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R I T

Basic Police Officer Training in the U.S.

by

Bryan Cammerino

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science in Criminal Justice

Department of Criminal Justice

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Policing in America has grown to become a topic of paramount interest within society today. This interest has included increased attention to the role that the police play within local communities. Gaining a greater understanding of where policing started, how it has evolved, and where it is today can help us better understand the importance of police officer training. Focusing on Americas policing eras and various policing models will establish a precedent to explain why policing is the way it is today. This paper will then be able to pinpoint various current events that make the history of policing come to life as it will provide a wide view of why policing is currently relevant today.

While police training is the focus of this capstone project, the knowledge of the evolution of policing will allow for the greater understanding to why the system is set up the way it is. Training programs and educational requirements for police officers were not always utilized or required. The evolution of policing and the current relevance will be established throughout this paper which will set the foundation to analyze police officer training in the present day.

Historical Evolution of Policing

Laying the framework to the various policing models prior to diving into what police officer training looks like today is essential as it lays the necessary foundation of knowledge. The three policing eras within America are the Political Era, Reform Era (aka Progressive Era), and Community Era (aka Community Problem-solving Era). The Political Era took place from the 1840s-1920s as a means to further support local politicians' agendas which was the ultimate start to police agencies in the United States (Werth, 2009). The era following the Political Era was

coined with the term the Reform Era which covered the 1920s-1970s. This era established various issues/concerns within policing such as lack of community engagement and trust between officers and the public to then work towards determining ways to enhance/formulate the overall structure of police departments (Werth, 2009). The third major era in policing history is the Community Era (1970s-1980s), where a major focus was on formulating ways to connect citizens with the officers who serve them due to lack of trust that evolved throughout the Reform Era (Werth, 2009). It is an important distinction to note that the eras did not have a distinct start and end but rather a general transition of ideologies.

Political Era

As stated, the Political Era lasted roughly from the 1840s-1920s and was the start to what society calls policing. Populations began to explode in various cities around the country bringing greater concerns of increasing crime rates leading to the establishment of preventative policing (Uchida, 2010). These officers were hand-picked by local politicians and typically were the biggest/strongest person in the area (Vander Kooi, 2006). Many times, employment was exchanged for votes or money (Uchida, 2010). The local politicians used this to further support their political agendas which led to corruption rather than combatting crime (Werth, 2009). Officers turned a blind eye to certain crimes (e.g., illegal gambling and prostitution) due to major political figures being involved (Uchida, 2010). Along with that, corruption was easy as political parties controlled the mayor's office, city councils, local wards, and municipal agencies (e.g., fire departments, sanitation services, school districts, the courts) (Uchida, 2010). Police got paid well but had poor job security such as "in Cincinnati, for example, in 1880, 219 of the 295 members of the force were dismissed, while another 20 resigned because of political change in

the municipal government” (Uchida, 2010, 12). This high turnover rate led to many new officers being hired and put out on the streets with little to no training and minimal guidance (Uchida, 2010).

Early policing in the Political Era focused on enforcing Black Codes and Jim Crow as many people were trying to suppress Blacks during the post-slavery time period. Black Codes took place around 1865-1866 to limit the rights of newly freed enslaved Africans and Jim Crow was occurred roughly from 1880s to 1965 which included laws to restrain Blacks (Robinson, 2017). These acts were enforced by police officers. Police believed they received respect and control by using excessive force and being brutal (Robinson, 2017). While Blacks were still being enslaved in a sense, police would protect financial interests of wealthy Whites. The disproportionate use of force against the Black community caused an increase in riots which in turn provided a reason to have a more organized police force (Robinson, 2017).

Due to the time period, transportation and electronic communication methods were not yet accessible which meant the officers conducted their work through foot patrol (Vander Kooi, 2006). The original implementation of police might not have been for the best of reasons, but it did provide various benefits to members of the local community. Vander Kooi (2006) established that foot patrol enhanced the interactions with community members by engaging on a personal level and by living in the community.

However, these officers received zero training, had no educational requirements, and lacked guidance/supervision which led them to determine how they would go about gaining authority and handling incidents (Uchida, 2010). “Standards for officer selection (if any), training procedures, rules and regulations, levels of enforcement of laws, and police-citizen relationships differed across the United States (Uchida, 2010, 12). Over time,

departments/agencies began to implement some training practices, but it was not until 1908 that the first formal training school for officers was started (Werth, 2009). New York City started their police academy in 1909, Detroit in 1911, and Philadelphia in 1913 which was approximately 65 years after policing first started (Werth, 2009). Later in 1918, the first policewomen school was established at the University of California in Los Angeles (Werth, 2009). A shift in policing began to take effect in the early 1920s from the Political Era to the Reform Era.

Reform Era

The Reform Era followed this Political Era and tackled just that, reforming the police as an attempt to professionalize the force and decrease political corruption within policing (Uchida, 2010). “The Progressives were upper-middle class, educated Protestants who opposed the political machines, sought improvements in government, and desired a change in American morality” (Uchida, 2010, 15-16). Progressives worked to change policing to be truly professional in nature and did this by trying to improve the current conditions at the time. Three recommendations for change were made: “1) the departments should be centralized; 2) personnel should be upgraded; 3) the police function should be narrowed” (Uchida, 2010, 16). The use and push for committees to oversee such changes helped centralize such an adaptation to what policing looked like prior.

This reform focused on the need for more enhanced training, implemented a selection process, established policies and discipline when not followed, created police commissions, utilized civil service exams, and reducing the hold that politics had over policing (Uchida, 2010). The Reform Era not only wanted to remove politics from policing but pushed for policing to be

separated from the decentralized ward/precinct political model (Uchida, 2010). Progressive reformers wanted a strong centralized city government where the Mayor and Chief of police would be able to wrestle the control of police departments from the hands of neighborhood-based politicians who were handing out policing jobs through a patronage system. These were major controversial changes being conducted as the original use of police officers were for political servants which was no longer being the case now that officers were becoming focused on crime control (Vander Kooi, 2006). Due to the Reform Era being from 1920s-1970s, the technology began to offer new approaches such as having patrol cars and two-way radios (Uchida, 2010). Despite the technological advances, communication between officers and community members diminished as the personable components of the Political Era were no longer present. Further, this break in community relations directly tied back to the switch from foot patrol and community service to car patrol and crime prevention which led to different values/needs (Vander Kooi, 2006).

Policing has very much changed from the Political Era to the Reform Era including the drastic alterations in training, requirements, and protocols. This was largely due to Chiefs like Richard Sylvester, August Vollmer, O.W. Wilson, and others who all emphasized the use of innovative methods in police work (Uchida, 2010). Sylvester was the president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) where a push for the acceptance of technology innovations, raised crime control ideas, and promoted professionalism within policing (Uchida, 2010). Sylvester pushed primarily for the overall change to professionalism while Vollmer focused on implementing college-level police education programs along with his student, O.W. Wilson who looked at efficiency within police bureaucracy (Uchida, 2010).

This Reform Era started in the 1920s which had more college training programs and in

the 1930s, forty-nine out of fifty states had a formal police force with training (Werth, 2009). Not only did local, county, and state police departments begin to have proper training, but the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) implemented their national academy in 1935 (Werth, 2009). Despite these growing changes, a lack of consistency across towns/cities, counties, and states became vastly apparent which led California to implement the Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST). POST was implemented in 1959 and worked to have uniformity in police training and recruitment throughout the entire state (Werth, 2009). New York was the first state to establish a basic training academy in 1959 and utilized the Municipal Police Training Council (MPTC) which conducted all regulations and provided minimum requirements throughout the state (New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, n.d.)

Along with the new reality of communication barriers, the police had “far less corruption, more educated individuals were hired, and less political appointees [were made]” (Uchida, 2010, 21) which caused the community to expect less crime, more arrests, and faster response times. The new challenges being faced in the Reform Era were coming to light as the public was not impressed with the performance of the police departments. Large historical events greatly impacted policing such as the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s which worked to provide Black Americans the same equality as their white counterparts. “Policing in America encountered most serious crisis in the 1960s as crime rose along with riots in the cities” (Uchida, 2010, 22). These riots were directly related to the ongoing racism in America when a black teenager was shot and killed by the New York Police Department. A further divide was then instilled between officers and the community causing an immense push for greater reform. Uchida (2010) pinpointed that the “Kerner commission and other investigations found police conduct included brutality, harassment, abuse of power, training and supervision was inadequate,

police-community relations were poor, and employment of black officers lagged” (23-24). The increasing criticism of police began to cause officers to feel isolated, fear for their lives, and created a subculture within policing (Uchida, 2010). These actions directly fired up the push for a transition from the Reform Era to the Community Era.

In the 1960s, educational attainment became another desire when selecting recruits during this era. The Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) supported individuals pursuing careers in criminal justice by supplying them with federal funding for their tuitions (Werth, 2009). LEEP was a new emerging federal response to professionalizing policing as it was part of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) which was a federal agency under the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) and had been created by President Johnson’s 1968 crime bill (National Institute of Justice, 2019). However, psychologist and psychological testing on these individual’s capabilities were not widely used in law enforcement until after World War I (Weiss & Inwald, 2018). Many police chiefs would determine that their decision on who to pick was good enough. As for training, field training became popularly used at the end of the Reform Era in the 1970s which included driving, shooting, and arrest techniques (Werth, 2009). A shift to the Community Era began to take effect in the 1970s and lasted to approximately the 1980s.

Community Era

The Community Era, also known as the Community Problem-solving Era, followed the Reform Era and worked to revamp the criminal justice system to rebuild the lost trust of police. Looking back to the Political Era, the foot patrol along with officers being from within the community provided better police-community relations which was lost throughout the Reform

Era. Various realities were made such as the gap between police and the public along with the determination that randomly patrolling does not deter crime (Uchida, 2010). Herman Goldstein played a major role in the shift of policing from the Reform Era to the Community Era as he pushed for police to engage in more of a proactive work approach and include problem-oriented policing (Uchida, 2010). Community policing entails order maintenance such as cleaning up neighborhoods and fixing ‘broken windows’ to improve higher crime areas (Uchida, 2010). Departments began to bring back foot patrol (Uchida, 2010), had officers get out of their cars more (Uchida, 2010), worked with community (Werth, 2009), and increased horse and bike patrol (Werth, 2009). The most common goal of these community era reforms was to reduce fear of crime and to enhance the quality of life in neighborhoods.

The “Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 gave a tremendous financial boost to the community policing movement” as it provided \$8.8 billion towards community policing (Uchida, 2010, 28). Fitness for duty testing was announced to take effect in 1985 along with psychological history questionnaires (Weiss & Inwald, 2018). Polygraphing was a new topic of discussion for candidates as well due to officers being hired despite questionable traits. Training also continued to improve with new community policing programs being added. The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) was established under the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) with the intention to provide federal grants and enforce statutory mandates (Uchida, 2010). Many mechanical trainings (e.g., driving, shooting, and arrest techniques) were taught in the Reform Era, meanwhile the Community Era began to include non-mechanical trainings as well, such as problem-solving, decision making, and interpersonal skills (Werth, 2009). By 1999, practically all large scale cities had full-time officers trained in community policing practices (Uchida, 2010).

