ETHICS TRAINING

IN CANADIAN POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ADULT EDUCATION

BY

DIETER SCHACHHUBER

APPROVED BY

ADVISOR

COMMITTEE MEMBER

EXTERNAL EXAMINER

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

ANTIGONISH, NOVA SCOTIA

JANUARY 2004

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
Acquisisitons et services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-90308-7
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-90308-7

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou aturement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this dissertation.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de ce manuscrit.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the dissertation.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the state of ethics and ethics training in Canadian police organizations. This topic is of increasing importance not only to police, but to Canadians in general, because of the fundamental changes in modern police organizations. Current events in Canada indicate that the traditional means for managing the ethics in police services are increasingly becoming obsolete and must be replaced by more active promotion of ethical conduct and by more effective development and maintenance of individual ethics.

The literature review used as a theoretical backdrop for the study focuses on three related areas: adult education and critical thinking; individual and organizational ethics; and, police ethics and ethics training. The study comprises two main components. The first is a detailed review of existing police training programs and the paucity of ethics training. The second part consists of a detailed survey on the promotion and management of ethics in Canadian police services. The analysis and interpretations of the survey results present a very mixed picture of ethics in Canadian police organizations and highlight the need for a more cohesive and determined effort to promote ethics in the Canadian police universe.

The discussion and recommendation section outlines how ethics in Canadian police organizations might be promoted in a more consistent, effective and determined manner, and present some ideas that may be useful for the future evolution of police management and leadership. This section also comments on the role of comprehensive ethics training in the promotion of promotion and maintenance of ethics in Canadian police organizations.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Ann, who has helped make my life all it can be, and to Adam, Emily, and Sarah, who have given it purpose.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must thank Professor Dorothy Lander of St. Francis Xavier University, whose sharpness of mind and firmness of direction are matched by her civility and kindness.

Sincere thanks also must go to the library staff at the Canadian Police College in Ottawa who demonstrate daily what dedication and professional service mean.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT I

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

Chapter Page

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Background to the Study 2

Current Events that Underline the Importance of Police Ethics 4

Focus of the Inquiry 6

Purpose of the Study 7

Scope and Limitations of the Study 8

Assumptions 11

Definition of Terms 12

Research Methodology 13

Plan of Presentation 15

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 16

Principles and Assumptions of Adult Education 18

Defining Adult Learning and Adult Learners 18

Critical Reflection 20

Ethics in Organizations 26

The Development of Individual Ethics 27

Organizational and Management Ethics 34

Police Ethics 38

Police in Democratic Society 38

Ethical Considerations in the Role of the Police 42

Police Discretion 45

Police Corruption 47

Police Ethics Codes 50

Teaching Police Ethics 52

On-the-Job Training for Police Officers 52

Educational Models for Ethics Training for Police Officers 54

Ethics Issues in Canadian Policing Today 55

Summary of the Literature 57

3. A STUDY OF POLICE ETHICS IN CANADA 59

Research Methodology 60

Document Analysis of Police Ethics Training in Canada 60

Ethics Training in Police Academies 62

Ethics Training in Community College Police Foundations Programs . . 63

Course Learning Requirements 68

Knowledge and Skills 68

Methods and Activities 68

Ethics in Admissions and the Application Process 70

Ethics in Advanced Training Programs 73

The Survey Findings 77

The Survey Response Process 77

Presence of Written Guidelines 80

Ranking Management Priorities 82

Ranking Ethical Priorities 84

Tools for Enforcing Ethical Conduct 87

Measures and Practices to Promote Ethical Values and Conduct 90

Ethical Self Image 101

Summary of Key Points About Police Ethics Training 102

4. DISCUSSION OF OUTCOMES: ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS 105

The Value of the Document Analysis 106

The Value of the Survey Questionnaire 112

Establishing the Logic of the Program 112

The Survey Questionnaire 113

Framework for Comprehensive Applied Police Ethics 115

Performance Measurement and Evaluation 117

Career Stages and Promotional Opportunities 119

Ethics Training and Development 121

Ethics Leadership 122

Implications for Applied Ethics in Adult Education Practice 123

Police Ethics Training and the Stages of Moral Development 124

Police Ethics Training and Critical Thinking 125

Recommendations 127

In Closing 129

REFERENCES 130

APPENDIX 139

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, ethics has become a prominent issue in public life and educational research. With increasing frequency the mass media are addressing ethics issues in the corporate world, in government and public agencies and in the conduct of police officers. Presently one can only speculate about the causes of the growing interest in ethics. It is possible that there is more wrongdoing which is seen as violation of the moral expectations the general population has of organizations and public figures. It is possible that the public has simply become more educated on the issues, has higher moral standards for itself and its representatives, and is more alert to the issues. It is possible that society is going through a paradigm shift in which the old values and enforcement mechanisms no longer work, and everyone is seeking better and more effective means for identifying, measuring, and enforcing moral standards. It is possible that there is, in this period of transition to a new paradigm, more opportunity for wrongdoing on the part of organizational actors and public figures. It is possible that the mass media are more focused on moral issues and have become more capable of identifying and reporting on wrongdoing in public life.

In the case of policing, all of these causes are likely to play a role. What is not in dispute is the need for high moral standards, and an expectation of ethical competence in police work. Police officers have unique and extraordinary powers to deprive citizens, under certain defined circumstances, of life, liberty, and property. These extraordinary powers are exercised with similarly extraordinary discretion. This combination of powers

and discretion has traditionally been closely monitored and controlled by stringent and close direct supervision, by clearly defined, detailed codes of conduct, and by strict enforcement and always threatened negative consequences. The rules were clear and unambiguous and direct. There always has been police wrongdoing, but the means to control it were considered adequate and were rarely challenged. The public knew, or perhaps cared, little about the internal workings of the police. These conditions no longer hold true. Police work is carried out with growing independence and individual discretion, in response to constantly shifting public demands and priorities, and with very little direct supervision. Rules and standards can no longer be drafted quickly enough to deal with all the possible and probable circumstances, and the ethical threats, conflicts, and temptations faced by police officers. Therefore, individual police officers must develop moral standards and the capacity for ethical reasoning, decision making, and action required by their extraordinary powers in extraordinary times.

In this study I examine the existing approaches to the administration of ethics in police work and the existing state of ethics training in the Canadian police universe, as a prelude to an informed debate about possible changes to police ethics education.

Background to the Study

Canadian policing is undergoing a profound transformation, which at this point has not yet greatly affected how police organizations are managed. The transformation is moving policing from incident-based law enforcement to full fledged community policing. At the moment of this writing police training is beginning to address the new

competencies, skills, and approaches required under the community policing paradigm. Not all these new competencies have as yet been identified, nor are they addressed in the various training organizations and institutions. This largely applies to police ethics. The relative obscurity of police ethics is recognized by (among others) Kleinig (1997), who observes, "For the most part, the ethical concerns of police have been ignored by academic writers" (p. vii). This observation neatly captures the problem. Any interest in police ethics is still based on the old paradigm. It is reactive, focuses on the aftermath of wrongdoing, and emphasizes the discipline and punishment of wrongdoers. There is as yet very little help to the aspiring or serving police officer in terms of the teaching and learning of ethics, moral leadership by example, and continuous growth and maturation in terms of moral strengths and ethical competence.

There is a growing focus on practical and organizational ethics in many other areas, such as government, corporate management, health care, and public administration. Police are under constant media scrutiny, particularly when things go wrong. There has been a proliferation of oversight and accountability mechanisms. The shift from incident-based to community-based policing is putting police officers constantly in the public eye. Community policing requires the continuous examination of the behaviours and priorities of others. New ethical skills and actions are required for which the traditionally trained officer is not equipped. Today's police administration is still based on the old concept of the "thin blue line," whereby police stand on a clearly defined line separating the right and the wrong in society. This continuing self image is confirmed by such means as the name of the magazine of the Canadian Police Association, *The Blue Line.* Before any

concerted action to address the conundrum between old images and new realities is possible, an in-depth understanding of existing approaches to police ethics administration is necessary. This study examines the literature on police ethics, its relationship to police ethics training and adult education, and surveys existing approaches to the management of police ethics in Canada.

Current Events that Underline the Importance of Police Ethics

Stansfield (1996) alluded to the growing crisis in Canadian policing as one of the outcomes of the transformation of Canada from an industrial to an information society. The structure used to produce order in the former is no longer viable. "The crisis in public policing is most evident in Canada's large informational centres such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver where a steady stream of allegations of racism, sexism, corruption and brutality have plagued public police agencies" (p. 10). Media coverage of recent events not only in these large cities, but also in smaller centres such as Halifax, Saskatoon and Edmonton confirms this diagnosis. An article in *The Halifax Herald* (2004) lists recent scandals from one coast to the other: the corruption scandals in the Toronto drug squad, beatings of suspects by six veteran Vancouver police officers, the practice of dumping undesirables far from the city in Saskatoon in the most horrible weather conditions, and, the role of the Newfoundland Constabulary in three separate wrongful murder convictions. These issues are so prominent that the New York Times picked up the story and commented that the "public discomfort was just the latest in a series of episodes that have caused the Canadian police to be accused of abusive practices and corruption" (Krauss, 2004, p. C1).

Public concern is not limited to the impersonal. Personal conduct is being scrutinized and is seen as a public concern. No less than the chief of the Edmonton police service is being accused of sexual improprieties in the course of duty. Other officers are suspect as well. Cover-ups are suspected (Mahoney, 2004).

Public concern over these issues may be growing, but the response by police management still is to limit the damage and to treat perpetrators as bad apples, rather than as indications of a pervasive and systemic malaise. The Vancouver chief of police, under public pressure, imposed harsh sanctions on officers found guilty of criminal misconduct. However, this is likely to be a response to public and media pressure, since the original police response was that even a criminal record need not necessarily lead to dismissal. The explanation given was that police work is inherently violent and that four other Vancouver police officers have assault convictions (Armstrong, 2004, p. A5).

Police response to these calamities still focuses on discipline and sanctions, rather than examining the systemic issues and causes. This limited traditional view is no longer supported by the media. The alarm is being sounded. *The Ottawa Citizen* (2004) roundly condemned the RCMP for its actions of January 21, 2004, suggesting that their actions were more appropriate to countries where human rights are unknown and where freedom is cheap. The actions "left an ugly and possibly indelible stain on this country's 137-year democratic tradition" (p. A1). The aftermath of these events and concerns will show if police ethics is to be elevated to a serious, systemic and management concern, or if it will continue to be prominent only in the aftermath of scandal and failure. Up to now all evidence is that to police, ethics is not a systemic concern. Two texts on police

management in Canada virtually ignore ethics as a principal foundation for effective and appropriate policing in a democratic society. Brodeur (1998) makes only the briefest mention of moral values, but is silent on ethics as a foundation for policing, and says nothing about the need for systemic and pervasive ethics training and administration. Stansfield (1996) briefly links corruption to individual morals and ethics, but has no systemic answers to the problem.

The former chief of the Calgary Police Service, Christine Silverberg (2004), is the rare voice that focuses on police ethics as a systemic solution to the recent and current scandals (p. A13). She proposes a comprehensive approach to the promotion of ethical leadership in Canadian police organizations.

My own interest in police ethics evolved over 12 years of employment with the RCMP, in which I dealt with many human rights, discrimination, equity and fairness issues, both in employment and in the delivery of policing services. I learned that most human rights and public complaints were rooted in organizational and management indifference to the ethical aspects of policing, rather than being isolated and strictly individual incidents capable of individual solution.

Focus of the Inquiry

This study focuses on the role of ethics training in the administration of ethics in the Canadian police universe. In designing this study I recognize that training cannot exist in a vacuum. It is part of an environment in which many different policies, initiatives, and influences determine the ethical competence and moral behaviours of police officers.

Therefore, this study focuses on the link between ethics training, available through the various programs and institutions that train and develop Canadian police officers, and the management and organizational approaches to ethics in Canadian police services. The study also focuses on the levels or stages of moral development that characterize police organizations. The intent is to establish a link between the stages of moral development and the appropriateness of police ethics training. This idea is based on the notion that ethics training will be most successful when it is specifically geared to the level of moral development of the participants in the training. Overly philosophical or idealistic training may be rejected or may cause negative reactions. Training that aims too low may be considered offensive or useless. This study combines an in-depth literature search with a survey of police organizations and their approaches to ethics. This combination is designed to lay a new foundation for police ethics training that has the potential for teaching ethics as a competence, and as a transforming experience. This is a profound departure from the currently prevalent practice of teaching about ethics as a subject.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to determine how ethics training can contribute to the moral development of police in Canada. During the study, a survey was conducted to provide information on the existing approaches to police ethics. The survey data portray and assess the various tools, enforcement mechanisms, and administrative systems and information programs presently in use. The survey is based on the concept that police can be grouped according to the various stages of moral development. The survey attempts to

link ethics to performance management and to the promotion process and career development of police officers. By establishing this context, the survey lays a foundation for the appropriate and effective design of police ethics training and development programs. By assessing the various approaches used by police organizations, the study draws a picture of practical police ethics in Canada today. This assessment may serve as the basis for further study and for the development of a comprehensive and conscious approach to the promotion and management of police ethics in the future. Effective and purposeful training in practical or applied ethics serves to foster ethical and legal behaviour by employees and officers at all levels, in the increasing absence of uniform and controlling policies, in increasingly diverse work forces, with increasing individualism and relativism, and with rapidly declining direct management and supervisory control. In part, the study is meant to be a call for action on police ethics in Canada.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is in the area of human resources development, specifically police ethics training in the Canadian context. The aspect is on researching and evaluating the role and context of training programs in practical ethics in police organizations and for police applicants and officers.

The study develops a knowledge base on adult education and critical thinking, on ethics and moral development, and on police ethics and the very limited field of police ethics training. The basis for this approach is the idea that ethical reasoning and moral

development can be influenced by promoting critical thinking on the issues. The study presents the state of individual and organizational ethics and related training programs in police organizations in Canada.

To achieve these results I sent a two-page survey questionnaire to approximately 330 police organizations in Canada. I also conducted a web search of all the police training institutions in Canada, as well as other Canadian college and university programs that prepare aspirants and applicants for policing careers and that offer management and police leadership and technical programs for serving officers.

The study focuses on Canadian police organizations. It could be illustrative to compare the findings with other jurisdictions. However, this would require replication with large numbers of organizations in other countries, and is beyond the scope of this study. The examination of police training and police ethics courses is limited to Canadian colleges that are listed members of the Canadian Association of Community Colleges, three universities with known justice administration programs, and the police training academies established by the various jurisdictions in Canada. I expanded the literature review on police ethics and police ethics training to include resources from many other countries, because the Canadian literature is extremely limited in all aspects. There is little Canadian police management literature. There is virtually no treatment of police ethics, except in some recent critical articles in the police trade media. The literature on police ethics is practical, rather than academic, and is often quite polemic in its expression of criticisms. There is little empirical research, and virtually no link between the stages of moral development, critical thinking, adult education, and the exercise of

moral conduct in police work. Most of the literature deals with codes of conduct and the various forms of misconduct. Some of the literature focuses on ethical leadership and organizational ethics. There is nothing on the possibility of transformational learning that could move police officers to higher stages of ethical development.

The survey research is also bound by the very limited understanding of ethics and its definitions by the various respondents. This undermines the credibility of many of the responses and would require further research to confirm the results. The questionnaire had to be designed to elicit information on what is, rather than what ought to be, the promotion and administration of ethics in police services. This limitation is necessary, because police management is not likely to agree to participate in any survey that might be critical of the police.

The questionnaire identified a number of tools used by police in the administration of ethics: (a) existence of formal ethics codes, and similar documents with a focus on ethics; (b) existence of specific practical ethics training programs; (c) understanding and definitions of ethics in police organizations; (d) common tools and practices used to promote ethical conduct; and (e) the role and recognition of ethics in the careers of sworn police officers. In the case of positive responses I requested samples of policies, guidelines, standards, programs, and so forth. Despite the fact that many respondents affirmed that such tools were in common use, no samples, other than standard codes of conduct, and superficial public information documents, were provided. This indicates either that the questions must be re-defined, or that the definitions are misunderstood or misleading, or that respondents made exaggerated claims. In any case,

the lack of supporting documentation makes any generalizations about appropriateness, quality, and utility problematic.

Assumptions

My first assumption is that ethics is an inevitable and important aspect in all police work. My second assumption is that police managers and officers agree with this first assumption and therefore share a common interest in researching, promoting and teaching, and learning ethics. The third assumption is that police ethics is becoming more important because of the many changes now affecting police organizations and the delivery of their services. I further assumed that the literature on policing would reflect this importance. I assumed that police are aware of the importance of this topic to their own conduct, to the integrity of their organizations, and to their public reputations. I further assumed that this importance would be reflected in tools, policies and guidelines and would be addressed in police training at all levels of the police universe.

My assumptions proved to be only partially correct. I remain convinced of the importance of police ethics, based on the consensus of the limited academic literature and my own experiences. I remain convinced that this issue will become more, not less, important as the shift to community-based policing continues. My assumptions about police attitudes towards ethics were only partially correct. Police managers and officers agree that ethics is important, but there is little indication that they see any need for greater attention to police ethics, or that they support the development of better standards, more training, or more accountability.

My assumption that everyone had a common definition of police ethics also proved to be questionable. Police have definitions of ethics which are based on, and are largely limited to, their written codes of conduct. There is little acknowledgment of ethics as an issue of the exercise of free will; there is no agreement that police must have higher ethical standards than others because of their extraordinary powers and circumstances.

I assumed that there would be extensive and varied academic literature on police ethics, in recognition of the need for constant improvement, a wide ranging network of varied and appropriate ethics training to promote ongoing learning, and organizational and public support for this effort. This assumption is clearly wrong. There is little police ethics training, there are no common programs based on national interest, and there is little prospect for immediate change.

I assumed that police ethics is a complex field and that police organizations use a multitude of tools, policies, practices, and enforcement mechanisms to ensure the ethical conduct of officers and employees. This assumption is confirmed by the findings from the research. Ethics training is, and always will be, only one of these tools and mechanisms. In chapter 4, I elaborate on how my study reinforced my assumptions and, more often, would lead me to revise them.

Definition of Terms

The language and the terms used in this study are common and generally understood. Police refers to all agencies listed in the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) annual report that provide public security services in Canada. The terms ethics

and morality are used more or less interchangeably, because this is how they are used in the literature. The terms connote more than the common ability to distinguish right from wrong. They also deal with character and right actions; they address ethical dilemmas and temptations in which it is difficult to distinguish the right course of action, and challenges to the integrity of the individual and the organization. All definitions of ethics imply relationships to others and include a reference to the impact on others. Police ethics has the added dimension of the extraordinary powers of police officers in the daily conduct of their business.

I deliberately left ethics undefined, because I did not know if I should limit the study to ethical reasoning, expand it to decision making, or also include ethical conduct. In the end, the respondents to the survey questionnaire appear to be quite concerned with their codes of conduct, which indicates a strong preoccupation with conduct to the virtual exclusion of ethical understanding and reasoning, whereas the literature balances this behaviourial definition with a common interest in ethical reasoning and ethical decision making.

Ethics training is based on the assumption that ethics can be learned and taught in an adult education context. Therefore, ethics training is largely about teaching ethical reasoning and ethical concepts and theories, and the ability to develop ethical judgment.

Research Methodology

I used three different but related research methods to bring together the information and knowledge for this study. First I conducted an extensive literature review on the subjects of adult learning and critical thinking, on management and organizational

ethics, and on police ethics and ethics training. This research provides the context for the examination of police ethics. To determine the status of police ethics in Canada I designed and distributed a survey questionnaire with approximately 15 questions. I sent the questionnaire to the approximately 330 Canadian police organizations listed in the annual inventory of the Canadian Police Information Centre. This included the various police academies and training institutions that provide police recruit training, and technical, management and professional training to aspiring and serving police officers. Out of the approximately 330 mailings I received 102 responses, a return rate of approximately 30%. Most respondents replied to most of the questions, making a fairly complete analysis of the survey results possible.

Because little information on police ethics training was provided by the respondents, I expanded my search on ethics training beyond the direct questions. I conducted a web search of all the community colleges that are listed members of the Canadian Association of Community Colleges. In this search I identified all those colleges that have police foundation and/or justice administration programs. The information provided on the web sites of the various colleges is detailed enough to permit the identification of individual course requirements. I identified those college programs that include ethics courses. The information received from respondents and on the web sites also led me to the three university programs on police administration. To ascertain the completeness of these sources I consulted with faculty at the Canadian Police College and with the librarians who deal with exchanges with these educational institutions. They confirmed the completeness of my sources.

Plan of Presentation

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to the study. It outlines the problem to be researched and the reasons for doing the work. It explains the scope and the limitations of the research and the assumptions underlying it. It defines the terms and provides an outline of the research methods used to gather the information.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature. This review encompasses the three areas linked in the study: (a) principles and assumptions of adult education and critical thinking; (b) ethics in organizations, with a particular focus on the development of individual ethics and on organizational and management ethics; and (c) police ethics, encompassing all the various tools and mechanisms used in the administration of ethics in the police universe and with a particular focus on police and the teaching of ethics.

Chapter 3 describes the research I conducted, how I conducted it, presents the findings, and offers some recommendations for further research. This chapter is the core of the study. It describes police ethics training as a unique adult education activity that complements the other components of police ethics management. It describes the ethics training offered in police academies, community college police foundations programs, and in executive and advanced police training programs. It also assesses ethics in the admissions and application process. This examination of ethics training provides the foundation for the survey on police ethics and ethics training in the Canadian police universe. The research outcomes are presented in 12 tables, and an analysis and interpretation is provided.

In Chapter 4, the information from the research leads to a brief discussion of the appropriateness of existing police ethics training in Canada. In the conclusion I suggest, in brief, that despite growing interest in police ethics, minimal ethics training can be identified. Several recommendations outline how this shortcoming may be remedied.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study presents police ethics training within a framework of adult education and adult learning. It may appear at first glance that there is a preponderant emphasis on adult learning and on critical thinking, whereas the section on police ethics training is very limited. This should not be a surprise, given that the whole field of adult education, and the more limited topic of critical thinking have been well researched, and have a long history of practice and of growth and development. By comparison, police ethics has long been a practical concern, but the literature is quite limited, has a narrow focus, and has not evolved as an academic discipline. Moreover, police ethics training still has a predominant focus on teaching the rules and enforcing codes of conduct, rather than developing ethical reasoning, broadening frameworks and promoting individual moral responsibility. The literature is extremely limited and perforce any review of this literature will similarly be very brief.

