Work Culture Audit Report Presented to the Spokane Police Department



Doctoral Program in Leadership Studies

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Report to the Spokane Police Department: Work Culture Audit

March 22, 2017

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Early in the study, members from the SPD and from the Spokane Community volunteered on three different occasions for meetings and the homework involved in those meetings, to discuss the project and areas of concern from both the SPD and community, to discuss understandings of culture, to suggest many types of events and trainings to be observed, and to create a pool of questions for possible use in interviews and surveys. Members from this group included, from the Community: Inga Laurent, Rick Mendoza, Brian Newberry, Matt Newberry, Phil Tyler, Erin Williams-Heuter, Stephy Nobles Beans, Makayla Desjarlais, and Lori Kinnear; and from the SPD: Justin Lundgren, Tom Hendren, Dave Singley, Rich Meyer, Jake Jensen, Josh Laiva, Tanya Hauenstein, and Kathy Armstrong. We thank these volunteers for getting us started and for their thoughtful contributions to the focus of the study.

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Executive Summary of Findings Work Culture Audit of the Spokane Police Department

There are two concepts that are important to note, to provide a bit of clarity to the study. These are a working understanding of culture, relative to this study, and the notion of inventory and audit, as we focused in this study.

Culture

The concept of culture can be discussed from a variety of lenses. For the purposes of this study, one understands culture from the lens of a particular organization: the way members of the organization act formally and informally, their specific work behaviors and language use, dress, how they share the knowledge of their work and the values they have of their work, the tools of their trade, and so on.

Inventory/Audit

The intent for this study was to take a broad sweep of the SPD and, in so doing, not replicate work and other research that is ongoing. For purposes of this study, we used the terms "audit" and "inventory" interchangeably. However, we consider an audit part of an inventory, narrower in scope, quantitative in nature, more survey-oriented and more often targeted for a specific purpose.

Findings: Primary Themes and Secondary Sub-Themes

We identified four major cultural themes, with secondary sub-themes supporting each. We briefly note the findings below, and explain in detail in the subsequent report.

Theme One: Shared Values Support Police Work that is Eventful and Variable

Although police work involves much variability, the shared values of integrity, honesty, trust, and a strong work ethic provide a strong foundation to the work culture of the SPD. Paradoxes developed when shared values (strong work ethic) brushed against scarce resources (staffing issues), or when the strong value to serve gets tested in an environment with much negativity.

Theme Two: Becoming One of Us

The nature of police work in the field is unpredictable, seemingly chaotic, sometimes dangerous and volatile; and the SPD has been in flux due to shifting leadership and management changes. Organizational stability is needed, which can be accomplished by maintaining a strong culture, which makes it difficult for newcomers to enter. The SPD is discussed from the perspectives of insiders and outsiders.

Theme Three: Climate: Morale, Staffing, and Leadership

The three factors of morale, staffing, and leadership converge to affect the climate or feeling of the work culture of the SPD. Many suggestions were made to leadership of the SPD about how to treat staff and how to improve the morale, including adding more staff to the SPD.

Theme Four: Connecting with the Community

Participants in the study believe that many community members: often do not know or fully understand the work police officers do in a given day or can legally perform as part of their duty; and do not trust them, expressed through criticism of the SPD. Some of this distrust may come from the media. Suggestions were made about improving communication and community engagement.

Introduction

This report is divided into four sections. First, is an Executive Summary. Included in the summary are the key work culture findings resulting from the research, noted as primary and secondary themes, as well as definitions of key terms to be used in the ensuing discussion. Second, Introduction, includes a summary of the proposal and focus of the study including background information necessary to understand the context of the environment in which the Spokane Police Department is situated. Third, we discuss major themes as Findings to the study with conclusions; and include conversations we believe the SPD may want to have and questions that might be germane to those conversations, based on the findings. Finally, we have included the Methods and processes used to collect and analyze the data from which this report is based. First, we briefly note the focus of the study and its limitations.

Focus and Limitations of the Study

This report is the result of a research project with members of the Spokane Police Department (SPD), members of the community of Spokane, Washington (SC) who participated in the research design and development of questions, and a Research Team (RT) from Gonzaga University (GU). We asked the question: What is the work culture of the Spokane Police Department? Thus, the research was focused on discovering and understanding the culture of the work performed within the organization of the SPD. Our purpose with this report is to present findings of the study to the SPD which will provide insights and understandings of the work culture of the Spokane Police Department.

It was our intent in the original design of the study to include the community of Spokane as part of the study. We realized that due to budget, time, and personnel limitations this research team would not be able to interview and survey a large enough (and thus more reliable) community sample as well as a police department sample. Thus, we decided early in September to limit the study to a six-week data-collecting time frame and only include the SPD for purposes of this study, the work culture audit. We believe members of the Spokane community ought to have an opportunity to be interviewed and surveyed about their perceptions of the work culture of their police department, and hope members of the Spokane community will have an opportunity to do so in the near future.

Consequently, the study has the following limitations: 1) A limitation of Time. The design of the study occurred in the spring and summer months, previous to students arriving for the start of Fall 2016 classes the first week of September. Organization of data collecting processes and procedures from both the SPD and GU began in earnest the first week of September, and we began to collect data the first week in October, concluding in mid-November (about six weeks). Due to time limitations, the RT was not able to interview members of, or observe the

work of, specific departments in the SPD, or observe police work in a variety of spaces in the community of Spokane; 2) A limitation of Budget. Since the study was conducted by a professor and her students, we tried to keep the budget to a minimum, thus focusing on transcriptions and survey needs. 3) A limitation of Personnel. We had a team of ten to collect data, analyze that data, and write a final report. More research members would have been needed to interview more officers and civilian workers of the SPD and citizens of Spokane. Also, a much longer time frame would have been needed to add more interviews and observations of exchanges between community members and police officers. Finally, a greater budget would have been needed to lengthen the study, add more personnel to participate in the study, and add more time to the length of the study.

Understanding Work Culture

The concept of culture can be discussed from a variety of lenses. One can talk about culture from an artistic sense: a "cultured" person is understood to appreciate the arts, music, literature, or poetry, for example. Culture is also understood from an ethnic perspective: one possesses the attributes, values, beliefs, social practices, spatial and time orientation, for example, of a particular group of people or society. For the purposes of this study, one understands culture from the lens of a particular organization: the way members of the organization act formally and informally, their specific work behaviors and language use, dress, how they share the knowledge of their work and the values they have of their work, the tools of their trade, and so on.

Work culture

Work culture exists at two levels: what is observed, manifest and known represented by symbols, behaviors, stories, rituals, and so on; and what is latent, or not always directly observed, which includes values, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and so forth. It is what one needs to know to survive and perform in a particular work environment. Work culture is composed of Knowledge (information about the group, values and norms, and ways to transmit the culture); the Transmission of Knowledge (ways to transmit the culture include language, dress, and ways of acting—demeanor, rituals and ceremonies, and technology, simple to complex); and key Actors (this includes role and status, division of labor, and social relations). These categories are not discrete and end up overlapping in both simple and complex ways. The work within the culture exists across dimensions of time and space and within economic and political contexts.

Inventory/Audit

An inventory, considered from an anthropological perspective, is qualitative and broader in scope than an audit. One wants to know what is contained in a

particular culture including tools, artifacts, ways of knowing and ways of doing, across time and space. We looked for patterns and themes that emerged from the data primarily using qualitative approaches. An audit can be part of an inventory, but we consider it narrower in scope, quantitative in nature, more survey-oriented and more often targeted for a specific purpose. Our intent was to take a broad sweep of the SPD, and in so doing not replicate work and other ongoing research. Thus, the inventory allows the broad sweep, whereas a survey or set of surveys can be targeted to audit that which is deemed necessary to target. We used the survey to triangulate and support (or refute) themes we discerned emerging from the interview and observational data.

Recent Historical Context of SPD

There seem to be two issues that provide historical and cultural context to perceptions of members of the SPD to their work as police officers and civilian employees. Sometimes the context was made explicit in the interviews, on the survey, and in conversations during observations and ride-a-longs, and sometimes these issues were addressed in current and archival news articles. A brief overview of recent historical context is provided from the lenses of leadership-in-transition and the Otto Zehm case.

Leadership-in-Transition

"Moving staff along the 'continuum of change' and changing organizational culture is by far the biggest obstacle in reform efforts. Criminal justice reform takes political courage, skill, and, most importantly, time and strong leadership to allow the efforts to evolve" (Murphy, McDevitt, & Wetzel, 2013, p. 19)¹. Throughout the six weeks of the study, employees mentioned the need for stability, specifically in the area of the "top cop," the Chief of Police. The current culture of the Spokane Police Department seems a likely result of the work begun in 1987 by "outsider" and new chief to SPD, Terry Mangan, Chief until 1998. The first police chief ever appointed from outside Spokane and the department, Chief Mangan introduced Community Oriented Policing (COP) to the SPD. He is credited with bringing professionalism and innovation to the SPD; spending much time on the street with other police officers and community members; creating community partnerships including opening dialogs with minority groups; and leaving the force with 288 officers and 121 civilian workers at his departure (Lynn, 1998)². He seemed to be highly respected by those in the SPD, noted by several positive comments in interviews from participants in this study, even though, at times, there was controversy during his tenure including incidents of misconduct by officers and complaints by some COP volunteers that

¹ Murphy, J., McDevitt, J., & Wetzel, P. (2013). *A blueprint for reform: Creating an efficient and effective regional criminal justice system*. A Report published by the Spokane Regional Criminal Justice Commission, December 31, 2013. Spokane, WA: Author.

² Lynn, A. (1998). Chief serves his last week: Mangan to leave Spokane police force for FBI job; deputy chief Roger Bragdon to fill in. *Spokesman-Review*, March 10. Retrieved from http://www.spokesman.com/stories/1998/mar/10/chief-serves-his-last-week-mangan-to-leave/

the SPD was too controlling (Prager, 2014)³. Mangan was replaced by Alan Chertok, and within 9 months Roger Bragdon in 1999, a 30-year veteran of the SPD, was appointed Chief. Bragdon retired in 2005, but not without controversy during his tenure, including severe budget cuts, and how he presented those cuts. From a news article, it is noted,

Last year's budget cuts and the layoffs that followed have left the [SPD] so shortstaffed that Spokane Police Chief Roger Bragdon himself describes the agency's response levels as inadequate. Most property crimes, such as burglaries, go uninvestigated, and crime victims must wait months for the department's records section to provide copies of basic police reports needed for insurance claims. (Clouse, 2005, n.p.)⁴

A current member of the SPD, on the force at the time of Bragdon, suggested that community members became increasingly frustrated when they could not get officers to respond to their calls; and, he believed, this began a real anger from the community at the quality of the work of members of the SPD. This officer thought that Bragdon did not have good rapport with the media, and he allowed the community rapport built by Mangan to erode.

In December 2005, Bragdon retired and was replaced by interim Chief Jim Nicks, who was replaced, after a search, by Chief Anne Kirkpatrick who served from 2006 to 2012, to be replaced for eight months by interim Scott Stephens in January 2012. Chief Frank Straub was appointed chief after a national search and began his short tenure in August, 2012. Straub left/resigned/was fired/stepped down⁵ as Chief September 22, 2015, and was replaced by Assistant Chief Rick Dobrow, a 21-year veteran of the SPD, to be interim Chief. When Dobrow announced his retirement, effective March 1, 2016, Jim McDevitt, a respected U.S. attorney, not a commissioned law enforcement officer, but involved in criminal justice reform efforts in Spokane, was appointed by Mayor Condon for four months, Interim Law Enforcement Director, ostensibly until Spokane hired a new police chief. In July 2016, Craig Meidl was appointed interim Chief until a new chief was hired; and on August 1, Condon named Meidl Chief of Police. The City Council guestioned the decision since Meidl did not formally apply for the position, so the Mayor re-opened the search. Meidl applied and then was chosen by the Mayor and formally became the new Spokane Police Chief with City Council approval on October 10, 2016, after one year with temporary leadership at the top of the SPD.

³ Prager, M. (2014). Former Bellingham, Spokane police chief Terry Mangan dies. *The Seattle Times*, December 24. Retrieved from <u>http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/former-bellingham-spokane-police-chief-terry-mangan-dies/</u>.

⁴ Clouse, T. (2005). Tax hike for police tough sell in Spokane. *Spokesman-Review.* October 11. Retrieved from <u>http://www.spokesman.com/stories/2005/oct/11/tax-hike-for-police-tough-sell-in-spokane/</u>.

⁵ We state the leaving of Straub in this notion, partly tongue-in-cheek because, as of this writing, there is still a bit of disagreement about the nature of his departure from the SPD.

Thus, in the 30 years since Chief Mangan began his tenure in 1987 to February 2017, there have been 11 chiefs or directors at the apex of leadership in the SPD, that is, counting Meidl twice, once as interim and once as the new Chief, effective mid-October, 2016. These chiefs/director, full time or interims include: Mangan, Chertok, Bradgon, Nicks, Kirkpatrick, Stephens, Straub, Dobrow, McDevitt, Meidl, and Meidl.

Otto Zehm

In March 2006, a Spokane, Washington, police officer was called to a potential robbery at a convenience store. The officer (subsequently indicted in 2011) followed Otto Zehm (a mentally ill citizen) into the store. "Baton strikes, taser charges and other forms of force were used" on Zehm, who died two days later.⁶

The defendant then stood over Zehm and fired Taser probes into him, also continuing to deliver overhand baton blows, including a final flurry of seven baton strikes in eight seconds, which was captured by the convenience store's security cameras. The defendant never asked Zehm any questions or even mentioned the ATM. Witnesses testified that Zehm's last words were: "All I wanted was a Snickers."

We note the above, only briefly, and certainly not presenting both sides and all the evidence, because the Otto Zehm case, 10 or so years later, still resonates with officers present at the time, community members who formed the basis of the research design team mentioned in Phase One of the study, and officers and civilian employees new to SPD, post-event. Several officers and civilian workers believe that Zehm's legacy is still a part of the Spokane community's distrust of the SPD. The Otto Zehm incident continues to be known in this region, and is often negatively connected to the SPD. Recently, an attorney with the Center for Justice wrote, "A lot needs doing to restore our faith and trust in our police. Their work requires such trust as surely as we require faithful police."⁸

Demographics

In 2015, police departments serving cities with populations exceeding 50,000 employed an average of 16.6 officers and 21.4 total personnel for every 10,000 residents.⁹ For cities of 200,000 population, the average total personnel is 401 and the average number of officers is 322.¹⁰ The population of the city of Spokane, according to latest US census data (July 1, 2015), is 213,272. As of October 2016, there were 399 full time employees¹¹ working for the Spokane

⁸ Finer, J. (2016) Hurt lingers 10 years after Zehm's death. *The Spokesman-Review*, March 20, 2016, http://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/mar/20/hurt-lingers-10-years-after-zehms-death/

⁶ City of Spokane "Use of Force Commission" document, p. 1.

⁷ US Fed News Service, Including US State News; [Washington, D.C.] 17 Nov 2012:

⁹Data Source: *Governing* calculations of 2015 FBI UCR data, <u>http://www.governing.com/gov-data/safety-justice/police-officers-per-capita-rates-employment-for-city-departments.html</u>

¹⁰ Data Source: *Governing* calculations of 2015 FBI UCR data, <u>http://www.governing.com/gov-data/safety-justice/police-officers-per-capita-rates-employment-for-city-departments.html</u>

¹¹ Demographic data on the Spokane Police Department gathered from latest available census data: <u>http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/5367000,53063</u>

Police Department: 307 commissioned (8 of whom were at the Academy at the time of the study and were not officially included in the random sample for interviews) and 92 civilian employees. The 307 commissioned employees include: 282 White, 25 people of color (10 Hispanic, 3 Black, 1 Asian, 5 Native, 5 Multi-Racial, 1 Unknown); 278 males and 29 females; and 80 (26%) were hired within the last 5 years. The 92 civilian employees include 84 White, 8 people of color (5 Hispanic, 2 Black, 1 Asian, and no Native); 32 males and 60 females; and 39 (42%) were hired within the last 5 years.

In the next section, we include a discussion of Findings and Conclusions, to be followed by series of proposed Conversation Starters. In the final section, Methods of Conducting the Culture Audit, we discuss the methods used to collect and analyze data, and connect the discussion to Phases One and Two of the study. We have reversed the usual order of reporting in a research report, that is, normally methods would precede findings. We think those reading this report might want to read the findings first, then read how we arrived at those findings.

We note that the survey data are contained in the Appendix in three forms. In Appendix D, we include a table with all survey statements and their numerical and statistical responses. In Appendix E we include two tables with the scalar data for questions #31, 32. In Appendix F, we include charts wherein data are provided in line graph form based on trends by response groups, as identified in the demographic section of the survey. We also include interview questions in Appendix B and the complete survey in Appendix C.

Findings

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz is noted for saving that part of one's responsibility in describing and interpreting a culture is to "make the familiar strange and the strange familiar." That is, we only understand a culture when we make what we think we know and understand (familiar) somehow strange so that we can make sure we really know what we think we know and understand. He was speaking to ethnographers who spend months and years in cultures often unlike their own. The Research Team (RT) did not have months or years to conduct a culture audit of the Spokane Police Department (SPD), and we live in the culture we have been asked to study. Thus, we took the research charge to be one of making what we think we know about police work (familiar to RT) and find out what police officers and civilian employees of the SPD say they do, what they know, and how they know and do what they do (strange to RT). Thus, sometimes members of the RT were in familiar ground, so we tried to understand it by making it strange and asking guestions for understanding. More often, however, we were in unfamiliar ground, simply trying to learn and understand. Therefore, findings in the report reflect what we learned from the voices (spoken and written), reflections, and opinions of those working inside SPD, combined with observations from the RT and documents from observers to the SPD and the work of law enforcement.

Introduction

As a research team, we began the analysis of data before going into the field to observe or interview by discussing our biases and assumptions about police work. Over the course of the study, we would reflect on assumptions, and keep each other in check as we tried to make sense of the data: is it making "inside" sense from perspective of the SPD employees or "outside," perhaps assumptive sense from the perspective of members of the RT? Thus, the findings in the Culture Audit are based on the combined work of ten researchers, from data collected over the course of 6-8 weeks, and then analyzed and written over the course of about three months.

Four major findings or themes of the work culture of the Spokane Police Department emerged after data analysis. In this next section, we will discuss the four themes as Findings, then provide Conclusions made by the RT. Since it was never the intent of the researchers to make suggestions to the SPD about how to do their work, we pose in the section following Conclusions a set of questions to begin thoughtful Conversations.

Theme One: Shared Values Support Police Work That is Eventful and Variable

In discussing the findings of this study, we let the words of the officers and civilian workers speak as often as we can. We try not to speak for them, but allow their thoughts and words speak about and for the work they do. Two footnotes explain the use of quotes and codes after each quote used in this report.

Shared Values

The work of officers and civilian employees in the Spokane Police Department is embedded within the general culture of law enforcement. Of the 100 interviewees in the study, many had similar views of law enforcement as the officer below,

When I look at the importance of law enforcement, the reason I do it is because of the way of life it provides and how it kind of allows our society to function as it does. You can look around the world at places that don't have the sense of security and, you know, psychologists will go back to what do people need to thrive, and kind of at the bottom is that sense of security, right? For anybody to do anything, they have to feel like they are safe to survive, and really, that's what our job is. At its core function, our job it to provide that feeling and that safety to people, because what we know is that our society will be vastly different if there are not people ready to stand up to the very small percentage of violent predators in our society. And so, that's our core function, and that's what I feel is most rewarding is being part of that, because it really goes to the core of how our society is able to thrive and be what it is compared to other places around the world. (MI.86)¹²/¹³

Table 1 includes a summary of the qualities interviewees most respected in police officers, in answer to interview question #1. We believe this question reveals the values held most foundational to the culture of the SPD. One can see that the two primary values held are integrity and honesty or being honest, held respectively by 67 and 53 respondents. A sampling of responses indicates what is meant by integrity and honesty:

Primary values. ... because people are asked to place their trust in us, like when we testify in court, our word is supposed to mean something and people are supposed to be able to trust the police department. So, being honest and having integrity, of course, is of utmost importance in any police officer. (TJ.40) ... I would say integrity, and I would define that as someone that does the right thing even when it's difficult. (MC.65C) ... being able to trust that their intentions are honorable and they will do all that they can [to] handle a situation correctly with whatever they have, and ... that they will do everything in

¹² A note about participant codes after a quote: The initials represent one of the 10 members of the research team who conducted the 100 interviews. The number refers to the number of the participant, from 1 to 106. We discovered when reading the transcripts that six tapes were transcribed twice, so we deleted the six replicates, yet kept the numbering as originally assigned to each participant, so that is why the numbers go over 100. A "C" appearing after a number signifies a Civilian employee. We only coded as such because civilian employees answered three less questions than commissioned officers. Interview questions are contained in Appendix B.
¹³ We note also that all quotes used are original words either transcribed or typed from the interviews or

¹³ We note also that all quotes used are original words either transcribed or typed from the interviews or written as comments in the survey. Ellipses (...) were added to delete extraneous words, such as "Ums," "you know," or repeated words, or to shorten the quote to capture the main supportive point. [Brackets] were added to insert an important word that may have been cut to shorten the quote. Grammar was kept as transcribed, as dictated by the interviewee.

their power to do the right thing. (MC.66C) ... integrity, doing the right thing when nobody's watching. (RM.82) Integrity: people I work with I trust with anything. (JB.95) ... Well, ... you want to have integrity and honesty because the public needs to trust us and we need to trust each other and there's a high responsibility for us, especially when we could affect someone's life in such a drastic way. (TJ.41)

We heard many stories told during the interviews, so we will include a few now and again which seem to exemplify a key finding. We believe this story typifies what officers and civilian workers mean about integrity or honesty and working in a trusting environment:

Story: Locker room wallet. It's definitely a culture of honesty, [for example] the other day I left my wallet in the locker room and I didn't realize I left it. It was a money clip, and I left and went somewhere else, and I went to pay for something in a drive through, realized I left my wallet, so it was sitting in the bench for several hours. I came back and there it was. Sitting there several hours later. I mean, that wouldn't happen, I think, in most places. ... So, I definitely think we have a culture of extreme honesty. I think people do the right thing. I think that they occasionally can make mistakes like anybody else, but I don't think there's a culture of covering up those mistakes. So, I think our culture is very, very positive in that spot. (JB.94)

Table 1. Values represented by Interview Question #1: Qualities most respected in a police officer.