Policing Models

Four policing models have been established, Traditional Policing, Problem-oriented Policing, Community Policing or Community-oriented Policing, and Zero-tolerance Policing. All of these models ultimately attempt to protect and serve the community and are expressed throughout the three policing eras previously discussed. Different aspects of these models have similarities, but each provide or propose a unique contribution to policing.

Traditional Policing focused on the “enforcement of the laws, reactive approaches, discourage crime, defensive tactics, arrest techniques, firearms training, proper use of force, traffic enforcement, and other hands-on topics” (Werth, 2009, 15-16). This did not cover how to have successful community relations, did not look at crime prevention, problem-solving, or decision-making techniques (Werth, 2009). The traditional policing model can be seen primarily in the Community Era. Officers were typically evaluated based on their response time rather than their job performance. Problem-Oriented Policing differed from the traditional model as it focused more on proactive policing rather than reactive and on problem-solving with the intent to resolve criminal activities (Werth, 2009). Such a model reflects both the Political Era and the current Community Era. Their performance under this model has been measured in crime reduction rates.

The third model identified is the Community Policing model, also known as the Community-oriented Policing model, which has a proactive approach and is organizational, includes community members’ views, and utilizes youth programs (Werth, 2009). This approach is working to build trust, legitimacy, and an overall bond between law enforcement and the community they serve. Training under this type of model is more focused on “teaching problem

solving, fostering community organization and involvement, mediation and de-escalation, ways to involve citizens, identify underlying causes of crime, and community sensitivity” (Werth, 2009, 18). Community policing and the Community Era are directly tied as a means to build greater trust and legitimacy by establishing the police as a means of service and support for citizens. Zero-tolerance Policing is the model pertaining to policing strategies as the officers would more aggressively patrol areas and arrest individuals with little to no discretion. This is highly focused on preventing crime by allocating most, if not all, resources to specific location(s) and did not take community members input into account (Werth, 2009). This model directly ties into the Reform Era as a means to combat crime rather than build bonds with members of the community and can also be aligned with the ‘broken windows theory’ discussed previously.

Current Relevance

In gathering all the historical adaptations, evolutions, and impacts, a greater understanding of why police officer training is so important today can be seen more clearly as today’s policing is directly tied to America’s past. The progressions in policing have adapted to improve earlier inconsistencies, failures, and areas that were lacking. The three eras along with the various policing models have direct correlations to where policing and police training is today. Recent events, discussions, and news have a great impact in the realities of policing, perception of police, and direction in where policing and training should go. Acts of racism from officers to citizens have consistently been demonstrated along with the call for mental health experts to respond rather than or along with the police. Defund the police has become an increasingly controversial topic within America in recent days, weeks, and months.

“Police use of excessive force, especially police shootings, has received increasing

attention from the killings of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile” (Siegel, 2020). The officers in these cases received little to no charges in response to their excessive use of force. Recently, many incidents have sparked national attention such as the killing of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Many incidents happen within each state, city, and neighborhood that don’t get as much national attention such as the killing of Daniel Prude in Rochester New York (USA Today, 2020) along with a 9-year-old girl getting handcuffed and pepper sprayed (USA Today, 2021).

In Minneapolis, officer Derek Chauvin responded to a call to a store, along with other officers, as the employees believed someone tried to make a purchase with a fake \$20 bill (New York Times, 2020). George Floyd was sitting in his car nearby the store when officers approached his vehicle ordering him to step out so they could arrest him. Floyd was hesitant to get in the cop car and intentionally fell down, established he wouldn’t get in the car, and prevented the officers from bringing him to his feet (New York Times, 2020). Officer Chauvin then placed his knee on Floyds neck to keep him still for almost nine minutes which ultimately prevented Floyd from being able to breathe and led to his death (New York Times, 2020). “Societal stereotypes associate racial minorities, particularly Black males, with criminality, and police officers can hold these stereotypes about racial groups with whom they interact” (Kahn, McMahon, & Stewart, 2018, 47).

Floyd was killed out on the streets in the open, however Breonna Taylor was killed by two police officers in her home while sleeping in Louisville Kentucky (Los Angeles Times, 2020). A team of officers were serving a no-knock narcotic warrant and upon entry, Breonna Taylors boyfriend opened fire believing someone was breaking into their home which in turn led to officers shooting and killing Breonna (Los Angeles Times, 2020). Both incidents greatly

differed in just how the individuals were killed by police but demonstrate excessive use of force practices by police today. Proper training following an adjustment to protocols, regulations, and practices can set the path in the right direction to prevent recurring incidents like so. “Police officers working in predominantly black neighborhoods are much more likely to use excessive force” (Siegel, 2020, 1089).

Aside from racism, mental health has played a large role in the discussion on policing and police officer training today. While many incidents between the police and the public have both racism and mental health, this paper is not looking at their overlap but rather each topic as it pertains to police training. “San Francisco received 13,671 calls involving people in a potential mental health crisis in three months in 2016” (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017, 207). While officers are trained to deal with persons in mental health (this will go further in-depth in working papers II and III), various incidents are steering the community away from police responding but rather having mental health experts go instead to de-escalate the situation.

Two incidents occurring in Rochester New York sparked attention and a feeling of unrest at police officers. The first was the killing of Daniel Prude. Prudes’ family called for help as he was experiencing a mental health crisis in the middle of the night (USA Today, 2020). He was wandering around practically naked in the streets in the cold winter months (USA Today, 2020). Daniel Prudes case was covered up for months by various city officials before finally receiving the attention it deserved. This then caused an outcry for police reform, specifically for calls revolving around mental health crises (USA Today, 2020). Less than a year later, a nine-year-old girl was experiencing a traumatic incident which caused her to become possibly suicidal and be a threat to herself or others. The Rochester Police Department responded and ended up handcuffing and pepper spraying her since she would not cooperate when getting in the cop car

(USA Today, 2021).

The first Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) program was established in Memphis, Tennessee in 1998 due to an officer shooting a mentally ill gentleman (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). Twenty-two years later, Rochester implemented their Person in Crisis (PIC) team to handle non-violent mental health calls (Democrat and Chronicle, 2021). Daniel Prude's case led to a push for such a program which was implemented one week prior to the pepper spraying of the nine-year-old girl. However, the PIC team was not sent to this call. Dispatchers may not be aware of the extent to the situation which means the police officers are the one who is determining who tackles the call. "CIT trained officers are better trained to recognize mental illness which leads to their response (less force) to the individual" (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017, 208). Training officers on how to deal with mental health calls, when to call for mental health experts, and how to recognize when an individual is facing a mental crisis is an important focal point due to past and recent events across the nation.

Racism and mental health have been a continuing epidemic in America which has become very prominent in recent events as mentioned previously. These events have led to a controversial push to defund the police. "The call for police abolition gained national traction soon after the 2014 Ferguson rebellion and is encapsulated by the slogan: disband, disempower, and disarm the police!" (McDowell & Fernandez, 2018, 379). Black Lives Matter movement, anti-white supremacy groups/individuals, and associated allies stand behind defunding the police by dismantling criminal justice institutions which will eliminate punitive responses to people's actions (McDowell & Fernandez, 2018). Some demand a complete abolishment of policing while others are taking a less drastic approach by reallocating some funds to other agencies or organizations (Wyllie, 2020). The transfer of funding could remove police officer's

responsibility of responding to mental health or homelessness and provide an expert in the field to respond instead. This could prevent some of the racist actions by officers along with providing mental health crises a proper means to adequately handle the situation as “police officers killed 1,093 people” (McDowell & Fernandez, 2018, 380) in 2016.

These approaches have been criticized due to the reality that an individual facing a traumatic incident will call the police in panic (Wyllie, 2020). Defunding the police in this way would eliminate some of the police departments responsibilities but would not provide them with the adequate training resources to be able to respond to such cases when still getting dispatched to them. Such realities could burden the system due to the inability to adequately handle these types of calls. The removal of chunks of police funds is not changing the reality of their work and is expecting the police to do more with less (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, 2020).

Conclusion

Police officer training today could not be fully understood without the background of policing throughout America. The Political Era, Reform Era, and Community Era all played major roles in how, why, and when policing came about which speaks volumes to where we stand today. Commissions like the Kerner commission pinpointed the various issues and concerns within policing which further propelled police departments to target specific topics within policing. Not only does the time period impact policing and its training, the various policing models: traditional policing, problem-oriented policing, community policing, and zero-tolerance policing all cause a major focus on what the recruits learn in the academy. Racism, mental health, and defund the police have been presented as a means to explain why these historical impacts are still viable today. These few examples are just the tip of the iceberg in

pinpointing why police training is a necessary topic to explore today. With the foundation set, a deeper glance into police training requirements, the reality of police work today, and the potential on what can be added, removed, or enhanced can now be assessed.

Chapter 2

Introduction

Contemporary police training in America is the result of increased public demands and expectations for professional service. Policing academies can now be accredited and work to hold various requirements regarding the hiring process, academy, and working to hold officers accountable. With that, a plethora of issues continue to persist in relation to policing in America and two are specifically addressed here, within police academies: the style of training and the content relative to the primary work of policing. The predominantly used pedagogical (militaristic) style of police training, with a heavy focus on mechanical/hard skills (e.g., firearms, driving, arrest techniques) rather than an andragogical (self-directed) approach with an emphasis on non-mechanical/soft skills (e.g., critical thinking, problem-solving, collaborative) (Chappell, 2008). The layout of police academies, hours, topics, requirements, models, etc. will be directly contrasted with what officers are actually doing day-to-day while on the job. Field training also plays a major role in shaping officers and the policing culture which will be evaluated. The gap shown here provides a great insight into just how training can be enhanced by changing, adapting, and implementing new models, styles, and strategies.

Police Training Today

Police Academies and their Structure

The United States has approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies which are made up of local, state, and federal organizations. Among these agencies, there are 664 state and local law enforcement academies (Reaves, 2016). These training academies produce approximately 45,000 recruits per year with roughly 86% of them successfully completing their specific

program (Reaves, 2016). Apart from the field training and the probationary period (shadowing an officer), which will be expanded on later, recruits spend just about 840 hours/21 weeks/5 months in the basic training program (Reaves, 2016; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). The Census of Law Enforcement Training Academies (CLETA) within the Bureau of Justice statistics, under the Department of Justice, works to collect these statistics to provide an outline of the basic training programs across differing academies. Publications by the Bureau of Justice Statistics document patterns of training in the U.S. with the 2016 data being the most recently published.

Various types of police academies are utilized across the United States which make up the total 664 training academies present today. These are State Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) (30 academies), State police/highway patrol (41 academies), Sheriff's office (66 academies), County police (22 academies), Municipal police (132 academies), 4-year college/university (43 academies), 2-year college (221 academies), Technical school (43 academies), Special jurisdiction (17 academies), and Multiagency/regional (49 academies) (Reaves, 2016). Each type of academy differs in requirements, techniques, and structure in their efforts to train recruits.