I present this review of the literature in four major sections. The selected literature presents a flow of ideas from the field of adult education and critical thinking, to ethics in organizations, and to police ethics, and finally to the teaching of police ethics. The first section examines the literature on the principles and assumptions of adult education and critical thinking. The second section provides an overview of the development of individual ethics and organizational and management ethics. The third section reviews police ethics and its many aspects. The final section reviews the teaching of ethics to police officers.

Principles and Assumptions of Adult Education

This section relates the literature on adult education and adult learners to police officers as part of the adult learning community. An underlying assumption is that police ethics training is most successful if it adheres to the principles and practices that have proven successful in other adult learning environments. Critical thinking and self-directed learning are foundational to adult education and thus to ethics training.

Police ethics training is situated in the adult education and learning context. Accordingly, it must adhere to the same principles and use appropriate methods, including needs analysis, appropriate objectives, course design and methodology, and it must confirm results by effective evaluation of learning outcomes.

Defining Adult Learning and Adult Learners

Ethics training for police officers is an adult education activity. To be effective, police ethics training should be guided by adult education principles and should address the learning needs of police officers as adult participants.

Adult learning can take place in any setting. Brookfield (1986) enumerates six principles of effective practice in facilitating adult learning. These six principles link learners and facilitators, their activities, and the setting in which learning takes place: voluntary participation, mutual respect, collaborative spirit, action and reflection, critical reflection, and self-direction (pp. 9-20). Brookfield's principles closely relate adult education to critical thinking and self-direction. The learning and teaching activities of the facilitator prompt among learners the realization that knowledge, beliefs, values, and behaviours are cultural constructs. Brookfield points to a need, both in training and in

development, to foster critical thinking: "To develop this awareness, the facilitator must present alternative interpretations of learners' work lives, personal relationships and views of the social and political world" (p. 17). Brookfield supports his views by citing literature on human resource development, staff development manuals, and other very practical examples that illustrate "the ability of workers to become aware of underlying norms, policies, and objectives, to view these as relative and determined by context, and hence to be proactive in advocating change and innovation" (p. 18).

In a similar vein, Mezirow (1991) asks how adults make the transition from being passive learners who unquestioningly accept conventional wisdom to being active learners who create their own meaning and develop new perspectives. Transformative learning theory describes and analyses how adults learn to change their perspectives. Mezirow (1991) describes the "ideal" conditions required by adults for successful transformation:

> Free, full adult participation in critical discourse and resulting action clearly requires freedom, democratic participation, equality, reciprocity, and prior education through which one has learned to assess evidence effectively, make and understand relevant arguments, develop critical judgment, and engage in critical reflection. Such participation also implies a reasonable minimal level of safety, mental and physical health, shelter, and employment opportunity, as well as acceptance of others with different perspectives and social cooperation. Values such as freedom, democracy, justice, equality, and social cooperation may be cherished so universally at least partly because they represent the essential conditions under which human beings can make sense or meaning of their experience. (p. 199)

Andragogy is often associated with the humanist philosophy and, in Knowles' (1980) terms, constitutes the "art and science of helping adults learn" (p. 43). Mezirow closely links andragogy with the concept of perspective transformation in self-directed

adult learners. He defines andragogy "as an organized and sustained effort to assist adults to learn in a way that enhances their capability as self-directed learners" (p.199).

Critical Reflection

Moral development through ethics training requires critical thinking and self direction. The development of critical reflection—sometimes used interchangeably with the narrower term critical thinking in adult education—is a major current focus of adult education. There is ongoing debate about the place of critical reflection in adult education, its importance and its ethical implications. Knowles, Holton, and Swanson (1998) refer to the growing notion that it is not sufficient to simply conduct needs analyses and then satisfy the identified learning needs of individuals, organizations, and society. Rather, adult education should transform the very way learners think about themselves and their environment. This dimension of critical reflection on one's current assumptions, past beliefs, and behaviours is foundational to the adult education field (pp. 105-106).

Critical reflection has both supporters and critics. Brookfield (1987) suggests that learning to think critically is one of the most significant activities of adult life. It appears to be crucial not only to individuals, but also to the functioning of groups, organizations, and society at large. Brookfield states quite concisely that there are four specific areas in people's lives in which critical reflection is demanded: in intimate personal relationships, at the workplace, in political life, and in dealing with the influence of the mass media. Brookfield recognizes that critical thinking is not without critics, who see it as at least potentially cynical and anti-social because it becomes too easy to criticize others, their

work, and their ideas without making a positive contribution (p. 5). Brookfield disagrees. Critical reflection is a productive and positive activity. Critical thinkers are actively engaged in life. Because critical thinking is an ongoing process, rather than an outcome, it fosters growth and creativity and an ongoing examination of, and striving for, truth. Critical reflection may manifest itself in concrete, external changes or it may be wholly an internal process. The two processes need not be mutually exclusive. Context typically determines the actions that accompany, or follow, critical reflection. It is an exploration that may be triggered by positive and/or negative events and stimuli. Critical thinking is emotive as well as rational. Examining and changing one's basic assumptions, moving forward in life, and constantly being aware of alternatives may cause stress and uncertainty, but also relief and joy (pp. 5-7).

Brookfield (1998) presents critical reflection as an all-encompassing aspect of human development, rather than as a cerebral learning experience restricted to the classroom.

Critical reflection is a lived activity that leads to a change in assumptions about the self and the world, causing corresponding changes in behaviours and relationships. It develops through a number of identifiable and commonly experienced phases: (a) the trigger event(s) that cause perplexity, discomfort, and uncertainty and that may be positive, but are more likely to be problems, crises, conflicts or failures; (b) appraisal of the events, the self, and the situation; (c) exploration of the possibilities and of the need for change; (d) integration of new ways of thinking and living; and,

(e) the development of a new orthodoxy (pp. 25-29). From this description it appears that critical thinking is a life-changing, practical process.

Critical thinking is often linked to self-directed learning. For example, Brookfield (1986) describes how self directed learning changes the role of the adult educator to that of facilitator. Effective facilitation is based on six principles that foster critical reflection: participation in learning is voluntary; there is mutual respect among all participants in learning, including respect between learners and facilitators; learning and facilitation are collaborative; learning and facilitation are active and practical and explore new directions; facilitation actively and purposely promotes critical reflection; regardless of the setting, the ultimate outcome is to promote and sustain self-directed, empowered, critically reflective adults (pp. 9-18). Brookfield suggests that all adult education, by definition, is largely self-directed and leads to ongoing critical reflection. Self-directed learning in adulthood is "a matter of learning how to change our perspective, shift our paradigm and replace one way of integrating the world by another" (p. 19). Brookfield suggests that critical thinking is not limited to social or political issues but is applicable, even required, in all adult learning.

Similarly, Garrison (1992) suggests that together the two dominant theoretical frameworks of critical thinking and self-directed learning have more explanatory power than each individual concept alone (p. 136). However defined, critical reflection raises the issue of control, because individuals exist in a shared world. Although critical thinking is primarily an internal dialogue, it is often triggered by external circumstance (p. 139). To develop new meaning requires deliberation and internal control, but not enough control to

isolate individuals from external influence. Balance between internal and external control is necessary (p. 160). Similar questions of control arise with self-directed learning.

Garrison (1992) recognizes the relationship between critical thinking and self-directed learning, identifying the question of responsibility and control as the common link. "It would appear that there is an intimate relationship between self-directed learning and critical thinking, although not clearly explicated. To be a critical thinker, one needs to be self-directed; and conversely, to be a self-directed learner, one needs to be a critical thinker" (p. 145).

A considerable body of adult educational literature has been produced in the area of critical reflection and practice. Brookfield (1994) acknowledges that most of it deals with conceptual analysis or focuses on the debate between progressive, humanistic, and liberal interpretations versus radical, critical, and socialist interpretations. This leaves the discussion focused on analysis and political theory. However, as Brookfield observes, "Missing from the debate surrounding critical reflection as an adult capacity has been attention to the way adults feel their way through critically reflective episodes—to understanding the visceral, emotive dimensions of this process" (p. 203). For purposes of discussing this issue, Brookfield defines critical reflection as three interrelated processes:

> (1) the experience of questioning and then replacing or reframing an assumption, or assumptive cluster, which is unquestioningly accepted as representing dominant common sense by a majority; (2) the experience of taking a perspective on social and political structures, or on personal and collective actions, which is strongly alternative to that held by a majority; (3) the experience of studying the ways in which ideas, and their representations in actions and structures, are accepted as self-evident renderings of the "natural" state of affairs; that is, attending to hegemonic aspects of adult educational theory and practice. (p. 204)

Based on this definition, Brookfield studied how adult learners experience and interpret adult learning and how they respond viscerally and emotionally to the challenges of critical reflection. The findings challenge much of the inspirational rhetoric in the discourse on critical reflection. Brookfield identifies five difficult themes that call for careful attention and consideration: impostorship, which is the learners' sense of acting cynically and in bad faith; cultural suicide, which means cutting oneself off from one's cultural, group, and even individually established identity; lost innocence, which means moving from certainty toward ongoing exploration and ambiguity; road running, which is the temptation to never stop flirting with new assumptions and new modes of reasoning; and more positively, community, which refers to a sustaining and similarly affected community of fellow learners (pp. 205-213). Brookfield challenges advocates of critical reflection to address these issues, to protect critical learners, and to manage them through the process consciously, ethically, and purposefully (pp. 214-215).

Several authors (e.g., Garrison, 1991; McPeck, 1981) address the need for greater clarity about the meaning of critical thinking and its role in adult education. Garrison acknowledges the intimate and important relationship between critical thinking and education, but is concerned with the considerable confusion and vagueness about the concept and its relationship to adult education (p. 288). To sort through the confusion, Garrison presents a model of the critical thinking process that incorporates problem solving and critical thinking (p. 293). The model suggests at least five phases that occur as a thinking cycle: problem identification, or recognition of dissonance between existing knowledge and past experience and reality; problem definition, which leads to an

appraisal and understanding of the problem; exploration, or the search for new ideas, insights, and explanations to deal with the new reality; applicability, which tests the new, still theoretical and hypothetical ideas against reality; and integration, which tests and confirms the new approaches as valid and incorporates them into the broader thinking context (pp. 293-295).

McPeck (1981) similarly highlights the ongoing need for concise definitions about critical thinking. His initial concern is that the widespread approval of critical thinking as a human trait is merely an indication of a lack of definition. Because there is no agreement on a definition, everyone can be in full support of critical thinking, but only as defined by oneself (p. 13). The second concern is the impossibility of critical thinking in the abstract. Critical thinking must always be about something, it cannot be done, or taught, without referring to a specific subject (p. 4). A third concern is that critical thought can be equated with merely being critical, or skeptical, without judgment or discretion. Rather, critical thinking requires a very cautious and judicious use of skepticism, which needs to be tempered by experience. Skeptical questioning has to occur within a certain context and within acceptable standards. Aimless or frivolous questioning does not connote critical thinking (p. 7). McPeck's approach to the definition demands considerable discipline and responsibility. He puts into question the rather broad approaches to "perspective transformation" (e.g., Mezirow, 1991) and "critical consciousness" (e.g., Freire, 1993), which appear to require much less rigour, less logic, and little prior subject-matter knowledge. McPeck explains that critical thinking

> is the appropriate use of reflective scepticism within the problem area under consideration. And knowing how and when to apply this reflective scepticism

> effectively requires, among other things, knowing something about the field in question. Thus we may say of someone that he is a critical thinker about X if he has the propensity and skill to engage in X (be it mathematics, politics or mountain climbing) with reflective scepticism. There is, moreover, no reason to believe that a person who thinks critically in one area will be able to do so in another. The transfer of training skills cannot be assumed of critical thinking but must be established in each case by empirical test. (p. 7)

Critical reflection as an integral dimension of transformative learning (e.g., Cranton,1994), including the analysis of assumptions, also informs training programs in individual ethics. Ethical development and ethics training in organizations will likely take recourse to some of the practices and principles contributed by critical thinking. The literature on teaching police ethics suggests that critical thinking ought to be the basis for teaching ethics.

Ethics in Organizations

Organizational and management ethics are closely intertwined with individual moral and ethical development. Social and political change have contributed to an increase in popular expectations for ethical behaviour by organizations within society, and by participants within organizations. This applies also to police. Books, learned journals, and the mass media reflect the demand by academic and popular critics for an increasing focus on individual and organizational ethics. The literature reviewed here deals with individual and organizational ethics separately, as well as pointing out the inevitable links between the two. It examines police ethics as a subset of this literature on organizational and individual ethics. The focus is on practical and applied ethics, rather than on moral philosophy, which is beyond the scope of this investigation.

The Development of Individual Ethics

If there is to be improvement in individual as well as in organizational ethics, an underlying assumption is that ethics can be learned and taught. The research on individual moral and ethical development supports this position very clearly (e.g., Goetz, 1989; Kohlberg, 1978; Walker, 1993).

Walker (1993) suggests that clear definitions are a basic requirement for thinking clearly about ethical issues and for developing a practical approach for dealing with ethical problems. She defines ethics (or morality) as principles or standards of conduct that indicate how a person should act, based on principles of right and wrong. The terms ethics and morality are used interchangeably. She does not state that these principles are based on authority greater than oneself. This definition is broader than the one generally used in debates or writings on organizational and practical ethics. For discussing ethics and moral development, I present it as a point of departure to writings that favor a developmental or stage theory of ethics (Kohlberg, 1978) or a taxonomy of moral skills and habits that can be learned.

Goetz (1989) points out that moral behaviour can be changed and improved. Moral skill, when applied in moral action, makes for a moral person. Goetz explains that there is not one single skill, but an amalgam of characteristics that form moral skill: (a) the ability to identify with other people and their interests as equals; (b) the ability to be aware of other people's feelings and needs; c) the ability to use the information available in each particular situation; (d) knowledge and understanding of the rules of the game; (e) self determination to act; (f) the ability to make appropriate judgments; (g) knowing right

from wrong; and (h) the ability, that is, the courage, to act appropriately (p. 13). Goetz concludes that moral skill is born of talent, but it is also action which conforms to essential moral principles. If it is a skill, it can be taught to all and learned by all. Uneven talent will lead to uneven results, and only a few will become ideals of morality through training. However, without training there would be no morals at all (p. 16).

Krebs, Denton, and Wark (1997) also agree that moral habits can be taught. Teaching ethics then focuses on the important pragmatic concerns in making moral decisions—their consequences to oneself, as well as to others (pp. 136-140). The model proposed by Krebs et al. is functional, practical, and teachable. The implications for moral education are evident: It is important to go beyond promoting the mere *capacity* to make increasingly sophisticated moral judgments; moral education should lead to practical *application* and actual moral *behaviour*. Moral habits must be developed. All this requires teaching and learning about individual decisions in real-life experience and real-life dilemmas; justification of moral decisions; examinations of perspective; and reinforcement, repetition, and rewards.

Penn (1990) summarizes a number of empirical studies of the impact of the formal teaching of ethics. The results confirm that moral behaviour can be developed through intensive and deliberate teaching – not only of moral reasoning but also of logic, social judgment, emotional involvement, and practice – through role playing and active personal decision making. Penn avers that moral reasoning can be learned and should be taught, but suggests that "current efforts of our educational institutions and professional schools lack the focused, systematic approaches and long-term efforts necessary to

develop effectively the capacity for principled moral reasoning among their graduates" (pp. 124-125). The studies reviewed by Penn demonstrate that moral skills can be taught with dramatic results, but that this requires a deliberate focus on ethics as a subject in itself, intense development of moral reasoning, and practical application in real-life exercises. Penn concludes that direct, intense, and personal involvement in learning ethical reasoning and behaviour will lead to the highest levels of moral development most rapidly.

The cognitive-developmental approach to moral education and its research foundations often are associated with Kohlberg's (1978) stage model; Kohlberg also compares the cognitive-developmental approach with, and describes, some of the work ongoing at the time of writing. The approach is described as cognitive (because it involves active thinking about moral issues), and as developmental (because moral education is a movement through moral stages). The cognitive approach refines his earlier thinking. Kohlberg accepts that moral reasoning is only one factor in moral behaviour, but cites three reasons that make it the most important:

> 1. Moral judgment, although only one factor in moral behaviour, is the single most important or influential factor yet discovered in moral behaviour.
> 2. Although other factors influence moral behaviour, moral judgment is the only distinctively moral factor in moral behaviour. ...
> 3. Moral judgment change is long-range or irreversible; a higher stage is never lost. Moral behaviour as such is largely situational and reversible or "losable" in new situations. (p. 40)

Kohlberg establishes the aims of moral and civic education and contrasts the role of moral psychology and moral philosophy; he suggests:

> Moral psychology describes what moral development is, as studied empirically. Moral education must also consider moral philosophy, which strives to tell us what moral development ideally *ought to be.* Psychology finds an invariant sequence of moral stages; moral philosophy must be invoked to answer whether a later stage is a better stage. The "stage" of senescence and death follows the "stage" of adulthood, but that does not mean that senescence and death are better. Our claim that the latest or principled stages of moral reasoning are morally better stages, then, must rest on considerations of moral philosophy. (p. 40)

The moral philosophy Kohlberg refers to is in the liberal or rational tradition, which is based on universal principles applicable to all humankind. Kohlberg summarizes three levels of moral development, each divided into two stages (pp. 50-51).

The first, (preconventional) level includes stage 1, the punishment-and-obedience orientation and stage 2, the instrumental-relativist orientation. Stage 1 emphasizes avoidance of punishment as the prime motivator, whereas stage 2 is characterized by pragmatic reciprocity, a mutual satisfaction of needs, no more, no less. The second level is the conventional level, in which the subject is primarily concerned with meeting social approval. Stage 3 of moral development emphasizes the pleasing of majority expectations. Intent to please is preeminent. In stage 4 the subject advances to the "law and order" orientation, which stresses authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of order. There is a comprehension of right behaviour, which consists of duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining social order.

At the third, (postconventional, autonomous, or principled level) there is a clear effort to define moral values and principles that apply universally, regardless of group or social authority or individual preferences. This level also has two stages. Stage 5 emphasizes a social-contract, legalistic orientation, but one in which the law is flexible

and changes to ensure maximum utility and individual rights for all. Stage 6 is the final stage at which conscience determines right action based on universal ethical principles.

Many authors refer to Kohlberg's stage model as a point of contrast to their own model or theory. For example, Krebs et al. (1997) argue for a functional model of moral development and moral behaviour to explain real-life morality, and in contradistinction to Kohlberg's (1978) explanation, which has long been the foundation for the study and teaching of moral development (p. 131). Krebs et. al. challenge the assumption that theoretical moral knowledge as measured by Kohlberg's model is in itself sufficient to indicate individual morality (pp. 132-135). Gilligan (1982) critiques the male-specific basis for Kohlberg's model and explores the disparity between male and female thinking and experience in relation to human growth, conflict, and moral development. Gilligan works within the notion of moral development but argues that "a recognition of the differences in women's experience and understanding expands our vision of maturity and points to the contextual nature of developmental truths" (p. 174).

Hall (1993) and Penn (1985) call for ethics training based on Kohlberg's work on moral development in two different environments—the corporate setting and academic business courses respectively. Hall's description of ethics as "broadly concerned with how persons or organizations act, or should act, in relations with each other" (p. 3) goes beyond mere adherence to law, and signals the complexity of ethics training. The task of ethics training is to move managers and employees together to higher stages of moral development. Hall presents the case that ethics can be taught and provides evidence that ethics training changes people (pp. 160-168). Penn (1985) examines the practical value of

academic courses in business ethics, making extensive use of Kohlberg's theories of moral development. Penn accepts the evidence that the stages of moral development are culturally universal and that reasoning within each stage is consistent (pp. 70-71). Furthermore, moral reasoning progresses through the stages and levels established by Kohlberg, but few individuals, unless challenged and taught, progress beyond the conventional level. According to Penn, it is just such "adults who are capable of stage four reasoning who are ideal candidates for the next step in the developmental sequence, the move to post-conventional moral reasoning" (p. 72).

It is useful to compare Harrington's (1997) summary of the major moral decision making models with Rest's (1982) and Nash's (1997) approach to moral education. Harrington concludes that decision-making models generally consist of four common components: recognition of an issue as moral; moral judgment; formation of moral intent; and moral behaviour (p. 363). Harrington conducted research on the impact of issue-contingent and individual characteristics on ethical decision making. "If the study finds significant relationships, the understanding of ethical decision making will be enhanced and credibility added to the models proposed" (p. 364). In contrast, Rest (1982) is concerned that psychologists and ethics instructors have followed similar, but rather separate paths in their work on moral development. He describes broadly how psychologists might approach moral development. He concludes that four major components must be considered in developing a moral framework: (a) interpreting the situation as having moral content; (b) formulating the morally ideal course of action in which the various considerations are integrated or balanced; c) deciding on the actual course of action; and, (d) executing and implementing the decision.

Although Rest (1982) advocates that "ethics instructors and psychological researchers collaborate for the sake of improving ethics courses, evaluating programs, and advancing research" (p. 29), he is not as concerned as Harrington with the importance and strength of a social consensus and on the seriousness of consequences in determining moral judgment and intent. Harrington calls these the issue-contingent variables. The findings of the study generally support the models that Harrington summarized. Most importantly, social consensus is an issue-contingent variable that does influence ethical behaviour. "In this study, a social consensus influenced both moral judgment and moral intent" (p. 372). Moral development happens in context. "Since social consensus does have an impact on all individuals regardless of individual characteristics, management may wish to try to change the corporate culture or gain social consensus concerning correct behaviour to avoid problems associated with particular ethics issues" (p. 373). The organizational context and the consequences it imposes play a key role in individual ethical conduct. The literature on police ethics also prominently makes this point.