Primary Values	Interview Question One: # of Interviewees Noting the Quality or Value (N = 100)*
Integrity	67
Honesty, being honest	53
Secondary Values	
Compassion, empathy, empathetic, kindness (26); Respect, respectful,	
treating others with respect (8)	34
Trust, trusted, trustworthy (20); Dependable, dependability (5)	25
Hard work, hardworking, work ethic	20
Tertiary Values	
Communication, communicator, ability to communicate	10
Morals, high ethics, ethical	9
Courage, courageous, lay life on the line	8
Service, serve the community	7
Team player, teamwork, team	7
Courage, courageous	6
Professional, professionalism	5
*The first interview question was: <i>Name the three or four qualities you most respect in a police officer.</i> Each particular quality was counted the first time the interviewee noted it, and counted only once per interviewee. Total number of interviewees (N= 100). Many other values were noted 1-4 times, but are not added to the table. The qualities noted on the table were those mentioned most often by the most respondents.	

Secondary values that occurred most often included having compassion, empathy, kindness, respect, trust, being trustworthy, and having a good work ethic. In the survey, 81% of respondents (N=132) said they agreed or strongly agreed to statement #10 that they trusted their fellow officers. In the survey, responding to statement #14, "I work with officers and civilians who are professional in their work," 93% agreed (N=60) or strongly agreed (N=87). A sampling of interviewees' comments include: **Secondary values.** ... by [compassion], I mean understanding the predicament that they're in, either as a victim or as a suspect. (MC.74) ... compassion, empathy, that they can maybe put themselves in that person's place and understand what they might be going through so that when the officer makes decisions, he has that in mind. (RM.85) ... you need an officer to do what they say, say what they do, and be honest and trustworthy. (MI.88) ... Police officers are given a tremendous amount of responsibility and a tremendous amount of power within the community and they need to be trusted and they need to be people of the highest ethics and values. (KV.9) ... [T]he public needs to trust us and we need to trust each other and there's a high responsibility for us, especially when we could affect someone's life in such a drastic way. (TJ.41)

As noted, another value that seems to be foundational to the SPD includes the expectation of a strong work ethic, and that employees (officers and civilians) want to do a good job, and they want to help people. These values were seen embedded in the answers to several of the questions and will be repeated throughout the report. For example:

Strong work ethic. Do your job well. Be dependable. If you come across a problem, have a solution or a suggestion; don't just complain. Be customer service oriented, even with your fellow employees. (JB.77C) ... I've lived in Virginia. I lived in Carolina. I've lived in Maryland. I've lived in Kansas and Texas, Idaho, and over in Germany. And I think that we have a unique deal here that the police force do care about the community ... Even when there's no calls on our screen, we're still going to go look for [criminals] ... (TJ.38) ... And I still go back and help records because they're backlogged ... but I go in and I help them and I feel like it doesn't even make a dent. (MC.73C) ... I think our base culture has remained relatively the same and that's a culture of serving the citizens. We have people here who chose this job. They want to be here. So, they're, there's a lot of hard-working people who want to be here. (JB.94)

Despite their willingness to work hard, however, 34% of respondents to the survey noted that they strongly disagree or disagree that they have the appropriate amount of work. The RT believes this is connected to issues of staffing and overwork in some areas, to be discussed with Theme Three.

Variability of Police Work

Police work by nature is chaotic, eventful, and variable. From interview question #4, we discovered most officers felt it either took 2-3 years or 5-6 years to feel confident in their work as a police officer, depending how they interpreted the question; 33 of the 75 officers (44%) mentioned the word "different" 50 times in the interviews. They tended to make a distinction between "comfortable" and "confident" in doing the job. That is, they all felt comfortable that they could do the job after training, but they noted that the job is so variable and nuanced with each situation, that more time on the job gives one more opportunities for learning the work and all the different possibilities of calls an officer could be expected to cover. They felt comfortable doing the work, but more confident with time since the job entails so much variety. One officer explained,

I feel confident from the time I started, but confidence and competence [are] two different things. So, you have to be confident to be out here on your own, in essence, to do the job. Competence comes after years because it's a work-in-progress. You don't necessarily see everything in the time you're being trained. They can try to set you up for a lot of stuff, but you don't necessarily get it all [the variety of experiences], so what I'm saying is, it's always a learn-as-you-go type of job. (CR.57)

Another officer added,

... It was kind of bizarre. I just kind of sat at the table one day at roll call and just, like, wow, I feel really comfortable. You know, it's just kind of internal thought process and it was like five years. So, it's a long time. (TJ.47)

We consistently heard that the more experiences one has, the more one learns how to do the work. Experiences are varied. Officers brought those experiences with them from different agencies, different professions, and through mentoring.

Experiences from different agencies. I know that there is in the eastern part of the country, they do things different than us and so we have to train the people from the other jurisdictions that you just can't go out and lay hands on somebody ... You have to have a dialogue and you have to have a reason and I think that is probably the hardest thing to train new people. (TJ.2) ... Where I came from was larger. Different culture than here. (CR.25) ... every place I've worked has been a little different. I started working on a college campus police department. So, each place has their own set of things we deal with and amount that we deal with ... (TJ.41) ... I came from a smaller agency and then got to here. It depends what environment you're working in, because it really depends on the different calls, your call volume, and once you've seen enough assortment of calls and that you've made your way through all these different situations, then you get that confidence. (MI.86)

Experiences from different careers. ... Well, before I was a Military Police Officer in the Army ... and then I became a civilian Police Officer eight years ago. And, the two different jobs are quite different, but some of the same elements exist in terms of investigating crimes, arresting, helping the community, traffic, a lot of the same things. So, some of the same types of crimes that you would be investigating on an Army base as opposed to a city or town, but, you know, similar, but different ... (MI.27) ... I've held a lot of different jobs, so there was a learning curve with every one of them, but just the basic function of a street cop, I would say five years is about the time, "Okay, you've seen a lot now and you've probably got some solutions for most of the things that you're going to encounter." (RM.79)

Experiences through Mentoring. ... I don't care how smart you are or what you've been. If you haven't done it before, you haven't done it before. And, so we're fortunate here. We're large enough in this department to have senior people around you all the time in every unit. Every team has people with 20 years on it whether it's graveyard shift or whether it's day shift. So, I mean, we've got people on graveyard with 20 years' experience, and that's not always the case. A lot of departments only their junior people are on graveyard and so there's a team that doesn't have any senior leadership to be able to say, "Whoa, cowboy. Slow it down. Let's back this horse up and do it this way now." That leadership to be able to say, "Hey, we've learned from that lesson. Don't go down that road." But not every department has that ability. They have young people and then, generally, young supervisors working those shifts, and it's tougher because the learning curve is so much greater with younger people, and that was me, learning curve was huge. (LM.52)

Additionally, there are different ways to perform similar tasks of the patrol officer. Sometimes, however, the tasks become different because the assignment or focus or position of patrol officer might have changed over the years of one's career. According to several officers:

Positional Variety. Well as a patrolman ... probably 5 years on somewhere between that three to five year range when you begin to understand not only the requirements of the job but also the stresses. As a detective maybe around that same year, as an investigator you are taking on a different position within the department. You're focusing on single particular cases. (MC.72) ... but then I went to K-9. I had to have a new set of learning skills ... Then I promoted to supervisor ... So, I've had, probably, ten different jobs and each one took a period of time to get comfortable with. (JB.94) ... However, there's a whole other aspect as a Police Officer. You don't just stop at patrol. You do detective work. ... You learn how to write search warrants. You learn how to do investigations, how to work confidential informants, how to do all this stuff. So, I'm in year 13 of my career. [and] I'm now on a different team where we do investigations. We work confidential informants. (MI.87) ... But it's, a learning thing. You go through those stages all the time. I got on the SWAT. team ... and it takes you a good two or three years to be confident in tactical operations stuff, too ... It's a constant learning and comfortableness. (PJ.35) ... And, you know, here's the thing that you need to take in consideration: we have my generation, which are starting to fade away, we're retiring and getting out. We had the X generation, the Y generation, now the Millennials ... they all engage the community differently. I mean, they really do. (SC.37)

Many of the officers talked about the importance of learning about the different Calls they would receive, and the variance those Calls have, even though they are the routine part of the job. Related to the variance in Calls is the learning that occurs with each nuance or change one makes with the way one works the Call.

Variety of Calls on Patrol. I've only been doing this for a year and 10 months ... every day is different, every call is different. (KV.10) ... It takes a while. I mean, it's like drinking from a fire hose. In the first five years, that's what you're doing ... (SC.37) ... Depends on what shift you work ... if you work power shift, you may be up into the 20 calls a day ... and it's just that exposure over time and a variety of shifts, regions of the city, and types of calls themselves, where you're going to violent calls or you're going to report calls or assisting citizens or chasing a bad guy in a high-speed pursuit. There's all these different exposures and a lot of that is just, you're up and down, you're all over the board, you know, and you have to write paper on this ... And a lot of that is just experience and exposure. (MC.74) ... I would say, somewhere around the five-year mark. You feel like you've been on every single call you will ever go on multiple times. You've seen different variations of the calls so you're comfortable dealing with anything that would potentially confront you ... (KV.11)

Laws are different in each state, so when lateral officers move to the SPD from other states they have to learn anew the laws. As an officer noted, "When I came here I was already pretty seasoned, so the biggest challenge for me when I came to Spokane was just adapting to the new State laws, because I was from a different State. (TJ.96)." Another officer added, "The laws are constantly changing and you have to be up-to-date on court cases and all the different stuff that changes just constantly ..." (RM.22).

Paradoxes: Shared Values and Work

A paradox is "someone or something with qualities or features that seem to conflict with one another; a statement that is seemingly contradictory or opposed to common sense and yet is perhaps true."¹⁴ In their interviews, the officers and civilian workers never complained about their work. They want to be good at their jobs, and they have a good work ethic. We did notice some paradoxes inherent in the work culture.

Task realization/closure

One paradox seems to be when officers and civilian workers cannot do the jobs to the best of their ability (based on a strong work ethic), more specifically, they cannot complete the tasks necessary to find closure on a particular Call, case, or report, for example. The lack of task realization or closure is most often caused by problems not in their control, for example, due to staffing issues, mentioned throughout the interviews, surveys, and observations. Participants had plenty to say about staffing issues throughout the six weeks of the study. We discuss staffing in Theme Three because we think it is not only related to a paradox of shared values, but that issues of staffing affect the climate and morale of SPD.

Serving others: Most rewarding / most difficult

Another shared value paradox emerged from the data when we discovered that sometimes the most rewarding part of their work was also the most difficult: serving others or solving problems.

Serving the community paradox. It's discouraging when you're not able to help someone in a situation and that problem just perpetuates. Administratively, the most frustrating thing is just seeing where you want to go and encountering barriers to where you want the agency to go and working through those barriers is very slow and tiring process. (KV.9) ... I don't like not being able to help people with their issues. (MI.28C) ... The most frustrating thing is when you go to a place where you think you can help or you can help kids or you can help the family ... and you think you're helping them, but ultimately it doesn't have any impact on them. Ultimately, your attempts to, you know, maybe I didn't have enough to shelter that kid, but I wrote a report and sent it to CPS and, you know, that there's just nothing that they can do to help this person or to help this child in their situation at this time. That's what's really frustrating. (MI.46) ... We come across problems and we can't solve them all the time. You know, I think people think the police can solve everything, but the reality is we can't. And then when you see those that get victimized, you see those that get hurt, you see those that get killed, and you feel for the families. You know that their loved one just got killed or, you know, in a car accident or a violent act, you know, things like that. Yes, we want to get the bad guy, but on the backside of it, we feel, as well, for those families. And, being an officer, you have to be able to ride that emotional rollercoaster where things are good, things are bad, things are good, things are bad, but you have to continue throughout your whole shift. (TJ.38) ...

¹⁴ Paradox. (2017). In *Merriam-Webster.com*. Retrieved from <u>https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/paradox</u>

Another officer made a similar, but different point about the constant service in negative situations,

... I like the interaction with the public, and the ability to effect change or to solve problems that people can't solve on their own, but it's very difficult in keeping a positive outlook when we're always involved in negative situations. They never call us when they're having a good day ... It's a double-edged sword. It's rewarding, but difficult. (MC.74)

Serving the community

Several participants noted throughout the interviews and surveys that they liked serving the community in which they worked. This, however, seemed to lead to a third paradox of the work culture: serving the community and a paradox of the self or a paradox with the other. Sometimes officers cannot turn off their work at the end of the day when they go home (paradox with the self). In other instances, while officers consider their work service to the community, they also live and raise their families in the community. Members see and treat them as police officers, but officers mentioned often that they are human too, and they wish the community would understand this (paradox with the other).

Paradox with the Self: Then also trying to separate yourself from, "I wonder if so-and-so got the help they needed," or, "I see them walking today. Things must have gone well, or maybe they didn't. Do I contact them? Do I, you know, dig into it more? Is it something that it's my business anymore now that it's done?" ... things like that. It's hard to really separate yourself ... where's the fine line of be a police officer and just do the police officer stuff, or have feelings and be empathetic and be a human and try to help them out more than you need to just in the course of your job. But going above and beyond and, you know, having feelings like a human being. (CR.43) ... Seeing things and trying not to put yourself in that, like, mentally thinking, "Oh, well, that could be my dad or that could be my grandma or that could be, um, someone that I love." ... just having to live with what you've seen and not putting yourself or thinking about other people you care about in that position. (CR.43) ... [Y]ou have to have compassion because we are called to deal with people at their worst and so you have to have that remedial grip of compassion. ... we don't always display that to the public, because it is just counterintuitive because you have to present an authoritative figure, but even though we don't always show it, most of the police officers have a passion and compassion for people out there. (TJ.2) ... So, I know I've been doing this for a while now that I tend to compartmentalize some of this and say, "Alright, that has to stay there." You know, we have families, too, that we go home to--- kids, wives, and things---that we have to separate work from family which sometimes is not [easy], your family wants to know what you do, right? My wife and my kids say, "Dad, what'd you do at work yesterday?" I'm like, "Ugh, do I want to tell them about this, you know, this dead body we just found?" You know, so you have to be able to separate. So, I try to pick out the good things, like, "Yeah, just chased a guy last night, caught this criminal," and I don't tell them about some of the other bad stuff. (TJ.38)

Paradox with the Other. ... So, officers are human, and I like to explain that to citizens that we have feelings as well. You know, we tend to be macho and tough and, you know, all that bravado stuff, but I think if more people would realize that we're human. We do a job. That's what the citizens pay their taxes for. That we might have just come off of a bad call where you could've seen a dead baby, and they wonder why you're not so happy with them. It has no relation except for the officer's feelings. (TJ.38) ... but still, just showing people that we're just people, too. I mean, we take our uniforms off. I have a

family. And just protecting the people and not having the perception that we're out there, you know, we're out there to help them. (LM.50) ... The most difficult? ... I guess the stress, sometimes, of the job ... There's not a lot of people that like us. The whole cliché of law enforcement as you see in the media that we kind of get looked-down upon and then it trickles down everywhere and so the people that don't support us and don't like us, I guess, can be difficult because we strap on this uniform every day and potentially could die and not go home at the end of the night. It is a very dangerous job and for people to not, you know, give us, I guess, the respect that we want or the support, I guess, more so than respect, is kind of difficult at times to deal with when you're not getting that support, when you're trying to help the community as a whole ... (RM.22)

Professionalism: A Career in Law Enforcement

We wanted to know if working for the SPD has fulfilled the personal aspirations of a group of individuals who chose to work in law enforcement. With this question, we also discovered why many chose to become police officers or civilian workers. Table 2 contains a compilation of comments to this question. Almost 30% of those who responded to the question and noted they liked their choice of a career in law enforcement. Sometimes their career is perceived as a "calling." About another 30% noted their choice fulfilled their aspiration to serve the greater good, in some way having an impact on others or helping others. And finally, another third of interview participants mentioned they liked working in Spokane or with the SPD or with their teammates or with community members. Some highlights from the interviews include comments that reflect fulfilling aspirations to serve the community, to have an impact, or to fulfill personal career goals.

Serving the community. ... I just love this job. ... it's the best job in the world. Especially here in Spokane. Because we're a little big department, you know, or a big little department if, either way you want to say it, where we're not so big that people don't know each other. (PJ.31) ... To ... have an impact in my community is rewarding. To be able to see kids that I've contacted before that have been turning their lives around or people that I've contacted before and maybe arrested that now have a job and are going in the right direction or even to see people that I've put away that I know aren't going to harass this person in the community or be a problem in this area. It's rewarding to me to see the differences just because I love this place and I grew up here and it's fun to work around here. (MI.46) ... I think we all get in this job to 'serve and protect' the community. We either live in or live around the community, so the most fulfilling is when we get to have those most positive encounters with our community and you get to see the positive impact it has on people's lives. (JB.20)

Having an impact. ... I can help the community, and go after the bad guys, but I can also bring a smile to a kid's face and say, "Hey, I'm here to help you. I'm here to protect you. You know, don't be afraid of us." (CR.43) ... I couldn't think of any other job to do at this point of my life that has made me feel like I've done something every day. And, you know, I'm proud to wear this uniform. (SC.36) ... But again just whether it's at the end of the day or the end of the career to look back and know I've made a difference. Done something important for others. (TJ.1)

Meeting career goals. We are the line in the sand that we are always out there looking out for you. It is the reason I went in the military and the police force – to be that line in the sand. (KV.7) ... Well I come from a family of 3 other police officers, so it is an honor to continue to serve Spokane. (JB.19) ... I wanted to be a police officer ever since I was

probably four if not sooner ... and ... the only thing I can say is it was a calling. (KV.11) ... the way I look at this job is you have to be a jack-of-all-trades and an ace of none. And growing up, that was me. ... I just, I think it's a good fit for somebody like me. It's kind of that, you have to wear all kinds of different hats all the time, and I can do that, but I'm not great at one specific thing. (LM.60) ... I don't know that I really had professional aspirations, so to speak, but I feel proud of kind of trying something [outside of my comfort zone] and being successful at it and realizing I can do those things that I was kind of afraid to do ... that shows my daughter that you can do things that you didn't think you can do. You just have to try, and be brave enough to challenge yourself to do something. (MC.73C) ... So, for me, it's been very fulfilling in the career that I've gotten exposure to a lot of things that I never would have done. And so, I think, for me then getting promoted and having other aspirations to go further on up the chain and to mentor other people to take my spot when I decide to leave has been very fulfilling. (PJ.104) ... I've been doing police work for 30 years. I've gotten to do and experience stuff that 98% of the people in this country haven't. Some of it's been a lot of fun. Some of it has been very difficult. But every job has got its challenges, and I think in the end of the day it's been rewarding. (KV.12)

Table 2. Interview Question #10: How has working for SPD fulfilled your personal aspirations?

Note: A compilation of personal aspirations from interview question #10 are noted in this column. The number of Respondents who noted that particular aspiration at least once is noted in the column to the right. The numbers (in parentheses) are totals of Responses in the sub-category and are included to show totals per category. A count of contributors included responses from 97 individuals. Three individuals did not answer the question. Many individuals answered more than one or two aspirations, including a few who suggested three or four. These are the responses registered most often, by most respondents.	# R
*Personal aspirations that have been fulfilled by working for SPD include	
Choosing a Career as a Police Officer	
Fulfilling personal ambitions to become a police officer always wanted to be a police officer	15
Becoming a police officer career career in law enforcement Not a job, but a calling	4
Job suits me well	3
I love this job	2
I like what I do still come to work	4
	(28)
Serving the Greater Good	
Do something that matters something important, meaningful have an impact on others make a difference	10
Like to help people	11
Give back to the community serve the community	6
Fulfilling job	5
	(32)
My Choice of Organization, Position, Type of Work and/or Workspace, Team	
Work in SPD allows me to do a variety of jobs combine my abilities, interests	10
My job / SPD allows[ed] me to grow move up further education	7
Like my careerlike my position like working in a specific unit, e.g. domestic violence unit	4
Enjoy the challenge of the job type of work something different each day	2
Sense of pride in the job	3
SPD is a great place to work	5
I enjoy coming to work	2
Proud of my accomplishments	1
	(34)
Financial	
Allows me to support / take care of family	9
Great pay great benefits financially good for me	3
	(12)
Personal Aspirations Not Filled	
Does not fill personal aspirations I have no personal aspirations it'just a job	(3)

Summary

In summary, the shared values of integrity, honesty, trust, and a strong work ethic provide a strong foundation to the work culture of the Spokane Police Department. We heard and saw these values expressed in interviews, through the survey responses, and in our various participative experiences. We also saw that sometimes paradoxes developed when shared values (strong work ethic, for example) brushed against scarce resources (staffing issues), or when the strong value to serve gets tested in an environment with much negativity, but also in an environment with much variability. We learned that most of those we interviewed liked many parts of their work and the career they chose. In the next section, we discuss the norms of work in variable environments, the finding that emerged as Theme Two *Becoming One of Us*.

