances Act	L	S	M	R
201. Police Officer Centered Offences	L	S	M	R
202. Police Act	L	S	M	R
203. Total Program Hours: 70	L	S	M	R

Legal Studies: Block III

204. Fraud and Forgery	L	S	M	R
205. Sex Offences	L	S	M	R
206. Weapons	L	S	M	R
207. Liquor Control and Licensing Act	L	S	M	R
208. Court Orders	L	S	M	R

209. Search Warrants	L	S	M	R
210. Youth Criminal Justice Act	L	S	M	R
211. Homicide	L	S	M	R
212. Evidence	L	S	M	R
213. Court Preparation	L	S	M	R
214. Mock Court Day	L	S	M	R
215. Total Program Hours: 48	L	S	M	R

Profess. Patrol Tactics: Blk I

216. Intro to History of Policing	L	S	M	R
217. Police Ethics	L	S	M	R
218. COPS	L	S	M	R
219. Diversity	L	S	M	R
220. Family Violence Dynamics	L	S	M	R
221. Family Violence Tactics	L	S	M	R
222. Police Interviews	L	S	M	R
223. VICLAS	L	S	M	R
224. CPIC	L	S	M	R
225. PRIME	L	S	M	R
226. COMTACS	L	S	M	R
227. Mental Health	L	S	M	R
228. Suicide	L	S	M	R
229. Total Program Hours: 60	L	S	M	R

Profess. Patrol Tactics: Blk III

230. Block II Review	L	S	M	R
231. Informants	L	S	M	R
231. Power Crimes	L	S	M	R
232. Child Abuse Investigations	L	S	M	R
233. Sexual Assault Investigations	L	S	M	R
234. PRIME	L	S	M	R
235. Police Subculture	L	S	M	R
236. Criminal Harassment	L	S	M	R
237. POP – Presentations	L	S	M	R
238. Police Interviews	L	S	M	R
239. Stress Management	L	S	M	R
240. Police Leadership	L	S	M	R
241. Diversity Projects	L	S	M	R
242. Total Program Hours: 55	L	S	M	R

Traffic Studies: Block I

243. Intro to MVAct and Regs.	L	S	M	R
244. Driver's Licence	L	S	M	R
245. Vehicle Insurance	L	S	M	R
246. Common Offences	L	S	M	R

247. Prohibited Drivers	L	S	M	R
248. Traffic Documents	L	S	M	R
249. Violator Contact	L	S	M	R
250. Impaired Driving Invest. & ASD	L	S	M	R
251. Accident Reports	L	S	M	R
252. Directing Traffic	L	S	M	R
253. Hit & Run, Crim. Negligence	L	S	M	R
254. BC Hydro Safety	L	S	M	R
255. Street Racing	L	S	M	R
256. E.V.O. Lecture	L	S	M	R
257. Total Program Hours: 37	L	S	M	R

Traffic Studies: Block III

258. Accident Investigations	L	S	M	R
259. Traffic Court	L	S	M	R
260. Radar Operator Course	L	S	M	R
261. Impaired Driving Review / SIMS	L	S	M	R
262. Emergency Management	L	S	M	R
263. Hazardous Material	L	S	M	R
264. Total Program Hours: 29	L	S	M	R
265. Total Control Steering	L	S	M	R
266. Driving With Finesse	L	S	M	R
267. Decision Maker	L	S	M	R
268. Code 3 Vehicle Operation	L	S	M	R
269. Pursuit Driving	L	S	M	R
270. Emergency Backing	L	S	M	R
271. Total Program Hours: 56	L	S	M	R

Section H: Expectations of Training

In this final section, please detail any aspect of the training program (i.e.: course content, material, human resources) that you feel failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded your personal expectations.

272. In Drill Classes, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

273. In Arrest and Control, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

274. In Physical Training, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

275. In Firearms, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

276. In Investigation and Patrol, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

277. In Legal Studies, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

278. In Professional Patrol Tactics, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

279. In Traffic Studies, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

280. In Driver Training, the following failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded my personal expectations:

281. Please detail any aspect of the Block I and III Recruit Training Program that failed to meet, was significantly different from, or exceeded your personal expectations.

282. Please detail any subject matter that was not a part of the Block I and III Recruit Training Program that you feel should be included in the future training of police recruits.

283. Has your expectations regarding a career in policing changed since you were hired? If so, please describe in detail.

284. Has your opinion of fellow police officers changed since you were hired? If so, please describe in detail.

285. Has your opinion of the Criminal Justice System changed since you were hired? If so, please describe in detail.

286. Has your opinion of those you come into contact with as a police officer changed since you were hired? If so, please describe in detail.

287. Have you as a person changed since you were first hired as a police officer? If so, please describe in detail.

Thank you for your participation

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