Rest (1982) establishes four fundamental requirements for collecting and interpreting relevant data. The first requirement is to establish uniform standards for all instructors to determine what is high or low in moral terms. Second, reliable measurements and tools must be developed. Third, there must be procedures for ruling out alternative explanations. Fourth, all future developments must be based on existing and accepted theory and research. Applied ethics instructors and psychologists can collaborate in satisfying these requirements. "In an optimistic vision of the future, applied ethics and psychological research would not remain apart, but the two would

interpenetrate and supplement each other" (p. 36). Such collaboration, over time, would enrich the understanding of psychologists of moral development and would constantly improve the value and the impact of applied ethics programs.

Nash's (1997) approach essentially is to examine and eventually dismiss past approaches to moral education, but he does not disagree that moral education is needed. He proposes a pedagogy that is not concerned with discovering absolute truth and finite solutions. Rather, he proposes to stimulate and sustain ongoing civilized, rational conversation among all different positions to resolve the issues confronting society. This approach to teaching ethics represents ethical practice in itself, since participants are expected to view their own learning behaviours through an ethics mirror. Nash practices the "ethical conversation" primarily in the university classroom, but believes that it is generalizable (p. 186). If this is so, this approach will move ethics training in organizations beyond case studies and the study of moral philosophy into ethical practice in the learning of ethics.

Organizational and Management Ethics

Individual ethics exist and develop in the organizational environment. Numerous authors (e.g., Hall, 1993; Jackall, 1988; McGarvey, 1993; Velasquez, 1990) describe how the organizational setting, and management commitment to ethical conduct, determine individual ethical behaviour. Whereas Velasquez examines and describes the conditions under which corporations may fail to be ethical, McGarthy situates these conditions in a number of ethical dilemmas in business and in organizations, concluding that there are no easy answers.

Velasquez also surveys the ways and means by which these conditions tend to maintain and foster an ethical organizational culture. He draws attention to the systemic character of business and organizational ethics. He cites examples of unethical business conduct and discerns common elements which actively create such unethical conduct. Because it is a systemic matter, commitment to ethics, and support for ethics, must also be a systemic matter. Individual ethical decision making happens within the corporate framework. Corporate ethics does not evolve passively. It is in fact difficult to acquire and maintain, and easy to lose. The most crucial elements underpinning successful ethics programs are: the commitment of top management, assignment of responsibility, clarification of ethical standards, systems which support ethical behaviour, and employee training (pp. 237-243). In contrast, McGarvey (1993) does not subscribe to such a systematic approach; he observes that in a fast moving world it has become difficult to know right from wrong, and established premises and systems may no longer work. As a consequence, and in response to the new and growing challenges, many organizations are embracing ethics programs. Many such programs remain superficial and ineffective if they are reliant on outdated ethical standards and prototypes. However, one key common element in all successful ethics programs is the ongoing and unflagging support of senior management, combined with constant training. Although training alone is not sufficient, it will help make ethical thinking become part of corporate culture (p. 35).

Indeed, the training program described by Hall (1993) needs to be accompanied and supported by the other elements of a corporate ethics program and resembles what appears to be a virtual prototype for organizational ethics programs: a statement of

values;. fostering an ethical tradition and corporate culture; and active support from the top. These measures create the necessary environment in which individuals are ethical and will act ethically. Within this environment, practical day-to-day measures foster individual ethical behaviour: a clear code of conduct; rules and procedures; training; conflict resolution and trouble shooting; and an ethics oversight function (p. 176). Rice and Dreilinger (1990) conclude that the goal of ethics initiatives must be "to provide employees with the tools they need to identify ethics issues and to work out how to resolve them" (p. 104). Training needs to do three things: heighten individual ethical awareness, present the means for identifying and defining ethical issues, and develop the practical tools for working through, and resolving, ethical issues. Furthermore, training must be an integral and ongoing part of corporate ethics initiatives. Rice and Dreilinger propose a practical model for resolving ethical issues which is the core of ethics training:

1. Define desired outcomes (for the entire situation where ethical issues have been identified).
2. Define the problem, considering the company's expressed values and guidelines.
3. Identify difficult obstacles to resolving the ethical issues and determine how to overcome them.
4. Develop alternative solutions to the problem and review and apply frameworks against alternatives.
5. Select the best solution.
6. Determine the steps required.
7. Identify likely reactions and rewards, and determine how to sell the solution.
8. Resolve the ethical issue. (p. 108)

Ethics training alone will not sustain positive and permanent ethical behaviour. Ethics training must progress in stages from the top down to ensure that the necessary leadership, resources and culture are in place.

Paine (1994) describes a need for a new, effective, and inclusive approach to managerial and organizational ethics. Ethics is not merely a question of individual scruples or minimal avoidance of misconduct. "To foster a climate that encourages exemplary behaviour, corporations need a comprehensive approach that goes beyond the often punitive legal compliance stance" (p. 106). An integrity-based approach is the answer. It combines a concern for the law with an emphasis on management accountability. It is integrated into day-to-day operations, thought patterns, and behaviours. It becomes the governing ethos of the organization (p. 107). Violations are avoided coincidentally, not as a main focus of compliance programs or of a code of conduct. Ethics becomes a common driving force, rather than being an afterthought.

A formal ethics program alone is not enough for success. Paine (1994) explains that a formal program typically includes written codes and symbols, training, reinforcement, and formal support. Together these can be an effective catalyst, but a successful integrity strategy requires that organizational and individual integrity combine to permeate the whole organization. The surprising effect will be unexpected contributions to productivity, credibility, the work environment, and key relationships. By substituting integrity for short-term advantage, long-term organizational benefits may be realized.

Different models of leadership and governance are associated with the approach to ethics emphasized in the organizational setting. Paine (1994) contrasts traditional compliance strategies with her proposed integrity strategy. Although there is some congruence between the two, the integrity strategy emphasizes self-governance, values,

accountability, and leadership over controls, rules, and penalties (p. 113). Paine concludes that "creating an organization that encourages exemplary conduct may be the best way to prevent damaging misconduct" (p. 117).

Complementary to Paine, Carr (1994) suggests that there are ethics-based differences between traditional and empowered organizations. Carr does not focus specifically on the ethics of management and leadership, but suggests that empowered organizations promote democratic ideas and behaviours. Empowerment is a prerequisite for ethical behaviour. The empowered organization fosters a new model of leadership. People at all levels, including leaders, are actively engaged in managing themselves. They promote a larger mission and develop and maintain trust throughout the organization (p. 40). "Trust is the soil in which empowerment can bloom" (p. 41).

Police ethics are a subset of organizational ethics. To be effective, police ethics programs must meet the criteria outlined by the authors presented here.

Police Ethics

Policing is a very public function in its front line activities. The public can observe the behaviours of the police officer on the beat, in the patrol car, in the court room. The public knows much less about what goes on behind the scenes, what constraints, guidelines, standards, and motivations guide the activities of the front line police officer. The conduct of the front line officer is very greatly influenced by codes of conduct, management example, reward systems, discipline, redress mechanisms, training and development functions, and many other forms of control and influence. Police ethics

are developed and maintained in this complex context. The literature confirms again and again that effective promotion and management of police ethics must deal with the complexities that arise in democratic society, ethical decision-making, exercise of discretion, codes of conduct, and codes of ethics.

Police in Democratic Society

The conduct of police may be seen as a bellwether of larger society. A strong emphasis on the promotion, support, and enforcement of individual police officers' conduct indicates that the public served by the police has, and expects, high ethical standards.

Police officers are in a unique position in a democratic society. They have the unique responsibility to protect the rights, lives, and property of citizens. Conversely, because of their extraordinary powers, and the public trust they have been given for carrying out their unique responsibility, they also have the unique opportunity to violate the rights, lives, and property of citizens. This special position, or public trust, requires that those who have this type of power be especially sensitive to the ethical issues that may arise in their professional lives (Pollock, 1998, p. 2). Not everyone can, or should, be entrusted with this extraordinary power. "The mission of policing can safely be entrusted only to those who grasp what is morally important and who respect integrity" (Delattre, 1996, p. 14).

Recruiting and selection of police officers, in theory, might be sufficient to ensure police morality that meets the highest standard. Only ethical people (ideally) would apply, and they then would sustain the standard of morality and would act ethically at all times.

"Ideal police officers would be infinitely fair, compassionate and honourable, and policing would be safely left in their hands" (Villiers, 1997, p. 24). This ideal does not exist. Police recruiting generally emphasizes disqualification of those who fail minimal standards, rather than selection of people of high caliber and moral fibre (Villiers, p. 25). This does not produce professionals or legal actors who accept their obligation to subscribe to the rule of law. Their obligation to produce at all costs becomes a priority, at the expense of rules and procedures and of ethical guidelines. "Suspects must be caught, charged, and convicted" (Skolnick, 1996, pp. 231-233). The literature on police culture describes the environment in which these officers exist, but it is beyond the scope of the present research.

In order for professional development, including ethics training, to become part of human resources development, the role of police in society and police work must be recognized as a profession in terms of performance and selection criteria. Reiner (1992) attempts to demystify police work by researching three specific questions: What is the police role? How effectively is it performed? How fairly is it performed? (p. 139). The debate over the real answers to these questions continues. Kleinig (1997) examines the role of police in society and focuses on policing, as a profession, to work towards the clearest possible definition. Historically, policing has not been recognized fully as a profession. Recruits have come from groups with relatively low social, political, and economic status. Selection criteria have stressed physical characteristics and technical proficiency over intellectual aptitude and ethical discernment (p. 30). The resulting shortcomings have long stood in the way of police professionalism, despite the relatively

high status of police work. Although not meeting the standards of a profession, such as national admission and educational standards, certification, autonomy, and self regulation, policing does include at least some professional behaviour, but it can also be plagued by some of the problems typically faced by true professions: paternalism against "outsiders," alienation from the mainstream, discrimination, and rivalry (pp. 41-44). Because of these problems the morality of police bears examination. Does police work impose a particular morality? Kleinig writes of a "role" morality specific to police, which is largely concerned with the means–ends dilemma (pp. 46-64).

The problem of police professionalism and of police ethics will be further affected by current changes in the nature of policing. Community policing is an accelerating trend. Cox (1990) expects policing to change in the coming decades. Feltes (1994) explains that the function of police officers has become more complex and expansive over time (p. 29). Overlapping and competing models of policing co-exist in most societies. Each police organization harbours individuals who approach policing from different perspectives, which do not necessarily fit together. Therefore, even in the same police service, large discrepancies in everyday policing may result. To deal with the potential confusion, Cox says police forces need to reflect back to their "basic duties: To serve first the people and not the state, politicians or other authorities" (p. 45).

Wright and Irving (1996) address the growing value conflicts that make life difficult for police officers. Police officers are living by individual, cultural, and organizational requirements that may clash with formal rules and codes (p. 199). When police officers are torn by conflicting demands and values and by unworkable rules, their

best solution should be to learn how to resolve clashes between conflicting and competing value systems (p. 200). Wright and Irving suggest that training in practical ethics must be developed further to enable police officers to resolve common ethical issues and conflicts (pp. 208-210). The unique status of police officers in a democratic society requires a balanced exercise of power, transparency and accountability, and strong ethical constraints. Individual police conduct is becoming a central concern of public administration. The existing emphasis is on organizational ethics and rule enforcement. It is now beginning to be complemented, if not replaced, by a new emphasis on individual police ethics.

Ethical Considerations in the Role of the Police

Ethical demands and expectations colour police roles, behaviours, and attitudes. As Kleinig (1997) puts it, the issue of police ethics arises because of the powers of the police over others, and "because a good deal of police work involves discretionary judgment, there is considerable room for judgments that are, or may appear to be arbitrary, inconsistent, or unfair" (pp. 19-20).

Police face particular predicaments in a democratic society. As Skolnick (1996) notes, the ethical dilemmas faced by police are constantly present. To enforce order, police are constantly challenged to use unethical means to achieve the ends demanded and expected by society. Civility and legality are sacrificed to the imperative of fighting crime and upholding "official" order. Villiers (1997) describes police officers as ordinary citizens with extraordinary powers. The police are to act in the interest of society as a whole. They represent society, which explains their ordinariness. They are not part of

traditional elites. Delaney (1990) calls for an account that will specify the moral basis for ordering interpersonal and public relations between the police and the community in a democratic society (p. 78). The ethical dilemma is intensified by the constant contact with people who are the least ethically minded members of the community.

Several authors search for the underlying moral principles of police work. For example, Alderson (1998) attempts to discern the fundamental characteristics that define "principled policing" in civilized society. "The aim of policing is not to enforce the law and coerce the people for its own sake, but to do so for the common good" (p. 43). The highest common good is freedom above all other political values. The role of the police is to protect the freedom of citizens. This function becomes an ethical issue for police when they have to restrict some freedoms in order to protect others (p. 93). Delaney (1990) contends that police conduct should be grounded in a sense of the virtues. Delaney's short list of police virtues includes: capacity, or the habit of deliberation; sincerity or integrity; persistence and perseverance and tenacity of purpose (pp. 83-86). Only individuals who accept to act on these virtues should be able to have the special rights and powers accorded to police. The virtues are fundamental to the administration of justice, the fair and impartial treatment of all citizens, and the protection of equality (p. 87). Delaney suggests that a code of ethics is a first step towards developing a police professional ethic that befits democratic society (p. 91).

Wright and Irving (1996) examine the strong informal, personal, cultural and other norms that often are in conflict with formal codes, administrative rules of conduct, and the formal requirements of law and procedure. They suggest that it is impossible to

devise rules that suit every situation in which police officers must make decisions and sort out conflicts that involve others (p. 200). They propose a behavioural approach to the resolution of conflicts. They define value conflicts as "decisions that bring into play serious tensions between personal values and those of colleagues, friends, family or the police organization, including the tensions between formal and informal concepts of justice" (p. 202). Rules and formal standards are necessary conditions to sustain a high level of professional conduct, but are not sufficient. They must be complemented by ongoing professional development, which overcomes the shortcomings of organizational culture and supports moral self-regulation (p. 203).

Metz (1990) confirms that there are many truly dedicated, ethical police officers and that there is pervasive sensitivity about ethics and police conduct throughout the law enforcement field. However, he insists that much remains to be done. There is a common responsibility to develop an ethical environment that eliminates public doubt and police temptation. There must be faith and confidence in the criminal justice system because it is seen as fair and just for all (p. 101). To foster the required behaviour, Metz proposes a framework of six actions to be followed by police administrators: establish realistic performance goals and measuring standards that eliminate cheating and prevent unethical acts; provide ethical leadership; establish formal ethics codes that elaborate on the Golden Rule; provide an ombudsman's function; discipline violators; and train all personnel in ethical standards and conduct (pp. 96-100). Pollock's (1998) approach relies less on senior leadership for changing the organizational culture. Instead, the potential for change

is within the community of practice, given his description of the incompatibility of deeply ingrained police subculture and the formal ethics established in codes and policies.

> Police have professional justifications for certain actions that would be wrong if engaged in by anyone else, such as speeding, using a weapon, and wiretapping. Professional ethics should guide these special privileges, but often the occupational subculture instead endorses standards of performance that take advantage of professional privilege and promote double standards. (p. 143)

There are many reasons for this incompatibility. Community and neighbourhood policing principles are slowly beginning to resolve the dilemma, because the interests of the state, the community and the police officer are beginning to converge (pp. 149-151).

Police Discretion

The exercise of discretion is one of the means by which police officers resolve conflicts, including conflicts of ethics. Discretion is pervasive—and necessary—for effective police work, because laws and regulations, (that is, bureaucratic rules) cannot deal with the infinite variety and complexity of situations encountered by the police officer. Research conducted by the American Bar Association demonstrates that discretion is the key ingredient in virtually all decisions in the justice system. Kleinig (1996) comments on the research and concludes "what emerged from the encounter between citizen and law enforcement official often bore little relation to what might have been expected from a simple reading of the formal requirements" (p. 1). Although the public may be aware of the rule-bound character of police administration and service delivery, the police themselves recognize that their constantly varied work cannot be too tightly circumscribed by rules and regulations.

Without an ethical foundation, discretion becomes unbridled and dangerous. Jetmore (1997) states categorically that "the individual police officer has more inherent discretionary power than any other single person in American society" (p. 28). Stansfield (1996) declares outright that discretion is an unavoidable feature of policing. Pollock (1998) defines discretion "as the ability to choose between two or more courses of behaviour" (p. 151). The need to exercise discretion calls for a culture with high ethical standards but also leads to rejection of rigid formal standardization, which undermines the ability to act. Kleinig (1997) attempts to limit discretion, suggesting that it implies legal or other normative limits on the exercise of power (pp. 82 - 83). The mere ability and opportunity to exercise power does not constitute discretion. Discretion is a normative condition, "a permission, privilege or prerogative to use one's judgment about how to make a practical determination" (p. 83).

Discretion exercised incompetently or outside established authority becomes licence. Discretionary authority must ensure the rule of law, not the rule of individuals. For example, Skolnick (1996) recognizes the inevitability of police discretion but concludes that "criminal law enforcement can be substantially improved by introducing arrangements to heighten the visibility of police discretion to permit its control by higher authority" (p. 71). Skolnick is particularly interested in the sociological significance of discretion. He makes an analytical distinction between delegated and unauthorized discretion. Most serious problems arise from the arbitrariness of the latter (p. 72). Barker (1996) argues that it is this exercise of discretion which makes police work much more morally dangerous than any other occupation (p. 38). Combined with the independent

character of police work, with the impossibility of direct supervision, with the constant contact with deviant actors, and given the wide variety of temptations, "the very nature of the occupation provides the law enforcement officer with more than ample opportunity to engage in a wide variety of corrupt practices" (p. 37). The very need for the exercise of discretion in police work creates a constant preoccupation with the fact of corruption.

Police Corruption

Corruption is a pervasive preoccupation in justice and police administration. Evans and Butcher (1990) highlight the gravity and importance of corruption, pointing out that in Canada it is dealt with under the Criminal Code. According to Evans and Butcher, a number of sections of the Criminal Code deal at considerable length with bribery, corrupt practice, and unwarranted use of force (pp. 266-267). According to Stansfield (1996) police corruption occurs when a police officer uses the power of his or her position to obtain a benefit or advantages (p. 166). This definition recognizes the extraordinary powers of the police officer, which is the reason for the severity of Criminal Code sanctions for bribery and corruption. This definition also implies that corruption can be minimized by organizational measures.

Although it is assumed that individual police officers' morals and ethics are determined by the organizational culture and relevant control mechanisms, I did not find research that focused on organizational interventions into police corruption. However, Barker (1994) comments on the fact that over the past few years there has been a great deal of interest in police corruption. There have been detailed media accounts, public

investigations, symposia, and conferences. A review of the literature reveals no reliable research on the subject, despite its prominence. Barker concludes that the police occupation provides constant opportunities for corrupt acts and other forms of deviance. The occupational structure, combined with peer group pressure, creates a high tolerance for corruption (p. 53).

Corruption is a complex problem with complex causes, and it is this complexity–including the instances and consequences of police corruption–that has been the focus of research. Vrij, Winkel, Koppelaar, and Euwema (1989) conclude from research in the Netherlands "that deviant behaviour (of police officers) cannot be dismissed as occasional incident but is a common phenomenon" (p. 109). Deviant behaviour has many adverse consequences: it undermines confidence in the police; it besmirches its reputation; it undermines relations with the public; it diverts energies and attention from the work to be done (pp. 104-105). According to Souryal (1998), there is considerable disagreement about what constitutes police corruption. Until fairly recently there was little public debate, and even less research, on the problem. Some of the most corrupt police leaders in this century consistently denied its very existence (p. 330). Corruption can be defined so narrowly that serious unethical behaviour is excluded, or so broadly that the definition is meaningless. Souryal comes to the alarming conclusion that no one is born corrupt, but that corruption is a behaviour learned on, or in association with, the job. Corruption is an occupationally induced problem that cannot be remedied by well-worn administrative techniques, intensified investigations, or disciplinary action (p. 338). A universal mental revolution from the top down, involving all members, is required.

Barker and Carter (1994) propose a typology of police deviance, trying to resolve the continuing problems in defining deviant police behaviour. The issue is important, because of the key role of police in society. "In many ways police integrity is the window through which we assess the rectitude of all government actions" (p. 3). Police deviance is not only a personal transgression, it violates fundamental precepts on which democratic society operates. Evidently, as indicated by their typology, opportunities for police deviance are without limit.

One of the most dangerous and confusing forms of police deviance is corruption on behalf of the "noble cause." It is the eternal means - ends dilemma resolved in favour of achieving the end—the noble cause—by any and all means available. Noble-cause corruption is distinct from economic or material reward corruption. It is at the heart of the means - ends dilemma, which characterizes so much of the police role. Crank and Caldero (2000) address the dangers of noble-cause corruption at length. "The noble cause is a profound moral commitment to make the world a safer place to live" (p. 35). It makes police work a cause, a commitment, and a vocation, all of which dominate the police officer's existence. Pollock (1998) distinguishes material-gain corruption from corruption used as a means for achieving noble ends. Police deception, undercover operations, the use of informants, coercion, use of force, all are unethical and close-to-illegal means that are used to achieve defined ends. But using these means may make police officers into "shady characters on the fringe of society so that the rest of us may remain pure. Shunned and avoided, these persons and their value are taken for granted" (p. 189). Delattre (1996) sees a close connection between tragedy and noble-cause corruption. It is when tragedy

threatens or strikes that noble-cause corruption is most likely. Having a good end contributes to the rightness of an act but it is not sufficient. The act needs to be considered in its own right (p. 193). The dilemma may be even more complicated when competing ends have to be resolved.

Police Ethics Codes

The utility of police ethics codes is also a major focus in the literature (e.g., Barker, 1996; Pollock, 1998; Villiers, 1997). In response to the growing pre-occupation with police ethics, Barker relies on the impact of pre-service and in-service training on codes of ethical behaviour (p. 5):

> A code of ethics is the rules and principles which govern the behaviour of that group, profession, or individual. The purpose of a code of ethics is to establish formal guidelines for ethical behaviour and eliminate the ambiguity that surrounds individual considerations of what is right and wrong behaviour. (p. 5)

Barker examines the “Law Enforcement Code of Ethics” developed by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). He raises a number of questions about this code of ethics: “Can it be used to rise above lofty ideal pronouncements more suited for saints and not us humans? Is it all talk and no substance? Does it have any practical value for street level police officers and hard pressed supervisors? Can it be used to promote and insure ethical police behaviour?” (p. 7).