Theme Two: Becoming One of Us

The values of the culture of the SPD seem to be shared by both officers and civilian employees. In the survey, when asked to describe the culture of the SPD, of those 127 who responded, several gave one- or two-word answers including the following mentioned at least 2-3 times: good, excellent, positive, optimistic, professional, very professional, strong, strong core values, educated professionals, proud, resilient, and solid. The short responses tended to reflect the shared values noted earlier in Theme One. Longer responses tended to shade the culture a bit differently and address the norms of police work and the way work is conducted in the SPD, and thus shows what we think are two perceptions of the existing culture: from those who seem to be on the inside and those who seem to be from or looking in from the outside. Additionally, about half way through the interviews, we started asking: What would a newcomer to the SPD need to know about the culture to survive? Essentially we were asking, how does one get to the inside? There seem to be two perceptions about getting to the inside: one categorically positive and one a bit more negative. Which one is the reality, from an observer's perspective, we are unable to say due to the short amount of time the RT spent with the department. However, we would surmise that both are probably somewhat the norm of the culture, depending on one's frame of reference: insider or outsider. In many ways, this (insider/outsider status) is natural to most organizations. However, one conclusion we make from this finding is that the members of the SPD may want to have (or continue) conversations about insider/outsider status and what that might mean about the future effectiveness or inefficiency of the work culture of the SPD. We have written starter questions in the Conversation section of this report.

From the analysis of all data sources (interviews, survey, observation, and artifacts), we discovered a set of findings that, in some way, are contained in the SPD norm of *becoming one of us.* We begin with a broad discussion of the nature of police work, to provide an organizational overview, then discuss findings that include promotions, language, and working in teams, within the context of insider/outsider perspectives.

Nature of Police Work

Many study participants, from several data sources, noted that community members lacked an understanding of police work. Many perceived this as one of the biggest challenges of the job: "The fact that your average citizen doesn't truly understand our job and what we do every day" (JB.19) ... "Probably that nobody has any idea what we do ..." (KV.14). Because community members do not understand the nature of the job, there is, it was felt, undue criticism toward the SPD or specific officers. First, we share participants' thoughts about police work.

By the time officers complete their training, they understand the risks that one takes to perform the job. The uncertainty and variability of each call, however, was something officers learned over time on the job. The risks one takes and the

uncertainty in which one works also involve dealing with much unpleasantness or "negativity" as some officers noted. As others stated, "We have to deal with bad stuff." In their words:

Uncertain nature of calls. ... You have to understand when you do this job that you have to accept that you're going to take risk, but you have to minimize those risks enough, one, so you don't get hurt, and two, so that you don't lose your house. I mean, if I make a mistake out on the streets, one, I could get hurt. I could lose everything I have civilly; and I could go to jail. I'm held to a higher standard than other people, and if you can't handle that, then this isn't the place, this isn't the job for you, because you have to accept those risks, and you just have to do your best being prepared and making the good choices to deal with all of that. (MI.88)

Deal with bad stuff. ... And then, on the other hand it would be, kind of, the long-term effects of just every day listening to people's problems and seeing the, kind of, worst part of our society over and over and over again. It kind of just grinds on you over time. (SC.90) ... having to deal with some of the property that we bring in. It's not all nice stuff. (MC.69C) ... if you work nights too long, I think you can start to question whether everybody is like the people you deal with who, a lot of times, they're out stealing or they're on drugs or they're fighting or they're doing things that cause problems. (RM.82)

As noted earlier in the report, the nature of police work is variable and unpredictable. Calls are most often different each time an officer goes out from one to another, and similar calls can have variables that require different approaches by responding officers.

Variable nature of the work day. ... We are police officers. We are tasked with dealing with people in crisis in one moment and the next moment expected to comfort a crime victim. We are very good at our jobs but are frequently misunderstood as being standoffish by the community. We are constantly being told to watch out for ambushes and to expect the unexpected. People then complain that we were standoffish when they approached us. The officers of this department want nothing more than to serve their community, earn a living for their families, and to go home at the end of the day. It becomes extremely frustrating when we do our jobs, but get criticized that we weren't there when we are needed or that we didn't do our jobs. (Anonymous Survey Response to #37.) ... All the jobs I have to do as a police officer: I'm a counselor, a health specialist, a listener. (KV.10) ... I consider police officers to be teachers, educators, and for me, by definition, if I'm educating you, I'm changing your behavior and that, to me, is probably one of the most rewarding things that we do. (RM.85) ... I think that everyone comes here with the very best intention, and if we have to partner with mental health, with CPS, with whomever we have to partner with to get them the right resources, we all want to do the best that we can for that person. I believe that. (TJ.89C) ... we're required to wear so many hats, at least the community looks at us as to be counselors, to be mediators, and to be law enforcement officers ... (PJ.35) ... [Becoming a police officer] is a continuous process, because I feel that experience is everything and that the more you get exposed to and experience, the next time you go there you're better able to handle it. I've been doing this job for over a decade now, and I go back to my car after calls and you sit there and reflect and go, "Well, I could've done this. I could've done this. I could've done this." I mean, you're always learning and you're always training your brain to respond to things, but you cannot typecast a call because you can't do it. No call is ever the same. There's always something different. No call is ever black and white. It's always working in the grey. (RM.78)

In addition to the variable nature of work, officers often mentioned the work as chaotic. It seems, however, that while we use chaotic in the discussion below, the word does not seem to quite capture what the officers mean. There is some order to the work of a patrol officer, for example: get ready for work, get to roll call, get into a patrol car, get out into the city on patrol, take needed breaks, answer calls, fill out paperwork, check patrol car back in, check out, and then go home. Within the routine noted, however, is where the chaos occurs, not officer-driven, but situation-driven, that is, the chaos is in not knowing what awaits an officer on a call, or what could ensue through the process of a particular event. Thus, we use "variable" to describe the variety and unpredictability of the work and the work day; and we use "chaotic" to describe the nature of the calls or events.

Chaotic nature of calls. ... when I start shift, I can go from the station to an accident, to a collision that nothing happened. Then, I can go to a house where there was someone that just died, and then I have to go to another call and you have to keep those emotions, you know, in that box, because I can't take the emotion of just going to a domestic where one of the spouses had just beat the crap out of one of them, and then I have to go to another call and I have to leave this here. Because I have to go to this next one. (TJ.38) ... for over two decades I worked graveyard patrol, 12 years of that with a police K-9. My job was to go find bad people that did bad things and I was constantly exposed to people in crisis ... And we need to get the word out to the community that there's some evil in our environment, okay? (RM.79) ... It's a double-edged sword [relationship between police and community]. Like, they want the homeless people out of their area, but then when they see us arresting them, they're like, "Why are you picking on that guy?" You know ... it doesn't matter which way you go, it's like you're blamed for being, it has to be this negative, when it's not. (MC.70)

Organizational Stability Needed within Variable Work Norms

Many participants mentioned the need for leadership to provide stability to the SPD, important since the work of law enforcement is by nature variable, complex, and unpredictable. The routine to the work is symbolized by paperwork, preparing for work (putting on the uniform, the badge, the gun, and so on), roll call, getting into the patrol car, stopping at the same place for coffee, and so forth. These rituals, performed daily, provide a frame within which the variable, unpredictable, unknown, unexpected daily work also takes place. For example, one officer stated in the interview, "But ... when you get a badge, you're saying, 'I'm going to go do my best.' And I think that every single day" (TJ.38). The routine helps balance the chaos. When events occur to change the routine or rock organizational stability to "un-routine" the normal flow, then that tends to cause stress to the system. Left unchecked, the stress begins to affect morale. In the survey, we asked respondents in #37 to finish the statement I would describe the culture of the SPD as.... We placed several anonymous responses into two sets of phrases, noted below, "in flux," and "ever-changing." From interview auestions #3 and #11, interviewees also commented on the environment within the SPD, and are included in the two sets of comments:

In flux. ... I would also encourage them to make moves towards stabilizing our department. I feel our department has been in a constant state of flux for a very long time... (JB.21) ... From Anonymous Survey Responses: [The culture is ...] In transition...needs good leadership to develop properly; In transition-- there are many changes occurring; There have been so many new hires and retirements that the composition of the department is very different than it once was; Because of transitional leadership, the culture is changing while we speak. Under our last permanent chief, people began to look out for themselves first and jockey for power, and put the team concept aside. Our senior leadership is slowly changing from that approach to more of a team approach, but it is slow. We are also more open to feedback and ideas from the outside and less defensive about change; We are in flux, simply put; I think we are still trying to figure it out but with the new chief we are heading in the right direction; strong-rooted, but uncertain at this time.

Ever changing. I would tell the administration to get some stability up top. Boots on the floor, ground patrol, we feel like the administration is just constantly this shuffle game of put somebody here, put somebody here, move someone, and we feel like there's no stability up there, and that starts to then trickle down, and it's tough on patrol. (MI.88) ... they always say, "Oh, it doesn't affect you down here on patrol." It does. When you get a new Major every other week ... (MC.68) ... From Anonymous Survey Responses: Ever changing but also tired; Ever changing due to each task police perform is different. No two citizen contacts are the same, no investigations are the same. Societal expectations of police are changing as well. We as police officers are always adapting, thus our entire culture is adapting; fluid and ever changing; Evolving. ...

The topics of leadership, stability, and change are discussed in more detail in Theme Three. We make note of the need for internal stability here, however, to establish the organizational atmosphere in which many respondents feel they have been working for the last several years. Environment, however defined, is part of culture and affects culture. It will affect how employees deal with a needed change, for example new computer software, the need to wear body cameras, new uniforms, and so on. How that change is implemented and within the environment that change is implemented will have a bearing on the success of the needed change. One way to counteract unpredictability (will the Chief quit on us), uncertainty (what is going on inside the house I am approaching), or volatility (the latest event on the national scene) is to become a member of a group of trusted, collegial co-workers.

One Side of the Coin: Becoming One of Us-The Way In

Many of the respondents were positive about the culture, shared its values, and had worked for the SPD for a varying number of years, insiders and outsiders, laterals¹⁵ and non-laterals. One interviewee noted, "… It's the subculture of the police departments all around that you protect your own and it's a very tight-knit, subculture community and to break those barriers, we're starting to" (RM.85). We were interested in how one got to the inside, how one would describe the culture of the SPD to a newcomer, or what one needed to know to survive within the

¹⁵ A lateral is usually understood as a police officer who has transferred to the SPD or who has been hired by the SPD having worked for another police department. A non-lateral is one who has worked for SPD; the employee could have come from another profession to the SPD, but usually not transferred from another police department to the SPD.

culture. From an "Insider's" perspective, there is a way to get inside and to be accepted by other officers. One has to earn the respect of fellow officers.

Earn respect. ... For a new Officer, I would say that you have to put your time in and, kind of, earn your respect. It's not given to you. We're a profession of people that are highly motivated, but we don't just give out respect. You have to earn it. (MI.86) ... I deal with a lot of new people. And so, once we trust you, we trust you. You know, before that, like, you work hard, you keep your nose down, and once the rest of the guys say, "Hey, you're good, you're in," they will bend over backwards for you. And there's great people here. Just don't screw it up. ... (LM.60)

On average, it seems to take police officers about 3-5 years to feel comfortable in doing their work. They tend to agree that because the job is so unpredictable they get better with experience, which promotes a better understanding of the work and makes them better officers. Even though they will agree that they get good training and they are confident they can do the work once they become a patrol officer, the confidence grows with more experience because of the variability of the work. Thus, it also takes time for members of the culture to accept new members, newly minted patrol officers as well as laterals. The veterans, the insiders, and those who mentor the new officers or lateral officers will attend to their work ethic, how they work with others, and how well they can be trusted.

Prove your mettle. So, any time I get a new guy or gal on my team, I tell them what you do in the first two to three years on this department is what makes your career. Go out here, take your calls, handle your business, don't slough off, do your job, and do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay, and do your job the right way. Do what's right when no one's looking, and you'll be very successful here. (PJ.104) ... So, for a new guy, they're going to have to, one, prove themselves with their work ethic, they're going to have to take a lot of calls and take the tough calls, and two, they're going to have to prove themselves in those high stress situations. Anybody can run around and take cold burglary reports. ... But you have to prove yourself in those high-stress, critical incidents in order to earn the respect of your peers. And, once you've done that for a couple years, then you'll kind of be more accepted into [the culture]. No one is impressed just by the fact that you graduated the Academy, you have to earn it on the street ... you have to show your work ethic and you have to show your capability in those stress situations. (MI.86)

Keep your mouth shut ... eyes and ears open. ... The [new] officers need to shut their mouth and come out here and show they can work ... or you'll get eaten here, unfortunately. That's it ... if they can get that down, they're good to go. (MI.87) ... So, coming here, I guess I would share with a new person that in order to be successful, at first they need to be quiet, work hard, and establish themselves as a good worker. Other than that, there's not really any pitfalls or anything else that they need to look out for. (TJ.96) ... I would say to listen to senior Officers and watch and learn how they do things and work hard at taking calls. (MI.63)

Prove you can be counted on. ... I look at most things on a "You just come out here and you work hard." Alright? Are you there when I need you? You know, so, that's my biggest thing. Are you there when I need you? Do you come out and pull your weight? (PJ.103)

The shared values and shared focus on the work of law enforcement is what gives strength to the culture. That same strength, however, makes it especially difficult for lateral newcomers, and non-insider veterans of the SPD to get to the inside. As one officer noted in an interview,

I know in the last five years we've hired 80-ish different people ... So ... I'm talking about having influence. I think we have a window here, especially as more people retire, and we're hiring more people, to establish the culture. If it's not what we want, to influence and try to establish the culture that we do want going forward... (RM.82)

The ultimate reward for proving trust, a strong work ethic, and that one could be counted on is to get on to the work team of your choice, or to be chosen by officers you admire to work with them on their team.

The Team. Oh, I tell recruits and stuff like that that, I just want you to come out here and I want you to pull your weight and you got a lot of good people out here that are out here working and I just want you to be a productive part of the team and team's a big thing, especially with the shifts that you get on. You're part of a team. You can't be running around and going on your own and not being part of us, you know. Because we're close. (PJ.103) ... When I first came here, we all worked, it seemed like we had a little more time or there's the comradery was tighter and I don't know if it's just a new Gen X or the new kids coming up, but it seems like after the ten hours and 48 minutes or however long the shifts are, at the end of that, you're happy to go home and not necessarily go do stuff with the people you work with. I think that's why I said it's challenging. I think it's more challenging now. (CR.57)

There is an expectation or an ideal of a team, but the reality of teaming or teamwork may be different depending on where one works within the department, and how one is chosen to work with that group. In the surveys, when asked in #33 *What resources would you like to see offered and/or enhanced by the SPD to cope with stress*, 7 of 122 mentioned some aspect of team building:

More organized team activities, i.e. sports; team work enhanced; off duty team activities with family; More team unity activities. Most days don't even see team members much, would be beneficial to have more activities for teams to participate in outside of responding to calls on occasion together; Money for each team to have monthly, off-duty team activity; exercise, team building.

Related to the notion of relieving stress, many more respondents mentioned "on duty workouts" to cope with stress. This was the second highest response: of the 122 respondents to question #33, 26% (N=32) suggested "more exercise time" and specifically to be able to "work out on duty" to reduce stress. They want to be able to run in the parks, run and workout off campus, workout while on shift, and have a better exercise facility. Mostly, the respondents want to be able to exercise and work out on duty, as an expected part of their day and their work. Workouts could be performed solo, but they could also be done with team members, which would give officers a chance to enhance or build team membership or team camaraderie.

Perceptions of the Culture: From the Other Side of the Coin

Some officers and civilian employees, from interviews, survey responses, and ride-a-longs suggested a different perception of the inside. From anonymous survey responses, phrases were used to describe the inside as, "Like a High School, with cliques, nepotism, and immaturity," "male dominated," "Can be a bit clique-ish" noted by 3 respondents, "good old boy system" noted by 3 respondents, "old school warriors," "not accepting of guardians," and "only the graveyard SWAT officer is a 'real' cop." Generally, outsiders feel "If you aren't a member of one of the cliques, it's hard to get information or be heard." They seemed to perceive the culture from three lenses:

Getting in: It's who you know. And it's almost like ... it's all about who you know and what you know. It's not so much what you do, it's who you know, and it's kind of like, it does feel like the Good Ol' Boys club at some times, at some points. (CR.25) ... If one is not in the group, then there is less opportunities. Lacking diversity. (Anonymous Responses, Survey #37) ... About the department, I think that they are still stuck as far as women are still treated differently than men. That's a big one. (SC.4C) ... About the difference of treatment of Female/Male police officers ... it depends who you get the treatment from ... if it is from the "old guard" treatment would be less favorable to female officers ... (SC.92) ... So, what are we doing from day one? We're telling her, "Don't talk to anybody. Don't admit that you are scared. Don't admit that you cry at night. Don't admit that you're a girl. And survive all this stuff. And be one of the guys. And then, we're not going to ever tell you that you're successful." (LM.93) ... let's entertain different ideas, at least. If you're not going to implement them, fine, but don't implement them based on logical reasoning, not just because, "Oh, we don't want to because it's not SPD." (CR.25)

Cliquish: Cannot get in. ... I think it's still kind of a Good Ol' Boy system ... (TJ.47) ... culturally, it's like, it just seems like one big high school after high school type thing ... but it just gets old. (CR.25) ... they need to get away from this SWAT culture ... anybody that's coming in to the detectives' office, if you're a SWAT guy, you get to go to the really cool units ... but there's a lot of resentment from the rest of the department who's non-SWAT. I mean, it's pretty bad. (KV.13) ... They're not very diverse. If you try to buck the system ... we have the same type of people all the time and when you're not like that, you're ostracized. I just feel like most of the women, they probably won't tell you, but they feel it's like you have to prove yourself ten-fold. I arrest the same people as they do. I don't usually use any force to do it. I do things differently, because I'm a different person, but it just seems like you're constantly having to prove yourself, and it's just frustrating. (MC.70) ... We don't help women succeed in law enforcement. It's still a male-dominated field. You still have to be as good as the man. You still have to be one of the guys, and if you're not, then, you're just ostracized. And so, that plays into that ability to feel comfortable and to feel confident, and so, I think, as a female, it took much longer than the guys (LM.93)

Tough on laterals. ... And then, when I came here [lateral move from another state], it was a whole different ball game, because everybody had been around forever, everybody knew each other, everybody knew everybody's dirty laundry, and so, it was much different ... Man, that is rough, because where I had come from, I was extremely experienced, and when I came here it was basically like being treated as a brand-new, entry-level person, which, I understood. (TJ.96) ... That's just the way the police culture is, but I basically just kept my mouth shut and worked really hard for a long time until I established a new reputation here. So, here, it's basically just doing that. It's, you know, once somebody's able to see your work product or how hard you work, then eventually, that's what made me established here. (TJ.96) ... I think [SPD culture] would be a bit

challenging for a newcomer, because with the way the teams are set up, with the way some of that stuff happens, we don't have a lot of, like, social stuff. Your time with somebody, in general, if you're going to ever get to know me, you're going to see me at lunch, you know what I mean? ... or at a call together. That's your time together with somebody, even a new person. Your time is very limited with that person. (CR.57)

Promotions

Interviewees did share both in interviews and through the surveys that they felt women and minorities were not being treated fairly. Some comments are noted above in the discussion on outsider perceptions. In the survey, of 160 respondents to statement #15, *As an SPD employee, I am treated fairly by the SPD*, 15% (N=24) answered Strongly Disagree or Disagree. Also, in the survey, of 157 respondents to statement #26 *Female staff and female police officers are treated fairly within the SPD*, 13% (N=21) chose strongly disagree or agree. Finally, of 160 respondents to statement #27 *Ethnic minority staff and police officers are treated fairly within the SPD*, 4% (N=7) answered Strongly disagree or disagree. We add comments below that suggest women have a particularly tough time getting promoted:

Promoting Women. ... I don't think females are given a fair shot at this department. I never thought that way until five or six years in and then I started to see it. You know, there's opportunities where, I mean, if you look at it, it's like we have one female above the rank of, well we now have a female Sergeant, and then we have [name of officer] is the only other person that's above that out of how many admin? There's been opportunities where they could've promoted females, but instead they passed them over. (KV.13) ... I think women have put in for different specialty positions and haven't been selected. I don't think it's for lack of qualification, but I think it's just kind of whatever supervisor likes who the best ... I think you have to have some diversity when it comes to the department, because people have different characteristics, different things that they're good at. Somebody else might not be as good, so why not put those people together in a group to be able to work together and learn from each other and make that unit or division or whatever stronger and more effective, instead of just having a bunch of friends working together and maybe not being as effective. (TJ.47)

Companies that foster the "good old boys' system" that gives promotions to "friends" rather than the most highly qualified may motivate the person who has received the promotion but may have de-motivated many good employees – men and women. Employees can accept when a highly qualified employee receives a promotion. They see that as fair and the process gives them hope that their turn may be next, or at least they might have a chance at the promotion. What de-motivates employees is when they believe the person who received the promotion was not the best qualified. The RT did not observe in the SPD long enough to add an observation about promotions, but from the interview and survey comments we conclude this topic would be a viable one for a Conversation, so we include question starters in that section.