The breakdown of academies can now be further evaluated to better grasp the number of hours each one requires. "Academies operated by agencies with special jurisdictions (such as natural resources, parks, or transportation systems) had the longest training programs (an average of 1,075 hours), followed by county police academies (1,029 hours)" (Reaves, 2016, 4). Opposed to these academies, "POST agencies (650 hours), technical schools (703 hours), and sheriffs' offices (706 hours) had the shortest training programs on average (Reaves, 2016, 4). The stark differences between these academies equals out to be an average of 806 hours in their training.

Full time training can be completed within about 6 months while part time training options can be closer to 12 months (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019).

Training topics focus primarily on operations (average of 213 hours per recruit); firearms, self-defense, and use of force (168 hours); self-improvement (89 hours); and legal education (86 hours) (Reaves, 2016; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). These predominantly technical trainings take up a large portion of the recruit's academy time – 556 hours, 69% of the typical 806 hours, or almost 14 weeks (at 40 hours). Other topics of importance include, but are not limited to, community policing (average of 40 hours); domestic violence (13 hours); mental health (10 hours); foreign language (9 hours); domestic preparedness and terrorism (9 hours); sexual assault (6 hours); crimes against children (6 hours); victim response (5 hours); and gangs (4 hours) (Reaves, 2016).

The principle focus of training academies is typically on hard skills such as firearms, driving, physical training, defensive tactics, law, arrest techniques, traffic enforcement, and first aid (McGinley, Agnew-Pauley, Tompson, Belur, & Jyoti, 2019; Rahr & Rice, 2015). “Entry-level training curriculums in 46 states mandated training in patrol, criminal investigation, the use of firearms, and force...” (Bradford & Pynes, 1999, 285). Among these same academies, the SARA model has been widely used. SARA is scanning (looking for patterns), analysis (fully understanding the problem/collect information), response (implementation of long-term solutions), and assessment (determine if response was effective) (Vander Kooi, 2006; Bradford & Pynes, 1999). The focus on teaching hard skills plays a major role in police culture today. Formulating such a culture produces various concerning outcomes which will be elaborated on within this next section.

New York State created the Municipal Police Training Council (MPTC) which

established various requirements for recruits and the training program. In 1960, the basic training expectations were made up of 80 hours which consistently increased since (New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, n.d.). These hours further increased to 120 hours in 1963, 240 hours in 1967, 285 hours in 1971, 400 hours in 1986, 440 hours in 1988, 445 hours in 1991, 510 hours in 1997, 635 hours in 2006, and 639 hours in 2008 (New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, n.d.). Along similar lines, Michigan established Public Act 203 of 1965 which was the Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council for police training standards which is now referred to as the Michigan Commission on Law Enforcement Standards (Vander Kooi, 2006).

The Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission (WSCJTC) establishes Washington States' training expectations which directly impacts approximately 600 recruits going through 720 hours of basic training within a 5-month span (Rahr & Rice, 2015). This is broken up to six categories: fundamental knowledge (e.g., criminal investigations, procedures, traffic investigations) being 269 hours, physical skills (e.g., defensive tactics, firearms) equaling 250 hours, applied training (e.g., mock scenes) for 74 hours, study/review/exams totaling 64 hours, communication and behavior management (e.g., blue courage, crisis intervention training) for 40 hours, and miscellaneous topics totaling 32 hours (Rahr & Rice, 2015). For further knowledge and comparison, California requires recruits to go through 664 hours of training which covers 42 different categories (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019).

Upon graduating the police academy, recruits are required to complete field training before becoming full time officers. After finishing the academy, the recruit enters the Field Training Program (FTP) of their respective police organization and rides with an assigned FTO

(Field Training Officer) who formally and informally train the recruits (Engelson, 1999; Haarr, 2005). Two distinct field training models are used across these academies: Traditional San Jose Model and the Police Training officer Program (aka Reno Model). Traditional San Jose Model is the preferred/most used field training model and focuses on behavior modifications (Warners, 2010). The Police Training Officer Program/Reno Model focuses on “police communications, criminal investigations, crime prevention, interview and interrogations, field note taking and report writing, patrol operation, and collection and preservation of evidence” (Bradford & Pynes, 1999, 285; Warners, 2010). The average field training program consisted of about 500 hours with Municipal academies having the longest with 630 hours (Reaves, 2016). While there is a slight research gap in studying the comparative impact between the classroom approach versus field training, field training is seen as a necessary component for recruits (Caro, 2011). Classroom training and the field training, like most groups, forms a community and culture (Sierra-Arevalo, 2021). Following field training, officers then undergo a probationary period which could be approximately one year which allows them to individually demonstrate that they can utilize the skills they have learned in the classroom and from the field training (Doerner & Hunter, 2006; Haarr, 2005).

Accreditation

The Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) was established in 1979 as the first law enforcement accreditation opportunity (Hougland & Wolf, 2017). Efforts were focused on standardizing law enforcement practices by improving services to ensure a formal and professional police force is being utilized across agencies. CALEA has provided accreditation to 623 agencies since its origination (Hougland & Wolf, 2017) and

provides them with 463 standards they must oblige to (Teodoro & Hughes, 2012). Agencies who participate in the accreditation process must pour a lot of time and money to meet these standards. CALEA expects agencies to implement a protocol which identifies problematic employees prior to a disastrous or unethical event taking place (Hougland & Wolf, 2017). The creation and adoption of written policies must be in place to ensure quality assurance and accountability on officers/departments across a national perspective (Hougland & Wolf, 2017).

Agencies who are accredited have been known to provide more training to officers and have stricter requirements on minimal educational attainment needed (McCabe & Fajardo, 2001). Various studies have been conducted on the effectiveness of CALEA which have yielded mixed results (Teodoro & Hughes, 2012; Hougland & Wolf). Some positive findings stated that accredited agencies were more accepting of community-oriented policing (Johnson, 2015) along with accredited agencies seeing an increase in crime clearance rates and community confidence, and decrease in complaints (Bizzack, 1993). On the contrary, a plethora of studies have not found accreditation such as CALEA to be beneficial. A few studies in particular pinpointed specific concerns such as no positive influence on officer attitudes (Teodoro & Hughes, 2012), no effect on use of force (Johnson, 2015), doesn't impact organizational practices of officers (Johnson, 2015), no change in number of complaints (Hougland & Wolf, 2017), and no proof accreditation influences officer work behavior (Johnson, 2015).

Federal Funding/Support

As depicted in the first Working Paper, funding plays a large role in police academies as adequate funding allows for enhanced trainings, programs, and resources. An adequate breakdown of spending per recruit is complex due to the structure of each academy differing

from one another. Some academies include firearms, ammunition, and uniform costs while others do not along with certain academies incorporating salary into the overall amount per recruit (City of Sacramento, n.d.; University of Illinois, n.d.). A public university in Illinois offers a basic training academy program which covers 60 hours with the tuition being \$6,000 but does not include salary, benefits, and equipment (University of Illinois, n.d.). However, in Washington State, the cost that police departments spend is approximately \$40,000 per recruit which does include salary and benefits (Semuels, 2020). The cost can also vary significantly depending on if the academy is privately run or is state run. These inconsistencies make it challenging to compare one another and provide a definitive cost for training a recruit. With that, the focus here will be on how the federal government has and continues to support police agencies with funding.

While “defund the police” has become a national phenomenon, many reform efforts are instead focused on the reallocation of some funding towards other supporting agencies/organizations (Wyllie, 2020). With that, police officers are still responding to calls and need to be adequately trained to support all communities in virtually any situation presented to them which is reliant on funding (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, n.d.). The federal government has provided grants/funding on top of the city/town/county/state budget to support academies in their efforts to train recruits regarding specific topics such as mental health or community policing (Chappell, 2008).

“Since 1986, more than 10,000 law enforcement agencies have received grants from the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) Community Oriented Policing Services Office (COPS) to fund more than 71,000 additional police officers and sheriff’s deputies across the country” (Bradford & Pynes, 1999, 283). Community policing has become a highly talked about

topic in the current Community Policing Era. “Community policing requires a lot of manpower and funding” (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, n.d.). Dating back to 1969, the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) began to provide federal funding to people interested in going to college for a degree in law enforcement (Werth, 2009). Despite federal funds, each town/city, county, and state had different budgets for police and specifically towards training. The capabilities of training varied from one place to another due to the variation in money available (Werth, 2009).

Trainers/Instructors

Training culture and how trainers conduct their instruction will be detailed in the following section, but first a deeper look into the formalities of trainers within police academies. Overall, academies across the United States hold about 15,000 full-time trainers along with approximately 23,000 part-time instructors (Reaves, 2016). As of 2013, the average number of full-time instructors in a single academy was 21 with 32 part-time trainers (Reaves, 2016). Outside experts on various topics were brought in to teach at about half of the training academies (Reaves, 2016). While the requirement differed across academies, 75% of them expected a minimal number of years within law enforcement which averaged out to be 4 years (Reaves, 2016). 15% of academies required full-time employees to hold a 4-year degree, 10% required a 2-year degree, and about 8% desired a graduate level degree (Reaves, 2016). Establishing requirements on educational and professional experience among trainers is essential and should be further evaluated to determine various ways to enhance this effectiveness. Aside from the knowledge instructors gain from personal experience and throughout their own training, 74% of academies require trainers to complete ongoing/refresher training (Reaves, 2016).

The Culture of Training

Police officers need to be fully trained in order to carry out their duties which is generally thought of as “Protecting and Serving” the public. The structure of the academy is not just important for what recruits are trained on, but equally as important is how they are trained. “... candidates enter the field with positive values, a notion of helping people and making a difference... yet within a short period of exposure to the occupation, attitudes and values undergo significant change...” (Ford, 2003, 85). A major concern in how recruits are trained is directly tied to the pedagogical style of training. Such a training has a militaristic approach (Reaves, 2016) method which tears down individuality (Vander Kooi, 2006), focuses on combatting crime (Vander Kooi, 2006), has a war/warrior mentality (Vander Kooi, 2006), includes modern warfare training (Rahr & Rice, 2015), supports the myth that they are soldiers against crime (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012), and uses fear and humiliation techniques (Rahr & Rice, 2015). Soldiers and police officers have vastly different job descriptions but are facing similarly minded training procedures. Like in the military, police recruits who violate an order, for example, receive verbal abuse and/or physical punishment such as push-ups (Rahr & Rice, 2015).

A majority of academies train using quasi-military or boot camp approaches (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). This high stress low sensitivity environment causes various problematic concerns within police culture and on the impact it has on officers’ interactions with the community (which will be further elaborated on throughout Working Paper III). “About half (48%) of recruits were trained by academies using a training model that was mores stress than nonstress oriented in its approach” (Reaves, 2016, 1). Further, one in four

academies stated the training environment was completely or mostly stress oriented (Reaves, 2016). In a study by Haarr, 46% of recruits dropped out of basic training, 15.9% dropped out of field training, and 38.1% dropped out during the one-year probationary period (Haarr, 2005, 437-438). Dropping out can either mean they voluntarily quit or were kicked out by the academy or their specific department. Approximately 88.2% of recruits who quit the academy felt they faced high stress and conflict when their opinions differed from the general culture (Haarr, 2005). Recruits facing a harsh environment within the academy will directly mimic such actions and behaviors when on the job (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019).