Pollock (1998) joins the debate on the utility of police ethics codes, based on the IACP Law Enforcement Code of Ethics, noting that even though the IACP code has been widely adopted, there is some question as to its relevance for individual officers. The

code specifies such perfect behaviour that it is irrelevant to the realities of most officers (p. 140). Others argue that the code is vague, confusing and impractical. The opposing argument is that the code is valuable because it provides an ideal to aspire to. It sets a lofty goal (p. 141). Evans and Butcher (1990) present a sample of both "motivational" and of disciplinary codes (pp. 122-134). The distinction is clear. The typical mission statement outlines unenforceable lofty goals, as exemplified by the RCMP mission, vision, and values statement (pp. 129-131) and the OPP mission statement (p. 132). The latter contrasts with the code of conduct in regulation 927 under the Ontario Police Services Act 1990, which is a lengthy listing of behaviours deemed to be offenses (pp. 132-136). The Code of Conduct, Part III Section 37 to 50 of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Regulations 1988 (SOR/88-361) is primarily a lengthy listing of prohibitions of specific behaviours. It cannot be characterized as an ethics code or as a guide to moral reasoning and conduct.

The ethics code alone will not resolve the problems of police misconduct in its many manifestations. It must be an integral part of all training and it must be the guiding principle behind peer group socialization (Barker, p. 72). This accords with Villiers' (1997) analysis that declares that if police "have an ethical code, it is undeclared, personal, and probably unique. It is not susceptible to scholarly analysis. It may even be subconscious" (p. 106). An ethics code provides principles, or a virtual formula, for resolving ethical issues. It does not provide the courage, or the intelligence, or the decisiveness which leads to action. It does not resolve clashes between official orders and personal morality (Barker, p. 115) . Drawing up ethics codes is easy enough, as evidenced

by their proliferation. Making effective use of ethics codes, however, requires training in how to think analytically, not only on moral issues, but in general (Villiers, p. 116). The debate over the utility of police ethics codes is not dissimilar to the parallel discussion in the adult education literature about whether the codification of ethics is useful to the professionalization of the field.

Teaching Police Ethics

Effective promotion and management of police ethics requires a complex combination of leadership, policies and rules, enforcement and support and intensive and ongoing ethics training programs. Ethics training is necessary but not sufficient. It is one major aspect of the complex approach required to be effective.

The literature on ethics training that is relevant to police work is minimal (e.g., Bailey & Bittner, 1984; Bracey, 1990; Kleinig & Smith, 1997). Much ethics training explicitly for police officers is often done on the job and in their communities of practice; in contrast educational models applied to the criminal justice system overall typically are offered as academic courses. Ethics training that includes an adult educational context might be applicable to both aspects.

On-the-Job Training for Police Officers

On-the-job training for police officers, as Bailey and Bittner (1984) explain, explicitly attempts to resolve the antinomy between policing as a craft and policing as a science (p. 36). Only if the need and opportunity for systematic learning is recognized can effective and appropriate training be developed as a basis for, and complement to,

learning on the job. On-the-job learning focuses on immediate goals, tactics, and presence (p. 39). This on-the-job learning is likely to be a lengthy process. Bailey and Bittner believe it should be made more systematic and accelerated through formal training (p. 53). This training should approximate the practices of internships, rather than lecturing and theoretical explanations. Police are instruments of public morality. Individual lessons from experience will not reassure the public to have confidence in the police as moral arbiters. Common experience and standards must be taught (p. 59).

Sherman (1998) contrasts two ways to learn on the job. One is making moral decisions in haste and under pressure. The other (better) way is to learn police ethics in a learning setting, removed from conflict and crisis, removed from peer and supervisory pressure (p. 49). Sherman's intent is to make this "better" method more attractive by criticizing the usual way of police ethics learning. He suggests that on-the-job learning produces a number of assumptions that limit options and opportunities for acting ethically: loyalty to colleagues is essential for survival; the public, or most of it, is the enemy; administrators are also the enemy; any discrepancy between these views, and those of non-police is due the ignorance of the latter (p. 55). Ethics training in a safe environment, before and during the police officer's career, would counteract the development of these assumptions and the values they foster. Without ethics training, police officers' morals may spiral downward as they are tempted to give in to corrupt practices around them (pp. 59-62). The alternate approach is to examine "police in the light of basic moral principles and from the moral point of view" (p. 63).

According to Delattre (1996), ethics training cannot be reduced to a barren deliberation about moral problems. It cannot be mere academic pursuit. There must be a foundation of good character, good practical judgment and ethical habits (pp. 144-145). To Delattre, ethics training takes the form of selective moral deliberation (p. 160). Academic learning needs to be combined with field training (p. 189).

Educational Models for Ethics Training for Police Officers

Other theorists propose educational models designed to help all members of the criminal justice system, including police officers, to meet their responsibilities in a constantly changing world. Davis (1997) outlines eight possible ways for teaching justice ethics in an academic environment (pp. 43-47). The preferred, because most effective, method is the pervasive method (p. 44), either as an integral part of all police training with an ethical aspect or in more extensive stand-alone ethics courses (p. 53). Bracey (1990) stresses that

> the highly desirable emphasis on improving training should not obscure the importance of education; the two should progress side by side in complement to each other. Training supplies professional knowledge and skills. Education explains underlying assumptions; helps the student to understand the relationships among individual, society, and nature; provides the historical and cultural context for action; and supplies the tools for lifelong learning. (p. 180)

At the recruit level, training must supply and develop knowledge, information, policies, law, skills, and so forth. Even at the recruit level, Bracey emphasizes that training must develop some understanding of ethical principles to guide their conduct, particularly in situations not covered by specific rules (p. 181). Lifelong learning is essential to ensure those most closely in contact with the public act on an ethical foundation. Pollock's

(1998).emphasis on psychological theories of moral development and the teaching of ethics in criminal justice (pp. 58-82) combines both training and education (as Bracey distinguished these two processes). Although there are many means for promoting ethical conduct, it is crucial that people internalize an ethical system. Moral teaching can be applied to the teaching of criminal justice ethics. Pollock lists a number of elements necessary for any ethics program relating to criminal justice:

1. Stimulating the "moral imagination" by posing difficult moral dilemmas.
2. Encouraging the recognition of ethical issues and larger questions instead of more immediate issues such as efficiency and goals.
3. Helping to develop analytical skills and the tools of ethical analysis.
4. Eliciting a sense of moral obligation and personal responsibility to show why ethics should be taken seriously.
5. Tolerating and resisting disagreement and ambiguity.
6. Understanding the morality of coercion, which is intrinsic to criminal justice.
7. Integrating technical and moral competence, especially recognizing the difference between what we are capable of doing and what we should do.
8. Becoming familiar with the full range of moral issues in criminology and criminal justice. (p. 75)

These approaches to ethics training are closely linked to the ideas and practices on critical reflection developed by adult educators, such as Brookfield. For example, posing difficult moral dilemmas (Pollock) could take much the same form as Brookfield's (1995) critical incident questionnaire; explaining underlying assumptions (Bracey) is integral to critical thinking. These approaches are based on the principles at the core of adult education.

Ethics Issues in Canadian Policing Today

The question of ethics in the Canadian police universe is assuming increasing importance. Demands for greater political and public accountability, expanding oversight mechanisms, the characteristics of community policing, and immediate and constant

media visibility have made individual officer conduct a central concern for police administration. The Canadian literature on the subject is very limited, but echoes American and British approaches. Evans and Butcher (1990) examine ethical reasoning in the Canadian policing context, whereas Stansfield (1996) deals with a wide range of Canadian policing issues without any reference to ethics at all. Police ethics can be addressed at many different levels; however, the current emphasis is on organizational standards and on rule enforcement. For the purposes of my study, I sought examples in the literature that complemented this emphasis with a new focus on individual ethics.

Command and control has been the traditional management style in police organizations. This management style deals with police ethics through rigid frameworks of externally imposed rules and control mechanisms. Much of the recent literature on police ethics describes these external systems of control and many call for change. Barker (1996), Bracey (1990), Crank (1997), Delattre (1996), Kleinig (1997), and Skolnick (1996) provide detailed critiques and descriptions of the current state of police ethics, primarily in the United States.

Codes of conduct establish minimum standards of acceptable ethical behaviour. They are usually not notable for stating what is acceptable, but rather consist of a series of prohibitions against unacceptable conduct. Generally unacceptable conduct, when discovered, is penalized according to rigid standards. Detailed administrative and operational rules ("going by the book") prescribe all behaviours, replacing individual responsibility, ethical judgment and moral decision making. Close supervision by a disproportionately large cadre of non-commissioned officers (NCOs) minimizes and

penalizes transgressions by first-line police officers, at least in theory. Most recently, media and political pressure, and the growing activism of police boards, commissions, and investigation units, have added a new, often adversarial and negative focus, and further external control mechanisms, on police conduct. The move to community policing has started a shift from external prescription and control to individual responsibility on the part of every individual police leader and police officer. Ethics education offers one of the means available to develop this individual ethics competence.

Kleinig and Smith (1997) conclude that their:

> review of the criminal justice ethics education literature revealed significant gaps, both in classroom materials and in strategic aids to teaching. Although ethics education has made significant advances in some of the traditional and newer professional disciplines such as medicine, law, engineering, and business, in criminal justice the development has been much slower. (p. x)

This comment primarily deals with the shortcomings of justice ethics as taught in academic institutions, or at least in formal training settings. This does not mean that ethics training elsewhere is more effective. It simply provides a focus and illustrates that the importance of justice ethics still is underestimated. The research conducted for this thesis supports this conclusion. Police ethics training in Canada at this period in time is not designed to promote a higher level of moral development in the learners.

Summary of the Literature

Police ethics training is a unique adult education activity. It complements other components of police ethics management. Police ethics is growing in importance because of many changes now affecting the delivery of policing services everywhere, including in

Canada. Ethics training must take into account adult education principles, with a particular focus on critical thinking, perspective transformation, and self-directed learning. Some theorists claim that these approaches to police ethics training will likely be the most successful in moving individuals to the next stage of moral development and will contribute to improvements in police ethics. However, not all theorists support developmental approaches to ethics training, and instead recommend situational learning and critical thinking that analyses underlying assumptions of moral dilemmas.

The literature on the teaching of police ethics demonstrates that ethics tends to be taught as a subject, rather than as a competency required for effective police work and integrated into on-the-job training and community of practice. The continuing emphasis on teaching simply about the contents and requirements of codes of conduct does not develop the ability of cadets, recruits and serving officers to engage in critical thinking in order to make ethical judgments, or to promote and manage police organizations based on ethical principles. The literature describes what ethics programs ought to be rather than what they are. In the next chapter, my study develops an in-depth record of ethical considerations and ethics training programs as they exist in police organizations across Canada.

CHAPTER 3

A STUDY OF POLICE ETHICS IN CANADA

This chapter presents my research study, consisting of two inter-related parts: a document analysis of police ethics training programs, and, a questionnaire survey of police ethics administration. The study examines training programs that are available for police officers in Canada, and the role ethics training plays in these programs. This examination is based on the notion that ethics can be taught, and should be taught, in particular to police officers who must be held to the highest possible standard of ethics because of their powerful role in society, and because of their extraordinary individual powers and the role discretion plays in their work.

The first section, on document analysis of police ethics training, is an attempt to determine ethics training at recruit and cadet levels, in preparatory community college programs, and in the practical entry-level training programs in police academies. This document review also attempts to identify and analyse ethics training in leadership programs for police managers and commissioned officers.

The second section, the questionnaire survey, was sent to every police organization identified in the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) national directory. The analysis of the survey responses shows that ethical understanding and commitment varies widely. It is quite clear in hindsight that the definition of ethics is problematic in the police universe. Other definitions are problematic as well. Many respondents use the term "course" to mean anything education- or training-related that is not on-the-job. Hence, many claims that ethics training and ethical considerations are part

of a police officer's career, may in fact only indicate some brief and superficial introduction to the topic. The analysis leaves no doubt that ethics training is a necessity, that police organizations are inconsistent at best, and ignorant at worst, in their exercise of ethical decision making; and, that much trouble lies ahead.

Research Methodology

The research surveys all Canadian police and related agencies listed in the National Directory of the Canadian Police Information Centre. The questionnaire was sent to 333 police and related agencies across Canada, with participation in all provinces.

Document Analysis of Police Ethics Training in Canada

My initial step in the research process was to identify training programs in police ethics that were currently available. To accomplish this, I conducted a computer search of all the educational institutions listed as member colleges of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges. The first step was to identify all the colleges whose offerings include police foundations programs, justice administration, police techniques, or police technology programs. The second step was to identify which of the programs included specific courses on ethics and to try to understand their purpose and objectives in this context.

My experience as a manager at RCMP headquarters taught me that ethics training is, or ought to be, a continuous process throughout a police officer's career. I examined a number of the programs available for leadership and management development for police managers and executives. These programs are limited to just a few institutions and

organizations and are much less formal, and less formally listed and described than the college programs. To gain a better understanding of how important ethics is to police organizations, I also examined admission standards to police training programs and recruiting standards.

The many changes that have occurred in the Canadian police universe over the past 2 decades include attempts to increase the professionalization of the field. This has led to the development of increasingly widespread standards in all areas of police work and performance. The increasing standardization requires that training also be standardized. In the past, most police forces in Canada had their own practical, usually on-the-job training, for uniformed members, complemented by technical and specific skill training at a limited number of recognized police academies, the most prominent of which was, and still is, the RCMP Training Academy in Regina, Saskatchewan. Large police services always had the capacity for maintaining high quality training programs and facilities, whereas smaller organizations were able to provide only minimal training. Those with adequate financial resources could augment the quality of training by sending recruits and members to the small number of available provincial police academies. This generally uncoordinated approach led to a patchwork quilt of police standards and competencies, widespread inability to coordinate work among police forces, legal liabilities and labour relations conflicts. As a consequence, to ensure higher and more uniform standards, Canadian provinces have moved towards standardized training curricula and admission requirements for becoming sworn police officers. Many police forces today require a basic police training certificate, gained in one of the community

colleges authorized to deliver the standardized program. This certificate makes the holder eligible for application to one of the municipal police services. This requirement is based on provincial legislation or regulations; therefore, there is a wide range of program requirements between the various provincial jurisdictions.

Ethics Training in Police Academies

Many of the provinces have established college-level police foundations education as a basic requirement. This foundation makes graduates eligible for application to one of the municipal and/or provincial police services. Once an applicant is processed and accepted as a cadet, police-specific, professional, practical training is provided at one of the major police training academies, which prepare recruits for their actual jobs. These police training academies are regionally based and are as follows:

Ontario Police College (Aylmer, Ontario) provides recruit basic training for Ontario police officers. The OPP Academy in Orillia, Ontario, trains cadets for engagement as provincial police officers. Ecole national de police (Nicolet, Quebec) provides recruit basic training for Quebec police officers. Atlantic Police Academy (Summerside, PEI) provides recruit basic training for police officers in the Atlantic provinces. BC Justice Institute (Vancouver, BC) provides recruit basic training for police officers in British Columbia. RCMP Training Academy (Regina, Saskatchewan) trains all future RCMP officers.

Telephone inquiries with these training academies confirmed that none of the basic recruit training programs include a separate ethics course. Ethics is either a discussion session with visiting speakers who have senior police experience, or it is

considered to be interwoven in practical and scenario training. The Ontario Police College has an approximately half-day ethics module introducing basic ethics concepts. It includes a number of typical case studies, essentially presenting crude choices between right and wrong. The focus is on identifying wrong conduct as defined by the organization. Ethical competence is equated with knowledge of the details of the typical police code of conduct. There is no recognition of ethics as an issue of the exercise of free will. The ethics dimension is not established as a separate and specific basis for making decisions. Right and wrong are determined by law, regulations, codes of conduct, and policies and procedures, and by immediate operational requirements, rather than by ethical deliberation. Where provincial police services acts continue to permit a non-standardized approach to police recruit basic training, police services, such as Edmonton City Police or the Calgary Police Service, train their own future officers. The research did not identify a separate, in-depth course on police ethics in any of these in-house police preparation programs.

Ethics Training in Community College Police Foundations Programs

To determine if the dearth of ethics training in the police academies is somewhat offset by at least an introduction to ethics in the community college preparatory programs I conducted a computer search of all the member colleges of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges. This search determined that the following police foundations or closely related criminal justice administration programs are taught in 28 community colleges across the country: 4 in British Columbia, 3 in Alberta, 1 in Saskatchewan, 14 in Ontario, 5 in Quebec, and 1 in Prince Edward Island.

The major exception to the new approach involving the community colleges is the RCMP, which has no requirement for any prior preparatory police education, nor does it have any specialized police related requirement prior to application. All RCMP police training for new entrants takes place at the RCMP Training Academy at Regina. The basic requirement for entry into the RCMP is still only a high school graduation certificate. Nevertheless, to be competitive in the recruitment process, most applicants nowadays have at least some college or university education.

A computer search also identified those programs in which a separate ethics course was required as a compulsory part of the program. The search was facilitated by the rich information available on the Web site of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC), which has detailed listings of all member colleges and their programs. It also provides accurate and current contacts and web addresses. Contacting the various colleges was easy. They have largely standardized their Web sites, generally providing much detail about programs and courses.

Examination of individual listings and inventories revealed whether or not the various police programs included distinct ethics courses. The frequency and prominence of such courses can be read as an indication of the importance of ethics as part of the professional preparation of police officers. This search was made much easier by the increasing coordination and standardization of police training in each province, at least at the cadet and recruit levels. College curricula in each province have to meet provincial standards, and prepare students for careers in almost identical fashion. This is perhaps a logical development, which parallels the increasing professionalisation and

standardization of police work throughout Canada. This development is also indicative of the much greater, and still growing, mobility of police officers.

Traditionally in Canada, almost fanatical organizational loyalty was demanded of all members and prohibited any notion of moving between or among police services. This traditional rigidity is rapidly breaking down. Officers are moving more freely between municipal police services within provinces. They are even moving from, to, and between provincial services and even the RCMP has developed an "absorption protocol" allowing officers from other services to transfer in with only minimal upgrading and integration training. Although legal and administrative barriers to full mobility remain, the trend is likely to accelerate because of shifting populations, many police mergers and amalgamations, and government priorities. It stands to reason that the various schools, colleges, and academies are attempting to standardize their training. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that many of these institutions do not include ethics training in their curricula. This is an indication that a clearly defined ethics competence is not yet considered an essential characteristic of professional police officers in Canada. At best, it may be a "soft skill," which may or may not distinguish the individual as more competent than others who never studied ethics in any formal manner.

A core of standard police foundation courses can be identified from the college Web sites that is common to almost all these programs: introduction to criminology and justice administration; writing and communication skills; psychology and sociology, usually related to abnormal behaviour and social problems; introduction to law; in-depth treatment of the Criminal Code; some introduction to management or police

administration; and, introduction to investigations and courtroom behaviour. These courses are an indication of the very strong preoccupation in the community college programs with practical skills and capabilities. In some of the programs there are courses on reasoning, thinking, and logic. There is virtually no indication that personal values and a moral foundation behind the behaviours required by police officers are an issue to be addressed. In relation to police ethics training, there is also an andragogical "catch 22." When ethics training is developed and presented by adult education experts with experience and a reputation in the ethics field, they are likely to be viewed with suspicion, because they are outsiders who do not know the realities of police work. Conversely, if ethics is taught by police officers who are accepted as insiders and who are trusted by students, they may not bring any educational insights or strengths which would help transform the supposed learners.

The colleges listed for British Columbia all have similar programs in justice administration. The information stresses employment opportunities in police and related careers. None of the programs list courses in ethics. There are offerings on human rights, social justice, critical thinking, and many applied and academic subjects, but no courses on ethics for police officers. These programs can best be described as eclectic. They appear to be academic programs about policing, rather than acting as practical preparation for aspiring police officers.

The program descriptions of the colleges in Alberta reveal a different focus: they are highly practical. There are very few general courses. The focus is on practical policing skills: investigative skills, note taking, evidence, traffic enforcement, emergency

planning, and so forth. This perhaps takes into account that Alberta offers no other police preparatory programs and the colleges substitute in part for police training academies in preparing future police officers. None of these programs list ethics as a separate course.

In the other provinces of the prairie region, only Keewatin College has a program related to law enforcement. It claims to prepare students for employment in law enforcement, or related careers. The program is similar to those in British Columbia, with a strong emphasis on social science topics and preparation for job searches. This program appears to be designed primarily to increase students' job search competencies and to make them more competitive in the selection process. There are no courses or requirements for ethics or moral development.

The 14 community colleges in Ontario that offer the Police Foundations program authorized by the provincial government present a standardized curriculum. The standard curriculum is based on various research studies and government reports issued in the 1980s and 1990s, which responded to a growing crisis in public confidence in the police. The program prepares students for application to Ontario police services and entry into the mandatory police training programs offered by the police training academies. In the third semester, students must take the approved course, "Principles of Ethical Reasoning," a semester course of 48 hours. This is the most comprehensive treatment of ethics of any police-related training and development program in Canada. The course outline lists detailed learning requirements and the skills and knowledge to be developed. Because this is the only police ethics course of some substance in Canada, these course learning requirements and skills and knowledge are worth enumerating.

Course learning requirements. The learning outcomes specified are: Critically discuss the relevance of ethics to the profession of policing. Define and describe aspects of critical thinking and fundamental ethical concepts. Describe and contrast the major approaches to ethical decision-making. Describe and analyse an ethical decision-making model. Critically analyse the role of ethics in law enforcement vis-a-vis policing practices, and apply the ethical decision-making model to these practices.

Knowledge and skills. The skills and knowledge competencies identified are: Realities of police work (Police subculture); Definition of ethics and morals (Relativism and absolutism, natural law, and ethical systems (Deontological and teleological ethical systems, including duty ethics, utilitarianism, divine command theory, the ethics of virtue, ethical egoism, social contract theory, ethics of caring); Ability to distinguish between various decision-making models (Examination of the A.C.T. model—Alternatives, Consequences, Telling); The police subculture (Discretion and duty; power and authority; graft and gratuities; deception; coercion and the use of force; and loyalty and whistleblowing).