Language in the Work Culture

The RT did not collect data on language, per se, but we did observe instances of gossip shared and humor used. In these instances, and often in organizations, humor and gossip can act as bonding agents or be exclusionary. In the brief time we observed, we noted more instances of gossip and humor used to bond rather than to exclude. Members of the organization share gossip and pass it along, in part, to fit in and to "be one of us." Furthermore, gossip and humor can act as steam valves, releasing an excessive amount of steam, or much like removing the lid from a spaghetti pot so the foamy water does not boil over. We saw teasing, joking, and gentle ribbing used in Dispatch, in the Roll Call room, and in the Cop Shops. The humor sometimes went back and forth, and sometimes went one-way. In a longer study, we would want to chart who was most often getting teased or who made jokes, and who was most often ignored. It is said, in some circles, that teasing is used to bring people in to a group: if they can take the teasing, we want them on the team. There is much stress in Dispatch, so humor is used to break the tension and stress; humor helps group members cope with the "bad stuff." We know practical jokes are played on each other; officers told us this. However, we did not observe instances; again, our time was too brief in the SPD. One example of humor used in Roll Call, from an interview:

I go to work and when I walk into the roll call room, I say, I tell my guys, "Hey, I'm going to go get into something tonight." And they're just like, "You say that every night." You're right. Because I'm going to go try every single night to find that bad guy. It might just be one. Or it might be five a night that I get, but I'm going to go try every single night to go get that guy. I love this. I love it. It's great. (TJ.38)

Another example of humor to lighten tension was also shared in an interview, by the same participant:

... So, every day I go to the Academy, I walk in the class, I teach at the Academy as well. I tell them, I say, "Did you guys ever hear that I love my job?" They all start laughing because I say it every day. Because I want to start infusing them with that. You have to love this, right? Because some might come in and say, "Eh, this is, you know, some of this is dumb." But I tell them every single day, I love my job, and hopefully that starts building their mental, saying, "We got something to look forward to out there." ... (TJ.38)

There was mention made by a few interviewees that they felt civilian workers were not treated respectfully by some officers. They did not elaborate, so we do not know the way the lack of respect was displayed, or how prevalent it seems to be. There were instances noted also, in the survey and interviews, in which some participants stated that women may not be treated fairly in the SPD. (These comments were included in the discussion above.) In the interviews, some respondents stated women are not promoted to leadership positions. We understand promotion is a civil service process that includes testing, and so on. Sometimes, in organizations, someone can plant seeds of promotion through language of support, language of inclusion, or language of mentoring. We were not in the SPD long enough to know if there are regular instances of this shared language as we saw and heard of gossip and humor. We would hope that the shared values of trust, honesty and work ethic find their way to provide the foundation for inclusivity for all employees of the SPD—officers and civilian, men and women, laterals and non-laterals, and rookies and veterans.

Neither the gossip nor humor we heard seemed to be derogatory or demeaning. If there are instances of demeaning language use, only one person mentioned it, and that was in the survey. The respondent noted, "Its back to leading by fear and a small popular internal group controls some things. This group has used bullying and humiliation tactics" (Anonymous Response, Survey Question #37). The person did not elaborate, and that was the only mention of language used purposefully to demean. Many in both the interviews and the surveys noted they thought the culture of the SPD was professional. If there is a great deal of demeaning, derogatory language, that would tend to de-professionalize the culture.

We understand in the language of law enforcement that its two major functions are to "serve and protect." We saw in the data, and shared earlier, that many join the police force to serve (help) others and to impact lives or the community. This seemed straightforward to the RT, as the data show. What seemed more conflicting was the "protect" part of the mission. "Back in the day," as someone stated, officers were more in control and seemed to have more respect from the community. An officer could, and did, take control of a situation-was not second guessed or questioned. Now, as "protect" and "taking control of a situation" meet with the 21st century realities and challenges, the interpretation of the term and the language has shifted. Language plays a major role in the function of Use of Force. We learned that officers are taught to "read a situation" and "de-escalate." We also learned there is a standard protocol, or six-step process, in the use of force—at least this is what the officers are taught. Some could recite the steps from low-level to use of deadly force. We made three connections to the importance of language to thinking about the challenges to use of force, interview question #9.

First, we learned that most of the officers thought they had very good training. They know the drill and they have memorized the pyramid of steps to deploy in a situation that might require force. Thus, some of the officers said there were no challenges to use of force. Met with a possible use of force situation, they would be able to handle it. Second, we learned that each situation was different, possessed different combinations of variables from the offenders' and victims' perspectives and held a variety of variables from the officer's perspective. In these variable situations, with their training, they had to quickly think about the protocol of steps, think about what was going on possibly with three different parties in the situation, perhaps meddling want-to-be-helpful bystanders could be a fourth party to the event. What types of language should be used? Does one use the same language to all parties? Language of control or persuasion? The third understanding we gleaned from their comments was how much language had to travel through their minds in a very, very short amount of time for a decision to be made. So, there is the language of the protocol, steps to use of force; language of the situation and for each party involved in that situation; and, the language of the "action" decision. The kicker is that a decision must be made in all three instances. We are not advocating or suggesting there is or should be a gun-happy police force in Spokane. We do note, however, that when we expect police officers to honor their "serve and protect" mission that we try to understand what use of force is legally, what the expectations are legally and professionally, and how the SPD honors the "protect" part of their mission.

Summary

The nature of police work in the field is fluid, unpredictable, seemingly chaotic, sometimes dangerous and volatile. At the same time, many in the study expressed concern about the constant flux and change in the department due to shifting leadership. The concerns are about the alterations and modifications made to internal processes and procedures and to the way people have been treated over time. If officers and civilian workers already work under stressful conditions, a pattern of turnover producing a state of flux and constant change will add stress. The balance to this nature comes from organizational stability. One way stability is provided is by developing a strong culture, which is a twosided coin. Once newcomers prove their mettle and trustworthiness, they are accepted into the culture. Sometimes, outsiders are not accepted into the culture, so the question becomes: are they not good enough to be officers or civilian workers in the SPD or have they not figured out how to get in? If it is assumed they are good enough to work in the SPD, but have not figured out how to assimilate into the culture, perhaps it is time for members on the inside of the culture to assess how to help good officers and civilian workers get inside the culture and to think about different ways of knowing and understanding what it means to "become one of us." Thinking about promotions and how those are accomplished may be one route to opening up the gate for outsider assimilation into the culture. One way to accomplish promotions for those not always considered or mentored for promotion, most often women and minority officers and civilian workers, may be to look at the language used in the culture and for whom the language is intended for mentoring, for support, for recognition, for advice, and for inquiry, that is, asking questions of and listening for responses back.

Theme Three: Climate: Morale, Staffing, and Leadership

Organizational climate is the way members of an organization experience the culture of an organization. The climate of an organization is subject to change frequently and can be shaped by the leadership of an organization; climate is the organization's atmosphere, feeling, temperament, or mood. "Organizational climate is much easier to experience and measure than organizational culture and also much easier to change."¹⁶ We discuss these three topics together (morale, staffing, and leadership) because they emerged on many occasions and in several platforms: observations, interviews, artifacts, and the survey. We try to provide a summary of key ideas from different places in the SPD, so quotes may get rather lengthy in some areas because we believe it is important to hear from a variety of voices. We do so intentionally, because the key idea seemed important to many personnel taking part in the study.

When asked to describe the culture of the SPD in the survey, several respondents used positive words. The words used by most were professional, dedicated, or ethical (used by 16 of 127 respondents), good or very good (used by 14), hardworking or good work ethic (used by 9), and improved or improving (used by 4). From these perceptions, however, others provided the paradoxes: "Dedicated employees overworked and unsupported," "Figuring out how to work with minimal staffing on patrol," "Doing the best we can with the resources (mainly people) provided," "Overall good, but for me the lack of bodies and the ability to get time off is starting to wear on us, "Officers who strive to be professional but are not allowed given all the tools necessary to be totally successful (i.e. manpower, training)," "Tired, as our police force has been treated like a second class organization by City council, the media and others in the community," and

Start funding this organization like it is a priority and the tired part of the culture is reduced, which will be invigorating, increase morale, and ultimately provide for a more positive culture that can be focused on continuing to change and adapt to our ever changing societal expectations.

That last statement is both an opinion and a challenge. The respondent wrote a lengthier paragraph, shared other comments about the SPD, and added his name to the anonymous survey. His feelings and thoughts have been echoed by many employees encountered throughout this cultural audit. Many participants said that the SPD is a really great place to work. Yet, they also noted that much internal change (outside the scope of police routine) caused by the transitions of leadership, is wearing and taxing to employees, given the already stressful demands of police work. We discuss the paradoxes that seem embedded in the climate of the culture connected to morale and staffing issues and the turbulence wrought with the shifts in leadership that perhaps have had a cumulative effect over the last 20 years.

¹⁶ McLaughlin, J. Retrieved on 2.20.2017 from <u>http://study.com/academy/lesson/organizational-climate-definition-factors-impacts-on-culture.html#transcriptHeader</u>

Morale

When respondents described the culture of the SPD in #37 on the survey, thirteen comments were made about low morale. A sampling: "on a merry-go-round with morale," "SPD's morale was at an all-time low," and "just a job with no care of performance." Additionally, other respondents connected morale specifically to administration and/or the leadership of the SPD. For example, they offered, "slow to change," "ingrained cultural bias and discrimination," "under Chief [name] it was absolutely broken," "morale issues persist over past abusive administrators, sex scandals, and media over-attentiveness," and from the interviews, an officer added,

I think the culture of the department is good. I think we've got good people. Always have. I think that the morale changes significantly based on a lot of different things. Manpower being one of them. How people think they're treated. So, one of the biggest things that changes culturally, I guess, would be just the morale. And I think that you produce better officers with better morale. Working together, going out there, crushing crime, being happy, as opposed to, "Oh, the administration's coming down us," or "The media's coming down on us," or "Oh, we got this new computer system. It sucks," or whatever. (TJ.39)

	*Question #5: How do you know when you've been successful in the SPD? I have been successful when
From Oneself	Making a case against suspect Capturing criminals, holding them accountable, putting them away Keep up with caseload crime going down Help someone out: a true victim or someone internally Help someone in the community see a change in someone's behavior make an impact in people's lives do something nice for someone Retirement making it to the end of career walking out door alive when I'm finished in "x" years At the end of the day know I did my best I've done a good job Can do my job right get my job done Take care of self/others on the street Go home alive at end of day going home at end of shift Get promotion / transfer
From One's Peers	Getting along with peers helping each other Reinforced by peers peers like me
	others want to work with me My team knows when I've done a good job People request / respect my work Officers glad I showed up
From Sources External to SPD	Thanks / recognition from a community member
From Sources Internal to SPD From One's Superiors	Getting awards for one's work Get the "attaboy" Direct supervisor will let you know when you are successful When officers feel treated fairly
No / Little Recognition No News is Good News	When you don't hear anything No complaints Unclear often do not get to know success Don't feel successful There is not proper recognition in the department I don't expect recognition Negative: they only recognize the mistakes

Table 3. Summary of Interview Question #5: How do you know when you've been successful in the SPD?

Table 3 represents a summary of responses to the interview question: *How do you know when you've been successful in the SPD?* We think the responses to this question are tied to morale, which will be seen shortly. But first, success seemed to be defined from five different perspectives, and sometimes defined, or seen, in multiple ways by respondents, for instance, from oneself *and* one's peers. By far, officers and civilians saw success emanating from themselves, as noted by phrases in row one, Table 3. Next, respondents saw peers as a good measure of their success: getting along, supporting each other, working as a team, sharing small victories, supporting as needed, and being wanted by

officers as responders on calls, represented in row two. Some interviewees noted community recognition or thanks as signifying success, and even though it was not expected, it was much appreciated. Finally, in rows four and five there were mixed comments about success that internally came from superiors in SPD.

From many interview comments, employees noted that recognition is nice, but one did not do the job for outside recognition. Most often, success was based on self-knowledge of a job well done. For example:

Self-knowledge of job well done. As an investigator, I did some collision reconstruction and one of the things that was satisfying about that was that I was intricately involved, all the way through the court process: we got a guy 37 years for vehicular homicide and two counts of vehicular assault ... and he was high on methamphetamine, ran a stop sign, and killed a guy on his way home from Safeway ... But that guy, we got that guy 37 years in prison, so that was satisfying, and I knew, because I was there for sentencing. (KV.8) ... Personally, when I'm able to help someone that needs help. Getting a homeless person food and shelter – that's when I feel I've done a good job. (KV.10) ... My job is to assist officers to help make their job easier by providing intel and other information that helps them do their job. I feel if the department as a whole gets kudos, I feel I have done my job. Or if there is a crime spree in an area and I helped alleviate that, I have done my job. (JB.16C) ... Every day is going to be different, but when you go out and you can help a true victim, where she was assaulted or had her property damaged or stolen, for example, if I can help that person, to me that is a successful day. (JB.19) ... When you can make an impact in people's lives, when you can change things in the community. (MI.46) ... I think it's when you're able to go home every night and be proud of what you've done, how you've done it, and why you've done what you've done. I think that's more reward than anything. (SC.37)

We think the following story is another example of defining success as doing the job well but also making an impact on someone:

Story: Birthday present. When I first started, when I got into being a School Resource Officer, that was one of my first ventures out into, like, the community-type policing and I'd have kids that were criminal. They'd been arrested numerous times and done a lot of things wrong, and I've arrested them various times, I mean, tons of times. This one girl, I remember, I must've arrested her, like, five times. But I always, I remembered her birthday one day, because, I mean, I get her date of birth when I arrest her. So, I brought a little present to her classroom. All it was was a candy bar and a balloon. That's it. And she just broke down in tears and said that no one had remembered it was her birthday, not even her family. So, ever since then, whenever I see that kid, the funny thing is I just saw her in jail a couple weeks ago. She's like, "Officer ... and she's in the jail booking and she wants to come give me a hug. So, for someone to do that, I knew that's satisfying to me. I made a connection with her. She knew that I felt she was important as a human being. Even though she might make some mistakes, because we all do, but I didn't judge her based on her mistakes. (MC.70)

We found two general categories in which the data seemed to fall: success is relational (getting along with and having the respect of one's peers and one's community or relating by making an impact), and success is a matter of survival.
Success is relational

Getting along with and having the respect of one's peers and one's community members seemed almost as important as self-knowledge of a job well done. As several interviewees noted,

Relational Success: Respect/support among peers. I feel success just in the relationships that I have with my coworkers. We're a unique group of people with the amount of multitasking that we have to do and when we've pulled off an event and we've gotten everything right and we've done a good job and we all can just sit around and be proud of each other, I feel success that way. (TJ.89C) ... When a significant majority of my peers are happy with my work. (KV.14) ... I think for within the department it's just getting the respect of the peers that I work for. The troops that I supervise, when they can come to me in dealing with everyday issues, not just police issues, but everyday issues, that's what I'm looking for. The respect from them, to be a good coworker, a good boss, and a friend. That's kind of it for me. (CR.53) ... so I think that's success when people want you on their team, people want you working for them or with them. To get along with your teammates well, to have Sergeants that are going to say, "Hey, come work over here in this unit," or "I want you on my team next, what are you doing for the next mark up?" So, reputation, I guess? (LM.60) ... people know you did something good or it's a pat on the back ... I think it's more important that the people on your team that you work with every day, see that you did something good. (MC.68) ... When another cop goes "code 6" or asks for backup because they really need someone there. When you get there and you can see the look of relief on their face and you know they are happy to see you because you do your job well ... (JB.24) ... You're respected as somebody comes and says, "Hey, I got this case. I don't know what to do with ... or how to follow up on this." And they say, "Go talk to so-and-so. He knows that stuff in and out." That's successful, you know? You're the go-to guy. You've become successful. (TJ.39) ... For me, it was when if I would show up on a call and people would want me, or if I wasn't there and people would ask, specifically, "Hey, can you get [name] in here," or whatnot ... that's when I could say that I was successful, that I would take care of what needed to happen, that I would take care of them, that they would be safe if I showed up and that they would trust my judgement, based on what needed to happen with the civilians and that type of thing. (TJ.96)

We heard or read concerns expressed by many participants who felt they might be overly-criticized by the community. We choose to place that data here, but it could also be addressed in Theme IV. The importance of community respect was evidenced by officers and civilian workers. An issue of morale within the climate of the SPD, this is also a paradox of working in a relational climate. That is, this group of officers and civilian workers value trust and honesty, helping and serving others, and having an impact on the community, and they seem to enjoy living in and working for the SPD. This said, then, it is hard to understand, from the perspective of the SPD employees why the community in which they live and work seems to criticize or does not trust what they do. Thus, the desire for a working relationship within the community that is based on respect and trust with the perception of lack of trust and criticism presents as a paradox of morale. In their words:

Relational success: Respect/support among community. ... There's not a lot of people that like us. It is a very dangerous job and for people to not give us, I guess, the respect that we want or the support, I guess, more so than respect, is kind of difficult at

times to deal with when you're not getting that support, when you're trying to help the community as a whole ... (RM.22; also noted on p. 19) ... I think our biggest challenge comes from the community. Sadly, I tell people now that when I reflect on my career, kind of tongue-in-cheek, but I really believe this, that I became a police officer back when people still liked the police, and now I don't feel that way. So, I'm always cautious. I don't believe that I'll be believed ... (KV.8) ... people having a preconceived perception of you because you're in a uniform. People have a certain expectation of what they expect from the police. Either through past experience or what they've heard from other people. Being able to break through that so that they can trust you, building that initial rapport, is, that's one of the more difficult things sometimes. (TJ.40) ... Yeah, we deal with a society that, again, doesn't always like blue, thinks we're out to get them, that we've harmed them, they've had a bad experience therefore we're all labelled as bad cops. That's difficult ... (CR.53) ... The most difficult is public criticism towards law enforcement, closely followed by criticism within your own entity. (SC.91) ... Well, often times, we are not seen in a positive light at times. So, sometimes you get the negativity. You're bombarded with that sometimes, so, I don't like that. (CR.57) ... There's days where you feel like you just got flipped off by everyone all day. And then there's days where people come up and want to shake your hand and buy your coffee, type of thing, and it goes back and forth. So, you do overtly see these things and then, which makes you kind of start wondering ... "Should I wave to this guy or is he going to flip me off?"... (TJ.41)

Success is survival

We learned, however, that, although some may define success in law enforcement as relational, others define success as a matter of survival. From interviews, officers noted:

Success is survival. ... So, I'll be successful if I go through 30 years on this job and come out on the end, at the end, not a bitter, cynical person. A person that my family still wants to be with. (TJ.40) ... You're able to walk out the door and not have a heart attack within three days. That's success. You know, we operate in a toxic environment. Everything we touch, there's very few positives here. There's the mini-successes of, "Yeah, we dealt with this guy and we arrested this guy and we captured this guy," but ... there's [many] ... more of those people out there ... We're able to effect one change at a time. So, success? We get out of this job alive. That's it. My measure is walking out of the door alive in another five, six years. (MC.74) ... When I go home alive at the end of the day. Without a lawsuit. Or without ending up in Internal Affairs. Sounds pretty jaded, but... (KV.13) ... I think, going to work every day and going home at the end of the shift is successful. Every day you want success, that's it. (KV.15) ... A lot of people define successful as, you know, going home at the end of your shifts. (TJ.40) ... And, every day I come to work there's crime. So, how do I know if I've been successful? I don't. So, you kind of change what you need to be successful. If I get to go home at night, I'm successful; that's a win, that's one victory. And, if you make it through an entire month without going to IA [Internal Affairs], that's a win ... but yeah, I don't know. (MI.88)

When we asked interviewees what were the most rewarding and difficult parts of their job, categories that emerged from the data that are out of the officers' and civilian workers' control (and that we think are connected to issues of morale) included not being able help someone or solve their problems due to lack of time or resources, internal issues, not able to respond to calls, staffing and equipment needs, lack of support, lack of trust, roadblocks, internal and external criticism, and "dealing with the bad stuff." Officers and civilian workers explained:

Dealing with the bad stuff. Dealing with all the bad things that I have to see in society and seeing how evil people can be to one another. (LM.50) ... What we see, especially. I see the worst in people. I see what people have the ability to do to one another. (JB.95) ... Seeing things and trying not to put yourself in that, like, mentally thinking, "Oh, well, that could be my dad or that could be my grandma or that could be someone that I love." ... I don't know, just having to live with what you've seen and not putting yourself or thinking about other people you care about in that position. (CR.43) ... having to deal with some of the property that we bring in. It's not all nice stuff. (MC.69C) ... And then, on the other hand it would be the long-term effects of just every day listening to people's problems and seeing the, kind of, worst part of our society over and over again. It kind of just grinds on you over time. (SC.90) ... I think it's hard, as a person, to be exposed to, because in reality, we're exposed to the worst parts of the world every single day. ... and so it's very easy to lose hope or to lose sight that the majority of the U.S. and the majority of the world are good people. Right? But all the people that we deal with, because of the nature, are for the most part we're dealing with crimes and whatnot. I haven't been called just to go to a barbecue before which would be. I mean, that would be great, but that's not when police get called. (TJ.96) ... being an officer changes you. It does. And people will, officers will argue otherwise, but it does. I've seen that in my life, I've seen it in all my coworkers' lives ... (TJ.96)

As noted above, "dealing with the bad stuff," is hard enough, but it is an understood part of the job with which officers and civilian workers eventually learn to deal. However, the internal SPD problems for which they have no control, and that prevent them from doing their jobs, are particularly demoralizing. Thus, if an officer does not get to go home at night, for example, to work extra shifts, or if civilian employees are not able to help a crime victim because of the work load, or if officers could not respond to calls because they were in the middle of other cases, or if the stresses of the job become overwhelming— these real scenarios have cumulative effects, we believe, on employee (officer and civilian) morale. We discovered staffing issues to be a major concern through all data sets (observations, interviews, surveys, and artifacts). These issues are not in officers' or civilian workers' control and they affect their work performance.