Us vs. Them

The culture created within the academy becomes strong as recruits are suffering through it together, are facing harsh training expectations, and are taught in a manner that makes them fear for their life which establishes the need to watch each other's back. Trainers/instructors present practically every topic of discussion with the mentality that working on the streets is highly dangerous and can lead to their death (Branch, 2020; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Sierra-Arévalo, 2021). The term, "danger imperative", has been coined by Michael Sierra-Arevalo and can be understood as "a cultural frame that emphasizes violence and the need to provide for officer safety" (Sierra-Arévalo, 2021, 71). The danger imperative directly explains the mentality recruits/officers learn and uphold throughout their time in law enforcement due to trainers emphasizing "Us vs. Them". "It's either you or them, don't let it be you" (Branch, 2020, 11). These words going through a recruit's mind is jarring and instills fear within them. Such a mindset isn't only portrayed in the academy, but also throughout their field training as FTOs provide perspectives on certain people and places in the area (Van

Maanen, 1974). Police departments provide resources to officers and their families to ensure that officers being killed or injured on the job are supported which further implants this idea (Waters, 2007). Fear-provoking stories along with posters/visual aids related to deadly encounters past officers have faced are constantly implemented throughout the training process (Rahr & Rice, 2015).

Who is ‘them’? The community as a whole? Juveniles? Men? Women? White individuals? Black individuals? As touched on in Working Paper I, the use of force against communities of color is higher than towards white communities as 27.5% of fatal police shootings were black individuals meanwhile, they only make up 13% of the population (Siegel, 2020). The Us vs. Them aspect of police culture is a direct representation of systemic racism as it is built into the academy by trainers instilling such fear within the recruits. “The ‘we they’ dichotomy may cause many law enforcement organizations to focus on ‘crime fighting’ as the primary emphasis for police contacts with citizens” (Engelson, 1999, 16). Trainers work to establish such feelings within recruits which intentionally or unintentionally identifies black men, poor neighborhoods, and crime as direct links (Siegel, 2020). “The view of a neighborhood will impact the officers’ response from negative images, less personal investment, and higher level of perceived threat” (Siegel, 2020, 1087). Officers and the community who perceive the area in a negative light are not going to put their best foot forward to improve the neighborhood. This mindset is detrimental to enhancing the community, building positive police-community relations, and has caused various examples of excessive use of force against the Black community (Wyllie, 2020).

Reality of Policing

Reviewing the facts and layout of how police training academies are structured is essential in understanding police culture, their capabilities, configuration and why officers respond the way they do. While this is important, it is also vital that a deeper look is made into what police are actually doing day-to-day. Bridging this gap is necessary as the academy and the reality of the job hold stark differences. In a study in Indianapolis, per 8 hours observed, officers spent 116 minutes on encounters, 126 minutes on general patrol, 70 minutes 'en route', 51 minutes were problem directed, 22 minutes on info gathering, 29 minutes on administrative responsibilities, and 65 minutes were for personal use (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999). Time spent on topics in the academy are not showing any overlap to the hours spent on each type of call.

A majority of the training is focused on technical skills despite the reality of the job rarely requiring such capabilities. "Recruits spend 90% of their training time on firearms, driving, first aid, self-defense, and other use-of-force tactics even though only 10% of their job duties will put them in positions where they need to use these skills" (Chappell, 2008, 38). Further, 10% of what is learned within training directly correlates to what officers are doing on a regular basis (Caro, 2011; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Chappell, 2008). The training structure presented previously is now portrayed differently as police training does not seem to align with the role officers hold (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Caro, 2011). A majority of calls for service to the police is related to personal and interpersonal matters rather than criminal activity (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Traut, Feimer, Emmert, & Thom, 2000).

Police work that directly deals with criminal activity is only about 20-30% of their time (Wuschke, Andersen, Brantingham, Rattenbury, & Richards, 2018). This might come as a surprise to some as the view of policing as action packed is unrealistic. Over time, the role of

police officers has become increasingly broader and less explicit. Their role is now expanding to more of a psychologist, practitioner, ensure safety, be a resource, address victims, and be a problem solver rather than specialist in criminal activity (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Waters, 2007; Wuschke, Andresen, Brantingham, Rattenbury, & Richards, 2018). “Police work is uneventful, mundane, or even boring for those who have been on the force for some years as the opportunity for fighting crime is infrequent” (Branch, 2020, 2). This shows that the pedagogical/military boot camp model, ‘Us vs. Them’, and emphasis on being killed doesn’t fully coincide with the reality of police work as it might seem (Rahr & Rice, 2015). Police officers rarely need to respond with force as “when one looks at what policeman actually do, one finds that criminal law enforcement is something that most of them do with the frequency located somewhere between virtually never and very rare” (Wood, Watson, & Fulambarker, 2017, 84).

Conclusion

Police work compared to the training academy hold substantial differences as the academy works to prepare officers in a predominantly pedagogical style with the intent to instill fear in them. The efforts to train recruits in technical skills is not as beneficial due to the insignificant time spent actually utilizing such techniques. Trainers establishing a boot camp like approach with physical punishments creates a negative culture which directly impacts the officer’s interactions with members of the community. The culture created by universally going through a rigorous program, along with the instilled fear of the ‘Us vs. Them’ (meaning the Black community), and portrayal of the dangers ahead has formed a problematic response to protecting and serving the community.

Chapter 3

Introduction

Policing is commonly known or explained as “Protecting and Serving” the community by combatting crime and being of assistance when in need. The evolution of policing in America has evolved over time throughout the three policing eras (Political, Reform, and Community) despite a constant slow and hesitant approach to allowing great change. The current era, Community-Oriented Policing era, has been in place for some time and works to build a positive outlook on police and police officers. Training academies have adapted to incorporate new training topics to better serve the public but still lack a substantial amount of potential to equip officers to handle situations such as mental health and utilize skills such as interpersonal skills. The culture that is created within the academy sets the foundation to the recruits’ perspective on certain neighborhoods, streets, and people. Many incidents over the years have negatively impacted the communities outlook on the police and has created a greater divide between law enforcement and the community.

Not only does what and how the recruits are trained make a substantial impact on their interactions with the community, but the community’s involvement in police training and interactions with officers plays a substantial role. A desire to improve police-community relations must be found on both sides (members of the community and police officers) to strengthen the bond and trust of one another (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020). The community can provide assistance in police training, can pinpoint what their needs are, and can work to identify best practices to ensure all parties are happy with police-community interactions. A collaborative effort to establish and implement intervention programs such as Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) may create a foundation for better services while enhancing

trust and legitimacy. A need for continued research and evaluations into possible future implementations within training to yield better outcomes pertaining to police officer mindsets, tools officers have to respond to calls, and a happier public outlook are necessary.

Community Era/Community-Oriented Policing

The Community Era (aka Community Problem-Solving Era) began to take form around the 1970s/1980s to build a more favorable perspective of the police by revamping policing approaches to better support the community. Various approaches have been used such as working with the community and increasing foot, horse, and bike patrol (Werth, 2009). "... by the turn of the twenty-first century, most urban (and many suburban and rural) police departments in the United States openly described themselves as using community-oriented principles" (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 34). Officers would not just focus on responding to calls for service regarding criminal activity but would work to build positive relationships with business owners, organizations, and residents who want to invest in their community (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999). Such an approach allows officers to gauge what needs the community is facing and how to better support them (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011).

As depicted in Working Paper I, the Reform Era took place prior to the Community Era which focused on combatting crime along with the implementation of new technology such as patrol cars and radios which caused a drastic decline in communication with citizens (Vander Kooi, 2006). The transition into the Reform Era from the Political Era worked to separate local politics and policing to build a truly professional police force (Uchida, 2010). While many benefits came into play from this transition, various issues between the police and community came about during the Reform Era such as police brutality, the Civil Rights movement, riots, and

lack of communication (Uchida, 2010). Resistance to change is constant in criminal justice as “the greatest challenge confronting today’s police agencies is converting from the Professional Policing to the Community Policing model (De Paris, 1997, 20; Chappell, 2008). The recognition of these faults prompted the Community Era to build trust, legitimacy, networking, and an overall positive relationship for officers and members of the community.

Community-Oriented Policing (COP) took hold since the mid-1980s under the United States Department of Justice’s (DOJ’s) Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Uchida, 2010). Yet, “In 2015, 39% of adults said they had little to no trust in police” (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017, 208). The goal of the DOJ/COPS to further support community-policing is to implement various training topics, strategies, and tactics to cater towards the idea of focusing on the community. “Police scholars have identified three different types of community-oriented policing: community-building strategies, which attempt to strengthen community capacity; problem-oriented strategies, which deal with the causes of crime; and broken windows strategies, which focus on minor crimes and physical disorder” (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 47). Various studies of DOJ/COPS measures success as seeing a reduction in fear of crime, an increase in trust of officers, and more members of the community being cooperative with the police (Bradford & Pynes, 1999). The training component of DOJ/COPS is critical to understand due to its efforts to train officers in how to engage with the community, change approaches when responding to incidents, and how to build positive relationships (Uchida, 2010). “Despite three decades of falling crime rates and improved training, technology, and tactics, public trust in the police has not improved” (Rahr & Rice, 2015, 2).

Police Training – Community Focused

The Community Era has greatly focused on training to determine ways to improve the academy to produce officers who can make a positive impact on the community. Focusing on topics, strategies, approaches, and the culture of police training can align with the goals of the current era. Topics such as mental health and racism have become increasingly focused on throughout society. The “Us vs Them” mentality and “Warrior vs Guardian” expectation has created a problematic culture within policing. Alongside that, the heavy focus on traditional training (i.e., firearm training, physical training, defense tactics, driving) rather than non-traditional training (i.e., interpersonal skills, communication, problem solving) negatively prepares officers for their career (Chappell, 2008). These various concerns directly tie to the community as they are the “customers” of policing services.

Most Relevant Training Topics/Areas

Mental Health

The criminal justice system faces a substantial number of individuals experiencing a mental health crisis as the United States holds more than three times the amount of people with a serious mental illness within prisons or jails rather than psychiatric hospitals (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). San Francisco for example received 13,671 calls for service which had the potential to involve a mentally ill individual in just three months back in 2016 (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). In the United States, mental illness makes up approximately one out of every four adults in a year along with about 46% of homeless individuals facing mental illness at any given time (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016).

Training being focused on traditional tactics is important but does not represent what the

community needs from the officers. Members of the community facing serious mental health crises need to be adequately taken care of which brings concern as recruits only receive about 10 hours of training pertaining to mental illness (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). Officers are typically provided with a “tool kit” of a gun, baton, taser (if certified), pepper spray, etc. which are all used to motivate compliance even in cases that do not require such methods such as many mental health calls (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017).

The Police Executive Research Foundation (PERF) developed the Integrating, Communications, Assessment, and Tactics (ICAT) training program which was adopted by the Louisville, Kentucky Metro Police Department (LMPD). This created a partnership with the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the University of Cincinnati Center for Police Research and Policy to complete the evaluation (Engel, Corsaro, Isaza, & McManus, 2020). This training “... instructs police officers in de-escalation tactics and critical thinking skills for the management of potentially volatile police-citizen encounters...” (Engel, Corsaro, Isaza, & McManus, 2020, i). Six models are used to carry out the ICAT curriculum: 1) Introduction, 2) Critical Decision-Making Model, 3) Crisis Recognition and Response, 4) Tactical Communications, 5) Operational Safety Tactics, and 6) Integration and Practice (Engel, Corsaro, Isaza, & McManus, 2020). ICAT is directly connected to mental health due to recruits/officers having the proper “tools” to respond to a mental health call. Further, an individual facing a mental health crisis is not likely to respond to physical force or yelling but rather needs an individual who can use de-escalation techniques to calm down/relax the situation to talk about what is happening (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017; Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016).