Methods and activities. The hybrid nature of this course is further confirmed by the teaching and learning methods and the learning activities the students engage in: Class discussions; lectures; case studies; audio-visual presentation; group presentations; and on-line independent and group study.

This curriculum appears to address ethics at a number of different levels: Ethics as theory, subject and philosophy; ethics as part of police reality; and, ethics as a decision-making model. This is an ambitious program. It may fail at any of the three

levels. Nevertheless, it needs to be examined as a guide to the development of police ethics training at a national level, and not only for potential recruits, but for serving members, managers, and executives as well. From an adult education perspective, this complex mixture of learning activities is likely to be more successful than the typically academic ethics courses taught in universities, or even in colleges. The approach develops some aspects of critical thinking and also develops practical decision-making skills of crucial importance in daily police work.

Four community colleges (CEGEPs) in the province of Quebec offer programs in police technology (techniques policières). They are designed to be preparatory programs for students attempting to apply to any of the Quebec public security and police agencies, including the Quebec Provincial Police, municipal police services, the RCMP, private security agencies, and others. The curricula reflect this broad purpose and are a mix of very practical courses and quite academic subjects. The common curriculum ranges from such subjects as defensive tactics and surveillance methods, to literature and the philosophy of reason. It also includes ethics as one of the required second-year courses. Closer examination reveals that the ethics course is in fact a course in moral philosophy, taught as a knowledge subject, rather than as a tool for decision making or as a project to develop critical thinking in future police officers. This may be a useful foundation for further learning in the future, or as a foundation for the development of practical police ethics, but it cannot be considered police ethics training. It is perhaps akin to a theoretical explanation of firearms, but without teaching the student to shoot a pistol. It may not be useless, but it is unlikely to influence the competencies required of police officers.

The Atlantic Police Academy in Summerside, PEI is a division of Holland College. It offers a 2-year police foundations program for aspiring police officers, as well as practical police training. Graduates are eligible to apply to any of the police services in the Atlantic Region, most of which have made this police foundations training a mandatory requirement. There are no ethics courses offered by the Atlantic Police Academy, neither as part of the foundations program, nor in any of the professional or technical programs.

Ethics in Admissions and the Application Process

It may be tempting to conclude that the inattention to ethics training is an indication that ethics, moral conduct, integrity, and good character are not important to police organizations. This is not the case. The lack of ethics training may primarily be an indication that ethics is presumed not to be capable of being taught and learned. There are also indications that ethics is at least intermittently interwoven into other subjects of police training and development. There is considerable focus on character in the recruiting information disseminated by police organizations. The selection process includes a wide range of mechanisms intended to weed out the bad apples. There is constant research, debate and innovation in this area, indicating a preoccupation with fool-proofing the process to ensure that any potentially problematic individuals are excluded.

Good moral character and habits are universal preconditions for engagement as a police officer. Even in the community college admission process, additional steps are taken to ensure prospective students are not only academically and physically suitable,

but also have the requisite character. Personal interviews with school representatives, detailed application forms, and character references are frequently required for admission to what is in essence still a college, rather than a professional, program.

For example the recruiting site for the Vancouver Police Department lists (among others) the following basic requirements: Excellent character (listed first). No history of improper conduct, or a poor employment, military, educational, credit, or driving record. Additional assets are: Work experience involving a position of responsibility, such as supervising, teaching, or nursing; and, volunteer experience in the community.

To confirm the excellent character required and demonstrated by past conduct and experience, the Vancouver Police Department imposes a number of steps on the applicant, many preoccupied with cognitive and physical capacity, but also with personal suitability and character. After an applicant passes a written examination and physical tests, the intake interview reviews personal history focussing on integrity, problem solving abilities, respect for diversity, community service orientation, self-initiative, and acceptance of responsibility. The veracity of the information provided in the intake interview is checked through a polygraph examination. Failure in any significant degree eliminates the candidate immediately from further consideration. After passing the polygraph examination a candidate undergoes a complex and detailed assessment procedure, which judges many dimensions, including integrity, interpersonal tolerance and sensitivity, and personal power.

These steps produce a considerable file on those applicants who make it this far in the process. Once a candidate is considered seriously for training and engagement, an extensive background investigation is conducted. References, present and previous

employers, neighbours, friends, and family members are contacted and interviewed. Only if there is broad and unquestioned consensus in support of the candidate will a recommendation for engagement be made.

In Ontario, police recruiting has been standardized and centralized and is conducted by a specialized agency. This streamlining has led to a common standard for police recruiting and selection, and increases the mobility of Ontario police recruits and officers. The stated basic qualifications and requirements include good moral character and habits. The selection process includes the Behavioural Personnel Assessment Device for Police, personal suitability interview, and the standard, detailed background investigation confirming the required clean record.

The RCMP basic requirements include good moral character. The selection process includes various tools to identify those applicants who indeed are confirmed to be of such character. The RCMP Police Aptitude Test is primarily a cognitive test, but also assesses personal suitability, judgment and objectivity, and the candidate's potential to contribute to the strategic goals of the organization and to meet diverse community needs without fear or bias. The selection interview focusses almost entirely on the dimensions of integrity, honesty, objectivity, decisiveness, self awareness, and related characteristics linked to moral strength. The background investigation, standard in all police selection processes, is detailed and designed to uncover even minor inconsistencies and doubts. Candidates who fail the various practical tests may re-apply after a suitable time interval, but not if the background investigation denies them further processing. The pre-occupation with "weeding out the bad apples" before they become engaged in the RCMP

leads to a constant search for improvements in the process. At various times the Minnesota Multi Phasic Instrument has been used. At present, use of a polygraph examination is being considered, as well as a conscientiousness test designed for police selection.

If ethics criteria were included in the selection process subsequent ethics training and programs might be more successful, or perhaps of less crucial importance. This is a fundamental issue, closely related to an existing state of confusion in recruiting. It appears that the standards and practices now in place are designed largely for the police officer of the past, rather than the community policing officer of the future (Coutts et al., 2003) for whom ethics has become such an important issue. Existing processes are designed to screen out "undesirables" rather than determining the necessary characteristics for effective community policing. The changing and expanded role and the skills required must necessarily have significant implications for the recruitment and selection of police officers today. Ethics evaluation of recruits and cadets must go beyond the typical security checks and background checks now in place. Test instruments need to be designed to determine the capacity for moral thinking and for moral growth in each recruit if ethics training is to be more than teaching *about* ethics.

Ethics in Advanced Training Programs

The focus on good moral character and personal suitability in the selection process is an indication that management is at least in principle aware of the role of ethics in police work. Because of the consequences of police actions, and because of the constant legal challenges, many police skills and techniques have to be certified and

constantly re-certified, such as polygraphy; speed radar operation; finger print interpretation; statement taking; evidence analysis; use of baton, pepper spray, fire arms, and so forth. The list of these skills that must be re-certified is constantly growing and management assiduously ensures that appropriate and formally approved training is available. Therefore, given the prominence of ethics and character in the selection process, it could be easy to conclude that ethics training is part and parcel of the continuing education of police officers and managers. To ascertain if this assertion is correct, I analyzed the police management and leadership programs available in various settings.

The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) recognizes that police activity can only be legitimate with the consent of the public they serve. To promote ethical conduct among Canadian police chiefs, the CACP articulated an ethical framework, designed to help all police executives foster an ethical environment that enables their members and employees to act in a manner that is consistent with the expectations of the Canadian public. This is an informal paper that was distributed to members of the CACP and posted on the CACP Web site, but has no legal force. It essentially reiterates what many police services include in their mission statements and codes of conduct. Follow-up enquiry at the CACP about ethics training revealed that there are no materials on police ethics beyond this informal document, and that there presently are no plans to develop more. There is no training program that deals with the issue of ethics among police managers or their organizations. The CACP has many subcommittees, including one on human resources and training. There is no plan to address ethics at this level.

The Canadian Police College is a national training institution administered and coordinated on behalf of all Canadian police forces by the RCMP. This college is overseen by a national advisory board to ensure that relevant and needed training of agreed standards is provided. The Police Executive Centre at the College is responsible for delivering management and leadership training to Canadian police managers and executives. Its mandate includes training for new managers, aspiring executives, and for chiefs and senior deputies.

The Senior Police Administrators' Course (SPAC) is the first line management course. It is held in-residence at the College over a period of 3 weeks. Candidates must have been supervisors for at least 2 years before participating. The course includes a half-day module on ethics in policing. Not coincidentally, it is a very shortened version of the ethics course in the police foundations program at Algonquin College in Ottawa, because the resource person for this module is the instructor on the police ethics course at Algonquin College. This module is a brief introduction to ethics concepts, definitions, and a brief discussion of the personal experiences of course participants.

The Executive Development Program was a program designed to develop police executive managers. It has been defunct for the past number of years because of budgetary and resource problems at the Canadian Police College. This program had been at risk because of questions of relevance. There are currently plans to revive it. Originally, this was a 2-week developmental program, teaching future police executives the rudiments of leadership. The contents were a mixture of leadership skills and behaviours, as well as an examination and confirmation of values and attitudes. The program

recognized the need to develop trust among employees, peers, and clients; it implicitly dealt with some ethics issues. Ethics as a foundation for decision making and right conduct was not addressed as a topic.

At the executive levels, the College assumes that participants are fully formed as managers, leaders, and human beings and further development is no longer necessary. Therefore, the program available for serving police executives consists of a series of workshops that address current and emerging issues of importance to police executives. Such topics may include governance structures, communicating with the public, knowledge management, labour relations, and others. There is no program on ethics, nor is one planned. One topic under discussion is related to ethics: how to deal with the political and media fallout from scandals, corruption, and police crime and to restore public trust.

Somewhat coincidentally, the search of college and related programs also turned up three universities with programs in justice and law enforcement of particular interest to police managers. The program at the University of Winnipeg offers a Bachelor of Arts in Justice and Law Enforcement, designed for careers in the police field. This is a 15-course, 90-credit-hour program. The courses are grouped under three main headings: the nature and role of law in society; organization and administration; and behaviour. None of the courses focuses specifically on ethics.

The Bachelor of Human Justice at the University of Regina is a broad introduction to justice administration. It places policing in its social and political context. It does not include a course on police ethics or ethics in the justice system. Henson College at

Dalhousie University offers a Certificate in Police Leadership. It addresses the demanding challenges facing police leaders today. It does not address ethics as a prominent leadership issue. The program in Advanced Police Leadership helps police managers integrate the theoretical knowledge gained in the certificate program into their organizations. It does not deal with ethics issues.

The Survey Findings

The survey was sent in bilingual format to all 333 agencies that were listed in the national directory of the Canadian Police Information Centre in the fall of 1999. Here I reiterate the questions posed in the survey questionnaire, present the results in summary tables, and offer interpretations of these responses. In some instances I comment on the credibility of the responses provided and the need for further clarification or follow-up research.

The Survey Response Process

A letter accompanied the survey questionnaire, explaining the antecedents and the purpose of the survey. The letter explained that the survey was an independent academic initiative, and that participation was entirely voluntary. Confidentiality was assured by providing a pre-addressed, unmarked envelope. Respondents did not have to provide any identifying information on the return envelope or the survey. Any identifying information was provided on a voluntary basis and was kept separate from the returned survey questionnaires. Any agreement to be contacted for possible follow-up was voluntary.

I requested a return date of approximately 6 weeks. A total of 102 organizations returned

the completed questionnaire. Most of the responses were returned within 1 month. All available responses were received within approximately 2 months from mailing. About 10 persons delegated by their institutions to respond called for further explanation and clarification before responding. A preponderant number of respondents voluntarily identified the organization, any contact persons who were willing to cooperate further, as well as themselves. In a different environment this might be surprising. However, in most of the police services that responded, the task was delegated by management, and the respondent acted with full management knowledge and support. This is perhaps symptomatic of police services. They either refuse to cooperate altogether, cooperate fully once they decide it is appropriate – or perhaps consider it is in their organizational or career interest to participate.

Responses from the various training institutions and colleges were different from the police responses. Most failed to respond altogether. Because they tend to be large and bureaucratic, it was virtually impossible to determine who had received the survey invitation and who had made the decision to abstain. In some instances a terse letter was sent as a reply, indicating that there were no relevant programs, and/or that the questionnaire did not apply to the institution. The explanation for this reluctance may be found in the document analysis, which demonstrated that there is virtually no ethics training in police training institutions, nor in the various colleges that prepare students for future careers in policing. Colleges may be reluctant to acknowledge that they have not prominently addressed police ethics as a training issue.

The first segment of the questionnaire asked generic demographic information, on the size and type of organization, the types of communities they serve, and on a distinction between urban and rural environments. This information permitted me to make some comparisons between large and small police services, and between urban and rural ones. The most usable information related to the size of the organization, because it required a specific number as the answer. The question about the type of organization was not analysed, because too many respondents did not identify this information, or they provided too many multiple replies to distinguish types of organization. The type of community was also not analysed, for the same reasons. The question on the size of organization is based on all members and employees, including regular/uniformed members and civilian employees. The balance between these two categories of employees varied widely, most likely depending on legislative and policy differences and on labour market conditions.

On the questionnaire I offered five categories for organizational size. The categories and the number of organizations in each category are: fewer than 50 (44 organizations); 50-100 (21 organizations); 100-500 (22 organizations); 500-1000 (6 organizations); and more than 1000 (9 organizations). My reasoning behind this analysis for organizational size is the notion that larger, more sophisticated police services, with more resources and higher training and education levels, might have reached a higher stage of moral development and ethical reasoning. If so, the smaller departments could learn from these experiences and study and implement best practices already in place in the larger organizations. In the following subsections I tabulate the organizations' responses and interpret the data.

Presence of Written Guidelines

Question 1 asked: Does your organization/police service have a (a) written code of conduct? (b) written mission statement? ©) written ethics guidelines? Respondents were invited to attach copies of their various written guides and/or statements. A few respondents provided their codes of conduct. Fewer provided copies of mission statements. No ethics guidelines were provided, leaving some doubt about the many responses claiming the organization did have written ethics guidelines.

Table 1. Have written Statements? (%Yes)

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total
Code of conduct	89	50	73	70	68	70
Mission statement	100	100	95	71	59	75
Ethics guidelines	78	67	58	30	38	46

Table 1 assesses the existence of formal written instruments used by police services to define and manage members' conduct. Over two thirds of respondents indicated that they have the traditional code of conduct, which is usually based on legislation. Organizational size appears to make a substantial difference, in that most larger organizations have a written code of conduct, whereas many smaller services are less likely to. It is likely that in smaller services direct supervision is the main vehicle for guiding employees' and members' conduct, whereas larger organizations resort to more bureaucratic means to ensure members are aware of accepted standards of behaviour. These codes of conduct seem to be necessary to satisfy legal requirements and perhaps

public expectations. The existence of these codes is no indication that an organization promotes ethics as a fundamental principle or that it promotes moral growth and development among members.

Almost three quarters of all respondents confirm that their organizations have issued mission statements. This is a somewhat surprising result, because such statements are only a recent phenomenon. The result appears to suggest that police organizations are aware of current trends, and perhaps even fads, in management and organizational thinking. Fewer than half of all respondents indicated their organizations employ written ethics guidelines. Larger organizations are more likely to have written guidelines than smaller ones.

A number of respondents supplied copies of their codes of conduct, all of which are clear statements of accepted and prohibited behaviours. All of these codes have a legal basis and outline in great detail the negative consequences of unacceptable behaviour, processes for dealing with violations, rights and responsibilities in internal processes, and possible redress mechanisms. These codes of conduct, therefore, are less ethical guidelines than strict legal interpretations imposed by public agencies.

Mission statements are almost uniformly simplistic iterations of moral principles, such as integrity, respect for others, courage, independence, honesty, etc. Codes of conduct and mission statements seem to be the core of what ethics orientation and training does exist in the various training institutions and programs. Ethics training consists of teaching about the codes of conduct and mission statements.

Ranking Management Priorities

Question 2 asks: Police management faces many competing priorities. For your organization, please rank order the following senior management priorities, from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating the most important and 4 the least important. Of the four competing priorities, only one of which is of ethical consideration. Ranking of these priorities determines the relative importance of ethical considerations in police management decision making. The answer to this question was important because what motivates management will determine the culture of the organization. The responses shown in Table 2 indicate that ethical considerations are not the first priority in police management decision making.

Table 2: Ranking of Management Priorities (1 = most important)

	Operational/community demands	Economic/budget considerations	Ethical considerations	Political realities
Total	1.27	2.27	2.63	3.56

Police managers operate under a complex system of competing pressures and priorities. Decisions have to please many masters. The responses to the question in table 2 assess which of these influences are the most important. There is reason to believe that police managers, through experience, will base their decisions on those criteria that optimize operational efficiency and effectiveness, minimize trouble and criticism, and which can stand public scrutiny. Operational demands and community expectations are the most important influence. This supports the task orientation of police organizations, which is stressed in training and in the police culture. Until the growing budgetary

pressures of the 1980s and 1990s, this likely would have been the only criterion of any consequence to police managers. However, the modern reality has changed, and the responses summarized in the table indicate that economic and budget considerations have become very important. This appears to be particularly true of smaller police organizations. Ethical considerations are shown to be the third ranked of decision-making priorities. This is an indication that the pragmatic and frugal nature of police work takes precedence over the longer lasting impact of ethical criteria in decision-making. The recognition of ethics as a decision making criterion is higher in smaller, more visible and more transparent police organizations. This could be interpreted to mean that public visibility has an effect on the recognition of ethics as a decision-making foundation. Political considerations are recognized, but are ranked last by the respondents. This is perhaps a reflection of the pressure from police services acts, which stipulate that Canadian police operate at arms length from political institutions. Responsibility is rarely meant to be political responsibility; rather, police are meant to be responsible to independent and representative police services boards established by legislation to represent the interest of the public, not political interests.

From an ethics perspective these findings are problematic. An ethical foundation should automatically precede and inform all other considerations, regardless of operational requirements, economic and budget limitations, and political influence. An ethically informed senior management cadre is essential for the establishment of an ethics based police culture. These responses indicate that task achievement within budget continues to be the guiding principle. The implication that political considerations are of

the least importance in management decisions bears further examination. Frequent and continuing investigations into police conduct at events such as the APEC meetings in Vancouver, the G7/G8 meetings in Quebec City and in Kananaskis, the growing scandal of false convictions under the pressure of politics and public vengeance indicate that satisfying political masters and public opinion are high on the list of decision-making criteria. Perhaps individual officers on the front lines in these situations are not fully aware of these implications because they simply follow orders and the traditional urge to close investigation files and put events behind them. However, at the decision-making levels, it appears from simple observation that a different reality prevails.

Ranking Ethical Priorities

Question 3 attempts to assess the level of moral development in Canadian police organizations by applying Kohlberg's six stages of moral development to police management. The question was: Police organizations have to deal with ethics issues at many different levels and often have different and competing priorities. Please rank the following statements from 1 to 6, with 1 indicating the greatest importance to management in your organization and 6 indicating the least importance: (a) Enforcing formal rules and authority and avoiding harm to others; (b) Being strict but fair in the provision of policing services and in the management of officers and employees; c) Keeping good relationships and maintaining trust and loyalty with the community, and with sworn officers and other employees, and with other partners; (d) Being dutiful, upholding the social order, and promoting the welfare of the community served; (e) Upholding the constitutional rights and values of all members of the community at all

costs; and (f) Promoting human justice, equality, and respect for all members and segments of society as a matter of fundamental principle.

The answers to these questions are shown in Table 3. They indicate the general (average) level of moral development of Canadian police services. This average is made up of all individual responses, which varied considerably. Furthermore, each individual answer reflects the individual view of the responding person and may not fully or accurately reflect the actual organization. At the level of the individual police organization the answer to this question could be used to determine how to further develop the ethical competence of individual police officers as well as of the organization as a whole.

Table 3. Ranking Ethical Statements Related to Moral Stages

	1000 +	500-1000	100-500	50-100	-50	Total
Enforcing Rules	2.00	2.50	1.95	2.15	2.38	2.33
Strict But Fair	2.44	3.50	3.33	2.90	2.90	3.00
Relationships Of Trust	3.88	4.83	4.48	4.00	4.45	4.11
Uphold Social Order	4.33	4.66	4.24	5.15	4.74	4.86
Uphold Constitutional Rights	3.77	4.16	3.90	4.15	4.12	4.06
Human Justice and Equality	4.55	3.83	5.05	4.60	4.07	4.41

Note: Larger numbers signify greater importance.

For the purpose of this study, the answers in Table 3 could be used to determine if existing ethics training programs were appropriate to the learner(s), and, if not, to determine what kind of ethics training in fact should be developed and implemented. In this sense, the question is a rudimentary needs analysis for police ethics training.

The first item in the question is about enforcing formal rules and authorities and avoiding harm to others. It is at Kohlberg's punishment-and-obedience stage, which emphasizes the avoidance of punishment as the prime ethical motivator. Police codes of conduct are aimed at this moral stage. The second item is about the instrumental-relativist orientation, which is based on a mutual satisfaction of needs. The third item is about the orientation to please majority expectations, which in the case of police organizations means especially satisfying political and public demands. The fourth item relates to the "law and order" orientation, which stresses authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of order. The fifth item focuses on the autonomous stage of moral development, still based on a social-contract, legalistic orientation, but one in which the law is flexible and can be changed to ensure maximum protection and fairness for all. Enforcing the law is on behalf of the good of the community, rather than being an end in itself, regardless of its impact. The sixth item identifies the highest level of moral development at which conscience determines which decisions and actions are right as based on universal ethical principles. The purpose of police management at this stage becomes the promotion of human justice, equality, and respect for all members and segments of society as a matter of fundamental principle.

This table reveals that police organizations vary considerably in terms of the stages of moral development. As a basis for developing police ethics training the results

displayed are inconclusive, because further and much more detailed needs analysis will be necessary to determine what kind of ethics training would be required by any particular police organization..

It is not possible from this table to conclude that size of the organization is of particular importance. It is also not possible to discern from these results if age, gender, experience and seniority, or rank correlate in any way with the stage of moral development.

Given the large number of organizations at relatively low levels of ethical development, there clearly is an issue that must be addressed: the movement of officers, and particularly commissioned officers and managers, to higher stages of moral development. Only a deliberate focus on the continuous moral development of police managers will guarantee that the ethical culture of police organizations does not stagnate, and continues to mature in response to the increasing complexity of demands, growing transparency of police work, and constant pressure to resist easy solutions.