Staffing

Of the 122 who responded to survey question #33, *"To cope with stress, what resources would you like to see offered and/or enhanced by the SPD?"* 34% (N=42) similarly noted: "more staffing," "hire more officers," "hire sufficient staff," "more staff, civilian and officers, to lessen workload," and "more manpower, patrol is over stretched." One respondent summarized the thoughts of many, "I think the biggest stressor is the staffing issue. People cannot take time off with the staffing levels we have. The city needs to recognize that we need more officers." In accord with this officer, after completing his tenure as temporary director of the SPD, Jim McDevitt wrote an op-ed piece for the *Spokesman Review* in which he emphasized that

First, it is my view that Spokane is short by 30 to 40 police officers, as well as civilians for records, crime analysis and dispatch. The current ratio in Spokane is 1.47 officers per thousand population. Tacoma, even after a layoff, is at 1.6, and Seattle is budgeted at 2.2 per thousand. These numbers are only a guide and each city has its own unique needs. I

can say, however, that with the high level of community outreach and rising property crime rates, Spokane needs more 'boots on the ground.'¹⁷

Similarly, an officer, in an interview more pointedly referred to issues of morale noting,

I truly think they need to seek more financial support for an agency of our size from City Council. City Council needs to realize we're the second largest city and they're working us to death. I mean, there's guys here that will no longer ... volunteer to work overtime. They're just, they're working people into the ground and I think the City Council needs to realize this agency needs 40 to 50 more officers to police the way they want us to police. (SC.37)

In question #3 in the interviews, we asked respondents *What do you think are the biggest challenges the Spokane Police Department faces?* Several mentioned staffing, and we include representative comments:

... I think that the low staffing in multiple departments causes a heavy workload on everyone ... (MC.73C) ... Internally, I think probably the biggest challenge is going to be staffing and staffing levels. (KV.11) ... I feel like we could have a lot more officers on and when you get to calls that people are frustrated because it takes so long for us to show up, so, I think that's kind of our issue that we're dealing with right now. (PJ.32) ... I would say probably the biggest issues we have is staffing and it's not just because we need more cops on the street to be able to handle the calls for service. We need more cops on the street to be able to go into each call for service with a mentality of spending the adequate time with that person to help them through what they need ... (TJ40) ... I think it's just more bodies out there to help alleviate calls, to get things done. It'd be so much nicer and so much easier on a lot of us, on our stress level, on our downtime, on our being able to eat and do our reports in a timely manner. Just, it always kind of comes back to the staffing levels of what we should do or, we need more bodies, just to help us all around. (CR.43) ... We're down in manpower ... that's a ripple effect that affects those people that, you know, "I've called in ten times about this and nothing's being done." And I have to tell them, "I want to help you, but the problem is we don't have enough people." And so, by the time we're done tending to the higher priority calls, we get to you and it's already done and over with. We're sorry. (MI.63) ... the biggest challenge we face probably appropriate staffing levels. I think that's a big challenge. To be able to meet our clients, the public's, needs. (MC.72)

Issues of staffing and limited resources also emerged with interview question #2, *What parts of your job do you find most rewarding? ... and the most difficult?* Interviewees responded,

Being able to do stuff with limited resources is always difficult ... financially we're limited and then, just some geopolitical limitations and things like that. (PJ.106C) ... Sometimes, our staffing situation makes it difficult to feel like you are doing the best that you can do, because our staffing has been very low and it's hard, and I get that ... (TJ.89C) ... Probably the system ... not appropriate staffing and funding ... (LM.93) ... The most

¹⁷ McDevitt, J. (2017). Spokane police department—A report card. *The Spokesman Review, Opinion*. July 31, 2017, Retrieved from <u>http://www.spokesman.com/stories/2016/jul/31/spokane-police-department-a-report-card/</u>. Note: A former U.S. attorney, Jim McDevitt was named by Spokane Mayor David Condon to serve as temporary law enforcement director during the search for a new police chief.

difficult is mostly internal. If we were allowed to have the resources needed to do our jobs effectively, and it all comes down to staffing, for the most part. (RM.83)

From the interview data and from the survey data, categories emerges in which respondents provided suggestions for ways to treat current staff, and what it means to focus attention on improving staffing issues. First we explain from where the data were assimilated; then we provide representative samples of each category. (As a reminder, quotes with letters and numbers are taken from interviews, and quotes with just numbers are from anonymous survey comments, and are simply a number count.)

Interview data that reflect concern about staffing came from numerous participants and from across the spectrum of interview questions, but we note especially from interview question #11, *What suggestions do you have for the new administration?* 34 (one third) of the interviewees commented on staffing. The suggestions seemed consistent with how they believe people have been treated by past administrators, and how they believe people should be treated by current or new SPD leadership. In response to question #36, *I think the SPD can improve on the following* ... 131 answered the question with a total of 172 responses. There were 15 comments representing 9% of the total responses in which survey respondents made suggestions to leadership about the allocation of work. Additionally, there were 19 comments representing 11% of the total responses and attending to others. Both sets of represented comments are embedded in the categories below.

Hold everyone accountable. ... I just want a boss that holds people accountable which, for the most part, it's been that way here in my experience ... but then, there's been some bosses here that [have] only been here for their public or political aspirations in the future. So, I don't like those kind of bosses. (CR.57) ... So, they have to model the best people skills. (MC.66C) ... Should officers make mistakes? No, because of the severity of our job. But do we? Yes. We're human. And so, I expect that when one officer does make a mistake, I expect him or her to be held accountable, but I expect that to be done with fairness and without anger or feelings of retributions taking place ... (TJ.96)

Provide fair and equitable treatment. ... it's frustrating for certain officers and certain people to get treated one way versus other people get treated another just because of who they know or what they do. I mean, there's no consistency ... (CR.25) ... I believe in fair treatment of employees and in management being upfront. A lot of internal politics and backstabbing impact on the overall effectiveness of the department. (RM.42) ... 4. Taking an interest in officers and their personal development, and not just taking care of friends ... 6.and treating all employees equal at all ranks, double standards ... 11. Learn to treat employees fairly and justly ... 16. There is no reason a line officer should be affected in his/her daily activities by a captain. Some of the senior leadership has an undue influence down the chain ... 17. Equal treatment of all employees.

Attend to all employees. ... because we all work together for a common mission ... don't forget the little people. It's not just officers. There's other people that work here. Make everybody feel important. (MC.73C) ... leadership needs to be responsive to the led ... to the bottom ranks ... you have to take care of them as well, and that hasn't happened over the years ... (MC.74) ... Get to know your people and know what is going

on within each unit. Show at least that you are interested. (JB.76C) ... Meeting with different levels of staff regularly to get ideas and suggestions ... (JB.77C) ... trust the subordinates below you ... there's some great things happening here right now ... So, trusting the subordinates below them and letting the mission be accomplished. (RM.79) ... 1.Admin respecting patrol and seeing them as a priority ... 2.Command staff speaking out in support of Officers and the department as a whole ... 3.Admin needs to stand up and actually support the people doing the work ... 8.support civilian staff. ... 9.team work ... 10.showing support in actions not just words

Improved staffing demonstrates respect for the work. From the Survey: 1.Investigate all calls for service to a level of not fixing the immediate problem, but prepare a case for prosecution when appropriate. 2.As a whole, the Department does a terrible job with property crimes ... 3.We have to get better at responding to property crimes. Property crimes are a low priority as far as emergencies go, but are a very large part of how our effectiveness is judged. More people are going to care about their homes being broken into, because they will likely never be seriously assaulted. 4.responding less to mental health calls, they should be the responsibility of fbh. 5. More critical analysis of citizen complaints. More officers on the street. 6.Additionally we are only able to assign about 30% of the solvable felony property crimes cases to detectives due to low staffing in investigations. That is abysmal and infuriates citizens and officers alike. 7.Crime investigation. 8. Change the manner in which we handle call volume. We need to focus more on quality interactions and not just the quantity of calls we handle. 9.quit taking people off patrol. 10.More patrol officers, fewer specialty units. 11.staffing on patrol. 12.We need to be able to put together more specialty details to allow us to focus on property crimes and many other issues. 13.follow up and initial contact of property crimes and low-priority accidents. 14. More officers to concentrate on property crimes. 15. More detectives.

Improved staffing demonstrates care for current staff. I really hope our current administration will actually get serious and get us a significant increase in manpower. Morale, the job, when I started just ten years ago, was so much less stressful than it is now, just in volume and danger. We need staffing really, really bad ... People are absolutely worn out and exhausted. (KV.14) ... We don't have enough patrolmen on the street. We don't have enough people to do the job when things get bad, when things are out of control, so I'd say manpower would be the number one thing. We need more people. (KV.15) ... So ... we have to do what we can with what we have, and we're a department that doesn't sleep. We work 24/7, 365 days a year, and if help is needed, we have to go. We don't have the choice ... (CR.43) ... I would just ask them to figure out a way to get us at a better staffing level, because our [dispatch/radio] hours are insane out here ... let's get more people in dispatch ... I would love that, but it is what it is, because I know we need more patrol. I know we have a lot of needs out there in other areas of the department. But just once, I wish it was our turn [dispatch]. (TJ.89C) ... but I just think that if records was staffed better, it would alleviate a lot of the overtime with the Officers that is, with their paperwork that's coming through. And in turn, it trickles down where, then, the paperwork is being processed, the courts are getting what they need, the prosecutors are getting what they need, and the public is getting what they need. (LM.51C) ... I would like to see us have more people. With more people, we could do more of those personal things I was talking about, be out there making contact with the community, because right now, guys go call to call to call for the most part ... So, I'd like to see more people ... (CR.57) ... understand that we don't complain about staffing for the sake of complaining about staffing. We complain about staffing because we feel it's a real issue and I know they're trying to address it ... (RM.78) ... 12.supervisors understanding how overworked staff is ...18. Taking care of SPD officers ... 19. Stabilize the department via hard promotions (happening, thank goodness) and backfilling patrol and detective vacancies.

Staffing concerns were also mentioned in the survey in answer to question #36 which asked participants to complete the phrase: *I think SPD can improve on the following* ... The total number of responses to the statement was 172. Of this number, there were 41 responses that were connected in some way to staffing, representing 24% of the responses. It was stated fairly consistently that more staff allows officers to respond to more calls, thus providing more service to the community. Herein are the anonymous survey responses connected to staffing. Responses that are included attempt to make sense of what better staffing means:¹⁸

Making sense of improved staffing levels. 3. Taking more calls from "good" community members but will require more staffing. 4.Increase staff levels to provide the citizens with enough resources to respond to ... 5. With more police more can done for the community. We need to be able to respond to more of the calls for service but cannot due to staffing. 8.1 think that with more Officers on the department we would be granted more time on calls for service to provide the few extra minutes to provide personal service the citizens expect, that at times is not available with current staffing. 11.more staffing and training. 12.Better staffing so we can investigate more crimes, have more time for community engagement as well as proactive time. 13. More staffing so we can better serve the community. 16.Due to limited staffing, we respond to 911 calls very safely and effectively but we do a terrible job of responding to the entire range of citizen generated calls. Many of these don't require emergency response but still require police response and citizens oftentimes have lengthy wait times. 25. Hire more officers to increase the great service provided to the community. 29.Staffing and having sufficient officers to respond to calls in a timely manner. 30.Staffing could be improved - Patrol and Detectives. 36.Hiring to the point that we are appropriately staffed for a city of our size and CFS load. 38.Service. We can't do that without a boost to staffing. 40.response to calls. 41.Response timed to priority 3 calls.

Participants sometimes noted, either in interviews or surveys, "it's above my paygrade" to do anything about the staffing issues. However, both officers and civilian workers look to their leadership to improve the staffing situation, which could perhaps improve issues of morale, real or perceived.

Morale and SPD Leadership

Several in the survey directed their comments about the culture specifically to administration and leadership: "[It's] CYA," "dysfunctional," "disjointed," "cut throat," "no trust at upper level," "toxic with too many special cops in special favor positions," "selfish at the executive staff level, frustrated at the line level," "disconnected from admin toward patrol," "hampered by internal disputes and distrust among senior staff," "very poor internally," "back stabbing and out for themselves," "civilians are not as important," "under our last permanent chief,

¹⁸ We removed the word "staffing" 13 times when it was used alone. That is why there are missing numbers in the compilation of comments. The numbers are count, not connected to respondents. Thus, there is a range in the inserted sample from 3-41, with 41 signifying the 41 total responses that made mention of staffing in #36.

people began to look out for themselves first and jockey for power, and put the team concept aside," and "very disrupted and uneasy with unstable leadership in recent years."

Several findings from the survey are included here because we think they are tangential to or perhaps directly have an effect on morale, and perhaps are linked to issues of staffing. All data are included in Appendices D, E, and F. The questions and data we reference are connected, we believe, to leadership of the department, that is, leadership has the power and the responsibility to marshal the resources to affect the changes needed to issues suggested by the data.

Fifty-five respondents (34%) either strongly disagreed or disagreed to statement #2, The amount of work required by me is appropriate, seemingly contradicting statement #13, I find satisfaction from my job, wherein 80% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Moreover, looking at the trend data in Appendix F, we note that those most in disagreement with #2 are civilian workers. Statements #3 through #7 dealt with communication in the chain of command, which can affect morale. Twenty-eight percent (N=45) of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with statement #3 that SPD senior staff are open to feedback from employees. Similarly, to statement #5, The flow of communication UP through my chain of command is effective, 33% answered that they strongly disagreed (N=19) or disagreed (N=33). We found higher disagreement among those who identified as officers, detectives, corporals, and sergeants for #3 and the same for #5 with the addition of civilians. Interestingly, with statement #7, I am comfortable reporting problems UP my chain of command, the data show that 66% either agreed (N=83) or strongly agreed (N=20). Thus, while it appears that one-third of the department may have issues with the flow of communication, two-thirds seem comfortable reporting problems up the chain of command.

We read comments on both sides of survey statement #9 *I trust that my leadership will put department needs above personal needs*. In the survey, however, 59% of the respondents agreed (N=65) or strongly agreed (N=29) with the statement. Sixty percent of respondents *feel respected by their chain of command*, since 70 agreed and 26 strongly agreed with statement #12. A smaller percentage, however, *feels valued by my SPD senior leadership* with 30% strongly disagreeing or disagreeing with the statement, and 49% strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statement.

Statement #4, The flow of communication DOWN from my chain of command is effective, received 41% strongly disagree (N=12) and disagree (N=50); and statement #6, Communication across the SPD departments is effective, garnered 54% strongly disagree or disagree (N=25, 60 respectively). The data were supported by comments either in the survey or from interview questions. Officers and civilian workers had plenty to say in their interviews about communication.

Communication

Several participants noted that SPD needs to work on improving internal communication, seemingly contradicting data from the survey, noted above. We think the connection is with SPD leadership and the need to stabilize the changes made with the changes in leadership in the last few years. Officers and civilian workers suggested leadership listen to employees, seek advice and knowledge from "the troops" (including civilian workers), share information in a timely manner internally, and be more visible externally. In their words, interviewees offer the following:

Improve communication. I think communication needs to be better. I think in the years that I have been here it has improved, but it still needs work. (SC.4C) ... To communicate as clearly as possible what the expectations are and our mission and our values and how we're going to proceed as an agency ... [Be] intentional in your communication. (KV.9) ... be honest with us. [For example,] Hey, this isn't going to happen or this is why we're doing this and, because we want to get from here to here. In order to get here, we have to do X, Y, and Z ... you know, it's like, just be honest as best you can (LM.60) ... Keep communication a high priority. (MI.62) ... And listen to what we're saying. ... (RM.78) ... And, just, one, listening, always willing to come to the table, and then willing to make the right decision regardless of the fallout. (RM.82) ... My suggestion would be listen to your people ... listen to your people, because they've got good officers here, listen to what they need and give them what they need. (TJ.39) ... Improve internal communication among the department. Improve communications with command and executive staff to be seen by all levels of the department. This will improve morale. (SC.92)

Listen to troops on the ground. ... But the biggest thing that has always been a problem is communication and listening to the people who are out there doing the work. (MC.65C) ... I think the most important thing is for them listen to the people that are doing the job ... the people that are, the ground-level ones, you know, it's important to listen to them. (MC.67C) ... Keep an open line of communication with troops on the ground and the troops up top and the admin. At times, it seems like there's been a disconnect between the two. You got the troops on the ground that are, for all intents and purposes, they're supposedly the backbone of the department, yet they sort of get treated not in that enlightening way and that breach of communication is what sort of created that possible discontent. Open line of communication, um, I think would help things. (RM.78) ... [better communication to include civilian staff] I think ... we've got hundreds of employees that can be our little Public Information Officers, if you will, and when they believe in an organization, they go tell their friends and their family and that helps, you know. (CR.56C) ... probably to listen to all levels of the agency. I feel like clerical staff, civilians, are certainly overlooked when looking at the bigger picture, even though we play a very big role in, uh, the building block of the foundation ... So, I think just listening to the different layers of the department to make sure that everyone's needs are being met. (RM.81C)

Improve internal leadership and external SPD visibility. ... trying to do a better job, particularly at the executive level ... in being more visible, having more one-on-one interactions with the officers we serve alongside, trying to be at as many events and roll-calls, trying to be in the field and actually go out and work shifts or show up on some of the cases the detectives are working on, and just be there and be a presence and be more available and approachable. (KV.9) ... Focus on clear and authentic communication with the troops. (JB.24) ... better communication of the people that are working under them, of the ground line of patrol, to a little more feedback, a little more positive feedback, or actually just touching base or saying hi, I think. (TJ.47)

Summary

The three factors of morale, staffing, and leadership converge to affect the climate or feeling of the work culture of the SPD. Currently, many in the SPD believe that staffing issues negatively affect morale. Because of needed staff, many are working extra shifts, longer shifts, and often do not get to take advantage of stress relievers (opportunities provided by the SPD) due to the need for people to cover shifts. Most officers do the work because they like it and do not seek recognition for their efforts. The RT notes, however, that recognition is uneven in the department: some supervisors will formally acknowledge the work of an officer or civilian, and others will not. Success to many officers and civilian workers is relational, that is, they get support and encouragement from their co-workers and/or support among community members. To others, success is survival, that is, making it home to the family or making it safely to retirement. Many suggestions were made to leadership of the SPD about how to treat staff and how to improve the morale, including adding more staff to the SPD.

Theme Four: Connecting with the Community

After analyzing the data, we noted the topic of communication came up often and in a number of data places: interview, survey, observations, and artifacts. We discovered, with the topic of communication, however, that there seemed to be three categories in which the data fell: internal communication (that is, inside the SPD), the Spokane Community, and the Media. Since we discussed the topic of internal communication earlier in Theme Three, we will focus in this section on the Community and the Media. We titled this theme *Connecting with the Community* because we believe the Media to which officers and civilian employees referred is most often local Media, thus, embedded within the Spokane Community. There were times that issues of national media came up in interviews or surveys, but respondents more often connected what was said nationally to local perceptions.

Working in the Public

One of the biggest differences for those working in police law enforcement, compared to other professions, is the public nature of the job. Whatever a police officer does can be second guessed either positively or negatively from members of the community, depending on the nature or type of task the officer performed, and the perception from the observer about how appropriate or not appropriate that task was performed. One civilian worker and then one officer noted,

... I don't know how [officers] do what they do ... in today's environment, the fact that they go out there and risk their lives and walk into situations that they know could be volatile, with a radio and a handgun. It's just amazing that people still sign up to serve and protect. I don't think I would. (MC.69C) ...