Despite various studies and nationwide recognition of incidents clearly establishing a concern regarding police and mental health, such as the examples presented in the first Working Paper of Daniel Prude, slow change has been integrated into police training to best support the community. However, actions have been taken in different areas across the country to improve such training to then better support the community. The Memphis Model in Memphis Tennessee worked to build a partnership with mental health stakeholders in the area to require 40 hours of mental health training for recruits (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). California implemented legislation based off the Memphis Model which mandated that police officer trainings must include the ability to recognize mental illness and practice de-escalation techniques with the goal to keep all parties safe (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). Also, in California, the Sequential Intercept Model, based out of Los Angeles County, focused on identifying all intercept points throughout the criminal justice system where an individual facing mental health is to then apply an appropriate intervention (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). Many efforts to enhance police officer training pertaining to mental health is a collaboration between law enforcement and members of the community.

A widespread response to better serve individuals facing mental illness is the implementation of the Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT). This training works to educate recruits and officers on how to successfully interact with a mentally ill person through this community-based program (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016; Rahr & Rice, 2015). “CIT policing brings together the criminal justice and mental health systems with the goals of reducing the risk of injury to police officers and mentally ill persons whilst also diverting persons to mental health treatment instead of jail” (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016, 144). This works to improve safety of officers, improve safety of consumers (members of the public),

and redirect consumers away from the judicial system and into the healthcare system (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016). The Memphis Model described previously also requires 40% of their department to be trained in CIT with all trained officers volunteering to partake in this program (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016; Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011). Some aspects of this program include the obvious police training, but it also incorporates community collaboration, vibrant and accessible crisis system, behavioral health staff training, collaboration and education for families, consumers, and advocates (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016).

Racism/Implicit Bias Training

Systemic racism has been a consistent topic of concern for many groups and people across America due to repeated inconsistent treatment from the police towards minority communities. Examples depicted in Working Paper I discuss the killings of George Floyd, Daniel Prude, Breonna Taylor, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile who were all Black individuals. The public outcry from the community in response to such use-of-force has sparked for a greater push to dismantle systemic racism by revamping policing. “People of color have lower opinions of the police than do Whites, and young people (especially those of color) have lower opinions than do older people, regardless of race” (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 37). Implicit bias training became a new form of response by trying to train officers to recognize their implicit biases and find ways to not let that impact their response (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, n.d.; Siegel, 2020). Places like New York City have allocated \$4.5 million to train recruits and officers in implicit bias training back in 2018 (Siegel, 2020). Within the same city, Zero-tolerance policing has been used which

allows and, in a way, encourages officers to search and question people based on discretion if an individual is suspicious such as jaywalking or holding an open beer (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011). This has led to continuous, inconsistent, and increasing harassment and arrests towards minorities (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011). “Officer’s use of discretion should be impartial and based on the situation rather than on some characteristic of the people involved” (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020, 10).

While various efforts have been put forward to begin to dismantle racism within policing, a continued concern, maybe even an increase in concern, has persisted in recent times due to continued incidents of racial disparities by police. “Implicit bias training has received much attention, but a study compared 17 of these trainings and found none were consistently effective” (Siegel, 2020, 1072). Looking back, it has been established that NYC spent \$4.5 million on implicit bias training which has been identified to not be effective (Siegel, 2020). NYC used this Fair and Impartial Policing (FIP) curriculum to provide such training which they evaluated by partnering with John Finn Institute for Public Safety and the IACP/UC Center for Police Research and Policy (Worden, McLean, Engel, Cochran, Reynolds, Najdowski, & Isaza, 2020). While 70% of the officers stated that they gained a better understanding of implicit bias, 73% of them had not or only sometimes used this training in the field (Worden, McLean, Engel, Cochran, Reynolds, Najdowski, & Isaza, 2020). “Empirical evidence that is supportive of the hypothesized training effect of reduced disparity in enforcement is, on the whole, spotty and weak at best... We find then, little evidence of the reductions in racial and ethnic disparities that we hypothesized would follow if officers practiced the FIP strategies for managing their biases” (Worden, McLean, Engel, Cochran, Reynolds, Najdowski, & Isaza, 2020, 155). Such findings

are directly correlated to why the field is currently questioning the potential impact of implicit bias trainings.

Even with such trainings, complaints of excessive use of force have more than doubled in recent years, especially towards Black and Brown individuals (Taylor, Alpert, Kubu, Woods, & Dunham, 2011). A vast number of resources have been put towards implicit bias training which has not improved the outcomes and treatment towards minorities by police officers. The discussion throughout Working Paper II highlights the various problematic approaches training academies take in which negatively shape the recruit's mindset on specific neighborhoods, groups, and individuals. "Training not only with individuals on account of race but also training in how they deal with entire neighborhoods based on racial makeup" (Siegel, 2020, 1091). The "Us vs Them" mindset has led officers to not trust certain parts of the community which further instills a divide and lack of trust (Rahr & Rice, 2015).

Training Culture's Impact on Community

The culture established in the academy, during the field training process (FTP), and as officers enter the field has created a problematic outcome to the goal of "Protecting and Serving" the community. "The police culture is a set of informal standards and norms that develop among police officers and influence how they approach the job" (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 41). The "Us vs Them" mindset, tactics to scare recruits during the training process such as traumatic stories, and the pedagogical style to treat officers like Warriors or soldiers have all contributed to the problematic foundation of policing in America (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Rahr & Rice, 2015). Among academies, 46.8% are more stress than non-stress-based training with

30.6% being equally distributed between stress and non-stress (United States Department of Justice, 2016). If the approach of the academy revolves around officers being yelled at by trainers, it may not come as a surprise that officers struggle with their day-to-day interactions with community members who they have been taught to fear and not trust. Training officers to fear the public does not provide the opportunity to properly serve their community as trust is absent. “Studies of police-citizen relations find that citizens who have had negative experiences with the police often become reluctant to assist the police in their investigations or report crimes...” (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 39). Officers need to be taught to support the community, network with the community, and hold high ethical and moral standards (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Caro, 2011; Rahr & Rice, 2015). Due to the “Us vs Them” mentality being previously expanded on in this paper and throughout Working Paper II, a focus here will be on the “Warriors vs Guardians” mindset followed by a deeper look into the necessary ethical and moral decision-making capabilities of officers. “Training culture has a huge impact on results and possibility for change” (Rahr & Rice, 2015, 4).

Warrior vs Guardian

This term, Warriors vs Guardians, is meant to depict the way police training academies are today versus what the ideal reality of policing should be (Rahr & Rice, 2015). Warriors are thought of as soldiers which may raise some questions as police officers are made to think they are soldiers who are combatting crime (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012). This mindset does not align with the reality of their work as described in Working Paper II. “Although officer

safety is a paramount training objective, it should not overemphasize worst-case scenarios, which teaches officers to expect everyone they encounter to be a threat” (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020, 10). Guardians on the other hand are usually thought of as parents, grandparents, teachers, babysitters, or daycare center employees. Formulating the idea that police officers should be trained to have a guardian perspective might sound ‘soft on crime’ to some but may seem like a necessity to others to instill trust, receive support, and utilize the services provided by officers in a time of need (Rahr & Rice, 2015). A guardian mindset works with the community to network, build true trust, provide the necessary support, and work together to combat true crime (Rahr & Rice, 2015; Skogan, Van Craen, Hennessy, 2014-2015).

Looking back to Working Paper II, training topics were laid out in which certain topics might be viewed as warrior focused while other topics might be viewed as guardian focused. With that, certain topics are unrelated to this Warrior vs Guardian perspective. Scholars have not directly pinpointed which topics within training are in fact warrior centered and which have a guardian viewpoint. However, certain trainings will be identified here as a lead way to better understand what topics may fit within each category. Warrior topics may include, but are not limited to, defensive tactics, firearms skills, terrorism, domestic violence, and arrest techniques which may seem remarkably similar to the traditional/mechanical/hard skills discussed previously. However, the topics aligning to the guardian viewpoint may include, but are not limited to, first aid/CPR, cultural diversity/human relations, problem solving, communications, ethics and integrity, and mental illness. Such a thought process is essential as the training topics, approaches, and culture all play a major role in how officers treat the public which directly impacts the view the community has on law enforcement.

Ethics/Morals

The hiring and training regarding ethical and moral decision making is an essential element to policing. Meanwhile, states like Ohio for example, provided no training pertaining to ethics (Bradford & Pynes, 1999). However, it is important to note that the Bureau of Justice Statistics pinpointed an average of 8 hours of training pertaining to ethics and integrity (Reaves, 2016). Officers are constantly faced with moral dilemmas from members of the community such as being offered bribes which can negatively impact their judgment and response to a situation (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). Implementing high ethical standards can help build trust, reduce unfair treatment towards certain individuals/communities, and improve the overall policing culture (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015; Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020). While discussing culture, ethics and morals must be instilled within training to create a healthy atmosphere. “Research looks at pre-hire psychological evaluations as it can better assess job applicants’ integrity and see which are more likely to commit unethical acts” (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015, 66). Weeding out unethical individuals during the hiring process is necessary but it must be noted that good apples turn into bad apples during the training process and due to the culture they are immersed in (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020).

Two types of corruption have been identified: 1) laziness, greed, accepting bribes, and 2) increased use of force and illegal search and seizures for example (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015). Training needs to find ways to combat such corruption and unethical behavior by instilling the proper mechanisms to ensure a true professional police force is maintained. This may include an increase in oversight of officers (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015), instilling strong bonds among recruits/officers to keep each other out of trouble (Blumberg,

Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015), and increase community engagement (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020). In general, an individual holding themselves and those around them to high standards will be more trustworthy, perform better, and provide better support to others by being honest with themselves and those around them.

Community Engagement

Engaging the community in various aspects of police training and policing in general can provide a wide range of potential to bond the public and their respective police department. Collaboration to include members of the community in the training process requires cooperation, dedication, and openness from all parties (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020). Members of the community partaking in this process can positively (or negatively) affect the officers' attitude and perspective based on the experience as people learn from those around them (Johnson, 2015). With that, the scope of police work has been constantly expanding over the years which makes it hard for police to be specialist (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Wuschke, Andersen, Brantingham, Rattenbury, & Richards, 2018). Bringing the police and community together can help identify what truly needs police attention and how to resolve those issues rather than the police trying to determine what the community needs (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999; Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Vander Kooi, 2006). This partnership can also work to plan for future needs of the officers and the community they serve (Predicting Law Enforcement's Future, n.d.). A fantastic example of this is the more recently used Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) discussed earlier as law enforcement work with community mental health stakeholders to successfully carry out the mission of CIT (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017).