Tools for Enforcing Ethical Conduct

Question 4 (Table 4) enumerates the wide variety of tools and practices that may be used to enforce ethical conduct of officers. It asks: Police organizations enforce ethical conduct of officers with a wide variety of tools and practices. Please check the ones in use in your organization..

The information in Table 4 permits a ranking of these tools and practices by frequency of use. An attempt to refine the question by asking respondents to rate the

importance of each practice failed for lack of responses. The only supplementary materials consistently provided by respondents were codes of conduct in use.

Table 4: Tools Used to Enforce Ethical Conduct

Size of Organization	1000+	500-1000	100-500	50-100	-50	Total
Written code of conduct	7	5	12	11	32	67
Written police ethics statement	5	3	5	6	16	35
Stated commitment by management	5	4	8	9	12	38
Ethical leadership by example	7	4	13	11	28	63
"Whistle blowing"	2	2	5	5	8	22
Ethics enforcement and discipline by line supervision	8	4	8	9	15	44
Discipline by formal mechanisms	8	4	8	9	24	53
Ethics training for recruits/new employees	7	4	7	5	21	44
Ethics training for supervisors and managers	8	2	5	5	17	37
Ethics training as in-service training	7	3	4	3	10	27
Strict enforcement of police services legislation	5	4	11	8	23	51
Other (please describe)	0	1	0	0	0	1

The items in the table can be grouped roughly into three categories: enforcement; leadership; and, training and development. By far the greatest number of respondents identified traditional enforcement-oriented means for controlling, guiding and correcting

officer conduct–written codes of conduct, which generally are concise and autocratic statements of prohibited behaviours and statements of consequences. These codes are the main tool for informing officers of the limitations within which they must operate. The second item in this broad category confirms that police organizations manage discipline by formal mechanisms, likely internal, formal, quasi-legal code of conduct investigations, which result in formal hearings and rulings requiring formal action. In the same category is the strict enforcement of police services legislation, which is again autocratic, formal and imperative. Line supervision is the management function that constantly oversees individual officers and that usually triggers any action to correct legal, ethical or administrative violations.

Leadership on ethical issues subsumes the second category. The most important claim is that police managers set an ethical example. There are also formal statements on ethics, such as written ethics statements and mission statements. Such statements are likely little different from the traditional codes of conduct, but use broader and more positive language. Few organizations recognize a "whistle blowing" mechanism as a formal tool for revealing, identifying and resolving unethical conduct. Some doubts may be raised about these claims, given that there is virtually no profound ethics training for supervisors and managers. The question occurs: if supervisors and managers are at a stage of moral development similar to that of their subordinates, how do they lead by example, and what kind of ethics do they formally promote?

The third group of answers in this question does not resolve this doubt. The answers to the three questions on ethics training show that training is of a low priority in

promoting ethical conduct of police officers. Furthermore, as the literature search on formal training programs shows, there is virtually no in-depth ethics training for police officers and commissioned officers. Therefore, even the low number of affirmative responses on this question leave some doubt. It is likely that training consists of occasional brief references to ethics in various other training programs, or to short ethics presentations as part of general management and supervisory training.

Measures and Practices to Promote Ethical Values and Conduct

Questions 5 through 11 look for practical examples of how Canadian police services might address the need to give visibility to ethics issues. These questions were designed in consultation with human resources, administrative and operational managers in the RCMP, managers and colleagues in municipal police services, research staff at the RCMP, and at the Canadian Centre for Police-Race Relations. These questions are a fairly inclusive cross-section of desired or actual measures and practices to promote ethical values and conduct among police officers and managers. Respondents were asked to signify if these tools were used always, usually, sometimes, never, or N/A. Questions 9, 10, 11 required a simple yes or no answer.

Question 5 asks whether: ethical criteria are an explicit part of the management decision making process. It is based on the reality that at least some police services consciously and deliberately assess some of their management decisions against ethical criteria, in addition to the more common operational, political, and economic considerations. The inclusion of ethical criteria and standards to guide management decisions would demonstrate whether ethics is at the core of organizational culture and

conduct. Absence of such criteria signals to members and employees of the police organization that ethics is not an issue of substance. Most respondents claimed that management decision making takes ethical considerations into account.

The results in Table 5 show that the majority of respondents believe, or at least claim, that management decisions routinely are based on ethical considerations. This question requires further research. Respondents claim that ethical considerations are an explicit part of the management decision making process.

Table 5: Ethical Criteria in Management Decision Making

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Always	4.08	1.96	14.71	7.84	22.55	50.98
Usually	2.94	3.92	5.88	8.82	15.69	37.26
Sometimes	1.96		0.98	2.94	3.92	9.8
Never					0.98	0.98
N/A				0.98		0.98

These results would indicate that concrete ethical standards and criteria exist, similar to budget requirements or operations standards, or rules and guidelines on such issues as purchasing, conflict of interest, and contract administration. Many normal management processes include legal and procedural rules and limitations. However, these cannot be confused with distinct ethical requirements and standards examining the impact on others, potential for harm, long term societal benefits, positive labour and community relations, and related criteria.

Question 6 recognizes the importance of formal policies in police management. It asks whether: ethical criteria are an explicit part of the policy development process.

Policy regulates virtually all police activities in minutest detail. The inclusion of ethical criteria would have a profound impact on police conduct on a day-to-day basis, because policy itself would become an ethics guide. If policy does not address ethical issues this would not automatically lead to unethical conduct. However, it would lead to ethical passivity because police officers avoid actions and decisions and ideas that are not governed explicitly by policy. An ethics vacuum would be the most likely result. Most respondents claimed that policy development is ethics based at least some of the time.

Table 6: Ethical Criteria in the Policy Development Process

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Always	3.92	3.92	15.69	11.76	17.65	52.94
Usually	1.96	1.96	4.9	4.9	16.67	30.39
Sometimes	2.94		0.98	2.94	5.88	12.75
Never					1.96	1.96
N/A				0.98	0.98	1.96

These responses bear further research and examination. Policy development in the police universe reflects organizational practice and culture. Therefore, if ethics is a visible foundation for management decision making, this would be reflected in the policy-making process, and ultimately in all polices. Further research would determine if policies indeed have a distinct ethical component that reflects a conscious concern for ethics by management.

I attempted to gain better insights into the possible confusion around ethical concepts that emerged in the survey responses by following up and clarifying concepts

with some colleagues in policy work in the RCMP. It became quickly apparent that their concept of ethics includes virtually everything from harassment and human rights, to code of conduct violations and internal investigations to legal limitations on undercover operations, surveillance and searches. Therefore, the answers to this question indicate that policy developers are alert to a broad range of behaviours which must be defined by policy. Such policies do not appear to be based on articulated ethical principles.

Further research would be required to determine if policies indeed have a distinct ethical component that reflects a conscious and consistent concern for ethics by management.

Question 7 deals with management performance. It asks whether: appraisal of management performance routinely includes the evaluation of the ethical leadership capabilities of candidates. Police management core competencies are regularly assessed, usually because of legislative or regulatory requirements, or under a union/management agreement. Inclusion of ethical leadership as an evaluation or performance criterion would focus the attention of police managers on their duty to demonstrate ethical conduct by example. Absence of such a criterion would signal to the police managers being evaluated and to the rank and file that ethics was not a leadership dimension important enough to be recognized, evaluated, and rewarded. No respondent provided a copy of any assessment tool covering ethical issues. Assessment tools I have used myself in staffing actions universally assess character traits, such as integrity, honesty, job commitment and others which are clearly related to ethical conduct. They do not, however, identify competencies such as ethical reasoning, principled crisis management and conflict

resolution, independence of action, and others which would indicate that ethics is part of the officer's performance being assessed. Many respondents claimed that performance evaluation for management includes ethical criteria.

Table 7: Ethical Criteria in Management Performance Evaluation

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Always	1.96	0.98	3.92	4.9	9.8	21.59
Usually	1.96		6.86	3.92	10.78	23.53
Sometimes	1.96	0.98	4.9		8.82	16.67
Never	2.96	0.98	2.94	6.86	6.86	19.6
N/A	0.98	2.94	2.94	4.9	6.86	18.63

Note: No appraisal tools were provided by respondents.

The responses compiled in Table 7 relate to ethics leadership as determined by management performance evaluations. Implied in the survey question and the responses was the assumption that managers visibly ought to demonstrate ethics leadership and lead by ethical example. If such leadership is important then it will be evaluated on a regular basis. Police officers at all levels are routinely evaluated and their performance is recorded regularly. Promotions are in large part based on these formal evaluations. The responses to this question range from claims that management performance evaluations always appraise ethics leadership to its complete absence in the process. The responses are fairly evenly distributed. This indicates that ethics leadership is not universally considered an integral part of management performance. This question invites further investigation, because police management is responsible for many decisions and activities with a serious ethics component. The answers to this question do not necessarily indicate

that police managers are unethical. They simply indicate that other performance measures are more important, or that the ethics question is assumed to be answered by broader leadership criteria, such as, decision making, trustworthiness, commitment, and loyalty and similar criteria.

Question 8 evaluates the importance of ethical leadership capabilities as an explicit criterion for selection to the NCO (non-commissioned officer) or commissioned officer ranks. It asks whether: the promotion and commissioning process includes an explicit evaluation of the ethical leadership capabilities of candidates. The question assumes that demonstrated ethics leadership is a requirement of effective police management and is, or should be, a criterion for selection to supervisory and management positions. Many respondents indicated that the promotion and commissioning processes included explicit evaluation of ethical leadership capabilities. No respondent provided an example of any assessment or selection tool used in the promotion or commissioning process which referred to ethical leadership.

The responses recorded in Table 8 address the possibility that individual ethics might influence opportunities for promotion and for being commissioned. Promotion and commissioning processes for police managers include a number of steps that evaluate candidates on a range of criteria. The personnel file is built up over time and includes annual performance assessments. As well, candidates for promotion submit a record of accomplishments and competencies, which are evaluated by peers and superiors. These records of accomplishment determine if the candidate is eligible to participate in the process or not. The responses to this question are more or less evenly distributed among

the possibilities, ranging from claims that ethical leadership capabilities are always considered to never considered.

Table 8: Ethical Criteria in the Promotion and Commissioning Process

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Always	1.96	0.98	3.92	4.9	9.8	21.59
Usually	1.96		6.86	3.92	10.78	22.55
Sometimes	1.96	0.98	4.9		7.84	16.67
Never	1.96	0.98	2.94	6.86	6.86	19.61
N/A	0.98	2.94	2.94	4.9	6.86	18.63

The questionnaire requested copies of any assessment or selection tool that might be used to determine such ethical leadership capabilities. Despite the fact that 22 respondents claimed that this was always the case, none submitted any documents or tools used for this purpose. This absence of any documentation raises doubts about the accuracy or veracity of these positive responses. At least there is a question about the definition of ethical leadership, which bears further examination.

Question 9 is based on the assumption that recruit training lays a comprehensive foundation of not only skills and police techniques, but also of values and ethics. It asks whether: a separate ethics course is mandatory in recruit training. The question assumes that competence in ethical reasoning and ethical development for police officers must start at the entry level and during initial mandatory training programs. If there is no mandatory and specific ethics training it would indicate that ethics is of a low priority and is not of primary concern to the organization and in the development of new officers. A

substantial number of respondents claim that a separate ethics course is mandatory in recruit training.

Table 9: Mandatory Ethics Course in Recruit Training

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Yes	5.88	1.96	5.88	2.94	10.78	27.45
No	1.96	3.92	12.75	14.71	21.59	54.9
N/A	0.98		2.94	2.94	10.78	17.65

None of these respondents provided any course outline, or summary or statement of objectives for any ethics course they claim exists as part of recruit training. Given that the research into police ethics courses in police academies revealed that no such courses exist in the basic training programs, these positive responses are highly questionable. I followed up with instructors at the RCMP Training Academy who are also knowledgeable about other training programs. They suggested that perhaps these positive responses refer to the fact that ethics training is integrated into the now standard approach of scenario training. Police recruit training is no longer a series of lectures and presentations on various topics, but a series of inter-related scenarios and role plays designed to demonstrate, experience and resolve problems typically experienced by police on the job. To do so, they are taught the required skills and knowledge about ethical issues. In the RCMP, specific reference is made to the code of conduct, human rights legislation, published core values and legally established service standards. These various topics may all have some relation to ethics and conduct, but they clearly do not constitute a separate ethics course. To clarify this result would require follow up with those

respondents who claim there is a formal and separate ethics course in their recruit training programs.

It can be argued that ethics need not be a separate course or program and can still be an important topic. However, police training is characterized by compartmentalization in which topics that are considered important are addressed separately and specifically. They are skills and capabilities which must become second nature to the officer. Identification and effective handling of ethics issues certainly must be second nature to the police officer. The majority of organizations do not include or expect a separate ethics course in their recruit training programs.

Questions 10 and 11 are based on assumptions similar to question 9. Question 10 asks whether: a separate ethics course is a mandatory prerequisite for promotion to NCO. Question 11 asks whether: an ethics course is a mandatory prerequisite for becoming a commissioned officer. At supervisory and management levels, ethics takes on increased importance. The police recruit and the patrol officer primarily need to manage personal ethics, and need to interact ethically, "without fear or bias," with all the communities and individuals they serve. The police manager has a larger role to play. First of all, leadership by example is a prerequisite for effectiveness. Second, the manager must manage the ethics of the people under his or her command. Decisions involving ethical dilemmas and choices must be made as a part of the management role. A fundamental knowledge of ethics is required, as well as the ability to make ethical judgments, to engage in ethical deliberations, to settle conflicts ethically, and to give direction and guidance. Therefore, an ethics course would be a rational pre-condition for promotion, as

are many other concrete and specific experience requirements, certifications, and standardized training courses. The questions emphasize separate and mandatory ethics courses to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding. They exclude minimal workshops, mass lectures, videos and other more perfunctory means in the definition of ethics course. The overall responses indicate that ethics courses are not a requirement for being promoted or commissioned.

Table 10: Separate Ethics Course for Promotion to NCO.

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Yes	1.96				2.94	4.9
No	4.9	5.88	19.6	17.64	29.41	77.45
N/A	1.96		2.94	10.78	17.65	17.65

Table 11: Separate Ethics Course for Promotion to Commissioned Officer.

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Yes	1.96			1.96	2.94	6.86
No	4.9	5.88	19.61	15.69	29.41	75.49
N/A	1.96		1.96	2.94	10.78	17.65

These tables provide results that relate formal ethics training to the promotion and commissioning process. The questions are based on the idea that ethics becomes increasingly important as officers are selected to move up in the police hierarchy and become decision makers who affect the lives of their subordinates and who therefore are required to exercise superior judgment, to lead by example, and to resolve increasingly complex ethical issues and dilemmas. Only 5 respondents indicated that an ethics course

is mandatory for promotion to NCO and 7 indicated it is required to become a commissioned officer. No course outlines, or summaries or statements of objectives were provided. There is considerable and growing standardization in the promotion and commissioning process. Therefore, the question must be asked what these courses are and where they are available, and why only such a small number of organizations require them. There are no formal ethics training programs in any of the police academies, nor is there any such course at the Canadian Police College. The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police does not require such courses, and has no program of this kind, nor does it sponsor or support any ethics courses. It appears that preparation in ethical reasoning and decision making is not part of the requirements to become a police manager, at least not in the form of a self standing ethics course. The initial recruit selection process is the first and last instance in which there is a focus on ethical conduct. Once selected into the police function, there is apparently no recognized need or possibility for further moral development. Police officers are usually recruited at very young ages, and no further ethical development is assumed to be needed, or it may be assumed to happen naturally through socialization. This suggests that a relatively low level of moral development is acceptable for performance as a police officer. Enforcement of established rules and regulations, and adherence to detailed codes of conduct suffice to keep officers' conduct within established ethical parameters. This raises questions about the levels of moral development in general. In the front lines perhaps no more is expected or required. Furthermore, there are other, more public constraints on front line officers, which ensure that they stay within established and accepted parameters However, this is no longer true

of police managers, who operate with much greater independence, much less visibility and who have ever greater influence and discretionary powers.

Ethical Self Image

Question 12 is an attempt at defining an ethical "self-image" of the individuals providing the survey information and of their organizations. It asks: Compared to other police services would you say that the overall ethics of your police service or organization are: (a) much stricter; (b) somewhat stricter; (c) average; somewhat less strict; (d) much less strict. Most respondents see their organization as at least average, if not higher, in terms of ethical strictness.

Table 12: Comparing Ethical Self Image

	>1000	500-1000	100-500	50-100	<50	Total %
Much +	0.98			3.92	9.8	14.71
Somewhat +	2.94	3.92	6.86	3.92	4.9	22.55
Average	4.9	1.96	13.73	11.76	24.91	56.86
Somewhat –			0.98	0.98	1.96	3.92
Much –					1.96	1.96

Table 12 records responses that attempt to gauge the self awareness of the respondents about the ethical strictness of their organizations in comparison to others. A considerable majority consider their police organization to be average on this dimension. Few consider it to be somewhat or much less ethical. A large minority, over one third of respondents, claim to be in much or somewhat stricter organizations. This finding reveals that police officers tend to see their organizations as highly ethical, rather than judging them to be deficient on the ethics dimension. Such an organizational self image would

influence how individuals see themselves as moral actors. It would likely lead to the conclusion that no further action or moral development is required, and that the systems in place to manage individual and organizational ethics are more than sufficient. An average rating would similarly indicate that ethics is not an issue in a particular police service. Only a judgment that the organization is deficient would be a cause for action.

Summary of Key Points About Police Ethics Training

The essential focus of this study was to assess the availability and depth of police ethics training as it exists in Canada, and how appropriate it is to the levels of moral development prevalent in police organizations. The working hypothesis was that ethics training should be designed to move police officers and managers to the next levels of moral development, in order to improve their ethical competence, increase their integrity and public perceptions of it, and to re-focus police decision making on lasting long-term solutions. This working hypothesis parallels recent developments in community policing, which are also changing the decision-making focus from short term immediate problem solving and conflict resolution to the lasting prevention of crime. Popular police slogans now continuously mention safe streets, safe homes, and safe communities as the goal and mission of police work, implying a focus on positive and lasting outcomes. Without an ethical foundation these slogans will remain just that, because underlying behaviour remains focussed on short term, immediately visible and measurable results.

The initial research results show that there is no ethics training of any significance, except in some isolated instances, and primarily at the very beginning of

police careers. In preparation for police management and leadership roles there may be perfunctory treatment of police ethics as a topic to be known about, but not as a transforming experience that would emphasize the role of police managers and executives as ethics-focussed leaders. This is not to conclude that police managers are unethical or immoral. It simply suggests that ethics is not considered of enough significance to occupy a fundamental role in police management training, leadership development and day-to-day conduct. It may also suggest that ethics is not isolated from other considerations in police decision making.

This neglect of ethics training may indicate that despite increasing public scrutiny, transparency and growing pressures, ethics training is not seen as part of the solution to the many crises now facing Canadian police services. Given that police almost universally lag behind other organizations in terms of management knowledge and expertise, the growing focus on ethics in business and government may still take some time to influence police management.

This study on police ethics training and the role of ethics in police management is an effort to discern how appropriate ethics training is to the levels of moral development in Canadian police organizations. The results strongly suggest that the question at this period of time is moot, simply because so little police ethics training of any significance or serious impact exists anywhere in Canada. The study confirms that police ethics is still considered as primarily the avoidance of wrong doing, the control of wrong doing, and the imposition of sanctions when wrong doing is discovered. In this world ethics training

consists primarily of limited instruction focussed on knowledge of police codes of conduct and acceptance of the limitations of these codes.

The results of the study confirm that despite the proliferation of mission, vision, and values statements, police organizations rely largely on traditional autocratic, bureaucratic and disciplinary means to enforce the ethical conduct of officers. These means universally include codes of conduct, formal discipline processes, and sanctions.

Police managers also tend to have a strong self image as ethical leaders by example, even though many do not appear to have any training on moral principles and responsibilities, many acknowledge that their organizations recognize only formal enforcement, and acknowledge that ethics is not a prominent part of training, promotions and management and leadership development. It would be facile to judge this situation in entirely negative terms. However, police are intensely results oriented and strictly do what works. It may well be that they simply have not felt the pressure, nor recognized the necessity that ethics must become a visible and demonstrated part of their behaviour. Police are also very concrete in their approaches to problems and are averse to new ideas and experimentation. Many new initiatives grow out of crises and failures, or they are imposed by law or regulations under public and political pressure. A combination of these stimuli may be required before ethics becomes a concrete issue to be addressed by concrete means.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF OUTCOMES:

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter I interpret and comment on the literature reviewed in chapter 2 and on the research I conducted for chapter 3, on the basis of my own experiences as a manager at RCMP headquarters, responsible, among other duties, for the investigation, resolution, and settlement of human rights complaints filed against the RCMP

The essence of my study was to determine the state of ethics and ethics training in the Canadian police universe. Before conducting my research, I narrowed down, defined, and reviewed literature on this topic. The research could not just consist of questions out of context. Considerable preparation was required before I could conduct the actual research, compile the data, analyze the information and draw any useful conclusions. In this chapter I outline my learning experiences from the research project in light of the research questions and underpinning assumptions of my thesis. My research questions were designed to determine if police ethics training in Canada makes an effective contribution to the development and maintenance of ethical reasoning and conduct among Canadian police organizations and among individual officers. The major assumptions that underpinned my research methodology were: ethics education is a larger part of the promotion and maintenance of police ethics; adult education principles should guide police ethics training, particularly critical thinking and perspective transformation; and police ethics training will be most effective when it recognizes the level and stages of moral development of learners and is designed to move them to a higher stage or level.

This chapter revisits my research questions, and my learning from conducting the study as it confirms and sometimes challenges the literature and my initial assumptions. In conformity with the purpose of this project, I discuss the readings and how they tie together the apparently disparate subjects of adult learning and critical thinking; management and organizational ethics, and levels of moral development; and the emergent field of police ethics and ethics training. My discussion combines the literature review with my document analysis of existing ethics training programs. I then propose a tentative framework for a comprehensive police ethics regime that could meet the expanding demands for the development, maintenance and monitoring of ethics in police organizations. In the next section I address new issues, concerns, and discoveries I have learned about in the course of this study. These issues are at least in part the reasons for the continuing lack of focus on police ethics in Canada. They call for further research and require greater commitment on the part of the many stakeholders with an interest in police ethics.