... They look at every officer as [when a negative incident happens], "Oh, that guy did that?" Then we're all the same. We're all the same. And even if the culture was the same, even if somebody did that here in Spokane, it's that individual that did it. It's not me. You know? And, they have to look at it the same way that we look at criminals and crime, right? (TJ.39)

Officers and civilian workers in the SPD know the public nature of their work, but working "under a magnifying glass" is still challenging, nonetheless:

... Like I said, if there is something that has been done wrong, absolutely, they should report it. But, I'll talk to my colleagues at other agencies in town and they don't deal with the same struggles that we do, because somebody's not looking at them with that magnifying glass, and so, they could do the exact same thing and it's not that big of a deal, and yet, we would do something and it's making front page. (CR.56C) ... Because every mistake we make is magnified, and you're under a microscope by the community, the administration. Something as simple as I think I've seen somebody show up late to work twice in nine years, and in every other business that's not standard. I mean people have a 15-minute grace period, we don't. Roll call [for example] starts at 4:30, and everybody's there ... or they've at least called and said, "Hey, there's a grain truck overturned on I-90, I'm stuck. I'm coming, but ..." if you do this job, you do have to be better, because every mistake you make is: One, you're accountable for. You know the department's going to hold you accountable to mistakes you make, and two, the

community's going to hold you accountable, and the risks are good. I mean, one, I risk my life, I risk my house, I risk my, you know, my freedom, if I make a mistake, and those are things people have to know. (MI.88) ... this is what the TAC Officer told me, and he said, "Hey, you know, welcome. Welcome to the profession of law enforcement, but every single one of you are one step closer to prison than the rest of the community because you are looked at differently and there is a higher expectation of you. And so, with that in mind, they're going to make an example of you if you mess up. And so, don't do that." (CR.58)

Working in public in Spokane, however, does not mean working in an isolated community. Participants in the study noted that whatever happens at the national level also influences what community members think about what we do in Spokane. It was frustrating for officers, for example, to have their work criticized when a national event in another state occurred which could or could not have any connection to actual work that SPD officers and civilians were performing. Thus, participants commented on criticism precipitated by national events:

[... the most difficult part of your job?] Probably the culture of society right now and how they view police officers and what they go through on a daily basis. Seems to be a thankless job at times (JB.16C) ... dealing with the negativism that is going throughout the United States towards law enforcement and dealing with a complaint either against yourself or I deal with complaints against some of the officers, and when you read them, you know this isn't what happened, but they're being labeled as such. That's probably one of the hardest things to deal with right now. I think there's a lot of frustration with that. (KV.12) ... For me, it would be the external pressures of everything that's going on in the country. The focus on the negative focus on police right now ... and so, when somebody sees something negative in North Carolina, somehow that gets translated to us somehow, you know? So, that focus on us and dealing with those people who have those types of thoughts and attitudes is difficult. (PJ.31) ... So, that is by far to me the biggest challenge, just making sure that the community understands that they do have a good Police Department and some of the mistakes that are made across our nation are, not that we're all perfect, but we definitely have a very quality department in this community. (RM.79) ... I would say everything that's going on in the world today, a very large antipolice persona. And how we go about overcoming that, I don't know. (JB.19)

Working in Spokane

Several officers and civilian workers talked, it seemed with pride, about the opportunity to work in the community in which they were raised, or their perceptions about working in Spokane compared to other parts of the country. We offer the following, in their words:

I went to school here, and I played ball here, and this community, when I was a basketball player, this community treated me exceptionally well. ... and, it was crazy the amount of support they gave me as a basketball player. I'm trying to give that back as a police officer as well. Because this community taught me a lot and hopefully I can be there for them in time of need. ... so I really do wear that on my sleeve, you know what I'm saying? This is my community. I played here. You guys supported me. Now, I'm going to try to support you. (TJ.38) ... And we, as patrolmen, really don't have much to say for the admin, but I love where I'm at. Just keep me down there. Just put me in a car and let me go around and look for criminals ... (TJ.38) ... I think the biggest challenge that we are facing at this point in time is the racial things that are going on in the country, in the state, yeah, in the whole world. Our department is, by far, farther along than a lot of cities

back east ... (TJ.2) ... Right now, I'd say [challenges facing SPS] would be probably the whole, the way that everybody looks at the police officers. So, I think it's almost like a society thing now that people believe that we're targeting certain races or this or that. So, I think that's the hardest thing that we deal with, even though Spokane doesn't have that much of an issue with it as compared to back East. But we still run into it sometimes. (KV.15) ... I would say that Spokane has a really good group of men and women as cops and quality people as well. I think we need to put out accurate information to let people know that. (JB.24)

What People Need to Know about the SPD

We asked interviewees in question # 6 *What would you like the Spokane community to know about the SPD?* They want the community to know they like their job and they like working in Spokane, but getting criticized is difficult to take, especially when they perceive community members do not have all the facts. Respondents wanted community members to know they work hard, deal with bad people and bad situations, deal with institutions or systems not always in their control, must follow the law and work within legal boundaries, respond to different situations in different ways, and engage in a variety of ways with the community. Herein is a representative sampling of responses:

We work hard. People get on there and just bash the police where they don't understand how hard we're working, and it's just frustrating how hard I know I work on a daily basis, and people just don't understand. (CR.26) ... Know better what we do: The community does not know that the SPD is wonderful and they are not like other departments that appear on TV. Also, to be a police officer is difficult but people do not know and think it is easy. (PJ.33)

We deal with bad stuff. ... Dealing with all the bad things that I have to see in society and seeing how evil people can be to one another. (LM.50) ... What we see, especially. I see the worst in people. I see what people have the ability to do to one another. (JB.95)

We deal with systems not in our control. Another challenge would be the criminal justice system: keeping criminals in jail. They are out quickly and the police get the blame that the criminals are back on the street. (JB.77)

We work within legal boundaries. ... And that's one of the things is that a lot of people don't know, they're never taught and they never learn what police officers are authorized to use and for what reasons the use of force. And so, they have no idea, you know what I mean? So then, if somebody has no idea on how a police officer does their job and they only read a headline or they see something or they hear a rumor, you know what I mean? (MI.27) ... I think that the biggest challenge is not only for us to continue to do [community engagement] but for the community to take some ownership and take some responsibility to educate themselves as to what law enforcement really is. What, legally, we have to do. (PJ.5)

We respond to the situation. ... And so, when you get compliant people, you see more of what the real officers are like. But when you get the immediate, non-compliant person, that's when they're not going to ever know, because ... a lot of reaction [from the officer] is based on [the citizen's] actions on the initial contact. And that goes both ways, too. [Officers] need to also, if we're not in a threatening position, treat people nicely, and it makes things go a lot further and makes [the citizen] more cooperative. (RM.83)

We engage with the SPD community. ... letting [the community] know all the things the police are involved in, for instance. We have collaborations ... for example, about mental health. But members of the community tell us we need training in mental health, and they don't know that we already have this wonderful collaboration with mental health agencies. So, the challenge is communicating with the community what the police are already doing and learning about, outside of their normal work. (JB.77)

Perceptions

In interviews, when officers spoke about issues of communication, community engagement, serving, or protecting the community, they often used the word "perceptions" to describe opinions or views of community members. The notion of perceptions seemed to group into the categories of beliefs about police officers, community members' views of the SPD, and understanding the real work of the SPD. Interview participants had the following thoughts:

Beliefs about police officers. I'm going on 19 years and I think the difficult thing is to get in the uniform and think how people perceive you. They don't know you, but they know what they think they know about a cop and so I think that is harder to arrest somebody, you know, even though you know they're a good person. They just made a bad decision. (TJ.3) ... They just have the perception of what they see on T.V. I think that's hard. When I came on, 19 years ago, being a police officer, was, people thought that was cool or they thought that that was a neat job, and now, I wouldn't tell my kids to do it. You know what I mean? So, I think that's kind of the sad part of it. (TJ.3) ... We can go out there and tell the truth like we always do, and people will only believe certain parts of what they want. It doesn't matter how much evidence that you give to say, "This is not the way it was. This is the way it was." ... If you don't like the police, you're never going to believe what the police say. That's the hardest part of this job is that no matter what we do... (PJ.33) As a younger officer, it was absolutely the way policing was portrayed in the general public, feeling like you were doing something good, and then [currently] not feeling that the world saw that work as good work or as important work. The older I've gotten, the less I care what everybody else thinks and I just go do what I know is supposed to be done. (CR.54)

Views of the SPD. I think one of the biggest challenges is the community and the way the community see's the PD as a whole. (MC.23C) ... And a lot of times the public perceives that we aren't doing our job ... because crime continues and ... the criminals are let out right after ... which has nothing to do with our end of the ... spectrum of that criminal justice process ... (SC.4C) ... It's a very clean department, and I think that's saved us from some things, but I think the biggest difficulty we face right now is being able to prove that to the community. (TJ.96) ... anybody associated with this department knows that our guys are top-notch, great guys, and I think the biggest challenge we have is getting the public to know how great their Police Department is. (MI.88) ... Damn. We've got a good police department." I wouldn't work for any other. I mean, it was pretty amazing when you hear stories and you think, you know, back east is going to be this or, you know, down south, or we just thought, "Man, we're happy where we work." ... (TJ.3)

Real work of the SPD. ... A lot of people have a perception of what our jobs entail or why we did something. They don't have an understanding of what we do and then they make judgements on that and have to deal with that either in a professional nature or even when I'm off duty, not working, and contacting people and they find out what I do for a living and dealing with the fallout of that and always having to explain yourself, you know. It gets tedious, sometimes. (CR.58) ... I don't think [members of the community] really know what we do in reality. I think they see a little bit of the news clippings and

what's in the newspaper, but they don't really have a clue what we really do. I think the community needs to make a commitment to find out what we do every day for them. I think is a very important aspect of the future of our department. (SC.37) ... There's a lot of people that think they know what we do and they think they understand the job and so they criticize and they ... pass judgement, not understanding the whole picture. And they say, "Well, you could've done this or you could've done that or you should've done this better," ... But they don't see what we do for ten hours a day, eleven hours a day, and it's just ... that's the hardest part ... So, and that's the hardest part, is how do you explain something to somebody and just say, "Well, this is why and this is this," when somethings this makes sense for this day or this call, but exactly what I told you for that can be completely opposite on the next call you go to, so ... nobody knows what it's really like. (LM.60) ... [The most difficult part of my job is] ... the impression of what certain people of the community what they think you do versus what you actually do ... that [many in the community] view this as we should just be social workers helping people and that there's really, I mean, that's a small part of the job, but it's not the full part of the job. (CR.44) the worst thing you can do is rush [the investigation] ... and throw information out and rush the decisions, because if you force something like that, if you rush it before all the facts are in, you've tanked your investigation and you've cut your conviction rate in half. I think people just need to learn that ... I don't know what more we can do to be transparent. (MC.64)

What We Can Do vs. What People Want. Because the community wants to get rid of these flophouses that people are squatting in. The community wants to get the drugs off the street. And, unfortunately, until the courts change how they view private property, especially abandoned property and stuff like that, and are tougher on drug crimes, I think that's a bit of a struggle for us right now is to put those people away, keep them away, get those houses empty so they're not problems in the neighborhoods, and uh, that's what we struggle with right now. (MI.46) ... in order to [communicate with people], we have to make sure we're safe first. The public, the community doesn't understand that. So, anytime we get somebody who's non-compliant, we immediately see them as a threat. And so, to be safe, we deal with a threat first, and then, if allowed, it's like, "Hey, you know, this is the reason why this happened, and it isn't because of who you are in the community or anything like that. It's because you were non-compliant," and that's an awareness thing that the community, and I think that our administration needs to get out there to the community, that you have to understand. (RM.83) ... Until society completely figures out what they want our role to be, you know, because it's like on one hand you have ... with the mental health, for instance, everything just becomes our responsibility, and then we slowly have to catch up and figure out what that means. But then when something bad happens, they can't believe why we were involved. And it's like, society as a whole have kind of dictated that there's nobody else to deal with this, and then you're unhappy with the results. That's not fair to us either, because unless we're given clear definition or ground as to kind of how that works, we have to figure it out as it goes, and there's always going to be learning or growing pains in that if we're, if it's something new, and it's a split-second, life or death decision, the outcome's not always going to be the best (MC.64)

Of the following stories, we think the next two demonstrate what officers mean when they talk about community members not understanding the nature of the work; and the third story demonstrates what an officer learned by not understanding certain members of the community.

Story: The sprinkler. ... The reality is sometimes I go to calls or situations where what one person or both people ... what they're asking me to do, what their expectation is, it's unrealistic and I can't accomplish it. So, I'm still going to try to do the best job I can for them, but at the end of the day, usually one person or both people are unhappy, because

they had this idea that calling me was going to fix their situation the way they wanted it fixed and not the way the law requires it to be handled, and it is difficult to go through call after call after call where people have unrealistic expectations of you, and it can wear on you. [For example], I had a lady one day call because the neighbor's sprinkler was going onto her yard and hitting her truck and she was irritated and I got the lady to move her sprinkler over, but it didn't satisfy this person. At the end of the day, it's water droplets hitting her truck, and she had this idea that I should arrest the other lady for getting her vehicle wet, and I said, "That's not going to happen." And I must've spent an hour there going back and forth, talking to them. One, to get the one lady to move her sprinkler, and then to deal with the other person's dissatisfaction that all I did was make the other lady move her sprinkler, and I'm like, in my head, I'm thinking this isn't a police problem. This is a neighbor and a neighbor who ought to be able to talk to each other and sort through the conflict themselves, and not tie up a Police Officer for 45 minutes, but it didn't happen. (RM.82)

Story: Wearing a gun. ... but also there's ... the impression of what certain people of the community think you do versus what you actually do ... they view this as we should just be social workers helping people and that there's really, I mean, that's a small part of the job, but it's not the full part of the job. ... you know, I had, we had an email from a City Councilperson last week, from a constituent that had posed a question to him asking that the person had felt uncomfortable that an officer had shown up at a community or neighborhood council meeting wearing a gun, and that made him feel uncomfortable. And it's, it's sort of the complete disconnect versus what we face on a regular basis ...(CR.44)

Story: Russian and Ukrainian. ... one of the first mistakes I ever made was calling a family [they were Ukrainian and I] called them Russian, and they were victims of a crime. And, bad day. It took me from being a problem-solver trying to help them, to spending a considerable amount of time just getting them to not hate me and to understanding where we were supposed to be, because that was a huge deal to them. And that doesn't even speak to everybody that's from the Ukraine or everybody that's in Russia, but for whatever reasons, for their family dynamic and for where they were from and at the time that they were there, that was a terrible mistake that I made. And so, if I wasn't a cop, I'd be a sociologist or a cultural anthropologist. That, humans interest me in that learning, social learning way, and so it was interesting to sit and listen to and work through that. (CR.54)

Serving and Engaging the Community

When asked in the survey to respond to #35, *SPD does the following very well* ..., several noted engaging with the community and building community relationships, community outreach, keeping the community safe, and treating community members well. We understood service to connote the work done protecting the community, keeping community members safe. Engagement with the community has explicit and implicit purposes. Explicitly, officers and civilian workers engage with community (outside of service to protect) to build relationships, to impact the community in which they live and work, much like a business owner might volunteer for community projects, for example. Also explicitly, there is an educational component to some SPD-community events. Members of the SPD want to engage to teach and help community members learn about the particular topic, for example survival tactics. Implicitly, building relationships could also build trust or increase trust in the SPD and members who work for the SPD. In the long term, implicitly, opportunities of engagement

could help reduce crime. We have noted brief comments from the survey in which respondents note or give examples of how they believe SPD does community engagement very well.

Keep community safe: 1.Officers on street do everything possible to protect the lives of those in community despite resistance from citizens, media, and our own administration. 2.service the community. 3.protecting community. 4.Keep community safe. 5.keep community safe. 6.Protecting those in need.

Build community relationships. 1.balancing basic functions with community involvement. 2.Community contacts. 3.Works with the community. 4.community relationships. 5.Supporting all community members. 6. Helping the community and understanding their needs. 7.professionalism and community engagement. 8.Attempting to bridge gaps in the community to build relationships and trust. 9.small units that target community priorities. 10.Engaging the community and listening to their concerns. 11.Bridging gaps between different groups in our community. 12.Face to face meetings with citizens. 13.Interacts with community. 14.The SPD goes above and beyond bridging the gap with the minority communities.

Provide community outreach. 1.I think we do a good job of outreach programs to setup and maintain relationships with citizen groups that we serve. 2.Community Outreach [mentioned 5 more times]. 3.Our community outreach is the best that it has ever been. 5.Community outreach has exploded here in the past few years, and I think we are making huge strides in that area. 8. Community Outreach has greatly increased in recent years. 9.The efforts with community outreach. 12.community outreach seems to be done well.

Treat community members well. 1.Majority of employees, uniform and civilian, are unfailingly civil and helpful to fellow employees as well as to Community at large. 2.unbiased competent professional police services to our community. 3.building trust within community. 4.Treating public fairly. 5.maintaining professionalism regardless of the situation. 6.Treats everyone with respect. 7.Treating people respectfully and consistently looking for and applying ways to improve.

Yet, when asked to comment on #36 *SPD can improve on the following* ..., some responses indicated the need to better serve the community, perhaps connected to the need for more staff:

Better serve the community. 1.SPD does not provide in depth police service. We take reports and clear calls but that's it for the most part. 2.Providing a better quality service. 3. Community engagement at every level in Dept. 4.Provide more personal service to our customers without being so call driven. 5.community trust. 6.Taking the time to talk to citizens and not being in a hurry to go to the next call. 7. but we are losing support from those who would normally support SPD by our inability to meet community expectation [due to staffing issues].

The Media

When officers and civilian participants in the study expressed their challenges to their jobs, they sometimes mentioned the media as an entity that was affecting the relationship between the police and the community because they believe the media report more negative contacts between the police and citizens without the complete facts; and, the media are not interested in reporting positive interactions. Some participants felt that community members need to hold the media accountable when they do not report all the facts because the failure to report all the facts of an incident eventually affects both the police and the community and influences the perception of the public toward the SPD. When asked in the interviews to comment on the most difficult part of their work, internal and external issues were mentioned, and one of the most often mentioned external issues was "the Media." Many interviewees and survey respondents believe that the media, in part, is cause for creating or promoting an unfair lack of trust in the SPD and in the work they do. Some believe: the media may have an agenda; that agenda may be that law enforcement is overshadowed by negativity; and that the media should more fairly represent what the SPD does. Sample comments are noted:

Media is driven by an agenda. One of them is our media and just the way that the media, and a lot of people's opinion, view law enforcement. And the media has a different agenda, necessarily, not everybody else, whether it be positive or negative. They are there to, you know, get ratings and, basically, they're media. They need to get people to come see whatever channel or tune in to whatever channel, so they need to make it entertaining as opposed to, maybe, what is necessarily, um, the truth about what happened or every perspective about what happened. (RM.80) ... The biggest challenge is getting the media to step out of the way of our police department and the community. That is at a national level too. ... (JB.20)

Law enforcement is overshadowed by negativity. I would say [that it] seems like there's a cloud that hangs over us because of politics and media and all that, is kind of probably the most difficult thing our organization faces today, from my perspective. The negativity. (LM.48) ... Then seeing how hard we work, and seeing how the media portrays what we do. We work hard with the community to put out a good product and one mistake and the media jumps all over it. You don't hear about all the positives. (JB.95) ... Recently, and I've been doing this for not quite ten years, the biggest pressure, I think, is kind of the outside perspective on law enforcement in terms of the media coverage that we get, the attention we get, and a lot of that seems, you know, emotionally driven by people that don't have all the facts or don't care to know all the facts. That those decisions that you're forced to make are going to be tough and you're going to see it, but I would say kind of the cloud surrounding law enforcement right now is what has changed and what has made things most difficult, I guess. (MI.86)

Media should more fairly represent what the SPD does. I wish the media would do a better job of representing the good things that the Police Department does, rather than enhancing the negative things. And ... there are fantastic people that work here that they don't seek accolades and they don't look for recognition, because it's their job and they want to do it and they choose to do it, but it just feels like sometimes it's disproportionate what's represented to civilians (TJ.89) ... but what we also learned [from a report] was that we only used force in less than 1% of the time: 556 calls, 5 Uses of Force. And some things were, like, the person had cut themselves, they were bleeding out, they had to get to a hospital, and if they were being combative, we had to use some force to get them in the ambulance up to the hospital. The Spokesman wrote an article, but they didn't put that part in. (MC.66C) ... Most difficult issue is being able to work with the different cultures - Russians and Ukrainians - and trying to be able to have them understand you - the media has skewed the public's idea of cops - that they are all being painted with the broad brush of racism and brutality. (MI.28C) ... there's always going to be different versions of things. It's just like in life. There's two sides to every story. But I think that the media will definitely put their own spin on things. (MI.28C)

Ways to Improve Connecting

We asked in interview question #8 *In addition to your formal training, what training would you recommend to better prepare police officers?* From the 75 officers interviewed (we did not ask civilian workers this question) 41% (N=31) of the officers stated that more training is needed in communication skills. We note the data in this section, because in their commentary, many of the officers suggested that better communication and the improvement of skills of communication will help the SPD with building relationships and connecting better with the community. Some suggested the need to learn "how to read people," and others just noted communication as a needed area of training. Herein we offer a sampling of the comments and suggestions for possible additional training that may help build connections to the community:

SPD should provide a variety of training in communication skills. I think that communication is where we all fail, whether in our personal lives or professional lives, but being open-minded in our lines of communication can make a tremendous impact in those conversations we have with groups of individuals in our community. (JB.20) ... because ... [newer, younger officers] don't communicate with people any more, face-toface, because they communicate with their, with their phones, and so, it's like, okay, you have to, you have to be able to say, "Hey, what's goin' on?" You know, like, "You called us here." Instead of like, "Uhhhhh, hey." ... So, speaking with people, communicating, written language, that's really a good thing. (TJ.2) ... So, you know, as a whole it's communication skills really, because so much of what we do is communication ... but I think we have more people that struggle [with], initially, when they get out of training, that ability to talk to people, and understand when people are telling the truth and not telling the truth. Some people come in so naïve that they don't even realize there's people that will lie to you about everything, you know. So, having that ability is pretty beneficial, too. (PJ.31) ... A trend that I've seen with the newer generation coming up is, I think valuable training is to learn how to communicate with people and to talk to people, and read people in that sense, and over time you learn how to read people by talking to people and seeing their mannerisms. But that whole communication aspect, I think, is huge. Especially coming up this generation of sending emails and text messages as their form of communication. At times you feel like it takes them a while to develop that face-to-face communication. (RM.78) ... I think communication is huge. One of the things that I think helps officers communicate, as far as the training, is being self-confident, having confidence in their abilities, and I think that's lacking ... Communication is a key ... getting to know different cultures, getting to know different groups within our city, what their, maybe, belief systems are, what their mindset might be, at least understanding from their perspective. You may not agree with them, but at least understanding where they're coming from is important. (RM.85)

Others suggested that specific classes in speech and communication would be appropriate:

SPD should offer classes in speech and communication. Speech/communication classes. That is what you do every minute of every day. Sometimes it is a lot of ad-lib, with little information, and you have to wear lots of hats. The communication element is vital. (KV.7) ... Anything involving talking to people. (JB.17) ... I would recommend some form of speaking class as well as a communications class. (JB.21) ... I think in the long run, I think if people had more training in personal skills, communication ... (PJ.33) ... I don't know that [some of the newer officers] necessarily know how to communicate with

other people ... I just think that ... Learning how to communicate and deal with each other and being able to ... come to some common ground. Just because you have differences doesn't mean you need to walk away. So, I think people need to be able to agree to disagree and still be okay with that. (TJ.47) ... Communications, I think. ... I see when the recruits come out, they have a hard time talking to people. They're kind of awkward, standoffish. I know they're trying to think of a thousand things are going through their mind at a hundred miles per hour, but some officers just don't have that gift of gab which, it can be taught, because I used to be that one that was just quiet and just, oh, "What's your name? Date of birth? What happened?" I try to, now, find out more about their life. Find out about the person you're talking to. Why are you talking to them? What makes them think the way that they're thinking or why do they think this was a good idea as opposed to a bad idea or vice versa, why is this a bad idea to a good idea? I think that for just newer officers ... some type of communications class ... (CR.43) ... So, I think as far as training goes, it would be something that's actually productive in teaching people how to effectively communicate ... with their clients, the citizens. (CR.44)

Still other interviewees made specific suggestions about different types of police training or general education:

Specific types of training. ... I've seen out there where people are not patient or not using their communication skills and go right to force, and that's an issue across America. I mean, this job attracts people with Alpha personalities and so I think that the department's going in the right direction with the Use of Force training and trying to teach these younger officers, and even the older officers, how to better communicate with people rather than just go right to force if someone's not complying with you, with your orders. I think we're a lot better off spending time talking to people. (PJ.34) ... I think you could always use tactical communication training to try to defuse situations, but at the same time ... cops are getting hurt because they try to defuse too long before they actually take law enforcement action when it's needed. ... You should be the recognizing point of when it's going to work and when it's not going to work. (PJ.35) ... I would say that one of the best trainings I've ever had was interview and interrogation ... but that is a great class to learn how to communicate with people, talk to people, and I think that's huge, not just for getting confessions, but getting people to talk to you. And that's big, because you're dealing with people who are mad, they're angry, maybe at you, maybe at their boyfriend, maybe at the system. ... It's not because we sweet-talk people. It's because we use good tactics. (TJ.39) ... I think any sociology classes that would help us to communicate better with people what we do as police officers. (SC.91)

From two sources, we include sample comments addressed to the leadership of the SPD. First, from the survey, open-ended question #36, *SPD can improve on the following* ..., 3% (N=5) of 172 respondents suggested that the leadership ought to stand up to community criticism, develop a media presence, and establish media relations. Additionally, when asked in the interviews, question #11 *What suggestions do you have for the new administration*, several were offered about communicating through the media. Most often employees suggested the Chief ought to be in front of the media more, and ought to get out in front of stories quickly.