In general, the collaboration provides an opportunity to spend time with the community and determine how to further build positive relationships with members who are invested in improving their community (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999). Without such efforts, the only and main interactions with members of the community are during calls for service which are more likely to be stressful situations (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999). “Police need to see the humanity, resilience, love, strength, hope, and promise” (Siegel, 2020). These emotional feelings can help officers connect better to the community and appreciate their work. Research has also shown that police should “involve community in supporting the positive impacts officers have made to make them [police officers] more prideful and further want to make a difference” (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020, 13). Anyone receiving positive support and negative repercussions will then consciously or unconsciously adjust their actions. “Since officers work in a relatively unsupervised environment, complaints can be used as a measure of officer and agency performance and community relations” (Houglan & Wolf, 2017, 41).

Potential Future of Training to ‘Protect and Serve’ the Community

A deep analysis has been provided throughout this capstone project to detail the current structure of policing, where it all started, how it has evolved, and what impact it has on the community. The way in which an individual learns however is more psychological based and can greatly impact how we train recruits to be upstanding police officers. The traditional pedagogical approach has been described but a shift to an andragogical style might be necessary to further professionalize the police force and build true positive relationships with the community at large. The shift of approach to training can begin to dismantle the problematic culture and work to

build a positive policing culture with better norms, expectations, and overall structure.

How should/can recruits learn?

As discussed, “Many of the principles and practices employed within many of America’s police academies are reminiscent of a traditional, pedagogical, military model of training” (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 28; Chappell, 2008; Vander Kooi, 2006). The pedagogical approach is very lecture oriented with set structure and establishes a discipline-oriented environment (Chappell, 2008). This discipline-oriented approach establishes a negative culture which can deter certain recruits who don’t align with these values despite being good candidates (Haarr, 2005). When looking at the pedagogical style, little time was focused on problem solving, communication, de-escalation, and interpersonal skills (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Vander Kooi, 2006; Rahr & Rice, 2015). Training should not only focus on laws, arrest techniques, defensive skills, driving, and weapons/firearms (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). This strategy does not focus on building job related skills and equipment (Waters, 2007), had less than 3% of time teaching cognitive and decision-making skills (Bradford & Pynes, 1999), and does not teach leadership skills (Vander Kooi, 2006).

While there may be times when the pedagogical style is appropriate, “an adult-based andragogical methodology by contrast, is viewed as a more holistic, integrative, collegial, collaborative, and responsive approach to training” (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 28). The andragogical style includes soft skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, problem-based learning, diversity, communications, decision making, interpersonal skills, conflict resolution, mental health, and solving disputes through dialogue (McGinley, Agnew-Pauley, Tompson, Belur, & Jyoti, 2019; Habelfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Chappell, 2008; Bradford

& Pynes, 1999; Waters, 2007; Rahr & Rice, 2015; Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011; Vander Kooi, 2006). These soft skills should encompass cognitive, emotional, social, and moral skills to perform better on the job when interacting with members of the community (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). The andragogical perspective is more dynamic, establishes why the topic is important, and further emphasizes learning/education over physical discipline (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012). A shift from the traditional pedagogical style where trainers provide facts rather than a hands-on approach like the andragogical style could yield positive change.

It may be beneficial to examine how adults learn and what educational strategies could be put in place to enhance their ability to better grasp/retain the information. “Adult learners possess a different self-image, more life experiences, fear of failure, greater expectation to immediately learn, and diminished speed and retention” compared to children (Kennedy, 2003, 1). Trainers must be able to identify the five learning styles (tactile, visual, social, auditory, and repetition) among each trainee which is absent in the current academy structures (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). Such trainings need to incorporate a blend of classroom lectures, symposiums, debates, discussions, group projects, and practical application/role play (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Kennedy, 2003). This structure could be self-directed and learner-centered to a certain extent within the curriculum (Chappell, 2008; Kennedy, 2003). “Methods of training have changed from the traditional classroom lecture format to such methods as role playing, in-field exercises, case studies, and use of technology as more is known about adult learners...” (Traut, Feimer, Emmert, & Thom, 2000, 297). In respect to field training, a program in Seattle Washington formed a supervisory program which allowed for a discussion of topics that

typically wouldn't be talked about under standard practices between supervisors and officers, focused on how the officer felt during a situation, and focused on training in procedural justice (Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018). Despite all the academic research currently available and discussed, a lack of adequate knowledge in what the most effective training and education structure is continues to prevail in our society (Caro, 2011).

Changing Culture, Norms, Expectations, and Structure

The current state of police training does not formulate a culture that is focused on serving the community (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020). However, "the right psychological climate creates a setting where mutual respect, collaboration, trustworthiness, support, openness and authenticity, humanness and pleasure can flourish" (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 34). Such a culture can impact an individual's values, emotions, and attitudes towards their role as a police officer. A culture shift like so needs to be implemented at a full organizational level to ensure all aspects of policing and the academy are synchronously working together to form a positive environment such as creating a better relationship between academy staff and field training officers (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). Shifting training to strategies like LEED (Listen and Explain with Equity and Dignity) helps by "... training street officers to take the time to listen to people, explain what is going to happen, explain why that decision was made (transparency), and leave participants with their dignity" (Rahr & Rice, 2015, 3). Procedural justice is also directly in line with LEED as it is "treating citizens fairly and with dignity, no matter what the outcome is" (Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018, 42).

Instructors should be supportive by incorporating encouraging comments to push recruits to perform their absolute best while being prideful in the positive impacts they can and do make

(Kennedy, 2003; Rahr & Rice, 2015). Trainers are role models who set the tone and communicate expectations for the recruits on how individuals should be treated. Along similar lines, trainers need to educate recruits on how to cope with stress, maintain good health, and how to utilize the necessary resources available to them (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015). The shift from the pedagogical approach to the andragogical style should also include how recruits/officers can play a role in dismantling stereotypes against specific neighborhoods rather than being taught to fear those locations (Siegel, 2020). Along similar lines, organizations and its officers can be educated in how to get involved in the community by participating in youth programs, working with social services, and new community centers for example (Wyllie, 2020). Trainers must keep in mind that the recruits/officers need to be shown how the content is relevant and beneficial for them to actually pay attention and want to retain the information (Kennedy, 2003; Bradford & Pynes, 1999).

Increasing the hiring expectations such as requiring some level of college completion may be beneficial as “candidates with a college background have better verbal and written communication skills, make better discretionary decisions, and have greater empathy for and tolerance of differing lifestyles and attitudes” (Bradford & Pynes, 1999, 291). Departments can also work with internal affairs regarding complaints to find ways to train officers differently to avoid citizens feeling the need to file a complaint (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, n.d.). This can directly relate to finding new and impactful ways to maintain accountability within police training and policing as a whole (Predicting Law Enforcement’s Future, n.d.). Utilizing associations such as the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training (IADEST) can encourage research, development, and sharing of information, ideas, and innovations to find effective and defensible standards for employment and training of

recruits/officers (Bradford & Pynes, 1999). “Effective training is strategic, applied, evidence based, and aligned to the reality of the police function” (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 18).

Conclusion

The current era of policing, the Community Era, has set the goal of building positive relationships with members of the community which can lead to trust of and cooperation with law enforcement. Community-Oriented Policing (COP) has been an increasingly used strategy to encourage such outcomes by implementing strategies, topics, and expectations to yield a more effective training academy. A discussion of mental health and racism/implicit bias training were pinpointed as most relevant topics within training due to current events (killing of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Daniel Prude) which has not been anything new but rather a continued issue within our country. The culture of training plays a major role in these outcomes as the Warrior approach has been detailed within this paper to show how officers are trained to act like soldiers rather than serving the public.

Training however should be focusing on instilling proper ethical and moral decision making. The community can play a role in supporting such trainings by providing insights into their needs, offer support to officers, and work to find ways to combat the concerns together. The future of training must be addressed further as the way recruits are taught, how they learn, and what they learn are paramount to the outcomes the community faces. A shift in culture, norms, and expectations can positively and directly impact the community as a whole to begin formulating a true relationship and service with the public. Moving forward, the police need to evolve with society rather than all at once as “change at too rapid a pace creates chaos” (De

Paris, 1997, 16).

Chapter 4

Introduction

Basic police training academies across the United States have worked to prepare recruits for the mission to ‘Protect and Serve’. While the varying types of academies train using different techniques, approaches, requirements, and structures, all of them hold similar minded ideals and goals. The transformation of policing over time has been slow despite a somewhat rapid evolution that has occurred throughout the nation’s history (i.e., technology). The current state of policing has continuously been called into question for producing a lack of trust and legitimacy due to unequal treatment by officers towards differing communities. While evidence can show that certain areas of policing have improved due to technology and changing efforts towards community-oriented policing (COP), history has still repeated itself time and time again when it comes to the treatment of minority communities.

Training plays a major role in the culture, qualifications, and mindset within policing and is what shapes an officer. With that, training can instill a positive or negative attitude for recruits/officers towards their job and the public. The way officers are trained and what they are trained on can directly shape their perspective of the community and what their job truly entails. The predominantly used pedagogical style aligns with a more militaristic training approach which is an area that must be adequately evaluated (Chappell, 2008; Habersfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Vander Kooi, 2006). An emerging andragogical approach has begun to take form as a possible replacement of the pedagogical style as it works to be “... more holistic, integrative, collegial, collaborative, and responsive...” (Habersfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 28; Chappell, 2008; McGinley, Agnew-Pauley, Tompson, Belur, & Jyoti, 2019). Each training topic along with the way it is projected onto the recruits/officers plays a key role in shaping that individual’s

response. The ‘Warrior vs Guardian’ viewpoint is an essential aspect of police training that must be addressed. Warriors can fall under the pedagogical mindset as it trains officers as if they are soldiers in the war on crime (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Rahr & Rice, 2015).

Guardians align more with the andragogical mentality as it caters to serving the public by being a beneficial resource to them (Rahr & Rice, 2015).

Literature Review

Research into the various components that make up this capstone project is extensive, but a majority of said research does not tie together the necessary elements to address police training, its evolution over time, and its impact on the community. “The problem as we see it, is little research has been conducted on BLET [basic law enforcement training] and most of what has been done has focused on basic training occurring at a few academies... To our knowledge, no national-level studies of U.S. police training academies- where most BLET occurs – have been published since the 1980s” (Sloan & Paoline, 2021, 1). The evaluation of these aspects can further expand the literature to better grasp the structure of police training, style of the training, and content areas required to improve police work as a whole. This section will expand upon the various research available today to better understand all moving components of the police academy.

Culture within a community, large or small, plays a substantial role in shaping the individuals’ perspectives, values, and norms. “The police culture is a set of informal standards and norms that develop among police officers and influence how they approach the job” (Clear, Hamilton, & Cadora, 2011, 41). Studies have argued that the current culture of policing does not cater towards serving the community as recruits are practically trained to do the opposite, to fear

the community (Blumberg, Papazoglou, & Schlosser, 2020; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; Rahr & Rice, 2015). “The paramilitary model of policing has created myriad problems not only in the training environment, but also in the general culture of the organization (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012, 29). This formal, pedagogical approach instills fear by making working on the streets be perceived as dangerous. Such a mindset includes trainers taking the time to talk about war stories, talking about how recruits can die in this line of work, and having visual aids related to deadly threats to officers such as posters (Van Maanen, 1974; Branch, 2020; Waters, 2007; Rahr & Rice, 2015). A commonly used saying throughout police academies typically is, “It’s either you or them, don’t let it be you” (Branch, 2020). Using a high-stress environment to teach recruits has led to an increase in self-resignation from the police academy (Haarr, 2005; Reaves, 2016; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). “The majority (88.2%) of recruits who self-initiated resignation experienced a significant amount of stress and conflict when their beliefs and expectations about police work differed considerably from the actual practices and realities of police work” (Haarr, 2005, 441). Along similar lines, many of these recruits felt officers were verbally abusive even within their own culture of officers (Haarr, 2005). This is where the line begins to shift from the formal influence on culture to the informal aspect of policing.