The Value of the Document Analysis

The literature search revealed a wealth of resources on adult education and critical thinking, on the topics of management and organizational ethics, and very interesting insights into the psychology and philosophy of individual ethics and moral development. The concept of levels and stages of moral development became clearly defined and proved to be entirely relevant as the basis for the research for this study. For example, Kohlberg's (1978) levels of moral development helped me design the six statements for

question 3 of the questionnaire, which I used to help assess the levels of moral development in the various police organizations. These levels are relevant to the design of management programs and management procedures, for the training of cadets and recruits, as well as for the continuing development and training of serving police officers. Their relevance to police leadership and ethical development has been recognized, among others, by Owens and Pfeifer (2003).

During my reading, patterns emerged, ideas were confirmed, and I began to be able to classify and categorize both the literature and my thinking for the research phase. As new concepts became familiar they broadened and complemented my outlook on adult education. I identified the concepts and practice of critical thinking and perspective transformation as a key to any successful teaching of police ethics. The addition of critical thinking separates the teaching of ethics as a process of growth, maturation and responsibility from the teaching about ethics as just another subject. Perspective transformation is well suited as a developmental approach to ethics training. Self directed learning can supplement formal approaches and encourage learners to challenge established wisdom and become able to cope with new and unknown circumstances (Brookfield, 1986). Furthermore, self directed learning and critical reflection are continuous and do not end with the end of formal instruction. The thesis topic became confirmed and justified in this revelation. My initial reading helped me organize the material in somewhat logical fashion that wove together topics that at first appeared quite disparate. The literature on adult education as a general field is the foundation of this project complemented and refined by the readings on critical thinking and perspective

transformation. The latter cannot be excluded from any approach to teaching police ethics. I then examined organizational and practical ethics, primarily to identify and define the breadth and depth of the field. I learned very quickly that my interest was anything but isolated or quirky. Many people struggle with the conundrum of personal ethics in impersonal bureaucracies and large organizations. Owens and Pfeifer (2003) attempt to link individual, organizational and situational factors in their policy and training recommendations. Armed with the insights gained from these broader readings I then focused on police ethics. This field is almost uniformly characterized by a thread of lament that goes through all the literature, namely, the unacceptably low level of thinking, and ignorance, about police ethics. There is a virtually universal call for greater ethics leadership, more debate, higher standards, and ethics training at all levels. Not all authors are identically trepidatious, but most include warnings of disasters to come if nothing is done.

These readings were not exactly a confirmation of my own experiences, but they did support and confirm my research interest. What runs through all the literature is consistent references to the reality of police powers that require higher ethical standards. The literature is also unified by the universal call for action. There is a growing consensus that the traditional approach to police ethics, namely formal systems to identify, avoid, and penalize wrong doings is no longer adequate. Non-ethics has to be crowded out by ethics driven by free will. The literature I read appears to be undergoing a glacial shift from being descriptive to being prescriptive. The pace of change and success will depend on the state of readiness in each individual, in their organizations, in police leadership and

the police universe in general. Since I did the readings in preparation for the literature review much has happened to illuminate the need for change. This is true of corporate and government ethics, as described in the mass media in recent years. The many corporate, financial, and stock market scandals, the growing concern for ethics in politics and public services are all indications that all is not well and that the public is increasingly demanding more transparency, greater accountability, and consequences for wrong doing. It appears that a number of forces are converging that will inevitably make organizational and management and service ethics a main public and political concern for years to come.

All this very much applies to the police environment. Recent press coverage (Armstrong, 2004; Krauss, 2004; Mahoney 2004) highlights the prevalence of ethics crises in Canadian police services. Recent coverage on CBC's "Cross Country Check Up" in January 2004 demonstrated much concern and interest, but offered few solutions to the growing ethical lapses in police services. The public may be interested, but do not know what to do. Police commentators continue to promote the "bad apple" theory, suggesting that problems are individual, rather than systemic.

Whereas my initial reading served as the framework for the development of my thinking and for the organization of the whole remainder of the study, the literature review became the substance. This phase required decisions about what to include as my knowledge basis, what to treat as secondary, and what to exclude altogether. This phase also turned out to be a real learning opportunity, because my preparatory reading had presented a number of new interests worthy of exploration. Three ideas revealed

themselves and either confirmed my thinking, or broadened my understanding in a fundamental way.

First, I found confirmation of my thinking about moral development. In the literature I found much to recommend Kohlberg's (1978) stages of moral development as a framework for my study. There may not be a smooth and unchallenged consensus, but the literature does recognize that individual ethics can exist at a number of different levels. This was and is important to the formulation of my research, because I stipulate that ethics training as a transformational experience can be successful only if it addresses the learners at the appropriate levels of moral development. The level of moral development of the learners will influence program design, learning methodologies, and will be relevant to the adult education philosophy of the facilitators as well.

The second revelation in the literature review was that successful ethics training presupposes a willingness and ability to engage in critical thinking and perspective transformation. This also hints at the ability to learn and think independently, since ethics and moral development need to be an ongoing effort and experience. The underlying assumption is that critical thinking will lead to ongoing moral development. Comfort with critical thinking will lead to comfort with moral self examination. This is the core inference I have drawn from carrying out my thesis reading and research. In the modern world police officers must develop the ability to make independent ethical judgments and act with the highest individual moral authority, because traditional methods for ensuring ethical behaviour are rapidly becoming obsolescent and obsolete. Ethical decision-making is an issue of the responsible exercise of free will, not the enforcement of organizational codes of conduct and immutable standards imposed impersonally from above.

In the readings about the stages and levels of moral development there was broad agreement with Kohlberg's three levels and six stages. More interestingly, there were also some references to a seventh, almost or virtually, theological stage. However, this stage was not presented as something that could be related practically to the workplace. These readings also started me thinking about the audience. I now think that police training and development at all career stages must include ethics training much more prominently and in much greater depth than has been the practice. More importantly, I think there needs to be a more programmatic and concerted effort to identify, choose, and develop ethical leaders in the police environment and to put them in positions of power and influence. They must have sufficient organizational power to influence some of the decisions now made by police executives without any ethical foundation or reference whatsoever. Silverberg (2004) raises similar concerns and proposes a comprehensive model of ethics leadership, development, and control. The many ethics failures now so frequently reported in the media have made ethics a popular topic, and have finally turned the focus on the police environment.

The third realization about the stages of moral development was the possibility of gender differences in the definition and quality of ethics. The literature revealed that there may be a primarily gender based "different voice" on ethics (Gilligan, 1982). Men and women may have different expectations form each other in the work place, relate differently, value relationships differently, and will resolve ethical dilemmas based on different criteria. This may not always be visible in the police environment. Policing attracts small numbers of women who do not appear to be representative of the broad

spectrum of female values, emotions, and behaviours, perhaps because of the particular characteristics of women drawn to police work, and because of the constraining nature of police culture.. This is perhaps all the more reason to emphasize the ethics issue, because only if police organizations address these gender issues can they become as diverse as the populations they serve.

The Value of the Survey Questionnaire

The preparation for research centered largely around devising the survey questionnaire. I first identified the tools and structures and behaviours now in place in Canadian police services that constitute today's efforts to identify, maintain, monitor, and promote ethical conduct among police officers and managers. This part of the questionnaire is very concrete and I had no difficulty compiling the questions. The most difficult aspect of the questionnaire were the items on moral development, because they had to be phrased very clearly, but without signaling their intent. Furthermore, the questions had to be simple and concise in order to elicit clear and correct answers. The results were clear and illustrative and posed no problems in the process of analysis and interpretation.

Establishing the Logic of the Program

Initially I had great difficulty linking adult education with the very broad topic of police ethics. However, this challenge forced me to limit what is a very large topic to something more concrete. Linking adult education, critical thinking, and police ethics is possible. By trying to understand the role of adult education in the development of police

ethics I had to limit myself to some particular aspect of the much larger topic. This allowed me to design a survey tool that focused on the broader management of police ethics as a foundation for the more narrowly defined topic of police ethics training. It also steered me in the direction of a more careful examination of ethics training itself. This did not come about until after I had designed the questionnaire, obtained the necessary approvals, and sent it out to the various respondents. Only after I compiled the responses did I develop the wherewithal to complement these research findings with a more detailed inquiry about ethics training available in Canada for police at all levels. I realized only during the compilation and analysis of the surveys that I had a real need to understand what training was available to deal with the ethics issues.

The Survey Questionnaire

My extensive readings in the academic literature suggested many of the questions which logically could be asked. Conversations with colleagues, other surveys on practical ethics, the various selection tools for recruitment and promotions, discussions with practitioners all led eventually to a quite inclusive, but still economical survey questionnaire. The questionnaire explores the background of police ethics; how ethics is promoted, measured, and managed; and what role ethics training plays in the process of moving an officer through a lifelong policing career.

I had designed the questionnaire so that it would be easy to extract the information and to compile tables from it. The tables grew out of the questionnaires and the data in an almost automatic manner. The resulting 12 tables present a quite comprehensive picture of practices related to ethics in the Canadian police universe. I would judge this particular

part of my research to be a success. The initially undefined and hazy ideas about police ethics have turned into a clear and illustrative picture. The information may fill some of the gaps in the literature about Canadian police, which virtually ignores the ethics issue (Brodeur, 1998; Stansfield, 1996).

The results presented in the tables are illuminating, but not surprising. I am not aware of any similar research having been done elsewhere. In many ways the picture is only a confirmation of what I have experienced personally and what I have observed over the past 12 years of working at RCMP headquarters. In some other ways, I think that the respondents were overly generous in how they interpreted the questions. Many of the very positive responses are not supported by the reality I know, or which was indicated by other respondents. There is very little ethics training, there are few police organizations that base career success on any ethics criteria, and there was virtually no supporting documentation for any claims made that performance management includes ethical criteria. Some of the literature comments on the desirability of transforming policing from a craft into a profession, but is silent on the crucial role of ethics in this transformation (Martin, 1995; Stansfield, 1996). It seems that police do not operate with a common, professional definition of the ethics that purportedly guide them. I am left with the uneasy conclusion that my definitions must be sharpened in the future to ensure that the terms I use are understood with exactly my meaning.

Nevertheless, there are some interesting conclusions, and a periodic follow up with the very same questionnaire and with the very same body of potential respondents might be illustrative. The current message is still very clear: police ethics is primarily

seen as the application, enforcement and publication of standards of conduct. Ethics is not yet seen as an individual's exercise of free will, nor is it seen as a foundation for organizational decision making or as a key criterion for police leadership selection, development and performance. My conclusion is that in order to promote change out of this still very low level of police ethical development, training can play a key role.

Framework for Comprehensive Applied Police Ethics

Both the readings and the research confirmed that police ethics is a topic worthy of consideration. However, this is not as simple a matter as I had initially assumed. The approach to police ethics must be part of a larger paradigm shift that makes a reality out of community policing which is still very much a paper concept, because it has not transformed how police organizations are managed. Police ethics cannot be addressed by some short-term concrete solutions within the existing organizational paradigm. The burgeoning interest in police ethics must be satisfied through a comprehensive police ethics regime, to be developed over time and to be implemented with great effort, deliberation, and resources. The promotion of police ethics must be pervasive and set in the larger context of justice ethics (Braswell, 1998). Silverberg (2004) characterizes ethics problems in the police as systemic and avers that the needs are known, as are the solutions. What is needed is the will and the purpose to change. In these budget-driven times the concept of systematic promotion of ethics may not be saleable to governments, nor to police organizations. However, the same was thought 40 years ago about occupational health and safety, and businesses and employing organizations first ignored,

then opposed, and then only slowly and reluctantly complied. However, over the past 4 decades there has been truly qualitative change that has transformed the workplace from a high risk and dehumanized environment to one in which human beings are able to operate safely. The key factor in the transformation was the recognition and acceptance by all the stakeholders that occupational health and safety is, and must be, a joint responsibility, leading to joint action by all those who have a stake in the subject. The process continues, and interest is now even expanding to psychological and emotional well-being, concepts that would have been ridiculed only short years ago. Similarly, human rights, equity, and diversity issues were unknown before the 1960s, were reluctantly addressed by piecemeal measures in the following 2 decades, and are now becoming mainstream management and organizational preoccupations. Occupational health and safety and rights issues were seen as negative and undesirable by managers and owners. Police also rejected both concepts.

The media have also played a role in these developments, as they do in the rapidly growing topic of business, organizational, and government ethics. Police organizations are slowly moving into the vision of the public on the ethics dimension. Extraordinary numbers of wrongful convictions are being reported in the media. Reports on police violence no longer come from fringe or advocacy groups but from respectable research bodies and mainstream media. Elected officials are beginning to distance themselves from ethically tainted police behaviours. Police themselves are beginning to be aware of the issues. Noble cause is becoming a growing concern of academics, oversight bodies and public representatives. The typical police response may still be largely defensive, or it may still focus on individual wrongdoings. Like occupational health and safety and the

promotion of rights and equity, the promotion of ethics will start out as a dream, it will be questioned, dismissed and perhaps opposed as a dream, but it will not go away.

Just because concrete implementation is not immediately likely does not mean the idea of a comprehensive police ethics framework should be abandoned. Some of the literature (Braswell, 1998) and the survey results indicate that a framework can be developed that might in good time become a foundation for concerted action. For example, the framework presented here is comprehensive in the sense that it would affect police officers throughout their careers at many of the turning points and stages at which the opportunity for ethical development, measurement, and judgment is possible. These turning points are in fact already discernible in the questions posed in the survey questionnaire. That these questions are not entirely alien or esoteric is evidenced by the fact that a large number of respondents understood and answered them. Any ethics framework will have to include performance measurement and evaluation, career stages and promotional opportunities and ethics training and development whenever necessary and possible. Prominent and visible ethics leadership must also be part of this comprehensive framework. That ethical leadership can evolve over time is evidenced in the still hazy role of ethics advisors in governments, the growing focus on research ethics in universities, medical ethicists in the healthcare system, and in the medical professions.

Performance Measurement and Evaluation

The performance of police officers is evaluated, recorded, and reported on a regular basis. As evidenced by the survey responses, specifically to question 7 on performance evaluation of police managers, the ethical competence of managers is

generally not explicitly appraised as part of the evaluation process. The criteria by which their performance is judged are inevitably practical and empirical, with little effort to assess ethics, or even behaviour towards others. There is no evaluation of relationship building, impact on others, concern for the welfare and well being of others, promotion and protection of less powerful co-workers or employees, and similar ignored but crucial concerns. Criteria and methods will have to be developed to assess the impact on others by each officer. In other words, the increasingly prominent people-skills (the so-called soft skills) will have to gain in importance. Promotions are now based on "attributes cultivated for the performance of enforcement-oriented tasks and demonstrated administrative and supervisory ability" (Martin, p. 120). As long as soft skills are not measured and evaluated, they will remain unimportant in the career progression of officers. The focus on people skills must come before any new focus on ethics, because it is in the measurement and evaluation of people skills that officers will learn that they have an impact on others, must take responsibility for it, and above all, manage it. Once they understand and accept that they are in fact responsible for their own conduct, based on their own responsibility, they then will have to learn the ethical foundation for their decisions and behaviours.

The contribution of Gilligan (1982) to the debate on moral development becomes important in this context. It accords with my observation that ethics is primarily expressed in relationships. However, police bureaucracies seem to discount the importance of relationships in favour of their continued task orientation. For example, survey respondents provided no evidence that supervisors or managers are assessed on

their capacity to foster and develop healthy and lasting working relationships. Similarly examination of police training programs, such as the Police Foundations Program in Ontario community colleges, or of the executive workshops at the Canadian Police College revealed that relationship building is not taught as a basis for police competence. Similarly, selection to the redeveloped senior management courses at the Canadian Police College is based entirely on administrative experience and documented efficiency at lower ranks (Martin, p.120). Therefore, it is fruitless to suggest that a new preoccupation with ethics could be foisted onto organizations that consider following the rules as more important than doing the right thing to, for, and with others. In this context of organizational change, ethics can become a foundation for the future. However, despite this long term aspect, ethics cannot be ignored in the present. As Silverberg (2004) suggests, what needs to be done is already known from the many studies and commissions that have examined the issue. Performance criteria on ethical conduct within existing boundaries, a focus on relationships, and a concern for the welfare for others can already be part of the performance requirements. These requirements can and must be examined from the very beginning of policing careers. Recruiting and selection and staffing and promotional processes can already address these traits and behaviours in candidates for engagement and promotions.

Career Stages and Promotional Opportunities

Promotions in police organizations are almost universally based on concrete performance measures and standard exams, which every officer aspiring to promotion or commission must take and pass. The responses to the questionnaire, Table 8, suggest that

currently there are no police services that expressly include ethics in their performance measures and thereby make it into a criterion for promotion. Promotional exams address the concrete situations faced by police officers, supervisors and managers. They assess their ability to solve practical and often very difficult problems These exams are based on the concrete experience of police officers in the field and in administrative functions. To raise the level of organizational ethics, ethical criteria must be added to these promotional exams. Ethics must become a required competency for promotion.

The criteria should be established in such a way that as police managers assume increasingly greater power, they must also develop increasingly high ethical reasoning capabilities, and must assume the responsibility for leading by example. "Supervisors can demonstrate their respect for conscience in a variety of ways" (Delattre, 1996). Alderson (1998) links officer conduct and misconduct directly to the actions of their leaders. Baker (2000) demands ethical leadership as the foundation for an effective relationship between management and officers. To address the importance of ethics leadership, test items can be designed to promote applicants at ever higher levels of moral development so that as they assume greater powers and have ever more influence over others, they act at an ever higher plain of ethical capability. This could reverse the apparent climate in today's police organizations, which seems to indicate that new recruits arrive at their positions with a certain moral innocence which rapidly dissipates, turns into cynicism, and eventually leads to expediency over ethics.

It appears that as officers move up the promotional ladder ethical criteria recede in their decision making and are replaced by operational pressures and political expedience.

Hence,.there appears to be a growing vacuum in ethical leadership which cannot be overcome or resisted by the patrol officer. Leadership by example is missing and must be dealt with. Given the closed nature of police organizations this ethics leadership must be developed internally, because outside influences are generally viewed with suspicion and are rejected. Ethics cannot be promoted through outside pressure and coercion, because this will only lead to further rigidities and insider versus outsider reactions. The Canadian police universe will have to find ways and means to develop ethics leaders as part of ongoing improvements and management competencies. Ethical leadership must develop as an integral aspect of police culture.

Ethics Training and Development

Policing is an extraordinarily training-driven function. From the very start of a police career training in all kinds of diverse skills and abilities is a basic requirement and a constant reality of police work. Detailed training and official certification and regular re-certification is required to operate radar guns, breathalyser equipment, and polygraph machines; to carry a pistol, baton or capsicum spray; to give evidence in court; to analyze finger prints, direct traffic, or deliver summons; and on and on. Such training is inevitably delivered in a police environment, usually by police officers, certified police experts, or at least under their direct guidance and supervision.

Management and leadership training follow a similar pattern. At once intensely practical, and entirely police focused, police management training and leadership development is a police-focused and police-driven effort. This is a reflection of the insider/outsider mentality of police at all organizational ranks and levels. Ethics training

cannot escape this reality. It will have to be a "home grown" effort, rather than being delivered by outsiders who likely would not be accepted by the learners. This will require the recruitment, training and appointment to such training positions of an *ethics elite* that can develop and deliver the program. This would appear to be novel, even odd, in any other setting. However, in the police environment there is nothing extraordinary about this. Police send members to law school, to M.B.A. and M.P.A. programs; they finance Ph. D. programs in criminology, psychology, chemistry, pharmacology, and many other fields in order to develop in-house expertise among their own members. Although this is not necessarily a universal pattern, it does form a cadre of experts who have the credibility required within police departments to promote change, to import outside knowledge and expertise, and to train others. This development of police "sojourners" by sending them to outside learning opportunities and then retrieving them again, and if necessary re-socializing them back into the police culture, is a pattern that may at least initially have to apply to comprehensive police ethics training as well.

Ethics Leadership

The research results in this project leave considerable doubt about the quality of ethics leadership in the police universe in Canada. The leadership in place today is of the baby boomer generation. More precisely, it is that part of the baby boomers that opted out of the 1960s revolution and found shelter in the then para military environment of the police. It is numerically the largest cohort ever recruited into police services, precisely because there was such a disproportionately large effort on police recruiting in the 1960s and 1970s to deal with the social revolutions of the period, and to deal with the explosion

in youth crime which accompanied that period. It stands to reason that their mental framework was formed by their experiences, which largely drew a very strong insider/outsider distinction between the police and others. This leadership cadre has its exceptions and its own innovative ideas, but it is not yet a leadership that is in tune with the needs of the subsequent generations. Many police leaders have high levels of honesty and integrity and strive to promote community policing, but they are not modern in the sense of modern management. They are strongly bureaucratic and task oriented and are likely to focus on efficiencies and (despite their low rankings in Table 2) on political demands as their driving motivation. The literature is virtually silent on the role of supportive and ethical relationships in effective policing or as part of the vision of today's police leaders. Success is defined in practical terms and concrete outcomes. The principle of supporting relationships as an organizing concept is still alien, even though it was developed over 40 years ago. As Likert (1961) stipulated:

> The leadership and other processes of the organization must be such as to ensure a maximum probability that in all interactions and all relationships with the organization each member will, in the light of his (sic) background, values, and expectations, view the experience as supportive and one which builds and maintains his sense of personal worth and importance. (p. 103)

Implications for Applied Ethics in Adult Education Practice

My findings imply that adult education principles, in particular critical thinking and perspective transformation can be applied to police ethics. The findings also imply that the concept of the stages of moral development can be linked with transformational learning to provide an effective approach to police ethics training. Police ethics training is

a subset of adult education and should be approached through effective critical thinking and perspective transformation methods.