Leadership should connect with media. ... We need all members of command staff to become very comfortable speaking to the media and taking charge of the situation. ... Just be open with the public and ... don't leave things unknown ... get stuff out there as quick as you can so there's not that unknown factor on whatever is going on so that they don't think we're hiding things that are going on. (CR.26) ... Keep working with the

community. Keep letting the community know when we do good. When officers screw up, deal with it swiftly. Most officers in the department don't want to work with people causing us trouble. (JB.95) ... I also want to see the Chief's face on the news. I want to see him do more of talking to the press directly and press conferences and ... I want to see him successfully work with the media. ... and all of the executive staff needs to be really visible, um, in the community. (MC.66C) ... [be] out front with the community ... being out there, being a face (CR.53)

Opportunities for Community Engagement

Getting more involved with the community from either a personal or professional capacity was suggested not only to improve communication skills, but to get to know the community better.

Volunteer in the community. ... I would say to be an effective police officer it would be beneficial to do some volunteering, some volunteer hours or volunteer time, in any capacity, really. Because any time you serve or work with people who are less fortunate or oppressed or in some crisis it gives you better perspective on people who are in those different arenas of life and it helps police officers kind of connect better and also communicate better. And so, I would say some community volunteering would be very beneficial to a police officer's resume. (MI.61) ... [the most rewarding is] working with kids in the community. In charge of our explorer post for a long time. It's fun to work with community in a positive way. There is more support for us than what the media portrays. (JB.95) ...

Attend community-sponsored events. ... yesterday was in-service, and just listened to the pastor Sean Davis talk, you know, whatever questions there were, it's always the, "What's the underlying why? Why did this happen?" And I think the department, if we can see that and learn to, "Okay, at least they're giving us a reason why he felt that way." And then try to amend from there. (CR.53) ... Maybe go to community events, contact people in the community, do things with your community to where you're kind of more in touch, because I think learning how to relate to people in your own community makes the job easier and makes you realize that, really, we deal with bad people, but it's such a small fraction of the community. That's not really what the people out there are like and there are good people that we're out there working to protect and defend. (MI.46) ... I think some of it [our curriculum] is over-emphasized at the sacrifice of understanding the human element of who we're dealing with. Experience is the best teacher in this career field. Being exposed to a variety of people, cultures, and situations that may or may not be police in nature, just to understand where people in the community are coming from ... but we're seeing a lot of young people in our department today that just don't have that exposure, the benefit of that sort of an education, the life experience. (MC.74)

Additional ways to better serve and connect with the community were suggested by respondents on survey statement #36 *SPD can improve on the following* ... Eleven respondents (6%) made the following suggestions for external communication:

Leadership should connect with the community. 1.Getting the word out to the community about all of the training that has happened in regards to dealing with people in crisis from training to collaboration with groups in the community. Also, educating the community about the areas that SPD is far ahead of the rest of the country in. 2.Public image, Selling ourselves. 3.Community Education on SPD operations. 4.Getting our message out directly to the public. 5.getting more and more positive stories out and being out front when a hot issue happens to defend officers. 6.Externally: Share more of the

success stories with the community. 7.Explaining why we do what we do. 8.Community outreach. 9.Stop letting the police department be run from the mayor's office. 10.public perception. 11.relating better to community.

One officer suggested, "I think we're definitely striving to bond with the community with a lot of outreach programs and, um, Coffee with a Cop and a lot of hands-on, but I still feel like there's a disconnect" (RM.81). Research team members also noticed a disconnect that might be linked to the formal and informal work of the SPD. When officers go out on a Call, they ask many questions; when detectives investigate crimes, they ask numerous and various questions. This is a fairly one-way form of communication, and most in the community know how it works: officers ask the questions and whomever is at the other end is supposed to provide the answers. This is the formal part of the work of law enforcement. Engaging with the community, the RT assumes, is meant to be a more informal part of law enforcement, and that would imply a more natural two-way form of communication. We noticed, however, that officers rarely made comments about listening to community members, and that their communication with community members seems to be one way. In organizational literature, this is known as "tell and sell." Thus, communicating with, rather than communicating to may be a way to connect and engage more with the community.

Summary

Officers and civilian workers know they work in the public eye, and that events that happen on a national scale affect the perceptions of those who live in Spokane. Most officers and civilian workers like living and working within the community of Spokane. Being trusted and being trustworthy are valued highly by most members of the SPD, and it is troubling to officers and civilian workers when they think members of the community do not trust them, expressed through their criticism of the SPD. They do not know if the perceived lack of trust comes from their general beliefs about law enforcement or their experiences with law enforcement. Media was mentioned as a possible cause for distrust in law enforcement. It is believed the media could more fairly represent law enforcement and the SPD when it is deserved. Many participants in the study believe that community members often do not know or fully understand the work police officers do in a given day, or can legally perform as part of their duty. Several comments were made about what officers and civilians wanted community members to know about the SPD and police work. Finally, study participants also made suggestions about how the SPD could build better connections with the community.

Conclusions

The RT formed a set of conclusions based on the findings of this study. We summarize the conclusions in this section, and in the next section provide a set of starter questions that members of the SPD could use to begin conversations or to continue conversations perhaps already begun. These conclusions are a result of findings based on data contained in interviews, surveys, observations, and pertinent documents noted in this report.

Shared Values

- Based on shared values, the culture of SPD is a strong, tight culture.
- It is difficult to get accepted into the strong and cohesive culture. To become enculturated into the SPD, officers new to police work or new to the SPD must prove themselves and earn the respect and trust of fellow officers.
- There is frustration among officers and civilian workers when they are not able to accomplish the work they want to accomplish, most often when that work is grounded in the primary and secondary shared values of honesty, trust, integrity, a strong work ethic, or serving others.

Norms of Police Work in the SPD

- Police work is unpredictable. When officers go out on calls, they often do not know what to expect.
- Police work is variable. In any given shift, a patrol officer can go out on a variety calls.
- Police officers and some civilian workers, especially those who work in dispatch, are expected to multi-task, working efficiently and supportively.
- Some members of the community do not seem to understand the full nature of police work.
- Much police work involves "dealing with bad stuff."
- There is a disconnect between what officers know they do, and what they think the community does or does not know about what they do.
- Participants in the study believe that most criticism leveled against the SPD is unwarranted.

 When officers and civilian workers of the SPD believe they are unfairly criticized by the community, they believe the community-SPD trust has been weakened.

Morale

- Some civilian employees, though proud of the work the police department does, do not feel respected, listened to, or accepted as part of the team.
- Promotion processes ought to be looked at. Some officers, especially women and minorities, do not feel as if they have the same opportunities for advancement, for being heard, or for being accepted as part of the team in the police department.
- Diversity among leadership is lacking.
- Staffing issues and leadership are key issues facing the SPD that could influence morale, community engagement, and officers and civilians performing their jobs in the manner to which meets their standards of work ethic.

Leadership

- The majority of employees interviewed and surveyed want to give the new police chief an opportunity to improve the department. Employees are waiting for a cohesive direction and a strong stand from leadership in supporting them.
- Communication within the SPD could be improved.

Community Engagement

- Most officers and civilian workers view community engagement in two ways: building relations and education or the sharing of information.
- Few officers and civilian workers view community engagement to include listening, causing a disconnect between what the SPD thinks they provide as engagement, and what the community may perceive or need as engagement.

Conversation Starters

The Research Team does not think it appropriate to make recommendations to the SPD, based on gathering data for such a short time, and the fact that we are not members of the profession of law enforcement. We would have liked to have spent more time in various spaces and with various departments, for example K-9, detectives and investigations, SWAT, dispatch, records, and so on, to get a deeper understanding of the work culture from their varying perspectives. And we definitely would have wanted to include members of the community in the study. We understand that this study is taking place at a brief point in time, and that there have been many factors affecting the work culture of the SPD from the national level to the local level. Even with the national events of shootings by police and shootings of police, and with internal management changes instigated by shifts in SPD leadership in the last few years, the RT perceives the culture to be honest, trustworthy, supportive of one another, and hard-working. The RT thinks the new SPD leadership may want to take a look at making the culture even stronger by asking some questions of itself and of officers (at all levels) and civilian workers (of all types) to be included in those Conversations. Thus, we end this Cultural Audit with a set of questions to start Conversations.

Shared Values Support Police Work that is Eventful and Variable

 If the mission is, in part, to serve and protect: Does serve ever get in the way of protect? Does protect ever get in the way of serve? How would these dilemmas be resolved?

Becoming One of Us

- If it is true that a strong and cohesive culture makes it more difficult to have diversity within an organization and to include people from other backgrounds, and assuming SPD wants to become more inclusive: How would the SPD make the culture more permeable for an outsider to get into the inside of the culture? ... and still maintain a strong culture?
- Do seasoned, inside members of the SPD culture want laterals to have a swifter, more permeable entry into the culture? If so, how can this be accomplished?
- Is it a myth or reality that promotions need to (or tend to) go through SWAT? Must this stay the reality, if this is true? Is there a work-related reason for this? If the road to promotion must go through SWAT, then is that road paved with equal and fair access? Do members of SWAT and members of SPD leadership want the process to change, or do they like the SWAT reality the way it is? Honestly, why change? Honestly, why keep it the same?

Climate: Morale, Staffing, and Leadership

- Is it possible to do a good job with insufficient staffing and resources?
- How are civilian workers treated respectfully and supportively by officers?
- Is there an interest in encouraging civilian employees to play a bigger role in better integrating SPD and the public? How can this be accomplished?
- How are the procedures of recognition of a good job at an internal level implemented? ... for evaluation purposes? ... for advancement purposes?
- How can the SPD create a more fair and equitable evaluative and recognition system, based on comments that some supervisors do not fairly and equitably evaluate and recognize their subordinates (both officers and civilian supervisors of their respective groups)?
- How important is it for the SPD to diversify its leadership? If it is important, then how will the SPD go about diversifying the leadership? What do those intending to advance to leadership positions need to know about the process, implicitly as well as explicitly? What do they not know? What do they need to do? What is the best way to inform those not represented in leadership positions to be represented in leadership positions?

Connecting with the Community

- Community Engagement: When SPD talks, SPD doesn't listen. If the SPD wants to engage the community, is listening as important as talking? If so, how can there be more opportunity for SPD members to listen and community members to talk? Can the SPD engage the people without listening to the people?
- In what ways does the SPD think the community most wants their engagement? In what ways does the SPD think the community most wants outreach? ... most needs outreach?
- Community Outreach: Community outreach seems primarily designed for education. How does the SPD define successful community outreach? Is the outreach working? Is there room for a rethinking of "success?" Is there room for rethinking community outreach?
- Comments have been made about needed training in communication among the youngest, newest police officers, or the millennials. How can we tap into the knowledge of the younger officers (millennials) to get some insight from them on how to reach the younger generation?

- The SPD has an image of themselves as caring, human, and professional. Do members of the community have the same or similar image? If they do not have the same or similar image, why not? What image, perception do community members have of the SPD? How does the perception vary around the community, within various community groups?
- Is the media the only or major group responsible for the seemingly negative image the community may have of the SPD? Could there be other groups?
- Considering the nature of police work, can the SPD maintain transparency with the community and media at the same time it wants to keep its officers and civilian workers safe? How is this accomplished?

Methods of Conducting the Culture Audit

We conducted a cultural audit (cultural inventory) of the SPD to answer the major "umbrella question" *What is the work culture of the SPD?* We used the following questions to guide data collection and analysis:

- 1. What are the expectations of the work of the SPD?
- 2. What is the work of the Spokane Police Department, that is, what do police officers do?
- 3. What do members of the SPD need to know to do their work, that is, what is their cultural knowledge?
- 4. How is the culture of SPD transmitted or shared?
- 5. What are the working norms and values of the SPD?

The three-phase research study took place during the summer, fall, and winter 2016-2017. Phase One was the collaborative research design phase; Phase Two, data collection and data analysis; and the report was written in Phase Three.

Phase One: Collaborative Research Design

During the summer of 2016, an advisory work group was formed of members of the Spokane Police Department, members of the Spokane Community (SC), and the Gonzaga University (GU) principal investigator (PI) to create the data collection instruments. A Community Stakeholder Representation Map, included in Appendix A, shows the groups represented by members who participated in the advisory group meetings. The advisory group (representative members and stakeholders of all three groups—SPD, SC, and GU) met three times. Advisory group members collaboratively discussed and agreed upon the purpose of the study and the guiding questions. The advisory group collaboratively developed and agreed upon a working body of survey questions and interview questions. They also discussed a reasonable number and variety of participants to be involved in various aspects of the study. Advisory group members also made suggestions for observations and participation by research team members.

Members of the advisory group developed working drafts of two instruments (interview protocol and survey instrument) that were presented to the Gonzaga research team (RT). Drafts of the instruments were completed by the end of August, 2016. At the beginning of the Fall semester, nine students in a doctoral course with their professor (the PI), constituting the RT, took the working sets of questions and winnowed the list down to manageable size for a 30-minute interview and a questionnaire that would take about 15-20 minutes to fill in. A representative from the SPD and GU met to review the final questions two more times for appropriate language, reflective of those working in law enforcement. Informed consent forms were developed by the RT and reviewed by a SPD representative.

Phase Two: Data Collection

During the fall, members of the GU research team collected the data. Data for the work culture inventory were collected in four ways: 1) through a survey of all members of the SPD; 2) by interviewing several members of the police department, both civilian workers and commissioned officers; 3) by observations; and 4) through cultural artifacts. Time for interviews, types of questions, number of participants and a representative SPD sample were decided collaboratively, first with the advisory board, then with RT, and then with GU-PI and a SPD liaison. Opportunities for observations of events, training, and ride-a-longs with patrol officers were assigned and coordinated by the SPD liaison.

Interviews

It was decided that a representative sample of the SPD would include 100 participants: 75 commissioned officers and 25 civilian employees. Interviews would be 30 minutes and be conducted either in the SPD building or on campus at Gonzaga University. The interviews were digitally taped, only if the participants allowed themselves to be taped. They were offered an opportunity to have the interviewer type responses to interview questions, as the interview occurred. A consent form was signed by officers and civilian workers before interviewing by digital taping or typing began.

One hundred interviews were conducted in the time period from October 13 to November 10, 2016. Employees were randomly selected by the SPD liaison, who scheduled and coordinated all the interviews, which were held in private for each participant. The sample represents 25% of the department: 25 of 92 civilians and 75 of 307 officers. The sample of officers was fairly representative of the department, containing 25% of each rank and various roles within the department. The sample contained 13% females and 87% males and 13% people of color, so it was similar to the SPD as far as gender and race (see Demographics). The sample of civilians also contained a variety of roles within the department (for example, Crime Analysis, Records, Property, Investigations). The sample was 68% female and 32% people of color—similar in gender but more people of color than department demographics.

An interview protocol was developed that included 12 questions, with a "script" that each RT member would use reminding the RT member of the order of the questions (for comparative and analytical purposes) and a focus on 30-minutes for the interview, so as not to take advantage of the time of each volunteer participant. The final twelve questions were agreed upon and fine-tuned over a several-cycle iteration review process beginning with the SPD-SC-GU advisory board and continuing with the SPD liaison and RT. Three of the questions were designed to be answered only by commissioned police officers. The questions were designed to be open-ended in an attempt to get to underlying values and

norms of the work of law enforcement in the SPD. The set of interview questions is contained in Appendix B.

Ten members of the RT each interviewed ten members of the SPD, as time and schedules allowed. Each interviewer initiated the interview in compliance with the scripted introduction and completion of an Informed Consent form. Interviewees were notified they could be fully audio-recorded, partially audio-recorded, not recorded but notes would be taken, or they could decline the interview after reading the Informed Consent form. Confidentiality of the interviewee was the paramount objective and several steps were included to detach the transcripts from the interviewee to include coding and an automated secure system (developed by Gonzaga IT members) to collect the interviews, field notes, and observations. Members of the RT used digital recorders for interview participants who allowed recording of the interview. A transcription company was used to transcribe all the interviews (except those typed at time of interview). Those transcribed and typed interviews were the basis from which the interview data were coded and analyzed. Transcriptions of the 100 interviews yielded the following, approximately (rounded down): 450 single-spaced pages of respondent answers to the interview questions, amounting to 21,000 lines of data, and constituting 290,000 words.

Observations

Observations occurred during about a six-week time span. The department liaison shared a list of events and trainings in the SPD, that included dates and times for possible observation and participation opportunities by members of the RT. The RT shared available dates and times from each member's personal calendar, as well as personal choices, so the liaison could create a master calendar of opportunities. We thought this important for several reasons. We could spread observations around, so we could see and participate in as much as possible in this short time span. We would try not to duplicate efforts, or have too many RT members show up at the same event. We wanted to make sure the SPD knew who was, perhaps, in the building, and why. A RT member checking into a building knew that the person on watch could contact the liaison who had a chart that showed who was checking in, when, and for what reason. We had nametags made for RT members so they easily could be identified by SPD employees, and given access for that which had been arranged.

Ten RT members averaged 5 observations each. Opportunities to observe and/or participate in various SPD daily work and community events included the following: ride-a-alongs with patrol officers and their superiors, radio/dispatch, command staff, roll call, Citizen's Academy, Enhancing Survival Mindset, YIP, PAL, New Officers' Training and K-9 Training. The time spent in each work activity or community event varied from one to eight hours, depending if the activity was a 1-3 hour community event, a 4-hour training, or a 4-8 hour ride-along.

Artifacts

In a longer work culture study, a variety of artifacts would have been collected and analyzed to ascertain its cultural meaning. For example, we would have asked the officers to tell us how they prepare for their work day. We would have gathered data about how they dress for work, and looked at the practical uses and symbolic meanings for what one wears (clothing and gear) to work each day. We would have also liked to have spent more time in the patrol cars, noting all the features of work taking place in one's patrol car. We think we understand the concerns officers raised about the new computer software installed just prior to the RT beginning this study, but if we could have spent more time within the equipment to get a better feel for where the new system was having more negative or positive effects on the work of officers on patrol, we think we could have understood better their frustrations. For a final example, because of the short timeframe of the study, we were not able to spend much time in the various buildings or spaces in which members of the SPD consistently do their work: court, the main building, dispatch, streets of Spokane, Cop Shops, training facilities, to name a few spaces. We would have taken note of the artifacts used in these work spaces, how they were used, the practical and symbolic meaning of those artifacts and those spaces.

Early in the planning of the study, we read recent reports written about the SPD and recent and historical news articles, to get a context for working in Spokane and in the SPD. Because we wanted to understand the culture of the SPD with as little bias as possible, we read what we needed to get a feel for the context and the sorts of questions to ask, but we wanted the officers and civilians to tell us about their work as much as they would through the survey and interviews. Our observations with background reading would help triangulate the data.

Survey Questionnaire

The online survey was provided for all SPD employees to complete voluntarily between October 31 and November 14, 2016. This survey was open-access to all SPD employees, except the two recently retired and those still in the Academy; and the survey was available through SurveyMonkey® for response for 15 days, as noted. The survey was designed to provide a fourth method of data collection to add to the 100 interviews, observations of SPD activities, and artifacts collected and read. The survey was the only instrument used in which we collected data by officer rank (officer, first level supervisor, second level supervisor), length of service with SPD (>10 years, 5-10 years, and < 5 years), and whether the commissioned officers had experience with another police department (lateral/ non-lateral). The survey was developed jointly by the advisory group, SPD, and RT.