The topics within many training academies today are focused on hard skills: firearms, driving, defensive tactics, and enforcing the law (Chappell, 2008; Werth, 2009; Rahr & Rice, 2015). “Recruits spend 90% of their training time on firearms, driving, first aid, self-defense, and other use-of-force tactics even though only 10% of their job duties will put them in positions where they need to use these skills” (Chappell, 2008, 38; Traut, Feimer, Emmert, & Thom, 2000; Wood, Watson, & Fulambarker, 2017; Caro, 2011). Only 20-30% of police work is related to

criminal activity and officers rarely need to follow through with formal legal action (Wuschke, Andresen, Brantingham, Rattenbury, & Richards, 2018; Wood, Watson, & Fulambarker, 2017; Werth, 2009). The military boot camp model has little to do with the daily reality of policing (Rahr & Rice, 2015). Yet the academy has focused mainly on the traditional pedagogical/hard skills rather than the andragogical style with soft skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, communications, diversity, police-community relations, interpersonal skills, analytical skills, mental health, leadership, and conflict resolution (McGinley, Agnew-Pauley, Tompson, Belur, & Jyoti, 2019; Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Chappell, 2008; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Waters, 2007; Vander Kooi, 2006).

Following this discussion on the pedagogical style and hard skills, an emerging concept, Warrior vs Guardian, has begun to take form within academia. The pedagogical teaching structure instills a warrior like mentality into officers which causes them to believe that they are soldiers in a war against crime (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012). In contrast, a “guardian mindset operates as part of the community as a good cop is worked with and provided information” (Rahr & Rice, 2015, 3). The current culture is predominantly warrior focused which starts in the basic training academy and leads to officers mimicking the behavior (Rahr & Rice, 2015; Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019). A push for a shift in policing has been constant throughout the United States. “Police use of excessive force, especially police shootings, has received increasing attention from the killings of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile [along with recent killings of George Floyd and Daniel Prude]” (Siegel, 2020, 1071). Unjust actions towards minority groups, primarily Blacks, has caused turmoil in the community. Training instills a sense of fear in police officers when working in predominantly Black neighborhoods (Siegel, 2020). Police officers

killed 1,093 people in 2016 alone (McDowell & Fernandez, 2018). Implicit bias training has been implemented in cities across the country such as New York City. NYC spent \$4.5 million on implicit bias training in 2018 but studies have shown this training to have limited effectiveness (Siegel, 2020; Worden, McLean, Engel, Cochran, Reynolds, Najdowski, & Isaza, 2020). The ‘we they’ and ‘us vs them’ dichotomy has caused a divide between police and the community due to the untrusting culture that is rooted from the police academy as it creates a viewpoint of certain people, places, and things (Engelson, 1999; Van Maanen, 1974; Siegel, 2020; Rahr & Rice, 2015). With such heinous killings and treatment by some officers, some demand complete elimination of police while others are pushing to divert partial funding elsewhere to provide other government agencies more resources or create more resource options to support the re-imagination of public safety (Wyllie, 2020).

The scope of police work has constantly been expanding/changing making officers more of a practitioner, resource, and problem solver rather than a law enforcement specialist (Wuschke, Andersen, Brantingham, Rattenbury, & Richards, 2018; Bradford & Pynes, 1999). “Police officers need to be psychologists, ensure safety, address victims, witnesses, perpetrators, and face troubled individuals trying to hurt or kill them” (Waters, 2007, 170). There needs to be a culture shift at the organizational level as many professional police agencies are organized by function rather than customer [the community] (Blumberg, Schlosser, Papazoglou, Creighton, & Kaye, 2019; De Paris, 1997; Rahr & Rice, 2015). Mental health has become of paramount focus in society within recent years leading to a push for more accountability in responding to such crises. One out of every four adults experiences mental illness in a year (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016). Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) were first established in Memphis Tennessee in 1998 when an officer shot a mentally ill man (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo,

2017). CIT is a community-based program in which law enforcement officials and/or mental health professionals are trained to successfully interact with individuals facing a mental health crisis (Arey, Wilder, Normore, Iannazzo, & Javidi, 2016; Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017; Rahr & Rice, 2015). CIT trained officers are better at recognizing mental illness than non-CIT trained officers (Campbell, Ahalt, Hagar, & Arroyo, 2017). Overall, the community should be of utmost importance and a successful collaboration is necessary to accomplish such goals (Rahr & Rice, 2015; Skogan, Van Craen, & Hennessy, 2014-15). Spending more time with the community and a focus on building positive relationships with those who are invested in the community can cause a positive impact in such collaborations (Parks, Mastrofski, Dejong, & Gray, 1999).

In general, many aspects of police training and education have been implemented without scientific evidence of its effectiveness along with the absence of truly knowing the most effective training curriculum (Skogan, Van Craen, Hennessy, 2014-15; Caro, 2011). Despite this, there have been studies done to target specific components of policing as it stands alone but neglects to cross examine the various aspects that all tie together to form what we know as policing today. Effective training is strategic, applied, evidence based, and aligned to the reality of policing function as police science literature has acknowledged that police training frequently does not align with the police role (Haberfeld, Clarke, & Sheehan, 2012; Bradford & Pynes, 1999). Studies have encouraged law enforcement to find ways to help officers maintain high ethical decisions, replace fear with coaching, build camaraderie and pride, assess performance, maintain accountability in police training, and ensure retention of knowledge (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2015; Rahr & Rice, 2015; Predicting Law Enforcement's Future, n.d.; Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Wood, Watson, & Fulambarker, 2017). Recruits/officers must feel the content is

relevant along with instructors implementing encouraging remarks while using different methods of teaching such as discussions, debates, demonstrations, role-play, and group projects (Kennedy, 2003).

Research Questions

In understanding the various components that make up basic training academies, a greater dive into the problems and gaps in police training can be called to question. This capstone project has catered to the Guardian vs Warrior ideology as each academy can be aligned one way or the other with some being less obvious. With that, are basic training academies predominantly Warrior or Guardian focused within the United States? Following such a comparison, does warrior, high stress, traditional training shape success, retention, and dropouts for male and female recruits or for White, Black, and Hispanic recruits?

Validation must be addressed here to enforce the credibility of a new Guardian Dummy variable that was created to test these questions. To adequately validate this variable, an examination of the correlation between the Guardian variable and stress-oriented academies will show whether this Guardian variable can predict if an academy is more or less stress oriented. Another point of effort to create validity is going to be the comparison of the Guardian variable with advisory board contribution to curriculum. This means, are Guardian academies more likely to have advisory boards that contribute to their training curriculum than non-Guardian academies? Lastly, the validity of the Guardian variable compared to Community Policing as a whole will be examined based on the anticipated impact found in the literature. All these examinations are expected to further validate the Guardian Academy dummy variable that has been created. It is anticipated that all three of these will hold a statistically significant finding to

successfully show the validity of this variable.

The findings are projected to show that Guardian academies are more likely to retain female and minority recruits than Warrior academies. This prediction is in place due to the high stress, pedagogical, militaristic approach to training that does not form a positive, supportive, and welcoming environment. In looking into the substantial amount of literature provided, it would suggest that the pedagogical and warrior-oriented training may be more readily embraced, accepted, and promoted by recruits and trainers who are White men. Such a disconnect may help explain the differences in retention and drop-out rates. These tests will allow for future researchers to continue to expand on the questions as they could play a role in policing culture.

Methods

Background

The data used to test the above research questions stems from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) which falls under the United States Department of Justice (DOJ). Within the BJS, the Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Training Academies (CLETA) provides various analyses and data sets pertaining to basic police officer training academies throughout the United States. The specific data was acquired from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR-36764) data and codebook. “From 2011 to 2013, a total of 664 state and local law enforcement academies provided basic training to entry-level officer recruits... During this period, nearly 135,000 recruits entered a basic training program, and 86% completed the program successfully” (Reaves, 2016, 1). The 664 training academies were identified by compiling a list from various sources such as professional associations, state law enforcement training organizations, and existing law enforcement data collections (Reaves,

2016). Aside from field training, recruits spent on average, 840 hours in their basic training program (Reaves, 2016). Information is provided pertaining to basic police officer training such as completion rates, comparisons of male to female recruits, racial composition of recruits, educational attainment, average number of hours spent in training, specific training topics and their hours, etc. Data was collected from all state and local law enforcement academies that provided any type of basic law enforcement training. While this data set consists of 664 academies, only 442 academies will be included in this study due to having incomplete data from the remaining 222 academies.

Original variables and new Guardian vs Warrior variables

Among the various aspects of the data, specific data sets and variables were pinpointed to cater to the goals of this research. A plethora of original variables were useful in this process just as they were, while other analyses required new variables be created based on the preexisting data. Original variables such as the number of recruits, gender of recruits, race/ethnicity of recruits, training by topic/content and hours, and community-oriented policing training are all used to some extent for this evaluation. Based on the preexisting data provided by the BJS, new variables needed to be created to further the research capabilities to test whether academies are Warrior or Guardian focused. The number of hours devoted to guardian training was conducted by adding up the Guardian training variables by hours. The literature described earlier provides a way to categorize these topics due to the pedagogical approach aligning with a Warrior focus and the andragogical mindset affiliating with the Guardian mentality. In response to the literature, these topics were included: Basic first-aid/CPR (Q31AHOURS), Community partnership building/collaboration (Q31NHOURS), Cultural diversity/human relations (Q31OHOURS),

Mediation/conflict management (Q31PHOURS), Problem-solving approaches (Q31QHOURS), Basic foreign language (Q31RHOURS), Communications (Q31SHOURS), Ethics and integrity (Q31THOURS), Professionalism (Q31VHOURS), Stress prevention/management (Q31WHOURS), Crimes against children (Q31AAHOURS), Elder abuse (Q31EEHOURS), Hate crimes/bias crimes (Q31GGHOURS), Mental illness (Q31IIHOURS), Sexual harassment (Q31KKHOURS), and Victim response (Q31MMHOURS).