Police Ethics Training and the Stages of Moral Development

The research results illustrate that police organizations range over all six of Kohlberg's (1978) stages of moral development. Table 3 shows that the majority of responding police services are at or below the fourth stage of moral development, or the "law and order' orientation. A significant number claim to be at a higher level of moral development. Furthermore, the document research revealed that there is very little specific ethics training and development that would serve to constantly improve the ethical competence of Canadian police officers. The limited training that is available focuses largely on learning about standard police ethics codes, prohibited conduct, reporting mechanisms, and consequences of non-compliance. Ethics training may in part consist of the examination and discussion of case studies that deal primarily with the identification of wrong doing. This kind of training assumes that the learners involved are at the "law and order" orientation which stresses authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of order, comparable to Kohlberg's fourth stage of moral development.

Although this type of teaching is not in itself wrong or useless, it does not recognize the role of free will in ethical decisions and behaviour, nor is it likely to lead to ethical development of the learners involved. It is also not likely to prepare police officers for the growing interdependence between the police, the community, and accountability processes which impose a new focus on relationships and individual ethical competence. Any effort to elevate the ethical competencies of police officers also needs to address the

relational aspects of moral reasoning and decision making. In the new community based policing model, the law and order approach to ethical decisions cannot stand alone. Democratization of policing and the growing use of partnerships with the public require that police "consult with the community for guidance on purposes, priorities, policies, and practice, and enlist the public in jointly "co-producing" police services" (Brodeur, 1998, p. 165). The law and order approach must be complemented, if not supplanted, by an ethics of care that addresses each individual situation with the appropriate focus on care and service.

Gilligan (1982) provides the foundation for a new and expanded focus on care and responsibility. If police are to serve the community, they must develop an understanding of its needs, not according to some rigid code of conduct and right and wrong, but according to a model of social care and responsibility. Such an approach to police ethics will also provide a more effective foundation for relationships in increasingly diverse and complex police organizations. Murphy (2004) identifies rising public concern with police ethics and the role of police in the community in the aftermath of recent media coverage of police shortcomings and wrongdoings. The concern with police ethics and police-community interactions is no longer left to the police alone to resolve. The public served by the police is becoming concerned and involved.

Police Ethics Training and Critical Thinking

Ethics training as transformational experience cannot continue to be primarily the teaching *about* ethics as philosophy, or ethics as the knowledge of codes of conduct. It must be based on the methods and principles of critical thinking, which are still largely

absent from any police ethics training. Brookfield (1987) argues, "the ability to think critically is crucial to understanding our personal relationships, envisioning alternative and more productive ways of organizing the workplace, and becoming politically literate" (p. 14). He proposes that critical thinking identifies and challenges assumptions and explores and imagines alternatives. Such a transformational approach to ethics training can move police officers to respectively higher stages of moral development, can help them become aware of their responsibilities for themselves and others, and may help resolve the growing inability of enforcing uniform codes of conduct in more and more diverse organizations.

An adult education environment, designed to develop critical thinkers, may need to be established. My document analysis indicates that the various educational and training institutions serving Canadian police officers, managers, cadets, and recruits currently do not provide the environment in which transformational learning can safely occur. Training also must be more than a reaction to wrongdoing. "Sensitivity" training is not enough to change harassing and discriminatory conduct by police officers (Carr, 2004). Mezirow (1991) describes an environment that could help the insider/outsider mentality in police training. Establishing a learning environment such as Mezirow describes could challenge the primary goal of socialization as the foundation for training, and encourage learners to leave behind dysfunctional assumptions, judgments, and behaviours. He advocates a learning environment with full and free participation that is safe for critical reflection (p. 199).

Successful ethics training will require a transformation not only of the learners, but of the learning institutions and of the designers and purveyors of ethics training programs. In the next section I offer some recommendations that may be useful especially for the institutions and designers of such training.

Recommendations

Police organizations remain stratified and consist of identifiable ranks and groups. Aside from the typical division into sworn police officers (uniformed) and civilians they can be roughly divided into front line officers (usually constables) with no supervisory responsibility, police supervisors and first line managers with almost exclusively administrative and enforcement responsibilities, and police managers who are at the root of policy and decision making. To address the issue of ethics from as practical as possible a perspective, research should be focussed separately on these three groups.

In the front lines, ethics should play a key role in individual and independent decision making, in peer relations, and in direct public contacts. A needs analysis can determine the ethics training that is appropriate at this level of functioning. It may be necessary to examine the impact of seniority on levels of moral development to ensure that the training is transformational for all participants, rather than being a mere confirmation of existing conduct, or being out-of-reach for police officers (who are oriented toward action) by being too theoretical or too philosophical.

At supervisory levels ethics is particularly important for the resolution of the endless role conflicts, which are typical of this level of decision making. Police

supervisors are constantly called upon to get results as measured by traditional task-focussed measurements, while needing to protect the integrity and rights of both the public and the operational police officer. Ethics training at this organizational level should be focussed on decision making, conflict resolution, personal growth, integrity, and continuous self-examination, and critical self-reflection.

At the executive levels ethics is of profound importance, because all policy decisions inescapably affect others. A comprehensive needs analysis could determine what kind of ethics learning and development executives need in order to deal appropriately with the constant ethical challenges of their work. The main issue for police executives is to reconcile the pressures for short-term results with the need to project and protect the long-term ethical integrity and service orientation of the organization. A concomitant conflict exists between individual officers and the needs of the organization, and between society in its demands for protection and the individual under suspicion. Only a police executive trained to be fully aware of the ethical dimension, competent in ethical and moral reasoning, and firm in the knowledge of the ethical foundation for decision making will have the fortitude to insist on ethical ways and means to contribute to the mission of "safe homes, safe streets, and safe communities."

To be successful, ethics training will require thoughtful and deliberate choice of trainers and facilitators. Typically, trainers for police courses are chosen for their policing competence. This may suffice for technical and administrative police training. Ethics trainers must be chosen on different criteria, including their own known and documented ethical leadership, demonstrated competence in ethical reasoning and decision making,

demonstrated competence in teaching ethics and promoting critical thinking, and demonstrated competence in adult education principles and practice. Such a training cadre does not now exist in the Canadian police universe. I believe it must be developed as the foundation for police ethics training in Canada.

In Closing

Police ethics training is a bellwether for the culture and status of police organizations in Canada. Many traditional organizations are still based on the scientific school of management and largely operate on out-dated theoretical assumptions about their human resources. Police organizations are probably typical examples. Such organizations introduce new ideas and concepts through the establishment of sanitized, add-on functions in which *the new* is kept safely at bay. The new function may be given considerable resources and visibility, but is always vulnerable and marginal, and its teachings and contributions can be accepted or rejected at will by the organizational actors. This is likely to be the case with police ethics.

As the paradigm shifts, and organizations become more mature, these new functions typically become more and more mainstream and begin to influence the actual decision making process. Police ethics training is therefore not only a requirement in the here and now, but will also prepare police services for the paradigm to shift toward open, ethical, and truly community-based policing.

References

Alderson, J. (1998). Principled policing. Winchester, UK: Waterside Press.

Armstrong, J. (2004, January 29). Chief recommends firings. The Globe and Mail, p. A5.

Bailey, D. H., & Bittner, E. (1984). Learning the skills of policing. Law and Contemporary Problems, 47(4), 35-59.

Baker, T. E.(2000). Effective police leadership. N.Y., N.Y.: Looseleaf Law Publications.

Barker, T. (1994). Peer group support for police occupational deviance. In T. Barker & D. Carter, Police Deviance (pp. 45-57). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Barker, T. (1996). Police ethics: Crisis in law enforcement. Springfield, IL: Thomas.

Barker, T., & Carter, D. (1990). "Fluffing up the evidence and covering your ass": Some conceptual notes on police lying. Deviant Behavior, 11(1), 61-73.

Barker, T., & Carter, D. (1994). A typology of police deviance. In T. Barker & D. Carter, Police Deviance (pp. 3-12). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Boone, E. E. (1992). Developing programs in adult education. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Bracey, D. (1990). Preparing police leaders for the future. Police Studies, 13(4), 178-182.

Brennan, M. (1998). Can ethics be taught in the classroom? Canadian H.R. Reporter, 16, G9-10.

Brodeur, J.-P. (1998). How to recognize good policing. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.

Brookfield, S. D. (1986). Understanding and facilitating adult learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Brookfield, S. D. (1987). Developing critical thinkers. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Brookfield, S. (1994). Tales from the dark side: A phenomenography of adult critical reflection. International Journal of Lifelong Education, 13(3), 203-216.

Brookfield, S. (1995). Becoming a critically reflective teacher. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Caffarella, R. S. (1994). Planning programs for adult learners. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Carr, C. (1994). Empowering organizations, empowered leaders. Training and Development, 48(3), 39- 44.

Carr, N. (2004, February 6). Training to make us kind. The Globe and Mail, pp. C1, C4.

Coutts, L., Schneider, F. W., Johnson, A., & McLeod, P. (2003). Recruitment and selection of community policing officers. The Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services, 1(2), 83-94.

Cox., S. M. (1990). Policing into the 21st century. Police Studies, 13(4), 168-177.

Crank, J. P. (1997). Understanding police ethics. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Crank, J. P., & Caldero, M. A. (2000). Police ethics: The corruption of noble cause. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Cranton, P. (1994). Understanding and promoting transformative learning: A guide for educators of adults. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Davis, M. (1997). Teaching police ethics: Who to aim at? In J. Kleinig & M. L. Smith, (Eds.), Teaching criminal justice ethics (pp. 35-58). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Delaney, H. R. (1990). Toward a police professional ethic. In F. Schmallegger (Ed.), Ethics in criminal justice: A justice professional reader (pp.78-94). Bristol, IN: Wyndham Hall Press.

Delattre, E. J. (1996). Character and cops: Ethics in policing. New York: AEI Press.

Draves, W. A. (1984). How to teach adults. Manhattan, KA: LERN.

Evans, D., & Butcher, R. (1990). Ethical reasoning in policing. Toronto: Emond Montgomery.

Feltes, T. (1994). New philosophies in policing. Police Studies, 17(2), 29-48.

Freire, P. (1993). Education for critical consciousness. New York: Continuum.

Garrison, D. R. (1991). Critical thinking and adult education: A conceptual model for developing critical thinking in adult learners. International Journal of Lifelong Education, 10(4), 287-303.

Garrison, D. R. (1992). Critical thinking and self-directed learning in adult education: An analysis of responsibility and control issues. Adult Education Quarterly, 42(3), 136-148.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goetz, I. (1989). Is there a moral skill? Educational Theory, 39(1), 11-16.

Greenleaf, R. (1977). Servant leadership. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Hall, W. D. (1993). Making the right decision: Ethics for managers. New York: Wiley.

Harrington, S. J. (1997). A test of a person - issue contingent model of ethical decision making in organizations. Journal of Business Ethics, 16(4), 363-375.

Henkel, J., Sheehan, E. P., & Reickel, P. (1997). Relation of police misconduct to authoritarianism. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 12(2), 551-555.

Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K. H. (1972). Management of Organizational Behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Jackall, R.(1988). Moral mazes: The world of corporate managers. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jetmore, L. F. (1997). The path of the warrior: An ethical guide to personal and professional development in the field of criminal justice. New York: Looseleaf Law Publications.

Jones, T. M. (1991). Ethical decision making by individuals in organizations: An issue-contingent model. Academy of Management Review, 16(2), 366-395.

Kleinig, J. (1997). The ethics of policing. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kleinig, J., & Smith, M. L. (1997).The development of criminal justice ethics education. In J. Kleinig & M. L. Smith (Eds.), Teaching criminal justice ethics: Strategic issues, (pp. vii- xix). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Knowles, M. S. (1980). The modern practice of adult education. Chicago: Follett.

Knowles, M. S., Holton, E. F., III, & Swanson , R. A. (1998). The adult learner (5th ed.). Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing.

Kohlberg, L. (1978). The cognitive-developmental approach to moral education. In P. Scharf (Ed.), Readings in moral education (pp. 36-51). Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press.

Krauss, C. (2004, February 1). Misconduct charges sully image of Canadian police. The New York Times, p. C1.

Krebs, D. L., Denton K., & Wark, G. (1997). The forms and functions of real-life moral decision-making. Journal of Moral Education, 26(2), 131-145.

Likert, R. (1961). New patterns of management. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

Lumb, R. C. (1994). Standards of professionalization: Do the American police measure up? Police Studies, 17(3), 1-10.

Mahoney, J. (2004, February 5). Chief denies link in sex case. The Globe and Mail, p. A7.

Manning, P. K. (1994). Police lying. Urban Life and Culture, 3(3), 287-303.

Martin, M. A. (1995). Urban policing in Canada: Anatomy of an aging craft. Montreal & Kingston: Mc-Gill Queen's University Press.

Maslow, A. H. (1961). Eupsychian management. Homewood, IL: Irwin/Dorsey.

Mc Carten, J. (2004, January 26). Canadian cops endure allegations of corruption, racism, brutality. The Chronicle Herald, p. C5.

McGarvey, R. (1993) Doing the right thing. Training, 30(7), 35-38.

McGregor, D. (1960). The human side of enterprise. New York: McGraw-Hill.

McPeck, J. E. (1981). Critical thinking and education. Oxford, UK: Martin Robertson.

Merriam, S. B., & Brockett, R. G. (1997). The profession and practice of adult education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Metz, H. W. (1990). An ethical model for law enforcement administrators. In F. Schmallegger (Ed.), Ethics in criminal justice: A justice professional reader (pp. 95-102). Bristol, IN: Wyndham Hall Press.

Mezirow, J., & Associates (1990). Fostering critical reflection in adulthood. A guide to transformative and emancipatory learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J. (1991). Transformative dimensions of adult learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Murphy, R. (Commentator). (2004, January 22). Cross Country Checkup. Toronto:CBC.

Nash, L. L. (1990). Ethics without the sermon. In P. Madsen & M. Shafritz (Eds.), Essentials of business ethics (pp. 38-42). New York: Meridian.

Nash, R. J. (1997). Answering the virtuecrats. New York: Teachers College Press.

Norris, C., & Norris, N. (1993). Defining good policing: The instrumental and moral in approaches to good practice and competence. Policing and Society, 3(3), 205-221.

Norris, S. P. (1995). Sustaining and responding to charges of bias in critical thinking. Educational Theory, 45(2), 199-211.

Owens, K. M. B., & Pfeifer J. (2003). Police leadership and ethics: Training and policy recommendations. The Canadian Journal of Police & Security Services, 1(2), 124-135.

Paine, L. S. (1994). Managing for organizational integrity. Harvard Business Review, 72, 106-117.

Penn, W. Y. Jr. (1990). Teaching ethics—a direct approach. Journal of Moral Education, 19(2), 124-138.

Penn, W. Y., & Collier, B. D. (1985). Current research in moral development as a decision support system. Journal of Business Ethics, 4(2), 131-136.

Penn, Y. R. Jr. (1985). Kohlberg and business ethics. In P. Werhane & K. D'Andrade (Eds.), Profit and responsibility: Issues in business and professional ethics (pp. 66-91). New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Pollock, J. M. (1998). Ethics in crime and justice: Dilemmas and decisions. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Reiner, R. (1992). The politics of the police (2nd ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rest, J. R. (1982). A psychologist looks at the teaching of ethics. The Hastings Center Report, 12 (1), 29-36.

Rest, J. R. (1986). Moral development. New York: Praeger.

Rice, D., & Dreilinger, C. (1990). Rights and wrongs of ethics training. Training and Development Journal, (May), 103-109.

Schachhuber, D. (1980). A situational approach to training and development. Lifelong Learning, 3(6), 8-11.

Selman, G., Selman, M., Cooke, M., & Dampier, P. (1998). The foundations of adult education in Canada (2nd ed.). Toronto: Thompson.

Sherman, L. (1998). Learning police ethics. In M. C. Braswell, B. R. McCarthy, & B. J. McCarthy (Eds.), Justice, crime and ethics (3rd ed., pp. 49-63). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Silverberg, C. (2004, January 27). Handcuffing corruption: Can this badge shine again? The Globe and Mail, p. A13.

Skolnick, J. H. (1996). Justice without trial: Law enforcement in democratic society (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Macmillan.

Sonnenfeld, J. A., & Ingols, C. A. (1994). Working knowledge: Charting a new course for training. In C. E. Schneider, C. J. Russell, R. W. Beatty, & L. S. Baird (Eds.), The training and development source book (2nd. ed.). Amherst, MA: Human Resource Development Press.

Souryal, S. S. (1998). Ethics in criminal justice. In search of the truth (2nd ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Stansfield, R. T. (1996). Issues in policing: A Canadian perspective. Toronto: Thompson.

Velasquez, M. G. (1990). Corporate ethics: Losing it, having it, getting it. In P. Madsen & M. Shafritz (Eds.), Essentials of business ethics (pp. 229-244). New York: Meridian.

Velasquez, M. G. (1998). Business ethics: Concepts and cases. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Vella, J. (1995). Training through dialogue: Promoting effective learning and change with adults. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Vella, J. (1997). Learning to listen, learning to teach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Villiers, P. (1997). Better police ethics. A practical guide. London: Kogan Page.

Vrij, A., Winkel, F. W., Koppelaar, L., & Euwema, M. C. (1989). Perceptions of police conduct: Social-psychological analyses of reporting intentions among police officers in the Netherlands. Police Studies, 12(3), 104-114.

Walker, K. (1993). Values, ethics and ethical decision making. Adult Learning, 5 (2), 13-14.

We will not be chilled. (2004, January 22). The Ottawa Citizen, P. A1.

Wheary, J., & Ennis, R. H. (1995). Gender bias in critical thinking: Continuing the dialogue. Educational Theory, 45(2), 213-224.

Wooden, S., Baptiste, N., & Reyes, L. (1994). Oriding: An adult teaching - learning technique. Adult Learning, 5, 18-10.

Wright, A., & Irving. B. (1996). Value conflicts in policing: Crisis into opportunity: Making critical use of experience. Policing and Society, 6(3), 199-211.

Appendix

Questionnaire on Ethics and Ethics Training in the Canadian Police Universe
Please check the appropriate answers. Where requested, and if possible, provide copies of the documentation requested. Please note that all information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence. Individual police organizations will **not** be identified in the analysis. The most suitable persons to answer this questionnaire are commissioned officers and/or NCOs who deal with **discipline, internal investigations, or administration, or any advisory function on ethics matters.**

Size of Organization: Total number of full-time employees__________

of which: **uniformed/regular members__________civilian employees ______________**

Type of Organization: (check all that apply)

Municipal Police_____ Provincial Police_____
Training Academy____ Military Police___Specialist Police (Port, Railroad, etc.)____
Other (please explain)____

Type of community:
___**mostly urban**
___**somewhat urban**
___**both urban and rural**
___**somewhat rural**
___**mostly rural**

Your rank/title:________________________________

---

1) **Does your organization/ police service have a:**

Written Code of Conduct? ______Yes/No____ (if yes, please attach a copy)
Written Mission Statement?_____Yes/No____ (if yes, please attach a copy)
Written Ethics Guidelines?______Yes/No____ (if yes, please attach a copy)

2) **Police management faces many competing priorities. For your organization, please rank order the following senior management priorities from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating the most important and 4 the least important:**

______ **operational/community demands**

______ **political realities**

______ **economic/budget considerations**

______ **ethical considerations**

3) Police organizations have to deal with ethics issues at many different levels and often have different and competing priorities. Please rank the following statements from 1 to 6, with 1 indicating the greatest importance to management in your organization and 6 indicating the least importance:

_____ **Enforcing formal rules and authority and avoiding harm to others.**

_____ **Being strict but fair in the provision of policing services and in the management of officers and employees.**

_____ **Keeping good relationships and maintaining trust and loyalty with the community, with sworn officers and other employees, and with other partners.**

_____ **Being dutiful, upholding the social order, and promoting the welfare of the community served.**

_____ **Upholding the constitutional rights and values of all members of the community at all costs.**

_____ **Promoting human justice, equality, and respect for all members and segments of society as a matter of fundamental principle.**

4) Police organizations enforce ethical conduct of officers with a wide variety of tools and practices. In the space at the left, please check the ones in use in your organization. In the space on the right, rate those tools and practices you checked in order of importance from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating the most important and 4 indicating the least important.

		Degree of Importance
___	**written police code of conduct**	_____
___	**written police ethics statement**	_____
___	**stated commitment by management to ethics leadership**	_____
___	**ethical leadership by example**	_____
___	**"whistle blowing" mechanism**	_____
___	**ethics enforcement and discipline by line supervision**	_____
___	**ethics enforcement and discipline by formal mechanisms**	_____
___	**ethics training for recruits/new employees**	_____
___	**ethics training for supervisors and managers**	_____
___	**ethics training integrated into in-service training**	_____
___	**strict enforcement of police services legislation**	_____
___	**other (please describe)**	_____

(Questions # 5 to 11 are looking for practical examples of police ethics management).

5) **Ethical criteria are an explicit part of the management decision making process.**

Always_______usually______sometimes______never_____N/A____

6) **Ethical criteria are an explicit part of the policy development process.**

Always_______usually______sometimes______never_____N/A____

7) **Appraisal of management performance routinely includes the evaluation of demonstrated ethics leadership.** (If yes, please attach a copy of any appraisal tool used)

Always_______usually______sometimes______never_____N/A____

8) **The promotion and commissioning process includes an explicit evaluation of the ethical leadership capabilities of candidates.** (If yes, please attach a copy of any assessment or selection tool used)

Always_______usually______sometimes______never_____N/A____

9) **A separate ethics course is mandatory in recruit training.** (If yes, please attach a course outline, or a summary or statement of objectives for the course)

Yes_______No______N/A____

10) **A separate ethics course is a mandatory prerequisite for promotion to NCO.** (If yes, please attach a course outline or a summary or statement of objectives for the course)

Yes_______No______N/A____

11) **An ethics course is a mandatory prerequisite for becoming a commissioned officer.** (If yes, please attach a course outline/summary or statement of objectives for the course)

Yes_______No______N/A____

12) **Compared to other police services would you say that the overall ethics of your police service or organization are:**

much stricter____somewhat stricter__average__somewhat less strict___much less strict____

===

Are you willing to participate in any follow-up discussions of the questions in this survey or of the results?

If yes, please provide name, position or title and phone #. Any further information provided by you will be treated in strictest confidentiality and no identities will be revealed.

______yes / no_____