The RT analyzed the data using both quantitative (simple descriptive statistics) and qualitative (coding and thematic analysis) methods. Data were analyzed using Gonzaga University hardware: surveys were analyzed using the software program SurveyMonkey®; interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed for themes; and observations and artifacts were coded and analyzed for themes. The software program *NVivo* was used for data analysis of interviews and observation notes. To best address the four approaches to data collection (oral interviews, survey questionnaire including open-ended respondent-entered narrative, observations, and artifacts), three techniques were employed. Data analysis included:

- 1. "Central Tendency" establishing means or modes for the survey questions;
- 2. "Variability" citing frequencies for the two ranked questions in the survey;
- 3. "Patterns" by cross-analysis coding of emerging categories and work culture categories of values, norms of behavior, and transmission or sharing of the knowledge of work in the particular culture of the SPD of all transcribed interviews;
- 4. "Patterns" by coding of emerging categories and work culture categories from the five fill-in-the-blank online survey questions; and
- 5. "Patterns" by coding of emerging categories and work culture categories from written and verbal observations from members of the RT.

We discuss each method in turn, but first we discuss methodology, or the varied perspectives the RT took to arrive at themes, conclusions, and conversation starters.

Making Meaning: Assimilation, Differentiation, Fragmentation

In terms of how we made sense of the data (interviews, observation notes, and survey results) members of the Research Team came to their understandings from three different perspectives. The perspectives are noted briefly here.¹⁹ One way of interpreting culture is integrative, that is, one is assimilated or acculturated into an existing culture and that culture is, and ought to be, homogeneous, developed over time by the participants of that culture. One looks for patterns of consistency, consensus, and clarity (or agreement) throughout the organization. Culture is defined by six formal properties: (1) shared basic assumptions that are

¹⁹ Hatch, M. J., & Cunliffe, A. L. (2013). Organization theory: Modern, symbolic, and postmodern perspectives. (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press; Martin, J. (2002). Organizational culture: Mapping the terrain. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; Martin, J., Frost, P. J., & O'Neill, O. A. (2004). Organizational culture: Beyond struggles for intellectual dominance. Research Paper Series. Stanford, CA: Stanford Graduate School of Business, 1-70; Schein, E. H. (2010). Organizational culture and leadership. (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

(2) invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it (3) learns to cope with its problem of external adaptation and internal integration in ways that (4) have worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, (5) can be taught to new members of the group as the (6) correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.²⁰ Thus, any value, norm of behavior, or way of thinking outside of these integrated, common, accepted norms and values is suspect as not part of the established culture.

A second way of understanding a culture is through differentiation. One looks for those manifestations that are different within an organization's culture. When a differentiation focus is taken, interpretations are inconsistent, identity and consensus is built within subcultural boundaries, ambiguities appear most likely in the spaces between subcultures, and clarity exists only within the subcultures. Additionally with this focus, one tends to pay more attention to environmental influences on the culture. Alternatively, a fragmentation approach is a third way to understand an organization's culture. With this approach: consensus is individually-directed, short-lived, and issue-specific; clarity of focus is more an illusion than reality, reproduced by management; and ambiguity is pervasive. Ambiguity "include[s] irony, paradox, and irreconcilable contradictions, as well as multiple meanings."²¹ In an interpretation based on a fragmentation perspective, change is a constant flux and because change is largely triggered by the environment or forces beyond an individual's control, one can discover in the culture alienation and apathy, as well as confusion and satisfaction. Members of the RT, as well as participants in the interviews, approached an understanding of the culture of the SPD from all three perspectives, as we discussed the findings through the four themes. The methods the RT used to develop those themes and analyze the survey are discussed next.

Qualitative Data

Interview narratives were imported and analyzed with the assistance of the qualitative analytical software *NVivo*. After first level analysis through the software, we read and coded interview transcripts and observation narratives using the following categories.²²

 Values. Values underlie, and to a large extent determine behavior, but they are not directly observable, as behaviors are. There may be a difference between stated (manifest) and operating (implicit) values. People often will attribute their behavior to stated values, but sometimes work from their implicit values.

²⁰ Schein, 2010.

²¹ Martin, et al, 2004, p. 17.

²² Barbour, J. D. (1999). Out of the field, into the field and back again: Understanding administrative theory development from a naturalistic perspective. *Seventh yearbook of the national council of professors of educational administration: School leadership: Expanding horizons of the mind and spirit,* 46-64.

- Norms. Norms express behaviors commonly accepted and practiced by the group.
- Transmission. How culture is shared by those within an established group, and learned or acquired by those trying to gain access and entry into that group, for example training programs, stories, workshops, use of particular language, ways of acting, and so on.
- Politics. Power, conflict, stressors that are not directly aligned to a defined function whether internal or external to the organization.
- Economics. Any issue that required financial allocation for buildings, staffing, space, transportation, or materiel (equipment or supplies).
- General. Any relevant issue that does not fit into the other coding categories.

Then we re-read interview transcripts and observation narratives to look for additional categories, as themes emerged from the data. Small group and all-RT conversations took place discussing the merits of one theme versus another, as the qualitative data were triangulated with survey data until consensus was reached on the final themes.

Quantitative Data

Survey response rates are strongly affected by the method of data collection. In general, the more interaction between the potential respondent and the people collecting the data, the higher the response rate. Since an online survey that has no interpersonal relationship and requires the respondent to do all the work is likely to have a low response rate, we believe that the SPD staff's efforts to proactively talk about the importance of the online survey with assurances of confidentiality for weeks before the survey were key to an acceptable response rate of 44%. Measurements of attitudes on a Likert scale are ordinal which limits inferential statistical analysis. We used descriptive statistical details to organize, summarize, and tabulate data to simply and clearly describe data sets.

A copy of the survey that appeared in SurveyMonkey® is contained in Appendix C. Thirty questions were prepared using the Likert approach. Two questions asked respondents to 1) rank a list of stressors and 2) rank a list of qualities Spokane Police Department officers should exhibit. There were four open-ended narrative questions. The SPD population at the time of the research was 391 with 299 commissioned officers and 92 civilian staff employees (see Table 4). 162 of the 391 employees of the Spokane Police Department replied to the survey (a 44% response rate). Three of the survey questions were demographic in nature, and 155 of 162 respondents answered the demographic questions. Respondents reflected the actual composition of the SPD staff.

Years SPD Experience	Lateral /Non- Lateral	Officer/Detective	Corporal/Sergeant	Lieutenant & Up	Civilians	Total
	Lateral	44	0	0	N/A	44
<5 Years	Non- Lateral	27	0	0	34	61
	Lateral	17	2	0	N/A	19
5-10 Years	Non- Lateral	23	1	0	19	43
>10 Years	Lateral	22	14	4	N/A	40
	Non- Lateral	91	34	20	39	184

Table 4. Demographics of the Spokane Police Department

Table 5. Survey Respondents by Position.

Lateral / Non- Lateral	Officer / Detective	Corporal / Sergeant	Lieutenant & Up	Civilians
Lateral	35			
Non- Lateral	40			
TOTAL	[76] One officer did not identify as lateral or non-lateral.	31	16	32

The positions of the personnel completing the online survey are presented in Table 5. Of the 76 officers who responded to the survey, only 75 identified if they were a lateral/ non-lateral hire. We do not include any analysis by lateral/ non-lateral hire for corporal/ sergeant or lieutenant & up; lateral/ non-lateral hire does not apply to civilian employees.

In Appendix D is a table that includes numerical and statistical summary of responses for each choice and the total number of responses for survey questions 1-30. Included in Appendix E are charts of the rankings in Questions 31 and 32, the Scalar Ranking Results. The total number of respondents who answered Question 31 was 160 of the 162. The total number of respondents who answered Question 32 was 156 out of 162 survey respondents answered this question.

Appendix F includes trend data from questions 1-30, in chart form by job title. The statistical range on the charts stops at 70% because no statistical results went past that number. These charts have a maximum sample size of 155 (the number of respondents who answered the job title survey question).

APPENDICES
Appendix A

Community Stakeholder Representation Map



Figure 1. Community Stakeholder Representation Map

Appendix B

SPD Interview Questions: Research Team (RT)

- 1. Name the three or four qualities you most respect in a police officer?
- 2. What parts of your job do you find most rewarding? ... and the most difficult?
- 3. What do you think are the biggest challenges the Spokane Police Department faces?
- 4. At what point in time did you feel confident in your abilities as a police officer? {Skip for civilians.}
- 5. How do you know when you've been successful in the SPD?
- 6. What would you like the Spokane community to know about the SPD?
- 7. Of the diverse groups you engage with, are there any of which you wish you had more awareness?
- 8. {Skip for civilians.}
- 9. In a situation that might require use of force, what are the challenges to following the standard operating procedures? {Skip for civilians.}
- 10. How has working for SPD fulfilled your personal aspirations?
- 11. What suggestions do you have for the new administration?
- 12. Any final thoughts you'd like share? 10.29.2016: Replace or include with the following question: How would you describe the culture of the SPD to a newcomer, that is, what does a new police officer or civilian to SPD need to know about the SPD to survive, so to speak.

Appendix C

Survey Questions

Directions: After reading the following statements, choose the response that best describes your work with the Spokane Police Department (SPD). <u>https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/7Y56HKP</u>

1.		PD mission and it gly Disagree	t s goals. Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
2.		of work required gly Disagree	by me is appropr Disagree	iate. Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
3.		t aff are open to f gly Disagree	eedback from em Disagree	ployees. Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
4.		ommunication D gly Disagree	OWN from my ch a Disagree	ain of comma Neutral	nd is effective Agree	e. Strongly Agree
5.		ommunication <i>U</i> gly Disagree	P through my cha Disagree	iin of comma r Neutral	nd is effective Agree	e. Strongly Agree
6.		on across the SF gly Disagree	PD departments is Disagree	s effective. Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
7.		able reporting pro gly Disagree	oblems <i>UP</i> my ch Disagree	ain of comma Neutral	i nd. Agree	Strongly Agree
8.		isagree with a cc gly Disagree	blleague, and com Disagree	fortable that Neutral	my opinion w Agree	ill be considered. Strongly Agree
9.		/ leadership will gly Disagree	put department n Disagree	eeds above p Neutral	ersonal need Agree	s. Strongly Agree
	N/A Strong	gly Disagree		-		
10	N/A Strong I trust my fell N/A Strong	gly Disagree ow officers.	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
10 11	N/A Strong I trust my fell N/A Strong I feel valued k N/A Strong	gly Disagree ow officers. gly Disagree oy my SPD senio	Disagree Disagree r leadership. Disagree	Neutral	Agree Agree	Strongly Agree Strongly Agree
10 11 12	N/A Strong I trust my fell N/A Strong I feel valued k N/A Strong I feel respect N/A Strong	gly Disagree ow officers. gly Disagree oy my SPD senio gly Disagree by my chain of c	Disagree Disagree r leadership. Disagree command. Disagree	Neutral Neutral Neutral	Agree Agree Agree	Strongly Agree Strongly Agree Strongly Agree
10 11 12 13	 N/A Strong I trust my felle N/A Strong I feel valued to N/A Strong I feel respect N/A Strong I find satisfac N/A Strong I work with of 	gly Disagree ow officers. gly Disagree by my SPD senio gly Disagree by my chain of c gly Disagree stion from my job gly Disagree	Disagree Disagree r leadership. Disagree command. Disagree	Neutral Neutral Neutral Neutral Neutral	Agree Agree Agree Agree Agree	Strongly Agree Strongly Agree Strongly Agree Strongly Agree
10 11 12 13 14	 N/A Strong I trust my felle N/A Strong I feel valued k N/A Strong I feel respect N/A Strong I find satisfac N/A Strong I find satisfac N/A Strong I work with of N/A Strong As an SPD end 	gly Disagree ow officers. gly Disagree by my SPD senio gly Disagree by my chain of c gly Disagree stion from my job gly Disagree ficers and civilia gly Disagree	Disagree Disagree r leadership. Disagree command. Disagree Disagree ns who are profe	Neutral Neutral Neutral Neutral Neutral ssional in the Neutral	Agree Agree Agree Agree Agree ir work.	Strongly Agree Strongly Agree Strongly Agree Strongly Agree

17. The SPD collaborates with n Spokane community.	ongovernmental	organizations to	better mee	et the needs of the
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
18. As a SPD employee, I feel va	lued by the Spok	ane community.		
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
19. I believe it is important for the	ne SPD to establis	sh a good relatio	nship with	the media.
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
20. The local media fairly repres	ents the work of Disagree	the SPD. Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
21. The media does not affect he	ow I do my iob as	a police officer.		
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
22. The SPD provides the level of	of service needed	for the Spokane	communit	V.
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
23. The SPD policies for the use	of force are clea	rlv established.		
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
24. My training in the use of force	ce has been suffic	cient to enable m	e to meet S	SPD policy
expectations. N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
NA Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutrai	Agree	Stiongly Agree
25. I can confidently perform the	e SPD use of forc	e procedures.		
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
26. Female staff and female poli	ce officers are tre	eated fairly within	the SPD.	
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
27. Ethnic minority staff and pol	lice officers are tr	eated fairly withi	n the SPD.	
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
28. My training in dealing with d	iverse populatior	s (e.g., homeles	s, mentally	ill, people of
color, LGBTQ, etc.,) has bee	n adequate so I c			
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
29. I feel comfortable dealing wi	th victims and of	ienders from var	ious ethnic	backgrounds
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
30. I have an appropriate work/li	fo balanco			
N/A Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
31. Rank the following stressors	s (6=greatest stra	ssor to 1-least s	tressful)	
Traffic Stops Short Staffing	Circumstances O			ve Perception of
Police				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Work Issues Inside of the Orga	anization Respon	ding to a Domesti	c Dispute	
22 Pank the following qualities	SPD officers at a	uld oxhibit (6~~	001001101	-loast)
32. Rank the following qualities Integrity Composure	Teamwork Civi			eneast). ommunicator
integrity composure			unicos 0	

Directions: In the boxes below, please feel free to type in your responses to the statements or Questions.

33. Free Response: To cope with stress, what resources would you like to see offered and/or enhanced by the SPD:

34. Free Response: Where do you see the most trust between the SPD and Spokane community? Where do you see the least trust between the SPD and Spokane community?

35. Free Response: I think the SPD does the following very well:

36. Free Response: I think the SPD can improve on the following:

37. Free Response: I would describe the culture of the SPD as:

DEMOGRAPHICS

(to be completed upon conclusion of the survey)

- 1. Please mark the choice that best represents your title in the SPD:
 - a) _____ Line-Level (Officer, Detective)
 - b) _____ First-Level Supervisor (Sergeant, Corporal)
 - c) _____ Lieutenant or above (Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Chief)
 - d) ____ Civilian
- 2. How long have you been employed with the SPD? Please check only one.
 - a) _____ 10 years or more than 10 years
 - b) _____ 5 years to 10 years
 - c) ____ Less than 5 years.
- 3. Are you a lateral transfer from another police department, that is, did you work for another department before coming to the SPD?
 - a) ____ Yes
 - b) ____ No
- 4. How long did it take you to learn the culture of the SPD, that is, you feel like you are a part of the department and you understand the norms, the values, and how things get done?
 - a) ____ Less than 6 months
 - b) ____ Six months to one year
 - c) _____ At least 18 months to two years, but not more
 - d) ____ Two to three years
 - e) ____ Three to four years
 - f) ____ I have worked here more than three years, and I still feel like I have not fully learned the culture of the SPD.

Appendix D

Summary of Survey Responses to Questions: Numbers and Statistical Data

Table 5. Numerical and Statistical Summary of Responses to Survey Questions

	Note: In each cell, data are represented by two figures: N = the number of responses and % = the percent that number represents. Total N = 162 Survey Participants. Some participants skipped various questions, thus the Total N for each question may vary from 162. N/A = Not Applicable. Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A	Total N
1	I know the SPD mission and its goals.	5 / 3.11%	11 / 6.83%	18 / 11.18%	82 / 50.93%	45 / 27.95%	0.00%	161
2	The amount of work required by me is appropriate.	16 / 10.0%	39 / 24.38%	21 / 13.13%	65 / 40.63%	19 / 11.88%	0.00%	160
3	SPD senior staff are open to feedback from employees.	12 / 7.45%	33 / 20.5%	39 / 24.22%	61 / 37.89%	16 / 9.94%	0.00%	161
4	The flow of communication DOWN from my chain of command is effective.	12 / 7.84%	50 / 32.68%	41 / 26.8%	42 / 27.45%	7 / 4.58%	1/ 0.65%	153
5	The flow of communication UP through my chain of command is effective.	19 / 11.88%	33 / 20.63%	51 / 31.88%	53 / 33.13%	4 / 2.5%	0.00%	160
6	Communication across the SPD departments is effective.	25 / 15.92%	60 / 38.22%	44 / 28.03%	28 / 17.83%	0.00%	0.00%	157
7	I am comfortable reporting problems UP my chain of command.	11 / 7.01%	19 / 12.1%	24 / 15.29%	83 / 52.87%	20 / 12.74%	0.00%	157
8	I am free to disagree with a colleague, and comfortable that my opinion will be considered.	13 / 8.18%	18 / 11.32%	27 / 16.98%	85 / 53.46%	16 / 10.06%	0.00%	159
9	I trust that my leadership will put department needs above personal needs.	18 / 11.25%	21 / 13.13%	26 / 16.25%	65 / 40.63%	29 / 18.13%	1/ 0.63%	160
10	I trust my fellow officers.	2 / 1.27%	3 / 1.91%	13 / 8.28%	59 / 37.58%	73 / 46.5%	7/4.46%	157
11	I feel valued by my SPD senior leadership.	16 / 10.46%	30 / 19.61%	32 / 20.92%	57 / 37.25%	18 / 11.76%	0.00%	153
12	I feel respected by my chain of command.	9 / 5.63%	24 / 15%	31 / 19.38%	70 / 43.75%	26 / 16.25%	0.00%	160
13	I find satisfaction from my job.	5 / 3.16%	13 / 8.23%	13 / 8.23%	65 / 41.14%	62 / 39.24%	0.00%	158
14	I work with officers and civilians who are professional in their work.	0%	4 / 2.53%	7 / 4.43%	60 / 37.97%	8 7 / 55.06%	0.00%	158
15	As an SPD employee, I am treated fairly by the SPD.	5 / 3.13%	19 / 11.88%	19 / 11.88%	78/ 48.75%	39 / 24.38%	0.00%	160
	The SPD collaborates well with other governmental agencies in the community.	3 / 1.9%	5 / 3.16%	34 / 21.52%	8 7 / 55.06%	29 / 18.35%	0.00%	158
17	The SPD collaborates with nongovernmental organizations to better meet the needs of the Spokane community.	1 / 0.63%	6 / 3.77%	27 / 16.98%	86 / 54.09%	37 / 23.27%	2 / 1.26%	159
18	As an SPD employee, I feel valued by the spokane community.	9 / 5.59%	27 / 16.77%	40 / 24.84%	72 / 44.72%	13 / 8.07%	0.00%	161
19	I believe it is important for the SPD to establish a good relationship with the media.	2 / 1.26%	9 / 5.66%	19 / 11.95%	92 / 57.86%	37 / 23.27%	0.00%	159
20	The local media fairly represents the work of the SPD.	65 / 40.37%	48 / 29.81%	32 / 19.88%	15 / 9.32%	1/ 0.62%	0.00%	161
21	The media does not affect how I do my job as a police officer.	27 / 16.77%	35 / 21.74%	18 / 11.18%	36 / 22.36%	26 / 16.15%	19 / 11.8%	161
	The SPD provides the level of service needed for the Spokane community.	30 / 18.75%	49 / 30.63%	27 / 16.88%	37 / 23.13%	17 / 10.63%	0.00%	160
	The SPD policies for the use of force are clearly established.	4 / 2.5%	4 / 2.5%	12 / 7.5%	72 / 45%	54 / 33.75%	14 / 8.75%	160
_	My training in the use of force has been sufficient to enable me to meet SPD policy expectations.	3 / 1.86%	5 / 3.11%	9 / 5.9%	67 / 41.61%	47 / 29.19%	30 / 18.63%	161
	I can confidently perform the SPD use of force procedures.	2 / 1.26%	2 / 1.26%	13 / 8.18%	64 / 40.25%	48 / 30.19%	30 / 18.87%	159
26	Female staff and female police officers are treated fairly within the SPD.	14 / 8.92%	7 / 4.46%	18 / 11.46%	61 / 38.85%	52 / 33.12%	5 / 3.18%	157
	Ethnic minority staff and police officers are treated fairly within the SPD.	5 / 3.13%	2 / 1.25%	16 / 10%	72 / 45%	60 / 37.5%	5 / 3.13%	160
28	My training in dealing with diverse populations (e.g., homeless, mentally ill, people of color, LGBTQ, etc.,) has been adequate so I can successfully work with those populations.	2 / 1.25%	4 / 2.5%	3 / 1.88%	73 / 45.63%	63 / 39.38%	15 / 9.38%	160
29	I feel comfortable dealing with victims and offenders from various ethnic backgrounds.	0%	1 / 0.63%	3 / 1.88%	60 / 37.5%	78 / 48.75%	18 / 11.25%	160
30	I have an appropriate work/life balance.	30 / 3.13%	20 / 12.5%	16 / 10%	78 / 48.75%	41 / 25.63%	0.00%	160

Appendix E

Scalar Ranking Results

Table 6. Scalar Results from Survey Questions 31 and 32







Survey Data Trends by Respondent Groups



























