This same process was used for the number of hours devoted to Warrior training by adding up the Warrior training variables by hours. This consists of: Defensive tactics (Q31HHOURS), Firearms skills (Q31IHOURS), Non-lethal weapons (Q31JHOURS), Clandestine drug labs (Q31XHOURS), and Gangs (Q31FFHOURS). Guardian Time was then divided by Warrior Time to create a Guardian to Warrior Time on Training ratio. If this generates an output of 1, it shows that the number of hours is equally distributed between guardian and warrior activities. If it is greater than 1, it is Guardian focused and if it is less than 1, it is Warrior focused. Another new variable was created only for Guardian academies which consists of all academies that ended up having the Guardian to Warrior Ratio equal to or be greater than 1. Some topics were not included in either grouping, Guardian or Warrior, due to their insignificance regarding the classification of these trainings such as Patrol procedures/techniques (Q31EYN), Report writing (Q31FYN), Traffic law (Q31MYN), Health and fitness (Q31UYN), and Commercial motor vehicle inspections (Q31YYN).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Guardian Academy Variables

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation
Hours devoted to Guardian	442	13	675	136.68	84.26

Training					
Hours devoted to Warrior Training	442	8	392	154.52	51.40
Time ratio of Guardian to Warrior	442	0.12	7.25	0.94	0.6
Guardian Academy	442	0	1	0.34	0.45
Stress/non-stress	442	1	7	4.44	1.24
Advisory Board	442	0	1	0.37	0.48
Community Policing Training	442	0	13	6.08	3.85
Valid N	442				

Stress Level, Advisory Board, and Community Policing variables

The Guardian dummy variable described previously can be tested against other variables to establish validity. The stress/non-stress variable (Q30) is focused on determining if an academy is (1) Entirely non-stress, (2) Predominantly non-stress, (3) Slightly more non-stress than stress, (4) Equal balance of stress and non-stress, (5) Slightly more stress than non-stress, (6) Predominantly stress, and (7) Entirely stress. Running a correlation between Guardian academies and stress will show whether or not the Guardian academies are actually less stress focused. The second validation comparison is whether or not an academy has a law enforcement advisory board (Q29C). It would be expected that a Guardian academy is more likely to have an advisory board compared to a Warrior academy. This is the case due to an advisory board holding outside viewpoints and knowledge pertaining to police training rather than being directly

related to the police department and academy. An advisory board is also going to push for unique topics/ideas implementations such as cultural diversity, mediation, and community partnerships that would not likely be incorporated without an advisory board. Finally, a variable was created and labeled as Community Policing Index. The expectation is that Guardian academies would be positively correlated with this Community Policing Index. It measures whether the following topics related to community policing are provided as instruction elements in basic recruit training: History of community-oriented policing (Q40A), Identifying community problems (Q40B), Prioritizing crime and disorder problems (Q40C), Applying research methods to study crime and disorder (Q40D), Using problem-solving models (Q40E), Environmental causes of crime (Q40F), Organizing/mobilizing the community (Q40G), Creating private sector partnerships (Q40H), Analyzing crime/calls for service data (Q40I), Using crime mapping to analyze community problems (Q40J), Creating problem-solving teams (Q40K), Assessing the effectiveness of responses used in problem-solving (Q40L), and Interacting with youth (Q40M).

New variables for recruits' gender and race/ethnicity

For each academy, a new variable was created to measure the total number of recruits that started the academy for the years 2011, 2012, and 2013 (Q24A START). A new variable was also created to measure the total number of recruits who successfully completed the academy for the same years (Q24A COMP). These data points were further broken down by the number of recruits starting basic training by gender (Q25 START) and the number of recruits who completed their basic training by gender (Q25 COMP). The original number of recruits was also categorized by race/ethnicity. The number of recruits starting basic training by race/ethnicity (Q26 START) and the number of recruits completing basic training by race/ethnicity (Q26

COMP) were variables pinpointed for this analysis. This was done by computing new variables to represent completing the basic training academy by the recruits' gender or race/ethnicity: White percent completed, Black percent completed, Hispanic percent completed, and male/female percent completed.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Race Completion Rate Variables

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation
Completion: White	327	0	1	0.85	0.14
Completion: Black	280	0	1	0.79	0.24
Completion: Hispanic	274	0	1	0.83	0.23
Completion: Male to Female	442	0.56	10.04	1.17	0.54
Valid N	442				

In looking at the 'mean' columns in each table, the outputs for the dichotomous dummy variables (e.g., Guardian Academies & Advisory Boards) represent the percentages related to that specific variable. Table 1 shows a mean of 0.34 for the Guardian Academy variable; this means that 34% of academies are Guardian focused. The data presented in Table 1 also indicates that 37% of basic training academies have advisory boards that contribute to curriculum development. In table 2, the Completion rate for Whites yields a mean of 0.85 which means that the average completion rate for recruits who identify as White was 85%. This average completion rate is slightly higher than that reported for Black recruits (79%) and Hispanic recruits (83%). As for Completion of Male to Females, the values reported in Table 2 are

reported as a ratio. A value of 1.17 means that males on average had a slightly higher completion rate than female recruits. Due to the ratio being Male to Female, a result of 1.00 would mean an equal amount of men and women, a result greater than 1.00 is more men, and a result less than 1.00 would be more women.

Analysis

The analysis of this research project has been further broken up into two parts. Part I is going to directly focus on the creation of the Guardian variable. More specifically, on whether or not it correlates with what we expect it to align with. This will also allow for a clear validation to the approach that was taken in classifying a topic as Warrior or Guardian focused. Part II will then expand upon this section to compare the type of academy to completion rates, specifically pertaining to gender and race.

Part I

As depicted in the Methods section, each training topic was identified as Guardian or Warrior focused along with a few unrelated topics in which were not included. A correlation was then conducted to test the validity of this categorization. Three variables were tested against the Guardian dummy variable to test this validity. First, the Guardian dummy variable was tested compared to stress levels of each academy. A significant correlation, less stress academies aligning with Guardian academies, is expected and would validate the Guardian dummy variable. Second, this new variable was compared to the law enforcement advisory board contribution to curriculum. Yielding a statistically significant finding would show that academies who have an advisory board are more Guardian based. This expectation would then validate the Guardian

dummy variable. Third, a test will be done to compare this variable to Community Policing as a whole. Community Policing would be expected to align with Guardian academies rather than Warrior academies.

Part II

Once the new Guardian dummy variable is tested and validated, it can be further used to run more in-depth correlations. Completion rates for gender and race/ethnicity were provided within the same data set which can now be compared to Guardian and Warrior academies. With the academies separated into Guardian or Warrior, a test can be conducted which will examine the relationship between Guardian academy status and completion rate differences between male and female recruits. It is expected that Guardian academies would be more likely to retain female recruits than Warrior academies. Following this, the data also provides a breakdown of dropout and retention rates for race/ethnicity. Along similar lines with the gender variable, specifically for retaining more females in Guardian academies than in Warrior academies, it is predicted that Guardian academies would also be more likely to retain Black and Hispanic recruits than non-Guardian academies. A build off of Part I of the analysis is an important step in utilizing the pre-existing literature to hypothesize the potential impacts each type of academy has/will have on certain types of recruits.

Results/Findings

Validity

Three variables were tested against the new Guardian dummy variable to help establish validity prior to testing whether or not the Guardian variable is related to recruits' gender and

race/ethnicity. The correlations between these variables are reported below in Table 3. The first variable, stress/non-stress oriented, did not yield a statistically significant finding. This may be due to the inaccuracy of identifying training topics as Guardian or Warrior along with the possibility of academies miss reporting the actual level of stress present in their training. Simply put, the Guardian variable does not show if an academy is or is not stress oriented. The second variable, Law Enforcement Advisory Board contribution to curriculum, resulted with a correlation of 0.17 which is a weak but statistically significant finding (0.00). This shows that the expected correlation between the Guardian dummy variable and the Advisory Board is present which means Guardian academies are more likely to have an advisory board than Warrior academies. The third and last variable to test validity, Community Policing, was found to be correlated (0.18) and was also a weak but statistically significant finding with a result of 0.00. These findings show that Guardian academies are more likely to have Community Policing training topics instilled in their academy.

Table 3: Correlation between Guardian Academy Variables and Variables used to Test Validity

		Stress/Non-stress	Advisory Board	Community Policing
Guardian Academy	Pearson Correlation	-0.01	0.17	0.18
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.75	0.00	0.00

Gender and Race/ethnicity

Following the validation of the Guardian dummy variable, gender and race/ethnicity were tested to determine if Guardian academies are more likely to retain a certain gender and race.

The correlations between the variable measuring Guardian academies and the variables capturing completion rates are provided below in Table 4. After running these tests, it was determined that the Guardian dummy variable does not provide a statistical significance at the 0.05 level for either gender or race/ethnicity. Overall, Guardian academy status was unrelated to differences in completion rates by race and gender. The expectation was that Guardian academies would be more likely to retain female and minority recruits over Warrior academies which is not in line with the findings presented here. This may be due to categorization errors of academies/topics or may show a greater flaw in the prediction/hypothesis of the impact Guardian academies have on retention rates.

Table 4: Correlation between Guardian Academy and Completion Rates

		Completion: White	Completion: Black	Completion: Hispanic	Ratio of MF Completers
Guardian	Pearson Correlation	0.04	0.04	-0.01	-0.04
Academy	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.47	0.52	0.93	0.47

Limitations/Future Research

Guardian vs. Warrior academies is not a topic that has an overabundance of literature or focus. This project attempted to develop a method for categorizing basic police training academies as either Guardian or Warrior and to explore if academies defined as Guardian could help explain variations in completion rates by gender and race. The findings presented here are only based off of one data set which has missing and incomplete data. Academies who did not provide complete data were not able to be included if it did not align with the necessary

requirements to carry out the analysis. This limitation may have skewed the findings and has reduced the number of cases available to work with. The Guardian dummy variable and other new variables discussed were created based on the pre-existing information which may have been categorized incorrectly or differently than other researchers would argue. The method of creating a distinction between Guardian and Warrior academies could have been measured differently such as creating a range of categories for academies to be grouped in. Future research should cater towards these limitations and use this data set, hypotheses, and findings to further this research area. This project focused on Guardian academies and its impact on retention and completion rates based on gender and race/ethnicity. Upcoming research can expand upon such ideas to further understand Guardian and Warrior academies as their training styles, hours of training, and training topics can play a major role in policing culture and the impact it has on the community. With that, it might be found that academies that have a strong Warrior orientation are able to pre-screen recruits/candidates prior to the start of the academy. This would show that the selection process may be successful at eliminating or “weeding out” candidates who may not succeed in such environments.

Policy Implications/Conclusion

The literature review regarding policing and police officer training/basic police academies is extensive regarding overall police culture, training topics/hours, and the style of police training. However, this research project has worked to use that information as a means to further the research to identify academies to be Guardian or Warrior focused. The intentions were to test the hypothesis that Guardian academies would be more likely to retain female and minority recruits than Warrior academies. This was done by creating a Guardian dummy variable

composed of academies that are more Guardian based rather than militaristic/Warrior focused. This new variable was tested with various other variables to ensure validity as a way to ensure this new variable could be relied on. Two out of the three variables tested for validity came back statistically significant. Once the validity was established, the Guardian dummy variable was tested against male and female recruits who dropped out of their respective academy. Following this, a more in-depth analysis was conducted to also determine if race/ethnicity played a role in retention and completion rates among Guardian academies. These tests concluded that gender and race/ethnicity completion rates were not related to the classification of academies as Guardian or Warrior. Moving forward, it is a necessity that more research is done to evaluate police training to determine the most effective way to train officers and to yield better results in their efforts to protect and serve the community.

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